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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1928

HOPES AND NEEDS OF A NEW ERA[1]

IT requires no little courage in these days, when institutions are crumbling amidst the wreck of lofty ambitions and eager hopes, to write of a Renaissance. A new birth of social and national life, of knowledge and faith, of human ideals and achievements, and especially of Religion, the inspiration and consummation of them all, appears to many at present equally desirable and unattainable. People have long grown weary of hearing about 'a new world after the war,' for is it not already more than four years since the armistice?—and no one has yet seen a new Jerusalem descending out of heaven as a bride adorned for her husband. It is the easiest thing in the world to deride the hopes of those who, even in the growing darkness, have never lost their faith in a coming dawn. In the very forefront of the volume on *The Coming Renaissance* appears the ominous figure of the Dean of St. Paul's, who announces solemnly and somewhat superfluously that he does not share in the hopes of a good time coming. He reminds us that 'the spirit bloweth where it listeth'—a great truth which in its original setting was closely connected with a doctrine of regeneration, and was uttered to rebuke the scepticism of a 'teacher of Israel,' who asked incredulously 'How can these things be?'

[1] *The Coming Renaissance*, by Various Writers, edited by Sir James Marchant, K.B.E., with an Introduction by the Rev. W. R. Inge, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, (Kegan Paul & Co. 1928); *The Returning Tide of Faith*, by Neville S. Talbot, D.D., Bishop of Pretoria (Nisbet & Co., 1928); *The New Reformation*, by the Rev. C. E. Raven, B.D., Article vi. in *Anglican Essays*, edited by Archdeacon Paige-Cox (Macmillans, 1928.)

One who believes in the sovereign working of a Spirit from on high will certainly not undertake to predict the future. No wise man ever does. As we understand the twenty contributors to *The Coming Renaissance*—a goodly company, including bishops and Nonconformist ministers, politicians, professors, honourable women and men of scientific eminence—they do not attempt to 'prophesy' in the sense of foretelling, but of forth-telling, and they fulfil their function in widely differing modes. They are not ashamed to hope, but none of them looks out upon the troubled world through rose-coloured glasses, and none of them anticipates a speedy millennium. They are men and women who feel within and around them the stirrings of new mental, moral, and spiritual life, and together thay have put forth a book which, while it is neither a treatise nor the pronouncement of an oracle, will prove stimulating to all who seek to understand the signs of our times and desire to prepare the way for better times to come. In a time of disillusionment and depression, when clouds are dark and threatening, they write with a forward look, as those whose faces are towards the dawn. At least thus far they have earned our gratitude, with better warrant than Varro after the battle of Cannae, to whom the thanks of the Roman Senate were finely accorded, because in a time of disaster 'he had not despaired of the republic.'

Side by side with this composite volume we have placed one which tells of *The Returning Tide of Faith*. Dr. Neville Talbot, Bishop of Pretoria, bears an honoured name, and he has gathered experience during and since the war which makes his message like a live coal from off the altar. He tells us that he writes out of a deep conviction that the ebb-tide of faith, as described by Matthew Arnold in *Dover Beach*, with its 'melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,' has turned indeed, and that 'the Christian faith is coming again.' His pages will greatly help its advance. We are not accustomed to bishops who admit that the faith of which Christ is the

centre has been 'muffled by tradition and domesticated and rendered innocuous by customary piety.' He believes that Christ Himself 'has broken through the cerements of tradition, and His invitation is ringing out again.' He it is who calls all who are homesick and hungry to 'come and see things out with Me.' It is ages, Bishop Talbot tells us, 'since the foundation truths of the Christian faith were really thought through.' In his book—significantly published at first in the columns of a Johannesburg newspaper—we hear the welcome sounds of a brimming, overflowing tide of faith at first hand, which are in themselves signs of Renaissance.

The same note is struck in a vigorous article by Mr. Raven, which from amidst a number of sober and decorous essays on 'The Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed' sounds like a rushing wind or a devouring flame. Few will venture to deny that the present generation is in the throes of a crisis, a period of 'judgement' on the passing age, but Mr. Raven describes it as 'a crisis unparalleled in the records of humanity, a crisis for which Renaissance and Reformation, despite their smaller scale, supply the one possible analogy.' Whither he himself as a 'Christian Socialist,' would lead us is not for the moment the question. For ourselves we are not deeply impressed by his revolutionary flourishes in the spheres of economics and ecclesiasticism. The shades of Ricardo will not be seriously disturbed, whatever his disciples may think, when Mr. Raven describes him as 'a bare-faced advocate of the ethics of the jungle.' What concerns us is that here, from an unexpected quarter, we hear the long roll of an incoming tide in the words, 'Pessimism and timidity will always in times of crisis look wildly backward. Through the whole content of the Christian gospel runs a strain of deathless hope. The best is before us, not behind.' By this sign the Cross will go forth conquering and to conquer.

The object of the present article is not to forecast the future, near or far, in Church or State, at home or abroad.

But it seems desirable to point out certain signs everywhere around us of the fresh epoch of history on which we are entering, and to gather some hints of what is necessary if it is to become a new Reformation indeed. Few will question that a new era has already begun. The chief signs of it at present are, as might be expected, confusion and uncertainty, a large measure of destruction of the old order, with a few faint and fitful attempts at construction of a better to take its place. Far from being disturbed by 'earthquakes, deaths, and desolations'—nay, to a great extent because of them—the first disciples of Christ were bidden to look up and lift up their heads, for their redemption was drawing nigh. The things that can be shaken are removed, that the things which cannot be shaken should remain. 'In the war,' says Mr. C. F. G. Masterman in the first essay of the volume, 'we were looking upon the death of a civilization, the end of an age. . . . But the collapse was not caused by the war, but revealed by it.' Mr. Churchill, in his much-praised volume on *The World Crisis*, says, 'The old world in its sunset was fair to see.' But he adds that 'beneath the threshold was a world of monstrous shadows.' Those shadows are now rapidly passing, and they would utterly vanish if men and nations would but do their duty. Once more, to use General Smuts' graphic phrase, 'Mankind is on the move, the great caravan of humanity is once more on the march.' Some changes already accomplished, and others only beginning to appear, reveal the great needs, rather than the character of the new epoch on which the nations are entering.

Several writers in *The Coming Renaissance* recognize this. Professor Zimmern, in the opening of what is in some respects the best article in the book, says that 'to use the word Renaissance to characterise the prospects of the post-war world may seem to many a grave jest upon our prevailing troubles and perplexities.' He and his collaborators do not anticipate the future with a light heart, while they do not

think it necessary to wear a long face. If they think that optimism is infinitely better than pessimism they know that the only kind worth cherishing is optimism with its eyes open and without illusions. There are times when, as Thomas Hardy put it in his *In Tenebris*, 'If way to the Better there be, it exacts a full look at the Worst.' And a full look at the worst will justify hope, while a casual glance is likely to alarm a hasty observer.

Only, be it well noted, there is no panacea discoverable for the world's woes if it implies a single nostrum for various diseases, one single line of advance for an incoming tide. Nothing is commoner than the criticism passed upon a speaker or writer, 'He described the symptoms excellently, but seemed very hazy about the remedy.' Such critics seem to expect a pill against an earthquake, one short and easy method of ending the troubles of a bewildered world. The danger lies in a number of men, each crying his own petty panacea and as Dean Inge says, 'each pelting the scapegoat of his own choice.' True, the religious man believes that 'true religion' is a sovereign remedy for all the ills of mankind. As Donne said in one of his letters, 'You know I have never imprisoned the word religion,' so our definition of religion must not be a sectarian Shibboleth. It must have the comprehensiveness of a many-sided religion, with all its manifold bearings and aspects. The leaves of the tree of life are sufficient for the healing of the nations, but that tree bore twelve manner of fruits, yielding new fruit every month. As the tide advances the main comes flooding in through a thousand creeks and inlets of the rocky coast, each of the moving waters following its own current and impulse 'in its priestlike task of pure ablution round earth's human shores.' Nothing less than the whole life of the whole world is concerned in the changes that have come and are coming. The way to meet all these is not to be comprised in a formula. And the one prophet to be distrusted to-day is the man who shouts out in a

single sentence the one thing to be done to set right a world that has gone wrong.

Perhaps never in the course of history has there been such an opportunity as the present of learning the interdependence of nations, ranks, and classes, peoples and kindreds and tongues, in human affairs and the organic relation of each to the welfare of the whole. Not only is our civilization in itself more complex than earlier forms that have passed away, but its organic filaments are finer and closer, and the relation of each to the whole organism and of the whole to each part is more completely understood. The anxiety of the housewife in the cottage of peasant or artisan, or of the family which crowds the 'maisonette' of the clerk or struggling tradesman, is perhaps only to be understood, or cured, by a right adjustment of the movements of France in the Ruhr, or the attitude of America to the League of Nations. The close relation between politics and economics is taken for granted to-day, but it was hardly considered in the settlement of 1815, after the last great European conflagration. And, what is more important still, the fact that both political and economical questions are fundamentally moral questions is slowly—very slowly and very reluctantly—being learned by men of the world, who despise what they call the rhetoric of the pulpit, but are obliged to yield to the logic of events and facts. All nations are bound up together in the world, as all classes are bound up together in the nation, and both sexes and all ages in society. They must learn to live rightly *together*—or perish.

It is one of the merits of the writers mentioned at the head of this article that they recognize this close interlocking of interests and destinies. The trouble in 1914, says Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, was that material invention had outstripped moral progress, and 'the new Renaissance is resuming the effort to find a moral basis for economic life.' Mr. Raven also says, 'Man only forsakes reality and denies God at a price. He had accepted a creed of blood and iron

in the nineteenth century; he must be redeemed by blood and tears in the twentieth. . . . The effect of war has been to shatter the hope of a peaceful transition from old to new.' Mr. Zimmern points out that 'birth is no quiet and orderly process,' and that as 'the Renaissance of the sixteenth century, so far from administering poppy-seed to a drowsy world, was a movement of revolt, of adventure, of energetic initiation . . . so, if the modern movement is to escape the comparative failure of its predecessor, it behoves us to ask whence this has proceeded.' But the darkest hour comes before the dawn, and dawn means a faint glimmer in the east, not broad mid-noon. Concerted inquiry into the needs of a new era shows where its true hopes and prospects lie. Each observer has his own point of view, but all must unite to promote the new spirit, the new energy and determination, which are needed for success.

Here it is only possible to indicate in outline the various points of view illustrated in *The Coming Renaissance*. The first section deals with 'The Need of Renaissance,' and it contains two essays by the Rt. Hon. C. F. G. Masterman and his brother, Bishop Masterman, the latter of whom sums up briefly but instructively the lessons taught by the break-up of the mediaeval world in the sixteenth century. The next section deals with religion and is appropriately headed 'Where Renaissance must Begin.' The contributors include the Bishops of Lichfield and Truro, Canon Lacey, Professor Adams Brown, of Union Seminary, New York, and two Baptist leaders, Drs. Shakespeare and Carlile. Science, education, and philosophy are dealt with respectively by Professor Patrick Geddes, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, and Canon Barry. The section on 'New Factors and Old' includes essays by Dr. Starr Jordan, Mrs. St. Loe Strachey and Lady Frances Balfour, Professor Zimmern, who writes on 'Personality in National Progress,' and Professor J. Arthur Thomson, who deals with 'Racial Renaissance.'

Here at least is abundant food for thought. Though the

contributions are brief, they are not shallow or trifling; and if each severally touches only the surface of a great theme, their juxtaposition sets the reader thinking upon various aspects of a many-sided subject. Professor Geddes, for example, in the name of science, asks 'kindred spirits in all the Temples of the Faiths, What re-expression of these noble and enduring Mythopoesies of your great past can you now give us thinking and working folk of the everyday world? So as to be comprehensible to us in modern terms, and applicable to our opening task of making a better world than that from which we are emerging?' An adequate answer to that question would go far to bring about in the twentieth century a still greater reformation than that of four hundred years ago.

It is significant, and every way a great gain, that two women contribute to this volume. Mrs. Strachey develops the thesis that 'the married woman of the people, who has children, is, on the whole, and remains on the whole, the most valuable citizen which the country possesses'; while Lady Frances Balfour supplements the statement by another: 'Women are called to a patriotic fellowship; to give their quota to the world's wellbeing.' A nominal reformation, which does not purify and strengthen amongst us the life of the Home and the Family, will be still-born or perish in its infancy.

We should have been specially glad to draw attention to the excellent points of Professor Zimmern's essay on 'Personality and Progress.' He sums up what he wants chiefly to say in the sentence, 'The world, too long ridden by make-believes, is crying out for men and women strong enough and wise enough and confident enough to make their own discipline—and the call seems likely to be answered.' But a single utterance gives little idea of the scope of the essay. The writer traces the degeneration of the two movements of the sixteenth century to the fact that 'they ceased to be carried on by *men*.' Religion came to be identified

with Church organization; the spirit of life withered and shrank as machinery increased in extent and complexity. 'A huddle of frightened sheep in a storm cannot magically produce a shepherd.' Men and women must be strong enough in their own personal faith if they would imprint upon the chaos of the outer world the seal of their own inner cosmos and harmony,' The last phrase touches, as with a needle, the very quick of the need. But suppose the 'inner cosmos' does not exist, how to create it? The writer gives his own answer to the question and for a space we travel with him. He sees that 'the real problems of the age are not political, but spiritual.' He shows where both nation and churches have failed in the past to supply spiritual leadership and sustenance. But when, in answer to his own question, 'Whither, then, shall men look for guidance?' Professor Zimmern answers, 'Perhaps adult education is the phrase that best sums up the varied manifestations of a movement which defies summary description,' the reader may well despair. The new humanism which the essayist preaches does not contain the secret of life. But the essay itself deserves full pondering, and if it were expanded into a volume some of its apparent deficiencies might perhaps disappear.

If the world of to-day is to be renewed the Spirit of man must be renewed. It is not often that such a note is struck in the House of Commons as Mr. Stanley Baldwin, since then raised by the King and the public opinion of the country to the high position of Prime Minister, after only a brief experience of official life—a testimony to his high character, sound judgement, and practical ability, sounded in a speech delivered some months ago, the closing sentences of which deserve to be transcribed. 'It is no good trying to cure the world by spreading out oceans of bloodshed. It is no good trying to cure the world by repeating that pentasyllabic French word, 'proletariat.' The English language is the richest in the world for monosyllables. There are

four words of one syllable each—words of salvation for this country and the whole world—and they are faith, hope, love, and work. No government in this country to-day that has not got faith in the people, hope in the future, love of its fellow men, and that will not work and work and work, will bring this country through into better times and better days, or Europe through, or the world through.' Here speaks a Chancellor of the Exchequer who knows where the true treasure of Britain, of every nation, lies. Faith, hope, love, and work of the right kind will lift any people out of bankruptcy, but in what budget are these golden assets to be provided, and how are these animating energies to be inspired and maintained? He who can answer such questions can foretell the lines of the coming Renaissance.

History shows that the supreme factor in a new era is Religion. In the sixteenth century two great movements of the human spirit were manifest, one humanistic, representing the taste and scholarship of the new learning and known as the Renaissance; the other ethical and spiritual, bursting the narrow bounds of the mediæval Church and renouncing the ecclesiastical domination of the Pope. To the latter has been accorded the name of the Reformation. The two were in the main independent, yet in some important respects interdependent, and it is instructive to compare and contrast them with similar phenomena at the time of the French Revolution and in Russia to-day. Such critical periods have been repeated at intervals in the history of the last two thousand years, and their recurrence, *mutatis mutandis*, is to be expected. A great upheaval imposes a great task and creates a great opportunity.

So it was at the very beginning of the Christian era. Immediately after Pentecost the Apostle Peter proclaimed a coming Renaissance, as he bade the people change their minds and hearts and lives in order that times of ἀνάψυξις, refreshing, and revival, true breathing-spaces of the soul, might come and prepare the way for the still more notable

period of ἀποκατάστασις, the great Restoration, Reconstitution of all things. Names fail us here. Words to describe a great renewal cannot be construed exactly according to their etymology, and no two 'crises' have been precisely the same. A separation between the spiritual on the one hand and the social, political, or economical on the other, should not be sharply made, for human life represents the One in the Many, as well as the Many in the One. Sometimes the emphasis lies on the regeneration of the individual, sometimes upon the renaissance of the community. Sometimes what is needed is the revival of ebbing spiritual energy, sometimes the reconstruction of old traditions and institutions; sometimes nothing will serve but utter revolution, in which the world needs to be turned upside down, because it is found downside up. We may not try to distinguish too carefully between Church and State, the political and the ecclesiastical spheres, the human and the divine elements in life; but when the welfare of humanity is endangered, one of the first questions asked is, What has Religion, as representing the highest claims and interests of the spirit of man, to say concerning it?

Sir James Marchant, in the arrangement of his material, rightly gives the first place to religion in the section entitled 'Where Renaissance must Begin,' and the Bishop of Lichfield in the same spirit announces two leading questions to be considered:

1. Is there any evidence of a coming Renaissance in religion?

2. What conditions must we fulfil if we are to have much hope of a reborn Christendom?

The first question need not delay us. It will be answered in various ways according to the experience and temperament of witnesses. It is perhaps best summarily to answer, There is abundant evidence that such a new birth is urgently needed; there are many indications of striving and effort in this direction, but the measure of success attained is at

best but scanty and fitful. It is Dr. Kempthorne's second question that concerns us, and he rightly puts it in the foreground of discussion. 'A Renaissance,' he says, 'will include a truer conception of what God is, a more vital religion, which touches human life at every point.' Later on he adds, 'I believe we are slowly moving away from a self-centred toward a God-centred religion.' We cannot altogether accept the Bishop's exposition of this distinction, as he seems to be deluded by the popular fallacy that a desire to be 'saved' is selfish—as if a truly religious life of service could be lived before a man's own heart was set right with God through penitence, forgiveness, and renewal.

But there can be little question that what is needed in this country—to which for the moment it will be convenient to confine our attention—is a deeper and more vital religious life, of which God, not man, is the source and the centre. From the point of view of religion, the whole of the last decade—in spite of its sins and its sorrows, or, rather, in consequence of them—ought to carry us a long stride forwards in our conceptions of God: His nature, His will, and His working amidst the complexities of human life. 'Come, padre'—so Bishop Talbot quotes a soldier in France, the spokesman for a multitude—'what is God like? It is your job; you ought to know!' But not only the soldier and his officers and the multitudes at home whom they represented, but the 'padres' themselves, would have found it hard to answer such questions as these, if pressed sharply home—What is God? What is His character? What is He doing in this strangely tortured world? Conventional answers could have been given, of course, such answers as Bildad and Zophal gave to Job, answers like sand to the eyes and gravel to the mouth, springing from ignorance and provoking to scepticism.

It was not a question of war-horrors merely, though these intensified the anxiety and pain. Men had been living, to use the New Testament phrase, ἄθεοι, Godless, in the

world, whilst familiar with Christian formulae and professing to hold a Christian creed. The whole conception of the universe has been revolutionized in the course of the last two or three generations, but the meaning of it all in relation to the God of the universe had never troubled the minds of multitudes, who were content to live without a living God. The foundation-truths of religion had never been thought through and thought together, as Dr. Talbot acknowledges, and how can truths, which had never been thoroughly thought and felt and lived out, stand the tremendous strain of a world cataclysm? Dr. Kempthorne speaks more than once of 'the poison of a revived Paganism which is infecting at least one section of society'; and the words are used of pre-war and post-war days alike. The almost incredible ignorance of elementary religious truths revealed in the book called *The Army and Religion* told its own tale, and it remains to be seen whether the very real religion which exists in various strata of British society is vital and powerful enough, as well as intelligent and well-instructed enough, to leaven our national life through and through. The answer to the question whether anything worth calling a Renaissance is coming or not depends ultimately upon that issue.

Religion as whole-hearted devotion to the Highest, not to an Absolute, or an abstraction, but to the living God, who holds all in the hollow of His hands, ought to be the mightiest power in the life of the individual and the community.

> Religion's all or nothing; it's no mere smile
> O' contentment, sigh of aspiration . . . rather stuff
> O' the very stuff, life of life, and self of self.

The Christian religion, based on the belief that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself, has proved mighty enough to overcome the world, when animated by living faith and devotion. Again and again it has been pronounced a failure, and again and again it has shown the power of self-renewal and recovery of which Lecky wrote

when he said that 'amid all the sins and failings that have defaced the Church, it has preserved, in the character and example of its Founder, an enduring principle of regeneration.' Another such opportunity of recovery is offered—perhaps the need and the difficulty were never before quite so great—and surely no Christian can doubt that the quickening power will once more re-animate Christ's followers if only they are faithful and ready.

The characteristics most needed in the religion of to-day, if we may judge by the objections frequently urged against it, are Reality, Simplicity, and Comprehensiveness. The complaints made of the unreality of religion do not imply a charge of hypocrisy in the vulgar sense of the word, but they allege aloofness from actual life, ignorance of its facts and actual character, deliberate moving upon another alien plane. The God whom you worship, men say, may be real in some remote region of abstraction or imagination; show us the God of things as they are.

It is perhaps but another form of the same objection when demand is made for greater simplicity in religion. Its essence—so we are told, and the charge cannot be wholly denied—has been lost in the elaborations of theology, or in multiplied ceremonies, or in complicated organization, whilst instead of the high moral standards of life, which form the best expression of religion, unworthy customs and conventional habits govern all. The Bishop of Pretoria in his modest volume has well stated our present needs and gone some way to meet them. The religion which Jesus commended was as simple as it was lofty. He bade His followers to become as little children; not childish, in wilfulness and triviality, but childlike—trustful, simple, spontaneous, and free.

On the other hand, it is almost universally recognized that religion in the future must be broader, richer, and more comprehensive if it is to command the allegiance of coming generations. It must be wide as life itself, taking as its

province truth, beauty, and goodness of all types, in all their manifestations. If religion is to sway all aspects and departments of human life—social, political, economical, national, and international—as surely it ought, its message and guidance must be as wide and various as its claims. Ideas must be widened, channels of feeling and sympathy deepened and enriched, all forms of activity controlled and directed, purified and uplifted, man himself must become more of a man in every stage of development, through the indwelling power of the Highest of all, inspiring, inhabiting, and informing all.

Such phrases as these may easily be the emptiest and feeblest of all abstractions. It is in Christianity that they are made concrete, because the religion of Christ provides both the fullest revelation of God and the highest ideal for man, the two being blended in Him who was Son of God and Son of Man. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God is to be seen in the face, that is the person, of Christ Himself. Christendom, alas! has often been far from Christian. Christianity, so-called, has sometimes sunk to such depths of perversion and degradation that little besides its name has told of its origin. 'Development' has brought forth strange progeny indeed when the largest and most influential Christian Church is characterized by the cult of the Virgin Mary and the doctrine of transubstantiation in the sacrifice of the Mass. But at intervals, often in times of earthquake and eclipse, a great renewal has taken place, and the religion of Christ has shone out again in its pristine purity and power. To adapt Milton's well-known words concerning a 'noble and puissant nation,' it might with still greater force be said of the Christian religion, 'Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance.' Is that renewal of youth like the eagle to be characteristic of the Christianity of the twentieth

century? It is for this and the next generation of living Christians to supply the answer.

Much is said in these volumes concerning the reunion of Christian Churches—not too much, especially considering the great significance of the Lambeth Appeal. All Christians must desire reunion; most recognize that in some form or other it must be realized if the will and purpose of their Lord are to be accomplished. But the progress of the movement since the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 suggests many questions concerning the form and time and methods of promoting unity which are not easy to answer. Some of these are of second-rate, or twentieth-rate, importance, and may safely be left on one side. But some are fundamental, and a goodly proportion of Christians are not yet persuaded that the whole work of Christ on earth would be the better done if by some magic stroke all were united to-morrow in 'one visible fellowship,' if that is understood to mean one form of Church government. The spirit of unity in Christ there must be, but the precedent in the time of Hildebrand and Innocent III, when the whole of Christendom was formally united under one head, with one faith and order, does not encourage an invitation of that ideal such as some good Christians are doing their best to promote to-day. If all Christians were gathered in any form of *external* union for the sake of so manifesting visible fellowship to-day, it is conceivable that the Spirit of Christ Himself, working in their midst, would break the bonds and barriers of a fettering organization to-morrow.

On this subject the essay of Professor Adams Brown, of New York, contains wise words that deserve pondering. Not only do they come from amidst the new and teeming life of America, but they are the result of experience under favourable conditions. Dr. Brown is no denominationalist, but he recognizes that the denomination, 'while from one point of view it is a divisive influence, from another is a school of Christian unity.' He probably has little personal

sympathy with Methodism, for example; but he says of it that 'such a movement, building up a great organization with a highly developed consciousness of corporate responsibility, has been an educative influence the importance of which it is difficult to over-estimate.' Professor Adams Brown appreciates to the full the value of the work which is being done in America to bring denominations closer together. But he sums up the results of his experience in a few wise words which Christian leaders on both sides of the Atlantic would do well to lay to heart. 'The way lies forward, not back. *Organic union, whether between Churches or between States, will come to pass whenever the spiritual unity which already exists between the different units to be related creates organs of expression so effective and permanent that they can command the whole-hearted and unreserved allegiance of all who live under them. There is no other way.*' If such organs of expression for the spiritual unity which exists in this generation could be found before the close of the twentieth century it would be a century of reformation indeed.

It is time to close before we have fairly begun. The object of this article, however, will have been secured if the attention of some has been drawn to a few of the conditions under which the way is to be prepared for a new era worthy of the name. In some respects it will be like the old; continuity must be preserved, or stability will be lost. It is not chiefly the form, but the spirit, which needs to be changed. As the 'sleeping Princess' and her lover lost and found themselves again 'in that new world which is the old,' so the spirit of love alone—human and divine, most human because most divine—can renew personal life and social life, the Churches, the nations, and the world. At the time of writing it would seem as if such leaders as are forthcoming, whether in social or national life, were disposed to pursue the old ways—which may possibly be right—in the old spirit, which in many respects was certainly wrong.

> Yet ever and anon a trumpet sounds
> From the hid battlements of eternity;
> Those shaken mists a space unsettle, then
> Round the half-glimpsèd turrets slowly wash again.

There are those who have heard the voice, and perhaps seen the face, of 'Him who summoneth; His name they know and what His trumpet saith.' It is for them clearly to understand for themselves, and effectually to interpret to others, Who it is that sitteth on the throne, and what is meant in the twentieth century by the voice which said at the close of the first, 'Behold I make all things new.' The one thing certain is that the way for renewal has already been fully prepared, that the fields are white already unto harvest, and that to one who has a real evangel to proclaim multitudes are ready to listen.

W. T. Davison.

LIFE IN A MEDIAEVAL NUNNERY[1]

THERE is no subject of general interest upon which more light has been thrown in recent years by the new scientific study of history than that of monasticism, especially as it existed in England. Fifty years ago the knowledge even of scholars was of the vaguest, subject, as the legacy of the Reformation, to passion and prejudice. There were, it is true, certain great compilations of charters, properties, rules, and the like, which the student could consult. Among these, for England only, we may mention Dugdale's vast *Monasticon*, first published in 1655 with valuable plates, re-edited with many additions in 1817 and 1848. But these books by their very vastness were inaccessible save for the rare specialists. Few libraries contained them; fewer readers could use them with advantage. All alike awaited the interpreters who by their inspiration could make the dead bones live or sift the grains of wheat from the masses of chaff. As interpreters were not forthcoming the mountainous piles accumulated dust, rarely disturbed by friend or foe save for archaeological or antiquarian reasons.

The beginning of new interest was first seen in the issue in France by C. F. R. de Montalembert of his *Monks of the West* (1860–77). This uncritical panegyric had an extraordinary success, and its translation into English in six volumes by Cardinal Gasquet (1896) introduced the work to a large number of readers on this side of the water. This was followed by Cardinal Gasquet's *Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1898) as well as by his *English Monastic Life* (1903). Neither of these works can claim to

[1] *Mediaeval English Nunneries*, by Eileen Power, M.A., sometime Fellow and Lecturer at Girton College (Cambridge, 1922, 8vo, 724 pp., price 35*s*.).

be other than partisan. They added nothing to the reputation for scholarship of their distinguished author. Their extensive sale showed, however, the new interest that the subject had aroused, in part, no doubt, due to Carlyle's Abbot Samson in his *Past and Present*, a characteristic paraphrase of the book of Jocelin of Brakelond of which there is now an excellent translation by Sir E. Clarke (1908). Nor should we overlook the importance of Dr. Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, with its chapter on life in a mediaeval monastery, and of Sabatier's *St. Francis of Assisi*. Age-long errors—e.g. that the monks were great builders of churches, or that all dwelt, as Charles Wesley sang, 'in dark monastic cells,' or that it was all one whether we called Luther a monk or a friar, or that monks had founded our universities or established our schools—began to give way to more accurate knowledge. At the same time men realized the vast amount of spade-work which was necessary if the real value of monastic life was to be discovered, or any insight was to be obtained into the causes of its fall.

During the last thirty years much has been done towards the solution of both these questions. New sources of evidence have been discovered, old sources re-examined and interpreted. We can only indicate a few of the most important. For the origins of monasticism there was the publication by Dom Butler in 1898 of a critical edition of the *Lausiac History of Palladius*, and the valuable works of O. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum* (second edition, Frankfort, 1897), and the dull but useful encyclopaedia of M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholische Kirche* (second edition, 1907). In England students began to turn their attention to the bishops' registers. Of these the most important and scholarly is the *Visitation of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, edited by the distinguished historian, A. Hamilton Thompson. In addition, much material could be found in the various calendars of patent and close rolls, the publication of which was put in hand by the Rolls

Office. On the financial side a Russian professor, A. Savine, of Petrograd, undertook the task which, to their shame, English scholars had long neglected, and published in 1909 a work entitled *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*. This formed a scientific and exhaustive study of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the great compilation of Henry VIII giving the incomes of all the benefices and monasteries of England, arranged according to diocese, printed by the British Government in 1825. For the first time accurate statistics took the place of the wild guesses which had hitherto done duty as history. Under the influence of this revived interest I wrote in 1913 a work—*The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*—which, in spite of the war, received from the critics a most flattering welcome. About the same time Miss Rose Graham brought out her valuable studies on the Cistercians and Gilbertines. To crown all, 1922 has seen the issue of two works of lasting value: Miss Eileen Power's *Mediaeval English Nunneries* and G. G. Coulton's *Five Centuries of Religion*. The latter work, of which three volumes are promised, contains, in my judgement, the most thorough critical examination of monastic life from St. Bernard to the Dissolution that has ever been attempted, one in every way worthy of English scholarship.

Miss Power's scholarly work introduces the reader to a subject that is practically virgin ground. Life in a monastery, at any rate in some of its aspects, was fairly familiar in its broad outline, if only from the story of Abbot Samson, Eadmer's life of Anselm, or T. D. Fosbroke's *British Monasticism* (1802). But life in a nunnery was a sealed chapter, save for the interesting but often inaccurate sketch by Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism* (1896). In writing my own book I felt this so strongly that I deliberately omitted all but a passing reference. It seemed to me that years of research would be necessary if the historian were to do more than indulge in rhetoric or guesswork. One thing, it is true, Savine's study had made plain, and

that was the extreme poverty of most of our English nunneries. Apart from this it was mostly dark. But all that has now passed away with the publication of this invaluable work. There is no feature of life in the nunnery, from the novitiate onwards, which does not receive the most exhaustive study, while one of the most valuable chapters deals with the 'Nun in Mediaeval Literature.' Miss Power's range of reading is extraordinary. Even Homer sometimes nods, but Miss Power's sleepless vigilance forces the conscientious reviewer to own that there is nothing that he can amend and little that he can add. At the same time Miss Power carries her learning lightly. The book never flags in its interest. Even the reader who cares chiefly for 'walnuts and wine' will find much in its pages to attract and possibly to amuse. Nor will the cynic disdain the chapter which Miss Power labels 'The Olde Daunce,' and Mr. Coulton in his work calls 'The Eternal Feminine.' Miss Power's estimate in this chapter of the moral condition of English nunneries seems to me most judicious, and to be based upon evidence that cannot easily be put aside. At the same time Miss Power acts wisely in reminding us that this moral condition was not altogether the fault of the nunneries, but rather the result of driving into the profession a number of girls who had no vocation.

The reader, unfamiliar with any previous study, will probably be amazed to discover how few were the nunneries of England. Out of a population that at the lowest computation in 1381 was a little under two and a half millions, the total number of nuns did not exceed two thousand, dwelling in 111 houses, only four of which had over thirty inmates, while sixty-three contained under ten. For the most part the nunneries were as poor as they were small. The richest were Syon at Brentford, and Shaftesbury, with incomes respectively of £1,943 and £1,824; but thirty-nine actually received under £50 a year. Syon, the creation of Henry V, dedicated to the recently canonized Swedish

saint St. Brigitta, was rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Though the largest of all English nunneries, its professed inmates numbered but fifty. If we multiply its income by ten to obtain its pre-war value, say in 1918, every nun practically cost between £800 and £400 a year, or at least three times the cost of a girl at a training college in 1928, in spite of Burnham scales, plumbers, and profiteers, or five times the cost in 1918. No doubt a great part of this sum went to the upkeep of the very expensive fabric, especially the church: the chapels of training colleges are very humble affairs. A great part also consisted of trust funds, to be appropriated for diverse purposes, and should not in fairness be reckoned in the account. But, making all these deductions, leaving also Syon and Shaftesbury out of the question, the cost even of the poorest was excessive, averaging at least £5 per annum each nun, i.e. more than the highest stipend of a vicar in the fourteenth century as fixed by law. Community life, it was evident, as professed in a nunnery, did not tend to cheapness. Modern advocates of equal pay for men and women can, however, score a point by the retort that the expense of nuns was small compared with that of the monks of Glastonbury, Westminster, or other wealthy abbeys. There each professed inmate cost at least £600 per annum, reckoning on a pre-war basis. To Wyclif this cost seemed a negation of the gospel of Christ, nor would he accept as an excuse the magnificent buildings. Half his social writings might be compressed into his bitter cry, 'Poor men have naked sides, and dead walls have great plenty of waste gold.'

The cost of monasticism might be overlooked had the results been satisfactory. Whatever be the facts in the monasteries—and for this we must await the completion of Mr. Coulton's great work—as the result of Miss Power's exhaustive study there can be no doubt of the verdict, so far as English nunneries are concerned. The weakness of the whole system lay in the fact that so few of the nuns had

a real vocation. Some there were who were drawn to the saintly life, but too often the nunnery was either a career, a prison, or a refuge. The inmates were almost wholly drawn from one class—the nobles and richer merchants. In the monastery the son of the soil had a chance, provided that by fine or favour he obtained his lord's leave, while the friars were almost wholly recruited from the middle or lower classes. But in the nunnery social considerations—as in girls' boarding-schools to-day—and the practice of demanding dowries ruled out all but the privileged few, while the free life of the friars, whose home missionary efforts were the great justification for their existence, was not equally open to the other sex. The entrance fee for a nun, including the cost of her clothes, bed, and other furniture—though these could be given in kind—was between £150 and £200 in modern money, in some instances considerably higher, a sum absolutely prohibitory save for the moneyed classes. In consequence, when the hour of trial came the nunneries had no friends among the common people, while the wealthy classes were won over by Henry's offer of plunder.

The narrow basis of admission would not in itself have been fatal; aristocrats devoted to the service of God might have won the esteem of the crowd. The trouble was that many of the girls had been immured by friends who wanted to get rid of them, some, even, when but children. The payment of entrance fees was but a slight difficulty if thereby a valuable inheritance could be secured. The nunnery was also a convenient dumping-place for the illegitimate daughters of the mighty, e.g. the child of Wolsey, for whom the great cardinal paid the fees at Shaftesbury; or for girls who, because they were ugly, suffering, or deformed—for instance deaf, or dumb, or *idiota*—had no chance of a husband:

> I was not good enough for man
> And so am given to God.

The poor children were told that if they passed the nunnery door 'the devil would carry them away'; though some, when they grew up, succeeded in escaping, especially if a powerful friend would assist in their appeal to bishop or pope. A further class without vocation were the numerous widows 'ripe in the experience of all those things which their sisters had never known,' especially if, as not infrequently, they were ladies who once had held a high place in society. A widowed countess caused as great a flutter among the nunnery doves as she would do if she entered a training college to-day. In addition, especially after the Black Death had reduced the numbers, there were the paying guests, who for the grant to a nunnery of a lump sum secured what was called a 'corrody'—i.e. full board and maintenance for life in the nunnery—and over whose habits, worldly or otherwise, the nunnery had little control. Some of these corrodies were sold at rates that were ruinous,[1] especially when we remember the proverbial long life of annuitants. The presence of these paying guests was fatal for discipline. Little wonder, all things considered, that the nunneries counted so little in the religious life of the people.

Miss Power has devoted a valuable chapter to education within the nunnery, though here she has little to add, save by further evidence, to the general conclusions reached by Mr. Leach, Mr. Coulton, and other recent students of the subject.[2] Nunneries naturally played a lesser part than monasteries in the general educational system of the country, and the influence of monasteries has been grossly exaggerated. For one thing, the nuns were worse educated than the monks. The nuns talked French 'after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe'; of Latin, the official language of

[1] The worst instance I have come across was in 1396 at the monastery of Meaux, in Yorkshire. For £400 the monastery contracted a liability of £61 9*s.* 7*d.* per annum, besides 'chambers.'

[2] See especially Mr. Coulton's 'Monastic Schools in the Middle Ages' in *Mediaeval Studies*, x. (1918).

the monasteries, they were almost wholly ignorant. In the fifteenth century they ceased even to know French, and from that time onward injunctions were forwarded to them in English. Some nuns could not even write, and we look in vain for any nunnery which has handed down to us a chronicle, or even copied a beautiful manuscript. One work of some value attributed, perhaps wrongly, to a nun is the *Boke of St. Albans*, a treatise on hawking, hunting, and coat-armour by Dame Juliana Berners, who may have been prioress of Sopwell. This unclerical work was written in 1486, and printed in 1496 by Wynkyn de Worde, with an added chapter on 'Fishing with an Angle.' We must not overlook the *XVI Revelations of Divine Love* of Juliana of Norwich; but Juliana was an authoress and not a nun. English nuns were thus far behind some of their sisters on the Continent, especially in Rhineland. Their lives were altogether too narrow; the spirit had no chance. What could you expect when most of the hours of silence were spent in a dumb pandemonium? If at the dinner-table a nun wanted fish she 'wagged her hands in manner of a fish tail,' if mustard 'she held her nose in the upper part of her right fist and rubbed it.' There were, in fact, 106 of these signs that the unfortunate women had to learn, a list of which has been preserved for us by a chaplain of Syon. Unfortunately no nun with a sense of humour ever dared to sketch the refectory at a time when these exercises were in operation.

Did the nuns possess schools? At one time these had been the glory of monasteries, though from the thirteenth century onwards, with rare exceptions, their doors were shut except for novices. Miss Power has given in an appendix a valuable summary of all the evidence on this head, and has effectually disposed of the many fictions which have done duty hitherto for fact. Probably about two-thirds of the nunneries took in children. 'Nunneries,' wrote Fuller in his *Church History*, 'were good shee-schools,' and we have

evidence to the same effect from the sturdy Protestant, Thomas Becon (1512–67). But even if this be granted as true of a few, we must remember the limitations. Convent schools were confined to girls of gentle birth, though sometimes, as at Carrow, the daughters of wealthy Norwich burgesses were admitted. Fees were high, and there is no known instance of free or even cheap education, or of the presence of a low-born schoolgirl in any English nunnery in the three centuries before the Dissolution. In spite of all the efforts of bishops and other disciplinarians to get rid of them, nunneries received schoolgirls, as they received paying guests, in order to eke out their scanty resources. Small boys also of good family up to the ages of ten or eleven were sometimes admitted. Some recent fictionists have drawn glowing pictures of the curriculum—reading, writing, arithmetic, embroidery, French, fancy cooking, 'the preparation of perfumes, balsams, and simples,' and 'all kinds of music, both vocal and instrumental,' as well as 'the study of medicine and surgery.' The list reads like the prospectus of a Victorian private school—with the omission, of course, of the 'use of the globes'—and has as little foundation in fact as the prospectus of Dotheboys Hall. As Mr. Hamilton Thompson tells us, 'any systematic teaching' was probably confined to grammar and song. To this we add the making of samplers and the like. Writing was discouraged lest it should lead to clandestine love-letters.

By rare good fortune some letters written about a little girl in a nunnery school have been preserved. The correspondence took place between the abbess of St. Mary's, Winchester, and Viscountess Lisle; the little lady in question was one of twenty-six girls of noble family in the convent school. Mothers will not be surprised to learn that the subject of correspondence was clothes and fees. 'I assure your ladyship,' wrote the abbess, 'she lacketh convenient apparell, for she hath neither gown nor kirtle. She hath not one good partlet'—whatever that may be—'to put on

her head, nor but one good coif to put upon her neck.' It seems the child had been at school eighty-five weeks—no holidays, be it noted—and the abbess had received as payment for her board 70*s*., and had spent for her, for books, 'four pair of hosen, four pair of shoes, and other small things, 8*s*. 5*d*.' From another letter we learn that Lord Lisle's steward was of opinion that she had not enough to eat; he adds that the child 'hath outgrown all that she ever hath,' and offers to fit her out in new apparel.

In her chapter on 'Routine and Reaction' Miss Power shows the influence of the modern study of psychology. We are accustomed to-day to trace many of our social evils to the deadly monotony of the counting-house or the factory. There was also a monotony in the nunnery which for some at all events was equally deadly:

> The bell I am ringing,
> The psalter am singing,
> And from my bed creeping
> Who fain would be sleeping.
> Misery me!

The day began with the service in church at 2 a.m. (Matins), followed by another service (Prime) at 6 a.m., with services throughout the day at intervals of three hours. Compline, the last service of all, was said at 7 p.m. in winter and 8 p.m. in summer, after which the nuns were supposed to retire at once to bed, the Syon *Rule* adding advice, that to-day would seem needless, that 'None shall spit upon the stairs going up or down.' In the golden prime of monasticism the routine was broken up by learning and manual labour, but in the nunneries of mediaeval England neither learning nor manual labour had much place. The consequence was boredom and all the reaction which follows therefrom. In spiritual duties this made itself felt in the sin of accidie, a sin to which I have given considerable attention in my *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, in pages to which Miss Power refers. Translated into modern thought, accidie is

what Carlyle called 'the inexorable, all-encircling ocean of ennui.' To-day this is associated rather with the man who has lost faith than with the religious. It is one of the familiar sins of our post-war days. But in former times accidie was deemed to be a special sin of the cloister: the self-indulgent, unaspiring resignation to one's moral poverty, the enthusiasm which has lost its fires and no longer greets the promises from afar, and merely grinds out the tale of religious duties without conviction or hope. Miss Power reminds us that Dante consigned to the lowest depths of a black and muddy marsh in his fifth hell the souls of those who were the victims of accidie. Among these many were the women without vocation condemned for life to a round of services which had come to lose all meaning for them.

On the secular side reaction from routine showed itself in the usual forms—e.g. prevalence of small quarrels, when, as Piers Plowman tells us, speaking of a nunnery of which he professed his aunt was the abbess,

> Either hit other under the cheek;
> Had they had knives, by Christ, either had killed other.

Another result was curiously like a similar craze with childless women to-day. The bishops struggled in vain to drive out of the nunneries the pet dogs, cats, rabbits, squirrels, and monkeys with which they abounded. In 1387 Bishop Wykeham found that the nuns of Romsey even brought 'birds, rabbits, and hounds' into the services, and at Langley, Lady Audley, a corrodist in the house, 'whenever she comes to church there follow her twelve dogs, who make a great uproar in church, hindering the nuns in their psalmody.' More deadly still was the reaction which led the nun to break bounds, 'mingling in the haunts of men.' By the bull *Periculoso* of Boniface VIII (1299) enclosure had been strictly enjoined. It is interesting to note that the nuns retorted 'that the men who made these laws sat well at their ease, while they laid such burdens upon us by these

hard and intolerable restrictions.' Cases of apostasy, when nuns threw off their robes and returned to the world, were fairly common, as any student can see for himself if he turn over the calendars of patent or close rolls. Others, we are told, 'ran from house to house like a St. Anthony's pig.' To meet the danger the bishops found it necessary to fix a minimum number of days when the nuns could visit their friends, varying from fifteen days to a month. Sometimes, even, they were found at weddings and christenings. If all else failed, the nun, especially if a prioress, could obtain leave to go to Canterbury on pilgrimage, or even, greatly daring, overseas to Compostella. Those to whom this was denied would sometimes escape to the guest-house to enjoy a gossip with their visitors.

We must bring this brief survey of Miss Power's fascinating study to a close. On a review of the whole case, as the legalist would say, we are of opinion that life in the nunnery was far less successful than life in a monastery, especially if we include therein the friars. For the work of the Franciscans, both at Oxford and in our large towns, England can never forget the debt she owed. Such names as Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, and Roger Bacon will live for ever. But there were so many other vocations open to men that on the whole the monasteries and friaries could choose those who had some spiritual desires or enthusiasm. But it was otherwise with women. Miss Power's opening chapter on the novices is in some respects the most important in the whole book; it is the explanation of all the failures that follow. That the nuns were few would not have mattered; that so many drifted into the nunnery without a vocation was the root of all mischief.

H. B. WORKMAN.

PRAYER-BOOK REVISION

THE Book of Common Prayer is one of the greatest literary and devotional treasures of English-speaking people, and therefore the question of its alteration and revision is a concern which interests far wider circles than those of English Church people. Not only is its liturgical phraseology familiar, but its beautiful prayers are increasingly used or adapted even by Christians who are traditionally and temperamentally a long way removed from the Anglican system of worship and polity. But to Methodists the question is of nearer interest, since the followers of John Wesley still officially use, with little if any alteration, most of the services and offices contained in the Anglican Prayer Book.

When we recall the tremendous changes which have occurred during the last three hundred years it is not surprising that a devotional formulary which met the needs of Christians in 1660 should not be entirely suitable for our present-day conditions and outlook. The urgent necessity for enrichment in the way of additional prayers and collects, to meet modern circumstances and demands which were undreamt of in the seventeenth century, has long been felt by Church people, and within the last few years two branches at least of the Anglican Communion—the Canadian and the Irish—have drawn up and authorized valuable revisions of the existing Prayer Book. The Mother Church can certainly not be accused of proceeding in any undue haste with the subject. As long ago as 1906, in consequence of the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, 'Letters of Business' were issued to the Houses of Convocation, which they interpreted as authorizing them to undertake a complete revision of the Prayer Book as a means of remedying the flagrant ritual irregularities which the report

had revealed. Some fourteen years were occupied before the Convocations finished their report embodying revision proposals. These proposals in turn have been carefully examined and revised by a committee of the National Assembly of the Church of England, appointed in November, 1920, consisting of twenty members, ten clergy and ten laymen. It is the final report of this committee, issued last May, which is now before the public, and which will be considered by the clergy and laity in the Assembly this July, and, if passed by both sections, will be presented for the approval of Parliament and the Crown. The revision proposals have therefore now reached their final stage, and have the prospect of becoming law in the immediate future.

It goes without saying that with the existence of three widely divergent parties—the Evangelical, the Modernist, and the 'Anglo-Catholic'—within the Church, the task before the revisers was no light one. It was impossible that their proposals would meet with general or unanimous approval, and this fact was emphasized by the failure of several of the laymen on the committee to concur with all its findings. While several of the changes and alterations proposed may be open to serious criticism, I think there will be little question that the bulk of the suggested additions would prove a most valuable and helpful liturgical enrichment. For instance, special prayers, long needed, are introduced for missions, for the convocations, for the National Assembly, for times of election, for industrial peace, for the Universities, and for hospitals; while the insertion of a form of thanksgiving for the 'Blessings of the Harvest' remedies a most singular omission. The provision of alternative or shortened forms for morning and evening prayer, for confirmation, and the abbreviation or omission of the decalogue in the communion service, are features of a more contentious character; while the appointment of special collects, epistles, and gospels for some thirty-two new 'Black Letter' saints' days is an entirely new departure.

It is, however, the method which is suggested for introducing this revision scheme which constitutes the most revolutionary break with precedent. If it is adopted it will open a new chapter in English ecclesiastical history, for the existing Prayer Book is to be left untouched, and the new proposals are to be authorized as an alternative 'Permissive Use.' Henceforth there will be two rival Prayer Books, equally legal if not of equal doctrinal authority. It is thus a deliberate reversal of the great aim and principle of the reformers that 'the whole realm should have but one use.' For the theory of nationality and uniformity of religious worship, so long and strenuously fought for and maintained at the grievous expense of 'tender consciences,' which received its deathblow by the Toleration Act of 1689, is now frankly abandoned, even for Church people. From one aspect it may be contended that this important change paves the way for the 'group' solution of the reunion question suggested by the 'Lambeth Appeal,' but there are grave reasons to fear that its application will tend instead to produce further discord and division amongst Church people themselves, for undoubtedly it will seriously curtail the rights and privileges of the laity. Hitherto, in spite of varying ritual and ceremonial practices, the layman has always been certain of getting in every church his cherished and familiar order of service enjoined by law. Now at the caprice of an incumbent, supported by the bare majority of a pliant, indifferent, or apathetic parochial Church Council, another 'Use' distasteful to him may be foisted on him, and as long as the present rigid parochial system remains unaltered he will have, at least in country parishes, no redress but submission or separation. This hardship would not be nearly so serious if the revisers had been content, as the Canadian and Irish were, to make no doctrinal innovations in the proposed alternative book. Unfortunately, however, probably with the laudable but futile aim of placating a powerful section of extreme Churchmen, who

have long been openly flouting our existing formularies, the revisers have, under the disguise of enrichment, gone far to alter the doctrinal balance which our reformers established for the English Church.

It is often very loosely asserted that our Prayer Book was a 'compromise' which consequently has never thoroughly satisfied any party. There is little, if any, historical proof for such a statement, and it is at once largely contradicted by the fact that the book has met the devotional needs and aspirations of Churchmen of all 'schools of thought' for the last three centuries. The Prayer Book certainly was never intended as a compromise between the doctrinal standards of Rome and Geneva, since its compilers were definitely on the 'Reformed' and 'Protestant-Catholic' side. Not even the Puritans quarrelled with the *doctrines* of the Prayer Book. If, however, the present revision proposals are legalized, this distinctly reformed character of our formularies will be seriously jeopardized, and the English Church will have gone far to justify the unhistorical statement made by Bishop Talbot at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference that it takes up a 'position midway between Rome and Protestant Christendom.'

Moreover, a most illogical, and it would seem impossible, position will thus be created, whereby the teaching symbolized or implied in the new book will, in several important points actually contradict the doctrinal standard of our existing formularies which, be it noted, is for the present to remain unaltered. There is tacit evidence that the revisers are conscious of this divergence of teaching which they propose to authorize. For in the Convocation scheme a preliminary resolution was inserted, not only stating that the alterations should be embodied in a separate book, but that it should be prefaced by a statement that the permissive variations in it are 'in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England in the Book of Common Prayer and the XXXIX. Articles of Religion.' The revisers

have inserted the first part of this resolution but significantly omitted the concluding statement.

Two or three of the most glaring examples of this opposite teaching must suffice to illustrate this anomaly. The Anglican reformers not only explicitly condemned the doctrine of purgatory in Article XXII., but were careful to remove from their Prayer Book all trace of prayers for the faithful departed, declaring in the 'Homily on Prayer' that such a practice was contrary to Scripture, and therefore should not 'be dreamt of.' Moreover, several of the present prayers, by implication, deny its usefulness or necessity, as, for example, when we are told that 'the souls of the faithful' are 'blessed' and 'are in joy and felicity' (burial service). In direct conflict with this teaching the new Prayer Book inserts as a black letter saints' day the 'commemoration of All Souls,' an observance historically associated with the doctrine of purgatory, and enjoins a definite prayer for 'mercy' on the faithful departed! Furthermore, Article XXVIII. strongly condemns the doctrine of transubstantiation as unscriptural, but we are now to have a special saint's day for St. Thomas Aquinas, the great mediaeval exponent and apologist for that doctrine, and we are to declare that 'God hath enlightened the Church by his teaching and example.' Again, not only is the structure of the present communion service to be altered by the insertion in the consecration prayer of the present post-communion prayer of oblation, with the thinly veiled intention of relating 'this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' to the material elements now, it is supposed by many, mysteriously changed by consecration, but also the traditional Mass vestments are to be legalized, so as to restore the symbolical 'Catholic' ceremonial for this 'sacrifice.'

It is easy, as some do, to dismiss the significance of these changes by declaring that the adoption of certain vestments is a mere 'question of millinery,' but practically, in view of

their historical and present association, it is impossible to evacuate them of all doctrinal import, any more than we can divest the national flag of its symbolical value. When those who have introduced, and are determined to continue the use of, the vestments, openly affirm, in the language of Lord Halifax, 'We value the vestments because they are a witness to the fact that the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion is neither more nor less than the Mass in English,' it is idle to declare that their legalization is a mere question of 'millinery,' and of no doctrinal significance. Moreover, we cannot forget in this connexion that the mediaeval and Roman doctrines of the Mass and transubstantiation were the great battle grounds of the Reformation, and Cranmer insisted that once these were suffered to return 'all the old errors and superstitions' would soon overspread the Church. Certainly the history of the 'Anglo-Catholic' movement has fully justified the truth of this prophecy. But our reformers believed that they had prevented this dangerous reaction by deliberately abolishing the old ordination ceremonies of investing the priest with the chasuble, with the words, 'Receive the sacerdotal vestment,' and empowering him 'to celebrate Mass and offer sacrifices both for the living and the dead.' They also abandoned the traditional delivery of the paten and chalice to the priest for the simple bestowal of the Bible, while they described the functions of the presbyter merely as those of 'messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord'; and in their homily on the sacrament they declare, 'Herein thou needest no other sacrifice, no sacrificing priest, no Mass,' and they add 'we must take heed lest of the memory it be made a sacrifice, lest of a communion it be made a private eating.'

The revisers also now provide not only for the reservation of the sacrament for the sick, but also for what virtually amounts to a viaticum for the dying. On the other hand, the reformers distinctly forbade all reservation, because

experience soon showed them that it was impossible to safeguard it from the abuse of idolatry and superstition in such practices as adoration and benediction, which, in spite of all regulations, are already being openly revived in several of our parish churches. Moreover, Article XXVIII. still distinctly condemns reservation as contrary to 'Christ's ordinance,' while the rubric in the 'Communion of the Sick,' which is left intact, negatives any supposed necessity for it by declaring that the body and blood of Christ can be received by the sick and penitent soul by faith apart from the reception of the visible sacramental symbols.

The avowed object of the present revision is not only to give greater elasticity and enrichment to our liturgy, but at the same time to achieve greater peace and unity in the Church. It surely must be obvious, however, that the authorization of such conflicting and contradictory doctrines and ceremonial, involving a serious reversal of the Reformation standard, cannot fail to bring more, and not less, discord and strife! For one thing, it is difficult to see how the teaching implied in the existing and in the proposed alternative book can long continue to be given side by side in the same Church, and therefore the time cannot long be delayed when the demand will naturally be made to harmonize our existing formularies with this new liturgical standard. We cannot but fear that these revision proposals, although prepared with much thought and care and with the best possible intentions, would seem to offer little hope of satisfying any section of Churchmen, for they will seriously strain the conscientious convictions of the evangelicals, who remain faithful to the traditional reformed position, while the recent manifesto of the English Church Union has shown that they are quite unacceptable as a settlement to the 'Anglo-Catholics.' They are merely to be tolerated as starting an 'era of liturgical experimentation,' which will in the end result in the adoption of 'a truly august catholic

rite,' a euphemism for a return to the mediaeval and Roman standard of worship.

Meanwhile it must surely be increasingly difficult for truly conscientious men, who have made their solemn 'Declaration of Assent' that the doctrine 'set forth' in the present Prayer Book is 'agreeable to the Word of God,' to acquiesce in the legalization of teaching and practice which is so largely contradictory to it. Bishop Gore has declared that the Church of England always continues somehow 'to muddle along,' I suppose by a sort of *solvitur in ambulando* process; but if this present revision scheme is passed without any modification it is difficult to see how a crisis and a 'parting of the ways' can long be avoided.

Moreover, there are at least two practical issues which in a measure concern Free Churchmen as well as Churchmen in these Proposals. (1) How are they likely to affect the 'Lambeth Appeal' and the prospect of home reunion? Will not the enthusiasm of Nonconformists be somewhat cooled when they realize that they are being called upon to make concessions and sacrifices of their historical and cherished principles in order to unite with a Church which is revising its doctrine and worship in a definitely Romeward direction? (2) How are they likely to affect the question of disestablishment and disendowment? The parochial endowments were maintained and guaranteed to a national Church professing and practising a 'uniformity' of doctrine and worship, and that, too, a distinctively Protestant one; but if the State is now to be called upon to continue this privilege for a *diversity* of 'Use' and teaching—one Protestant, the other largely mediaeval and Romanizing—the question at once arises, Why should not other 'Uses'—Wesleyan or Congregationalist—enjoy similar treatment?

C. SYDNEY CARTER.

A STORY OF TINTAGEL—1884

ABOVE the steep cliffs rose the towers of Dundagil by the sounding sea—a stronghold with governor and warders. It was a far cry from London. Few could have known its whereabouts, away there on that remote coast of Cornwall. France and the Low Countries men knew. Were not the Flemings flourishing in London to link them by frequent intercourse and merchandise? But Tintagel one would think, in those times, was almost a name unknown. Higden, in his *Polychronicon*, is able to indicate the county in which it was situated. Here are his words: *Castrum de Tyntagel in Cornubia situatum.*

One day, in the year of grace 1884, an armed company of horsemen came along, guarding a prisoner in their midst as they ride through the narrow streets of London. There is much excitement amongst the people, who throng the thoroughfares and crowd the windows of the houses with their gabled fronts. From every side comes a mingling of cheering and hooting. Feeling on both sides runs high and fierce. The wonder is that there is no riot. The rowdy apprentices were divided into bitter partisans, and were always ready to break into street rows and bloody encounters. So the company rides onward through the Temple Bar and past the ruins of the Duke of Lancaster's palace, the Savoy, and past many another scene of destruction wrought three years previously in the Peasants' Revolt.

The company of horsemen, with their prisoner, are bound for Tintagel. How long did the journey take? More than a hundred years later we find poor Katharine of Aragon spending a month in journeying on horseback from Exeter to London—a bitter November month, rain, rain, day after day, with mud so deep that the horses could scarcely find a foothold. The company of horsemen more

lightly accoutred may have done their thirty miles a day, nor were they readily helped by the people. At sight of the company here and there one and another of the scanty population would hasten away into the woods, or to hide amongst the rocks on the moors. Everywhere they found a sullen peasantry enraged against the boy king who had spoken them so fairly and then had so foully trapped them by his false promises, and had himself gone with the judges on their bloody assize, where, with scarce a trial, the peasants were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Little wonder that as the company stayed to inquire as to the route, or for refreshment in the village, they met with but slight welcome and a grudged response.

The further they get from town the worse it becomes. To Exeter may have been free of much difficulty, but who knew what lay beyond, over the rugged and almost trackless heights of Dartmoor, on by the Castle of Okehampton, across the Tamar to Launceston, and then a *terra incognita*, where was Tintagel? There, too, they begin to find those who spoke the old Cornish language, and met the inquiring of the company with a shake of the head and a muttered '*Na Sæsnac.*' We follow them beyond Camelford, and at last draw near to the Castle. The officer in charge of the company summons the warder in the King's name to lower the drawbridge, the King's warrant is handed to the governor, and the prisoner is put into his keeping. It is easy to picture the scene—the sturdy governor somewhat bewildered, holding the warrant with its Latin, and little able to make anything of it; and about him these Cornish warders. 'Who is the prisoner?' quoth he. 'The name is there,' replies the officer, 'On the King's warrant. John of Northampton, ex-Mayor of London.' 'London, forsooth! Why send him so far and put him into my keeping?' 'To keep him more securely, for there are those who would seek to rescue him. So thy life for his life.' We hear the laugh of the governor—'Unless he

can fly or swim he cannot forth from my keeping. What hath he done?' 'Vexed His Majesty. That is all I know, and it is enough.' So the prisoner is led forth to be lodged in safety, and there we leave him, permitted perhaps to go forth on the battlements and look out over the sea, with the gulls crowding about him and the waves tossing beneath him, he thinking in such solitude of the crowded streets of London and of the silvery Thames, and wondering if he shall ever see it all again.

Meanwhile the horsemen would be in haste to remind their host that the Atlantic breeze and their long ride over the moors had given them a huge appetite, which the governor promptly seeks as best he can to gratify as they sit together in the banqueting-chamber. Amidst the dishes let us hope they found the squab pie such as Kingsley describes in his *Hereward the Wake*, 'built of layers of apples, bacon, onions and mutton, and at the bottom of each a squab, or young cormorant, which diffused through the pie and through the ambient air a delicate odour of mingled guano and polecat.' The which, says every Cornishman, is a foul libel. But Kingsley was Devonshire, and there is a difference.

Ever since the Peasants' Revolt London had been the battleground of rival factions among the King and his uncle, John of Gaunt. The King's friends were found amongst the great victualling trades, especially the Fishmongers' and the Grocers' Guilds. The grocers had aroused the jealousy of their fellow citizens by securing sixteen out of the twenty-five aldermen. The fishmongers were scarcely less powerful. Their chief was Sir William Walworth,—he who had struck down Wat Tyler, the leader of the rebels, and thus given the King the opportunity of quelling the mutiny by his courage. 'The boy on whom all depended rode forth alone, leaving his followers huddled round Tyler's body. With the coolness of an old

general he cried to the mob, "I am your leader." The sight of the beautiful lad, whose good intentions they had not learned to distrust, at once disarmed the mob, which had neither leader nor plan.'

So on one side was Sir William Walworth, of the fishmongers, and with him Nicholas Brembre, friends of the King whose throne and life they had done so much to preserve in those perilous times. The greatest rivals on the other side were the clothing companies—the drapers, the merchant tailors, and a host of minor companies who had to do with the dress of the people. At the head of these was John of Northampton. In November, 1381, he was elected Mayor in the room of Walworth—elected by a crafty course of what, as Professor Unwin says, would be known to-day as 'gerrymandering.' Certainly when one remembers what befell the Duke's palace in London, its charred ruins still a hideous reminder of the people's hatred, it is somewhat surprising to find such a partisan of the Duke obtaining so much support from the citizens.

But John of Northampton set himself to gain popularity by an attack upon the fishmongers and grocers. The Fishmongers' Guild had used their privilege so to control the market as to raise the price of fish in the city to an exorbitant figure. The new Mayor issued an order that sent down the price of fish, much to the rejoicing of the people. They hailed him with greetings as he passed. There came a decree forbidding these profiteering companies—fishmongers and grocers—to hold any office in the city. London was to be ruled by the Drapers' and Merchant Tailors' and other clothing Guilds.

John of Northampton was again elected Mayor, and set himself to reduce the prices charged by all the victualling trades as he had done with the fishmongers. What could please the people better? What to them was King or Uncle so long as they had cheaper beef and bread and beer? The Clothing Guilds might flourish, but the masses cared

more for their stomachs than their backs. Fresh victuals were a more constant need than new clothes.

But John of Northampton began to overdo it, and to make more enemies than friends. 'At first,' says Higden, 'he pleased everybody by his regulation of the fish trade, but then he went on to call other trades to account for their transgressions, and began to set up as a reformer of evil customs generally.' 'He was a very Calvin in restless zeal and unbending righteousness,' says Professor Unwin. His hand was felt everywhere. Brewers and bakers were to make farthingsworths for the poor, and, to leave them without excuse, a supply of farthings and farthing measures was to be had at the Guildhall. No priest was to charge more than a farthing for a Mass. If he said that he had no change the parishioner might leave without paying. The scrutiny of the Mayor seemed to penetrate every hole and corner of the city. The quack who sold Latin charms for fevers, the fortune-teller who professed to discover stolen goods by an act of divination, the sharper who played with faked dice, the beggar who displayed imaginary wounds and spread false reports about the war in Flanders, were all to appear in the pillory. An offender who had slandered both the Mayor and an Alderman must appear in the pillory with two symbolical whetstones hung about his neck, a larger one for the Mayor and a smaller one for the Alderman. An Alderman who appeared on the Feast of Pentecost without the proper taffeta lining to his green cloak must provide a dinner for the whole aldermanic company free of charge.

A year later John of Northampton would perhaps have been elected again as the champion of cheap food, but the King compelled the election of his supporter, Nicholas Brembre. He of the grocers, thus installed by Royal interference, set up again the victuallers. The friends of John of Northampton protested against this enforced election as well they might. They demanded a new writ, and entered into negotiations with John of Gaunt. Riotous

meetings followed in the city, and finally John of Northampton was arrested as he was leaving one of them in Whitefriars.

Then the King determined to rid himself of this partisan of the Duke. He was taken to be tried at Reading before a Council of the Lords, over which the King himself presided. As the Duke was absent in the north, the ex-Mayor begged that proceedings might be deferred until his patron and protector should be present. The King's face blazed with passion. 'I will teach you that I am your judge,' he cried, 'whether my uncle is absent or not.' In the heat of his anger he ordered him away for instant execution, but a little later the King revoked the sentence. The ex-Mayor was taken back to London, and after trial there was to be imprisoned in Tintagel Castle. Here he lingered until the nobles overthrew the power of the King and his favourites. The revolution in the state was a signal for a revolution in the city. John of Northampton was back again, restored to his property, while Brembre of the grocers, after a trial by prejudiced and inflamed judges, was condemned to death and executed. 'John of Northampton died in the full odour of sanctity in 1898. It would seem that the unbending austerity of his reforming days had been softened by his misfortunes. He made provision by his will that every Lent each monk in the Charterhouse should have a pound of dates, a pound of figs, and a pound of raisins beyond his regular allowance' (Unwin).

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

TENNYSON AND THE GEORGIANS

Tennyson: Some Aspects of His Life, Character, and Work. By HAROLD NICHOLSON. (Constable & Co.)
Tennyson: A Modern Portrait. By HUGH I'ANSON FAUSSET. (Selwyn & Blount.)

IT is a commonplace of literary history that, at some period before or after his death, the reputation of any author who has attained great distinction suffers—so far, at any rate, as the critics are concerned—an almost complete eclipse. Then, sooner or later, the eclipse passes, and the reputation shines forth again, not perhaps with the old lustre, but with a more certain, if less brilliant, light. Few poets have ever enjoyed greater popularity in their own time than did Tennyson. He represented to the men and women of his day the perfect embodiment, not only of their own literary taste, but of their perplexities and hopes and aspirations; and so surely was he enthroned in public esteem—nay, in public adoration—that, as Mr. Edmund Gosse has said, he kept English poetry stable through three generations. His fame was still undimmed when, in 1892, he crossed the bar; but it was inevitable that the reaction from so long and undisputed a sovereignty should come, and that, when it came, it should be ruthlessly searching and severe.

It is probably true that, by the general public, Tennyson has remained since his death, and is to-day, the most widely read of all the English poets. But in more self-consciously 'literary' circles revolt against him set in very soon after he was buried, with due pomp and circumstance, in Westminster Abbey; and that revolt has continued until our own day. Tennyson, the literary journals and clubs have been proclaiming, is dead; 'nobody,' we have constantly been told, 'reads him now.' There are signs, however, that the reaction has at last run its course; and, though it would

be idle to expect that Tennyson can ever again be the 'giant' that he appeared in the eyes of his contemporaries, it is clear that he is being restored to a modified—and a more discriminating—degree of critical favour. It is significant that a writer like Mr. J. C. Squire, who was not many years ago in the vanguard of the rebels, should now be doing much to revive the faded laurels of the Victorian Laureate; and it is still more significant that, within a single week, there recently appeared two full-dress biographical studies of Tennyson, which, while they are both trenchantly critical and both interspersed with something of Mr. Lytton Strachey's brilliant irony, are nevertheless mainly concerned with redeeming the fame of the poet of 'In Memoriam' from the worst excesses of modern depreciation.

If we are to understand the nature of the revolt against Tennyson, and the causes that have led to a qualified re-establishment of his reputation, we must glance, if necessarily briefly, at the course of English poetry during the thirty years that have elapsed since his death. Reaction against the long constraint of Tennyson's influence came at first in two forms. Rudyard Kipling burst upon the stage with a clatter of triangle and drum; and, until the Boer War and its sequel rang down the curtain upon the noisy Imperialism which he represented, he captivated the public ear by the violent measures in which he celebrated the gospel of might. Well, the gentler Kipling of the 'Recessional' will live; but Kipling, the poet of barbaric force, has already ceased to count, and we need not, therefore, concern ourselves with him. Nor need we give more than passing reference to the school of poets who, influenced by Oscar Wilde, and supported by artists like Aubrey Beardsley, flourished in the nineties and are now known as the 'decadents.' For these writers poetry became merely a mirror in a stuffy and heavily scented drawing-room, before which, to their own admiration and that of their friends, they paraded themselves in various 'aesthetic' and erotic

poses. But the fame of the 'decadents' never extended far beyond the bounds of the literary coteries, and Ernest Dowson wrote a fitting epitaph for himself, and for the whole school of which he was the chief ornament, when he said:

> Vain things alone
> Have driven our perverse and aimless band.

The most deliberate, the most characteristic, and the most destructive force which has been directed against the Tennyson 'legend' has undoubtedly been the more recent 'Georgian' movement in poetry. This movement began, roughly speaking, with the opening in 1911 of the Poetry Bookshop in Bloomsbury, from which have been issued the periodical volumes of 'Georgian Poetry,' edited by Edward Marsh. The Georgian movement has had no actual organization, and many poets have sailed under its banner who have only partially shared its aims. None the less, the movement has been a clearly defined one, and, since it obviously sprang out of a reaction against all that Tennyson stood for in the popular imagination, we shall best understand the ideals of the Georgians if, first of all, we appreciate the precise nature of their indictment against Tennyson. Here the two recent monographs on Tennyson, already referred to, may help us. For both Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Fausset, while they represent a Georgian anger against Tennyson that has already begun to cool down into a reasoned half-appreciation of him, do none the less reveal to us, with singular unanimity of judgement, the qualities in Tennyson's personality and genius that have inflamed the younger generation into revolt.

Tennyson, then, is represented to us as having been the victim of a life-long conflict, in the words of Mr. Nicholson, 'between the remarkable depth and originality of his poetical temperament and the timidity of his practical intelligence.' He was capable of deep emotion, but he lacked intellectual force or subtlety or independence. He was fertile in fancy, but deficient in true imagination. He was at heart fearful

and doubting, almost to the point of melancholy; but, from the time when he met in the society of the Cambridge 'Apostles,' who took themselves very solemnly and apportioned to each of their number the particular life-task which he seemed destined to fulfil, it was impressed upon Tennyson that he was born for 'a great seer, whose function it was to mould the mind of his generation.' And when, after characteristic deliberation—he was engaged intermittently for thirteen years—the poet married, 'the wistful lady who became his wife was able, with little worsted strands, to bind what was most wild in him and most original, and by the persistent creation around him of an atmosphere of reverent admiration, to build up, even for the Laureate himself, the legend of an infallible and prophetic thinker, the legend of a great ethical force.'

So fierce has been the wrath of the modern critics at Tennyson's claim to be a prophet and an oracle that they have for a time been blind even to the merits of his purely lyrical poetry. Now, however, they admit him to have been a great singer; but they still deny that he was anything else. He was, we are told, a man of a lonely, brooding, and uncertain temperament. When he was content to yield merely to wayward fancy, or when (as in the earlier written sections of 'In Memoriam') he was moved by genuine personal emotion, he could write poems of matchless form and melody, such as the songs from 'The Princess,' or 'Ulysses,' or 'Crossing the Bar.' But when he sought to be more than the cloistered dreamer, singing sweet songs through which there often pulsed the ache of his own sensitive and shrinking spirit, he essayed tasks that were beyond his powers, or were at any rate beyond the reach of such discipline as he was prepared to impose upon himself. For Tennyson, in spite of his theoretical insistence upon the virtue of discipline, was, in all things except his artistry, essentially undisciplined; and it would have been better for him, both as poet and man, if the buffetings of fate had broken oftener

into the serene and sheltered garden of his experience. If his life had been less easy, or if he had submitted himself to a more rigorous self-discipline, his emotion might have developed into vital human sympathy, and his fancy might have attained to the full stature of imagination. As it was, his human sympathy, so far as it ranged beyond his own immediate circle, was affected rather than spontaneous. Obsessed with the importance of his 'mission' and his 'message,' he assumed qualities of human sympathy that he did not actually command, and which his habit of life did nothing to foster. The peasants, for instance, of his English Idylls do not possess real flesh and blood. They are sentimentalized. We are seldom made to feel that Tennyson, with penetrating imaginative sympathy, had entered into their lives and thoughts; nor does he enable us to share them. We view his characters from the outside; rarely, as we see Browning's men and women, from the inside.

Tennyson's lack of broad and rich-blooded human sympathy is demonstrated, again, by his attitude towards democracy. It is characteristic of his generously impulsive emotion that, when the first Reform Bill was passed, he helped to ring the Lincolnshire church bells in honour of it; but it is equally characteristic of his innate caution and 'timidity' that the least sign of political disturbance, such as Chartism, should have driven him to panic:

> Slowly comes a hungry people, like a lion creeping nigher.

Emotionally Tennyson was a Liberal; intellectually he was a reactionary. Like the upper and middle classes of his day, whom he so faithfully represented and by whom he was canonized, he wanted to enjoy Liberal sentiments without having to pay the price of Liberal measures. And so he fell back upon a compromise, and found comfort in the formula of 'Progress,'

> broadening down
> From precedent to precedent.

He still cherished 'the larger hope'; he still clung to the *ideal* of brotherhood. But did he cling to it, with real intellectual integrity, as anything more than a pleasing formula? At any rate, he was in no hurry; it was enough for him that brotherhood should come in the distant future.

> Is the goal so far away?
> Far, how far, no tongue can say.
> Let us dream our day to-day.

'Change must needs come,' Tennyson once wrote to Queen Victoria, 'but I wish that statesmen would oftener remember the saying of Bacon, "Mere innovations should imitate the work of time, which innovateth slowly but surely."' 'These,' says Mr. Fausset, 'are true words, but they were welcome, we suspect, to the Queen and her Laureate not so much because they were true as because they were comfortable.'

Comfort, indeed, meant very much to Tennyson, and, as his recent biographers affirm, it was his desire for mental and spiritual contentment that led him, in his attitude towards the religious problem, the women's question, and all the other issues of his time, to accept a complacent compromise. He was, we are told repeatedly, and he always remained, a man of fear and doubt. But he lacked the intellectual courage to look his doubts squarely in the face. If he had boldly confronted them, the temple of his faith might have been destroyed; but it might have been rebuilt upon a more solid and permanent basis. As it was, he clutched fearfully at any straws of comfort; and the more he did this, the more was he acclaimed by a generation that was content to do the same thing. And the more he was acclaimed, the more did he come to think himself a prophet and an oracle, and the more was Tennyson, the singer of sweet songs and the poet of Nature, crushed by Tennyson, the bard of public causes and occasions. But it is the former Tennyson that will live. If we are to see the essential Tennyson, Mr. Nicholson tells us, we must 'forget the

delicate Laureate of a cautious age; the shallow thought, the vacant compromise; the honeyed idyll, the complacent ode'; we must forget 'the dull monochrome of his middle years, forget the magnolia and the roses, the indolent Augusts of his island home; forget the laurels and the rhododendrons. Let us recall only the low booming of the North Sea upon the dunes; the grey clouds lowering upon the wold; the moan of the night wind upon the fen; the far glimmer of marsh pools through the reeds; the cold, the half-light, and the gloom.'

Such is the contemporary estimate of Tennyson. It may not be the ultimate view of posterity, but it is unquestionably the view sincerely held by the younger poets and critics of to-day. But it is only fair to Tennyson to say that the revolt against him has been even more, if we may so put it, a revolt against the fawning ineffectuality of his followers. Whatever may be said for Tennyson himself, it cannot be disputed that his influence—against which for sixty years there was no real rebellion—was debilitating in the extreme. Tennyson's characteristic faults and weaknesses became more and more accentuated in the feeble hands of his imitators, until the air was languorous with faint echoes, against which it was only natural and healthy that sterner voices should be raised. If only they had been raised earlier, Tennyson himself might have suffered less severely for the poetical sins of those who, lacking his artistry, had more than their share of his intellectual limitations.

So complete has been the revolt of the Georgians against Tennyson that it has tended to take the form of a revolt against the whole idea that poetry can ever properly concern itself with social, political, or religious themes. The tendency of the Georgians has been to revive, in an austere form, the ideal of 'Art for art's sake.' That mood, however, is now slowly passing; and the main charge against Tennyson is no longer that, in seeking to be a great 'seer,' he attempted something inherently alien to the scope of poetry,

but merely that he attempted what was foreign to his own particular character and genius. He was essentially a lyrical poet, and, when he was most natural, his songs had a wild and rather frightened music that was all his own, and is unsurpassed in English literature. But as soon as he assumed the robes of the prophet there inevitably crept into his work a fundamental insincerity. That he was not consciously insincere does not lessen his guilt. It is the very pivot of the case for the prosecution that he was so susceptible to complacent self-deception.

Sincerity was the distinguishing characteristic of the new Georgian movement, which began as a spontaneous co-operative effort on the part of a few really kindred spirits who rebelled, consciously or subconsciously, against the long tyranny of the Tennysonian tradition. 'The Victorians in general, and Tennyson and his followers in particular,' said the early Georgians in effect, 'were too facile—facile in their emotions and their faith as well as in their writing itself. They sacrificed everything to euphuism.' Therefore, against the 'glibness' of Tennyson and his contemporaries, the Georgians began to oppose a standard of austerity and restraint. They would not pour out fluent rhetoric in praise of a faith they did not really hold; they would not fervently protest enthusiasms they did not actually feel; nor would they lose their hearts to a pretty line. They would write only about what did genuinely interest and move them, and the only things that did really move the first few Georgians were the homely delights of earth and fireside. Tennyson might concern himself with the soul and its destiny, and seek to justify the ways of God to man; but the Georgians were content to watch the cat drinking its milk about the hearth. Nature was to be their favourite theme. But, even in the treatment of Nature, there was to be the same reserve, the same cautiousness. Nature was not to be 'interpreted' to mean what for the Georgians she did not truly mean. Her external beauty, rather than any supposed

inner significance, was the one legitimate theme for their muse. Even Nature's external aspects were to be celebrated in carefully wrought and modulated cadences, and precise accuracy of observation was to replace the loose, generalized rhapsodies on 'birds' and 'flowers' and 'hills' which characterized the work, not indeed of Tennyson himself, but of many of his disciples.

Such was the excellent spirit that inspired the new movement. It might be regretted that the early Georgians had a vision bounded by the external aspect of things. But at least they were honest, at a moment when a new standard of honesty was much needed; and, moreover, evidence enough may be found in the volumes of 'Georgian Poetry' themselves, and in the innumerable anthologies of modern verse that occupy the booksellers' shelves, that this new school of writers has produced, amid much very questionable 'poetry,' many lyrics of rare and original beauty. Unfortunately, however, like many other movements that have started well, the Georgian movement was soon to fall from grace; and if we examine why it has thus fallen we shall understand the causes that have inspired a reaction to-day in favour of a warm, if restricted, appreciation of Tennyson.

New-comers, then, were added to the Georgian ranks who were not only poets, but able literary journalists, and these journalists began to proclaim to the world—in effect, if not always in so many words—that the Georgian movement was not only *a* movement, but *the* movement. Increasingly the literary press came under the control of the Georgians, and was used by them for the mutual admiration of one another's work and for the condemnation or boycotting of the work of other poets—such as Mr. Alfred Noyes—who refused to prostrate themselves before the new image that had been set up. The inevitable result was that many young poets, for fear of being left out in the cold, feigned an allegiance to the Georgian ideals that was not spontaneous;

for there are always poets, as there are always politicians and men in every other walk of life, who have not the courage to go their own way, if it threatens to be a lonely way. They must at all costs be 'in the movement.'

Thus the Georgian movement, which arose out of protest against insincerity, bred all too quickly an insincerity of its own. It has, moreover, reduced the prevailing note of English poetry to a minor note. There is no question about the beauty of the best poetry of the Georgians; they have, as we have said, enriched the language with many lyrics of new and individual charm. It is difficult to imagine the reader who could fail to draw pleasure from Mr. Squire's 'Rivers,' or Mr. Robert Graves' 'Star-Talk,' or Mr. Edward Shanks' 'Night-Piece,' or Mr. Francis Brett-Young's 'The Leaning Elm.' But warm admiration for these typical flowers of the Georgian garden cannot blind us to the fact that they belong to a minor order of poetry; nor could such admiration silence for long the protest that is already being widely made against the excessive claims that have quite commonly been made for such work. There is room in the world for trim gardens, with their carefully cultivated plants; but the soul of man cannot find permanent satisfaction in them. Sooner or later the cloistered pleasance must pall; sooner or later man must find himself standing again upon the rugged hills, gazing into the star-sown heavens, seeking, however vainly, to read the riddle of the universe, or else plunging into the vortex of the city, striving, however inadequately, to interpret the ways of God to man, and of man to his brother man. And poetry, sooner or later, was sure to escape from the graceful but narrow confines within which the Georgians had temporarily enclosed it. It must return—as there are signs that it is beginning to return—to the big themes, and find its inspiration once more, not in aesthetic contemplation, but in the passions and aspirations of the individual and the communal soul. Passion—the passion of love, the passion of endeavour,

the passion for truth, the passion for liberty—has, admittedly, been too often glibly treated. It was too often glibly treated by Tennyson, and still more often by his imitators. But that does not alter the fact that it is only in such passion, and in the interpretation of it, that the greatest poetry can find its source.

But let us at least be grateful for what the early Georgian movement accomplished. It did undoubtedly demonstrate how facile and shallow much preceding verse had been; it did set, within the narrow compass of its own vision, a new standard of sincerity; it did stem the torrent of complacent rhetoric which Tennyson's influence had set flowing. And when poetry returns to the big themes—as return to them it must if it is to remain a living force—it will be compelled to approach those themes with a more rigorous and self-critical sincerity. Thus, though comparatively little of their own work is likely to be valued very highly by posterity, the one real service that the Georgians rendered to English literature will not be forgotten. It will be remembered that they revealed the hollowness of the pretentious Tennyson 'legend' that had long held poetry in bondage, and it will, probably, be accounted unto them for righteousness that they made impossible the growth of any such legend again. A future Tennyson will have to be content to be the maker of divine songs; the singer of 'the half-light and the gloom.' He will have to leave it to others, more disciplined than himself, or endowed with keener and subtler intellect, to be the prophets of progress and the interpreters of God to man.

GILBERT THOMAS.

THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN EARLY METHODISM

AT the head of one of John Wesley's sermons there is a note which is probably unique in literature. The sermon itself was written in 1738, when Wesley was thirty years of age. The note was added fifty-five years later, when he was an old man of eighty-five. They had been years of unimaginable change, in the Church and in the world, but more than all in Wesley himself—in his opinions, his practices, his inner life. And this is what he wrote: 'The following discourse was written above five and fifty years ago for the use of my pupils at Oxford. . . . I thank God I have not yet seen cause to alter my sentiments in any point which is therein delivered.' These are not the words of an obstinate and outworn reactionary. At the very time when they were written Wesley was behaving in a manner which would have outraged the young Oxford don of five and fifty years before, in laying solemn hands of ordination, without the sanction of any bishop, upon men selected by no one but himself. Yet the 'heart strangely warmed,' the long years of apostolic labour, the ever-growing mind and ever-widening experience, had 'not yet' given him any cause to alter anything in the teaching of that one sermon. These had been his views all through the years; these convictions had coloured all his thinking and affected all his practice. And he thought it right to say so.

The sermon is No. 101. The text is, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' and the title of the sermon is 'The Duty of Constant Communion.' The teaching of the sermon is startling, even to ears accustomed to the words of Oxford preachers of a later day. It is an argued, emphatic insistence upon the necessity of receiving the communion as often as we possibly can. Wesley pours scorn upon the phrase 'frequent communion'; it must be 'constant'; our

opportunity is the one rule of our duty. Much of the sermon is couched in what may seem to us the language of an exaggerated dogmatism: 'No man can have any pretence to Christian piety who does not receive it, not once a month, but as often as he can'; 'He that, when he may obey the commandment if he will, does not, will have no place in the kingdom of heaven.' Did Newman or Pusey ever say quite so much as this? But Wesley is nothing if not emphatic, and it may be that we should be wise to make some allowance for his temperamental intensity of style.

If the teaching is startling to us, it must have been far more so to those who heard it first. Although there were undoubtedly many churches in which the Lord's Supper was administered with frequency and regularity, yet there never was a time in all the long history of the English Church when the communion was more utterly neglected. In most parish churches it was observed only three or four times in the year. Secker, the Bishop of Oxford, in addressing his clergy in 1741, pleaded that 'a sacrament might be interposed in the long interval between Whitsuntide and Christmas.' In 1768, out of 310 churches in Essex there were only twenty that had a communion so often as once a month. On Easter Day, 1800, the Dean of St. Paul's lamented that there were only six communicants. In the prayer-books of the period the Communion Service was often printed in the smallest available type as being most suitable for one of the 'occasional offices' of the Church.[1] It was to such a Church as this that Wesley proclaimed his doctrine of the Duty of Constant Communion; in such a Church he sought to practise it himself, and to raise up a body of faithful people who should do the same.

It is the purpose of this paper to inquire:

I. To what extent, in this respect, did Wesley practise what he preached?

[1] Vide *Our National Church*, by Lord R. Cecil and Rev. H. J. Clayton, p. 187.

II. To what extent did he persuade the Methodists to do the same? And

III. What difference, if any, was made to Wesley's sacramentarianism by his evangelical conversion?

I. The first of these questions it would have been impossible to answer a few years ago, but to-day our knowledge of Wesley's life is immensely increased by the discovery, deciphering, and publication of his shorthand diary. The greater part of that diary is still lost; but we possess fragments of it for the years 1725 to 1741, and some years ago the diary from December, 1782, to February, 1790, was unearthed at City Road. By means of this diary we are able to trace Wesley's every movement from day to day and almost from hour to hour. We can see too to what extent his daily habits changed in the long interval which separated his early ministry from that of the closing years. In his 'High Church' days at Oxford and in Georgia it was of course Wesley's custom, as a member of the Holy Club, to communicate on every Sunday and every holy day. Then came the great change of 1738. The diary enables us to see whether that change involved any outward alteration in his attendance at the Lord's Table. The first entire year in which the diary permits us to follow him from hour to hour is the year beginning June 1, 1740, the third year following the great change. During that year Wesley records in his diary that he took communion ninety-one times—that is, on the average, once every four days.

For the next forty-two years we must depend entirely on the journal, for we have no diary to guide us; but after that long interval we can follow him again in both diary and journal, and we can tell what change the years had made. The first month revealed to us is December, 1782. During that month the diary records fifteen communions, one every other day. Of the fifteen, five are on Sundays after morning prayer, one is early on Christmas morning, one is

very early on a Monday morning, five are on Saturday evenings, and three are on other week-nights. During the eight years that followed Wesley was of course engaged in ceaseless travel; sometimes he was out of England for weeks at a time. His opportunities for communion in parish churches would be but slight. The number of communion services recorded for each year, beginning with 1783, is 78, 67, 98, 72, 82, 65, 72, 54. That represents an average of seventy-two in the year, or one in about every five days. The last communion mentioned is on February 16, 1791, a fortnight before the aged pilgrim reached his goal. It was the fifteenth he had taken since the New Year came in.

The diary tells us, not only how often, but also where and when Wesley habitually took communion. There are very few records of sacramental services in the early morning, and none at all of 'fasting' communion, in the modern Anglo-Catholic sense; neither is there any mention (save on the rarest occasions) of the Lord's Supper on Sunday evenings. It was on Sunday in the forenoon, and at the parish church or Methodist 'preaching-house,' that Wesley regularly communicated, unless the circumstances of his wandering life made it impossible for him to do so. On one Sunday morning when he was ill he wrote: 'Being not suffered to go to church as yet, I communicated at home.' Besides these Sunday morning communions there are constantly recurring records of the Lord's Supper on Saturday evenings. These services were held about six o'clock, often in private houses, and were apparently intended as a preparation for the Sabbath. Sunday morning and Saturday evening were Wesley's favourite times for the communion, but he seems to have held the service at any time and in any place, as he judged it to be most needed. There is one other habit of his, revealed by the diary, which should be mentioned; it was his custom at the ending and beginning of the year to hold a communion service every day for the twelve days after Christmas. Sometimes he was prevented from

holding all the twelve, but his intention is indicated by an entry in his journal for Christmas, 1775: 'During the twelve festival days we had the Lord's Supper daily—a little emblem of the primitive Church.' The diary shows this to have been his habit at the turning of the year. On the whole, in answer to our first question, we may state with reasonable confidence that, throughout his apostolic life, Wesley approached the Table of the Lord once in about every five days. This is how he fulfilled his own doctrine of the Duty of Constant Communion.

II. Our second question is, 'To what extent did Wesley persuade the Methodists to follow his example?' The shorthand diary will not help us to answer this question, and we are practically dependent upon the journal for information. The intention of Wesley is quite clear: it was that the Methodists should attend the communion at every opportunity; and there can be little doubt that in his opinion the opportunity should occur, as a rule, every Sabbath day. In 1784 he wrote to the Methodists of the newly formed United States: 'I advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's day.' Such was his ideal for a Methodism 'totally disentangled from the English hierarchy,' and such was his own practice in the earliest Methodist chapels in London and elsewhere as often as circumstances made it possible. Here the Sunday morning service regularly consisted of the prayers and a sermon, followed by the Lord's Supper whenever it could be arranged. The attendance at these Sunday morning communions forms one of the most astonishing features of the Methodist revival. Whereas before 1788 Wesley constantly deplored the meagre numbers at the Lord's Table, after that date his trouble is of an entirely opposite character. The number of communicants is such as to cause him serious physical difficulty in administering to so many. In the anticipation of these services he manifests

a strange nervous apprehension to which we are quite unaccustomed in him. A few extracts from his journals will help us to form some conception of what those first Methodist communions in London must have been.

Here are two entries relating to two consecutive Sundays in 1748: '*May* 29. I preached at West Street on the Gospel for the day, and afterwards administered the Lord's Supper to some hundreds of communicants. I was a little afraid at first that my strength would not suffice for the business of the day, when a service of five hours (for it lasted from 10 to 3) was added to my usual employment.' On the following Sunday at the same place the service lasted nearly six hours, and Wesley writes: 'I found it needful for the time to come to divide the communicants into three parts, so that we might not have above 600 at once.' Comment on these simple but amazing statements seems almost an irreverence. One would like to know when and where in the long history of the Church of Christ such services were paralleled. But for Wesley they were merely added to his 'usual employment.' His day was six hours old when they began, and when they ended he would hurry off to preach to the unmissioned multitudes of Moorfields. Then he met the leaders, and after them the bands.

Seven years later we find Wesley going through the whole service twice upon the Sunday morning, for now he has Spitalfields to care for as well as West Street. 'In the (early) morning I read prayers, preached, and administered the sacrament to a large congregation in Spitalfields. The service at West Street lasted from 9 to 1.' Snowsfields also, across the river, had to be provided for. In 1755 we read: 'I entered upon my London duty, reading prayers, preaching, and giving the sacrament at Snowsfields in the morning, preaching and giving the sacrament at noon in West Street chapel.' It is in connexion with these services that he writes: 'I feared I should not be able to go through the work of the day, which is equal to preaching eight times';

'I was afraid to look forward to the work of the day, but though I was exceeding weak at Snowsfields in the morning, I was stronger at noon.' Often he prayed that God would send him some one to help him in these services, and frequently we find such a note as this: 'I prayed that God would send me help at the chapel. . . . A clergyman whom I never saw before came and offered me his assistance'; 'I was a little afraid my strength would not suffice . . . but Mr. Hicks came . . . so we finished before 2'; 'I was ill able to go through the service at West Street. . . . But God provided for this also. . . . Mr. Greaves gave me the assistance I wanted.' Similar quotations with regard to London Methodism might be multiplied, but two others may suffice: On Christmas Day, 1778, 'I administered the sacrament to several hundred people at West Street.' At City Road on November 4, 1787, 'the number of communicants was so large that I was obliged to consecrate thrice.'

The records concerning the principal Methodist centres in the provinces tell the same story. At Bristol, in 1770, 'my brother and I agreed to administer the Lord's Supper every other Sunday. We judged it best to have the entire service, and so began at 9 o'clock.' In the following year we read: 'We had above 650 communicants at Bristol'; in 1780, 'The largest number of communicants that had ever met in the new room'; frequently 'many hundreds' are mentioned, and in 1784 a thousand. Here are three entries concerning three consecutive Sundays in 1788 at Bristol: 'Mr. Collins came to assist me . . . otherwise I should have been distressed, for such a number of communicants I never saw here before.' On the following Sunday: 'Having none to assist me, I found it hard work to read prayers, preach, and administer the sacrament to such a number of people.' The next Sunday, at Bath: 'We had twice as many communicants as I ever remember here.' At Leeds, Wesley mentions 700 communicants in 1779, and on a public thanksgiving day in 1784 no less than

sixteen or seventeen hundred, with five clergymen to assist him. In 1789 he had fifteen or sixteen hundred, with two clergymen to assist him. Similar astonishing figures are quoted in connexion with Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester, on the site of the present Central Hall. In 1781: 'I began reading prayers at 10. At the communion was such a sight as I am persuaded was never seen at Manchester before, eleven or twelve hundred communicants at once, and all of them fearing God.' In 1788 Wesley mentions thirteen to fourteen hundred communicants at Manchester; 1,800 in 1787; a thousand in 1788, and 1,600 in 1790.

At Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield, Plymouth, Bath, Dublin, Cork, he quotes figures which vary from 800 to 800, and the smaller places are not lost sight of. At Redmire, in the Yorkshire dales, he says, 'We had fifty communicants from a village of thirty houses.' At Norwich for some reason the preacher for the time being had the special privilege of administering the Lord's Supper. The service was held at 7 a.m. Wesley on his visits always counts the communicants; the number varies from 140 to 200. Possibly the reason for the peculiar arrangement at Norwich is hinted at in this note of October, 1790: 'At 7 I administered the Lord's Supper to about 150 persons. Afterwards we went to our own parish church, although there was no sermon there, nor at any one of the thirty-six churches in the town, save the Cathedral and St. Peter's.'

It may be that some of these extraordinary figures are open to suspicion, considering Wesley's exaggerated computations of his congregations in the open air. On the other hand, we must remember that these figures can be tested to some extent, not only by the seating capacity of the buildings, but also by the recorded time required to complete the communion. Wesley frequently went on communicating the people far into the afternoon—once till nearly 4 o'clock.

However, it was not in Methodist chapels but in the parish churches that Wesley wished the great body of the Methodists

to communicate. This was, for them and for himself, what he most desired. But the difficulties were grave: in the first place there generally was no communion service in the church at all, and when there was, the Methodists were frequently repelled from the Table. Still, Wesley's success in this respect is most remarkable, at all events when he himself is present, or when the local clergymen is in sympathy with his work. On August 3, 1740, 'at St. Luke's, our parish church in London, there was such a sight as was never seen there before—several hundred communicants, from whose faces one might judge that they indeed sought Him that was crucified.' In 1742 he has a similar entry with regard to All Saints, in Newcastle. At Macclesfield parish church he mentions 800 communicants in 1782, 700 in 1783, 1,200 in 1785, and 1,300 on Good Friday of 1788. At Haworth the communicants crowded the church, and he mentions a thousand in 1757. At St. Patrick's Cathedral, in Dublin, the 'good old dean' frequently asked Wesley to come within the rails and assist him; in April, 1789, 'it was said the number of communicants was about 500—more than went there in the whole year before the Methodists were known in Dublin.' And at Epworth, at the Table from which, fifty years before, he had been repelled, there were on a July Sunday in the year before he died 'ten times as many as usual.' There are, scattered through his journals, many other records of similar communions of the Methodists at their parish churches, but the figures never attain the amazing proportions of those relating to the services in the Methodist preaching-houses.

And it is to be feared that when Wesley was not with them the Lord's Table in the parish churches had no very powerful hold upon the Methodists. Great numbers of them had rarely been to church in all their lives. At Bristol, Charles Wesley, with his Kingswood miners, was repelled. At Epworth in 1743 John Wesley himself was refused the sacrament: 'Pray tell Mr. Wesley I shall not give him the

sacrament, for he is not fit,' was the message of the curate. Bishop Richmond, of the Isle of Man, in his pastoral letter for 1776 required every one of his clergy to repel any Methodist preacher from Holy Communion. In his old age (1788) at Epworth Wesley writes: 'I was sorry to see scarce twenty communicants, half of whom came on my account. . . . As Mr. G. is not a pious man . . . I cannot, with all my influence, persuade them either to hear him or to attend the sacraments administered by him. If I cannot carry the point even while I live, who then can do it when I die? And the case of Epworth is the case of every church where the minister neither loves nor preaches the gospel. The Methodists will not attend his ministrations. What, then, is to be done?'

On all the evidence, the answer to our second question must be that Wesley succeeded beyond all expectations in persuading the Methodists to 'constant communion' where and when the opportunity was given them by their own preachers in their own places of worship; that he succeeded also, though to a less extent, in getting them to communicate at the parish churches when he himself was present, but that there is little evidence of such attendance in his absence, or in the absence of some clergymen in sympathy with him. At the same time it must be presumed that loyal 'members of Society' would do their best to observe the rule concerning attendance at the Lord's Supper.

III. The third question is: 'What difference, if any, was made to Wesley's sacramentarianism by his evangelical conversion?' At first sight very little difference can be perceived at all. His outward habit remained much the same, and he took no part in the age-long controversies which centre in the Eucharist. In 1745 he published, for the instruction of the Methodists, an abbreviated edition of Dr. Brevint's book, *The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice*, and bound up with the little volume 166 hymns on the Lord's

Supper—'by John Wesley and Charles Wesley.' The hymns are in six sections, corresponding roughly to the sections of Brevint's book. The six sections relate to 'The Sacrament as a Memorial of the Sufferings and Death of Christ'; 'As a Sign and a Means of Grace'; 'As a Pledge of Heaven'; 'On the Holy Eucharist as it implies a Sacrifice'; 'Concerning the Sacrifice of our Persons'; and a last section for 'After the Sacrament.' Of the 166 hymns, fifteen are in our present book, though only six are in the sacramental section.[1]

Much of the teaching of the hymns may be regarded as belonging to the High Church school of thought, and in this they probably reflect more especially the mind of Charles Wesley. But John appears to have found nothing to stumble at in it; his name appears on the title-page of the several editions along with that of his brother. The Conference of 1825 ordered Brevint's treatise to be republished, and 'advised the preachers to revive the general use of the sacramental hymns'; but soon afterwards came the days of the 'Oxford Movement' and in the reaction from Newman's teaching Wesley's sacramental hymns became suspect. Yet they were published several years after his evangelical conversion and he never gave a hint that there was anything in them to which at any time he took exception.

In 1784 Wesley published his *Sunday Service of the Methodists*. It was practically the Book of Common Prayer, abridged, but little altered, save for the Psalter. But, greatly daring, Wesley cut down the thirty-nine Articles to twenty-five. His selections, his omissions, and his occasional slight changes throw a great light on the workings of his mind. All the Anglican Articles relating to the Lord's Supper are copied practically *verbatim*, with one exception. Article XXIX.: 'Of the wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper,' he entirely omits, but the omission would not seem to imply any doctrinal change.

[1] The six hymns are 726, 727, 729, 730, 731, 732. The others are 167, 190, 562, 592, 598, 701, 801, 802, 880.

Yet there can be no sort of doubt that great and essential changes had taken place in Wesley's sacramentarianism. They are not obvious at first sight, but they are vital.

1. In the first place, Wesley ceased to be a sacerdotalist. In the Methodist order of service there is scarcely any change from the Anglican order. In the 'Confession' there is one small but characteristic omission. After the words, 'The remembrance of them is grievous unto us,' Wesley leaves out 'The burden of them is intolerable'; those words would not fit lips accustomed to sing, 'My chains fell off; my heart was free.' But it is in the prayer which follows that there occurs an even tinier change which marks the watershed between the two great Oxford movements, all the world of difference between Newman and Wesley. In the Anglican order the minister says, 'Almighty God . . . pardon and deliver you from all your sins.' Wesley quietly alters all the pronouns, and reads, 'Pardon and deliver us.' Both Newman and Wesley were sacramentarians, though in very different senses; but Wesley, at all events after 1788, has no trace of sacerdotalism. The 'Order for the Visitation of the Sick' with its 'I absolve thee,' has no place in Wesley's service-book.

2. Associated with this change is another, relating to what we in these days call 'inter-communion.' Before 1788 he would admit to the Table no one who had not been episcopally baptized. He had once refused the sacrament to a saintly Lutheran pastor, John Boltzius. Writing in admiration of this man years afterwards, Wesley says: 'Yet this very man did I refuse to admit to the Lord's Table . . . Can any one carry High Church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been since beaten with my own staff!' At Norwich in 1759 Wesley noticed that a considerable number of Dissenters were present at the communion; he says: 'I desired every one to use that posture he judged best. Had I required them to kneel probably half would have sat. Now all but one kneeled

down.' In Scotland he attended Presbyterian communions, but frankly he did not appreciate them. In 1764, at Edinburgh, he says: 'Being informed that the Lord's Supper was to be administered in the West Kirk, I knew not what to do, but at length I judged it best to embrace the opportunity, though I did not admire the manner of administration . . . How much more simple as well as more solemn is the service of the Church of England!' In 1772 he writes: 'I attended the Church of England service in the morning and that of the Kirk in the afternoon. . . . Truly no man, having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new.'

3. A third and even more significant change in Wesley's sacramentarianism is seen in what perhaps can best be called his 'evangelistic' use of the Lord's Supper. He invited all sinners seeking salvation to the Table, and insisted that that was the place where they were most likely to find the Saviour. In this he was probably greatly influenced by the experience of his mother, who received the 'assurance of forgiveness' at the Lord's Table in August, 1739. On September 8 she told her son John: 'Two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words in delivering the cup to me, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee," the words struck through my heart, and I knew that God for Christ's sake had forgiven me all my sins.' So, a few months later (June, 1740), we find Wesley writing: 'I preached on "Do this in remembrance of Me." In latter times many have affirmed that the Lord's Supper is not a converting but a confirming ordinance. Among us it has been diligently taught that none but those who are converted, who are believers in the full sense, ought to communicate. But experience shows the gross falsehood of the assertion that the Lord's Supper is not a converting ordinance. Ye are the witnesses. For many now present know the very beginning of your conversion to God was wrought at the Lord's Supper. . . .

It is a means of conveying to men either preventing or justifying or sanctifying grace, according to their several necessities.'

This strong conviction of the 'evangelistic' purpose of the Lord's Supper finds expression in some of the sacramental hymns:

Come to the Supper, come,
Sinners, there still is room;
Every soul may be His guest,
Jesus gives the general word;
Share the monumental feast,
Eat the Supper of your Lord.

Lord, I have now invited all,
And instant still the guests shall call,
Still shall I all invite to Thee;
For, O my God, it seems but right
In mine, Thy meanest servant's sight,
That where ALL is, there all should be.

The Wesleys invited to the Lord's Table as many as they invited to the Lord, and on the same conditions. So we read in the sermon on 'The Means of Grace' (No. 12): 'All who desire the grace of God are to wait for it in the means He hath ordained. . . . Let all therefore who truly desire the grace of God eat of that bread and drink of that cup.'

4. This brings us to the greatest and most far-reaching change which Wesley's conversion made to his sacramentarianism. In the sermon from which we have just quoted we read: 'But God is above all means. . . . Have a care, therefore, of limiting the Almighty. . . . He can convey His grace, either in or out of the means which He hath appointed. The ordinance in itself, the *opus operatum*, the mere work done, profiteth nothing. . . . Even what God ordains conveys no grace to the soul if you trust not in Him alone.' This difference meant everything to Wesley, as it means to us. Before 1738 he had attended the communion with a scrupulous regularity, because it was his

'bounden duty' to obey this and all the other commands of God and of the Church. By such meticulous obedience he trusted to render his life acceptable to God. After 1738 he still comes to the Table, not in slavish obedience to an arbitrary law, but to hold commune with his Lord and to feed his heart, still 'strangely warmed,' upon the Love Divine. The difference is hard to express in words, more easily felt than described, and Wesley says little about it. But he and his brother have left a record of that great change, in verses which bear the date of 1740, and which deserve careful study by all students of Christian experience.

This is how Wesley describes his sacramentarianism before his conversion:

Oft did I with the assembly join,
  And near Thine altar drew;
A form of godliness was mine,
  The power I never knew.

I rested in the outward law,
  Nor knew its deep design;
The length and breadth I never saw,
  And height of Love Divine.

To please Thee thus, at length I see,
  Vainly I hoped and strove;
For what are outward things to Thee
  Unless they spring from love?

But I of *means* have made my boast,
  Of *means* an idol made,
The spirit in the letter lost,
  The substance in the shade.

And this is how Wesley describes the change. Nothing is altered outwardly; he is at the same service, in the same place, but inwardly there is a new creation:

Still for Thy lovingkindness, Lord,
  I in Thy temple wait;
I look to find Thee in Thy word,
  Or at Thy table meet.

Here, in Thy own appointed ways,
I wait to learn Thy will;
Silent, I stand before Thy face,
And hear Thee say 'Be still.'

I wait my vigour to renew,
Thine image to retrieve,
The veil of outward things pass through,
And gasp in Thee to live.

For Wesley, at the holy Table, nothing was altered, but all things had become new.

To the end of his life Wesley held that only an ordained presbyter should administer the sacraments. That conviction, right or wrong, involved him and involved the Methodists in the gravest difficulty. Consistently with that belief it was impossible to make adequate provision for the due observance of the Lord's Supper among the very people to whom he had taught his doctrine of 'Constant Communion.' From the Church of England but little and uncertain help could be obtained, and Wesley to the end refused to allow his preachers to supply the need, save in the rare instances in which they were either ordained clergy or specially commissioned by himself. The famous 'Korah' sermon was delivered at Cork in 1789 to restrain certain impetuous Irish preachers from administering the sacraments without due authority.

But Wesley did his best. He had long since come to believe that orders could be conveyed by presbyters without the presence of a bishop, and between 1784 and 1789 he had himself ordained twenty-seven Methodist preachers to the full ministry. But of the twenty-seven, only three were to exercise their ministry in England; one of these, Mather, was ordained a 'superintendent' (ἐπίσκοπος), as Coke had been for America. There can be little doubt that Wesley hoped in this way to provide for the administration of the sacraments among the Methodists after he himself was gone, should circumstances render such arrangements necessary. But after Wesley died the Methodists refused to take a step

which would seem to involve separation from the Church. At their first Conference they resolved 'to continue united to the Established Church,' though the significant words were added, 'so far as the blessed work in which we are engaged will permit.'

The next Conference was so acutely divided on the subject that it was decided at last to determine the question 'by lot.' The lot was drawn by Adam Clarke, and it read: 'You shall not give the sacrament this year.' For three years longer the *status quo* was maintained; the Methodists must either go to the parish church for the sacrament or they must do without it altogether, except in London and the few other places for which special provision had been made. At last it became sadly clear that the price of loyalty to the Established Church was the spiritual starvation of multitudes of Methodists. The people themselves increasingly insisted on the change, and at last the Conference yielded. The famous 'Plan of Pacification' was passed in 1795, and permission was given for the observance of the Lord's Supper in Methodist chapels.

But the permission was limited and hedged about by strange and various restrictions. The sacrament must not be administered in any place without the express consent of Conference, or without the wish of the majority of the trustees, leaders, and stewards. Another restriction, which strikes us in these latter days with amazement, provided that 'The sacrament shall never be administered on those Sundays on which it is administered in the parish church.' For the same reason it was enacted that the sacrament should be administered in Methodist chapels 'in the evening,' in order to avoid 'Church hours' and the appearance of a rival altar. And so there came into being a thing entirely new to Methodism—the Sunday evening communion service—and Wesley's wonderful morning sacramental services were forgotten. All this was done out of deference to the Church of England! But the Methodists have paid a sad

price for the pathetic loyalty of their fathers to their old, unkindly mother. Adam Clarke, writing in 1816, said: 'The Methodists in England have incomparably more grace and more stability since the introduction of the sacraments than before.' But those four years of prohibition, followed by the restrictions of 1795, created a tradition which went far to annul the teaching and example of John Wesley, and sowed seeds of which we reap the harvest even to this day.

When once it was decided to administer the sacraments, Conference had little difficulty in deciding by whom they should be administered. All the preachers 'in full connexion' shared in the joint pastorate of the Methodist Societies, and, as the administration of the Lord's Supper is essentially a 'pastoral' function, it was clear that the duty devolved upon them all. A few of them had been ordained, but Conference decided that no distinction should be made between them and their brethren. No hands, either of 'Superintendent' Mather or any one else, were laid upon the unordained, but every preacher in full connexion was allowed to administer.

What would the author of the 'Korah' sermon have said of their decision? It is perhaps useless to inquire. But Moore, one of Wesley's preachers, whom he ordained in 1789, has left on record a curious conversation which he had with Wesley when that sermon was first published. Wesley had argued in his sermon that it was not the function of an 'evangelist,' as such, to administer the sacrament, but that it was the peculiar prerogative of presbyters. Moore said to Wesley: 'Sir, you know that the "evangelists" Timothy and Titus were ordered by the apostles to ordain bishops in every place, and surely they could not impart to them an authority which they did not themselves possess.' Moore says: 'He looked earnestly at me for some time, but not with displeasure. He made no reply, and soon introduced another subject. . . . I said no more.'

THOMAS H. BARRATT.

POST-WAR ANGLO-SAXON PULPITS[1]

THE first half of the present year will be remembered for the number and variety of its anniversaries, the distinguished deaths which it brought, and the national or personal interest of the great associations it recalled. Sir Christopher Wren's bicentenary reminded us that the genius who endowed the British Empire with its spiritual centre was supreme, not only in his own special line of achievement, but in many other fields of science and art. The same season which brought with it that commemoration reminded us that exactly a hundred years after Wren (1823) the collection in book shape of 'Elia's' scattered writings established Charles Lamb as the re-creator of the English essay. The first month of Spring, a little later, withdrew from work and life a performer in occasional letters who nearly half a century since produced in *The New Republic* the happiest contribution to English belles-lettres since Laurence Oliphant's *Piccadilly*, followed as it was in 1880 by the same writer's *Land of Gilead*, a really epochal work, since it diffused and deepened among the better sort of nineteenth-century youth that taste for Near Eastern travel and research whose latest results in the Nile Valley tombs achieved by the fifth Earl of Carnarvon have conferred a new distinction upon a title hitherto chiefly associated with warfare, politics, and sport. In this way, and by personal agencies not primarily scientific, the twentieth century has familiarized itself with the details and appliances as they existed in the palace centuries before the Mosaic commission to elaborate into life a people to His praise (*The Dream of*

[1] *Political Christianity*, by A. Maude Royden (Putnam's Sons, 1922); *Prayer as a Force*, by A. Maude Royden (Putnam's Sons, 1922); *The True History of Joshua Davidson*, by Mrs. Lynn Linton; *Lectures Delivered at Lothbury*, by Henry Melvill (Rivingtons, 1876).

Gerontius. Burns, Oates & Co., 1878). No writer of his time exercised a greater influence upon the receptive mind of English youth than the shrewd, eccentric citizen of the world who had taken for his province all forms of faith, all periods of literature and civilization. The late Lord Carnarvon, whose interest in the prehistoric past, overpowering that in the present, withdrew him from the Turf, was scarcely of an age to recall the Highclere visits of his father's friend, the cosmopolitan genius just mentioned. Oliphant's writings, inspired by Near Eastern travel, had long possessed a personal interest for him, as indeed his whole family. A turn for antiquarian research was also not less hereditary in the Herbert family than the taste for classical scholarship. Neither was exclusively confined to the Somerset and Berkshire line of the family, for the Pembroke Earls, from which the Carnarvon Peerage sprung, produced an accomplished man of letters in that master of Wilton House who pleasantly condensed the experiences of his South Sea voyages into *The Earl and the Doctor*. Between the older and younger branch of the Herbert line the connexion is less close and ancient than is sometimes remembered. Thomas Arnold of Rugby, his eldest son, and the new (the sixth) Lord Carnarvon's grandfather, have all commemorated the companion in arms of the Lord Falkland, together with whom he fell in the second Newbury fight (October 27, 1644). There is no lineal connexion between the seventeenth and twentieth-century Carnarvon Earls. The first Earl of Carnarvon was not a Herbert at all, but a Dormer, promoted for personal merit to a title chosen by himself. Afterwards the Dormers died out and the Herberts entered into their place. With Highclere and its Herbert hosts there naturally connects itself the accomplished belletrist to whose loss reference has been already made. It is but four years less than half a century since that in Laurence Oliphant's particular walk of genius. The succession to that man of genius was recognized in W. H.

Mallock's *New Republic*; that book chiefly owed its immediate and wide success to its reflection on Jowett's personal characteristics, its parody of his homiletic manner, and the pleasure which, like other people, he found in wealthy, witty, and well-born society. The then master, who was also the nineteenth-century re-creator of the college, might probably enough have never seen the book, or resented, if indeed he saw it, the so-called caricature of himself, but for the amiable intervention of good-natured friends; he had never cultivated, as he did that of some undergraduates, Mallock's acquaintance—possibly because Mallock's avuncular associations could scarcely have predisposed Jowett in favour of the unawed self-assertive youth inheriting those peculiar gifts of mind and pen descending to him from his Froude ancestry. The Oxford literary style found its most famous nineteenth-century exponents in J. H. Newman, in one of Newman's disciples Hurrell Froude, and above all in the historian J. A. Froude himself. Both these gifted brethren might well recognize, as they did in Jowett's simple well-balanced English, a dangerous rivalry to their own literary gifts. The elder—that is, the ecclesiastical—of the two Froude brothers possessed all the family endowments of the pen; he excelled also in the quiet and incisive satire cultivated with such effect by his younger and more famous kinsman. Some one had told him of the disapproving ignorance with which a member of the new Reform Parliament had received at St. Stephen's a quotation from Homer. 'Fancy,' he innocently observed, 'a gentleman not knowing Greek.' Hurrell Froude, like Newman, was a Fellow of Oriel, and is reputed to have compared the Oriel common-room converse to heaven. A certain Balliol and Oriel rivalry could scarcely have been expected to predispose the nephew of the Froudes in Benjamin Jowett's favour. Fame did not diminish the youthful Mallock's sensitiveness. In this way various little incidents not worth recalling produced a feeling of

insufficient appreciation by the great Balliol master. On the other hand, Jowett's most devoted pupils numbered several among the most eminent persons of the time who had communicated to their families enthusiastic reverence for the most illustrious head of the college since the days of Wyclif. In the years now recalled the most distinguished of lady residents on the Isis was Miss Rhoda Broughton, who had chosen the place for family reasons as her home. The only nineteenth-century authoress whose ideas of human duty and social reform might have appealed to Miss Royden was Mrs. Lynn Linton, in her unregenerate days the *Saturday Review* assailant of the 'Shrieking Sisterhood,' but afterwards partially at least converted to tolerance, if not active support, of the movement whose twentieth-century triumph has added Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham to the House of Commons. The heroines of the nineteenth-century pen lived, worked, and conquered long before they could have inspired Miss Royden with any interest in the personal example of their genius and courage. Five years, however, in advance of Miss Royden's birth there had appeared Mrs. Lynn Linton's *Joshua Davidson*, in whose central thought Miss Royden might have seen much in common with her own ideas of social and political reconstruction.

The social and political problems growing out of or connected with the nineteenth-century Franco-German War had inspired Tennyson's successor in the Laureateship with the epic drama which he had used before, but which now was more happily applied to the composition for which it still serves as title. The first canto of the *Human Tragedy* traces the development of love, the second deals with the contest between that passion and religion. Afterwards comes the force of patriotism. The fourth canto introduces a new force in mankind. The poetic aggregate thus constituted finds its explanation in these lines:

See then, my child, the tragedy, and see
What feeds it. Love, Religion, Country, all
That deepest, dearest, most enduring be,
That makes us noble, and that holds us thrall,
Once gone, the beasts were no more gross than we—
'Tis these for which the victims fastest fall;
Man's self in days that are as days that were,
Suppliant alike and executioner!

Now once again this tragedy, this jar
Of conscience against conscience, hath, meseems,
In Paris struck the flinty flame of War;
Likely, they slay for straws, they die for dreams,
But things that seem must still be things that are,
To half-experienced man, who perforce deems
He doth not dream, but knows not, nor can know,
Till death brings sleep or waking, is it so.

Alfred Austin's best work had been done before Miss Royden was born. Her knowledge of the writer and his work may have begun and ended in the poet's family connexion with the great county next to her own native Lancashire. Miss Royden's father was a personage in the Anglo-American shipping trade, an early director of the Cunard Line. The Romanist stock from which came Austin's Yorkshire forefathers may well have had, not only business but personal connexions with the Lancashire shipping magnates of Miss Royden's birthplace. At any rate, there may be seen a good deal of sympathy between some among the central thoughts in the last of nineteenth-century Laureates and the Lancashire-born lady which have given her a place among the twentieth-century forces of platform, pulpit, and press.

A right understanding, however, of this remarkable lady's development and influence makes it well to recall, not only the spiritual or intellectual association of her own time, but also the movements and the ideas amid which she has grown up. Essentially the product of her period, she showed from the first her readiness to submit herself to its best teachings. James Fraser's Manchester episcopate had done much to

spiritualize and morally equip the minds and consciences, not only of those brought into personal connexion with him, but of all who had been impressed by and adopted for imitation his spiritual and social teachings. To the personal activities of that great and good man an end was put by death during Miss Royden's childhood. His influence, however, survived, and with it there came the determination to extend the limits of the national Church to the point at which it would achieve a comprehensiveness worthy of its name. That catholicity reflected itself throughout all the religious bodies in communion with or not hostile to the Anglican communion. Her native Church of England had thus naturally become the pattern for all other religious organizations on the other side of the Atlantic. To an imagination as quick and sympathetic as Maude Royden's there was something profoundly attractive in the growth in the New World of the religion whose world-wide possibilities had a constant place in the talk of the great and good men who were the reminiscences of her earliest girlhood. Her schooldays and the congenial activities which followed them had brought her under influences as energizing and remarkable as any of those to which she had been subjected at home. The founder of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, had little in common with the fashionable instructresses of her time, who described their mission as 'the manufacture of clever girls into charming women.' Miss Beale's tact in dealing with her pupils was equal to her earnestness; she had a perception, instinctive as well as strengthened and improved by practice, of every pupil's moral and mental aptitudes, as well as on the treatment by which in each particular case these qualities were to be trained for personal and social usefulness and the defects incidental to merits were to be reformed. Duty and worth, public and private, were the watchwords of her system. During her preparation for the business of life Miss Royden found in another lady, Mrs. Josephine Butler, one among those forces of the time

whose adaptability and zeal for social service made the young lady from Cheltenham College one of her most zealous recruits. To a girl of Miss Royden's varied tastes and constantly increasing and widening interests, her native capital on the Mersey might have been thought an inexhaustible field of social study, rich in opportunity for good works, as well as connected by its personal associations with memories of names that must have made a strong appeal to a singularly observant, vivacious, and amiable temper, like the young lady who, at the close of her school-days, found herself constantly recalling Kingsley's words:

> Do the thing that's nearest,
> Though it's dull at whiles,
> Helping, when you meet them,
> Lame dogs over stiles.

The lines were sometimes on the lips and habitually in the minds of many among Miss Royden's contemporaries of age and sex. These could not have included Edward Denison, who in the depth of an exceptionally severe winter exchanged his Mayfair home for an East End lodging in the very heart of squalling and necessitous dockland. The tradition of Denison's philanthropic enterprise lingered in many memories till Miss Royden's day. Herself then but unfrequently in London, she found ample scope for beneficent energies like those of Edward Denison and others in the poorest and gloomiest district of her native city, where she established the Victoria Women's Settlement. The twentieth-century's first decade brought Miss Royden a temporary change of scene in the tasks to which she had devoted herself. Luffenham (South and North), in the smallest of English counties, has constantly supplied fox-hunters with their favourite head quarters, and has been largely dependent for its welfare on the atmospheric or social changes of the season. During the fall of the year its stables and training-grounds have given well-paid if sometimes fitful employment to trainers, stablemen, and all to

do with them in that pursuit which has perhaps never completely recovered itself since the Great War. This was the district whose vicissitudes and contrasts she conceived the idea of exploring as an alternative to her labours in the neighbourhood perennially darkened by cloud and smoke as well as fraught with anxieties—demanding some relief or change of scene and occupation. The neighbourhood she had chosen possessed a special interest for Miss Royden, not from the sport whose head quarters it contained, but from the social and industrial contrasts as well as necessities, which she was not slow to note. The high wages of its working class, and the lavish if fitful generosity of its wealthy *habitués*, would have ensured, it might have been thought, an average unfailingly high of general prosperity. The rich men from London or from local capitals who kept their hunters in its stables were, however, paymasters, if often precarious, yet too lavish as a whole for promoting in the strangely mixed population the virtues of self-denial and thrift. Miss Royden saw at a glance where the leakage was. The weather had been unfavourable. The crops that were the chief products of the neighbourhood had been the worst known for many years. It was for Miss Royden to show the villagers how a reasonable amount of self-denial and care might in future make them independent alike of the atmospheric and agricultural vicissitudes. No experience of town or country likely to increase serviceableness to her generation but was cultivated by Miss Royden, and added some fresh feature to the programme of Anglo-Saxon usefulness prepared for her by events. Nor could any locality than her Lancashire birthplace have abounded in influences and associations more stimulating and strengthening to her spiritual and intellectual life. No provincial metropolis rejoiced in a social atmosphere, not only so cosmopolitan, but so likely to inspire in a congenial nature a passion for good works. The wealthiest and most illustrious of Lancashire capitals was also famous for its

intellectual traditions; the representation of these by the eighteenth and nineteenth-century historian, William Roscoe, was an ancient but outstanding memory with some of Miss Royden's elders. By these the author of *Lorenzo the Magnificent* was recalled as only one among the local patrons of literature whose munificent and discriminating patronage had been to the County Palatine in the eighteenth century what the Florentine and Genoese merchant princes were to the writers of mediaeval Italy. The cosmopolitan conversation heard by Miss Royden in her paternal home as regards world-wide variety of subjects and interests may well have recalled to her early womanhood the lectures on Chaucerian England which she had attended at the Cheltenham Ladies' College. National needs, sorrows, interests, and, above all, class and social contrasts throughout the English-speaking world, were subjects with which the domestic table-talk may well have broadened her social and spiritual horizons, and expanded a consciousness of domestic obligations into a sense of serviceableness transcending all differences of rank and varieties of nation. That idea, we have already seen, was shared by her with other writers, roughly speaking, of her time; at different angles of thought it animated, not only the writers of her own sex before her time already mentioned, but, in the final form of that poem and its topical references, Alfred Austin's *Human Tragedy*. In dealing, however, with time topics, no thinker, writer, or speaker ever owed less to her precursors or contemporaries than Miss Royden. From early girlhood she inhaled a philanthropic atmosphere. Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Marcella* appeared when Miss Royden was but seventeen, and no doubt impressed the young lady from Cheltenham College, as young ladies elsewhere. Miss Royden, however, owed no more to its inspiration than she did to *Robert Elsmere*, or than represents Goldsmith's debt in *The Vicar of Wakefield* to Richardson's 'Lovelace' in *Clarissa*. The intensity of her fellow feeling for the perplexities and troubles of her

time acted equally as a humanizing and spiritualizing force. Miss Royden's 'discipleship' to Mrs. Josephine Butler may have come from posthumous influence rather than personal association.

For Miss Royden, however, as a twentieth-century world-teacher on both sides of the Atlantic, the most appropriate comparison might seem that with Leo Count Tolstoy, whose social and intellectual influence began to make itself felt through Europe on the publication of his first great book, *War and Peace* (1856-68). The purpose and effect of Tolstoy's writings was to enforce the contrast between the Christianity of the Bible and of the Churches in something after the same fashion as was afterwards to be done by Mrs. Linton in *Joshua Davidson* and to some extent by Austin's *Human Tragedy*. The note thus and then struck sounds audibly through Miss Royden's *Political Christianity*, the date of whose publication was nearly, if not quite, the same as the other volume now before me, *Prayer as a Force*. Greek art, literature, and philosophy had won a permanent place during Miss Royden's school years in the Ladies' College's curriculum. To those studies and their spiritual results *Political Christianity* is as definite and significant a tribute as any of the bulkier volumes periodically issuing from Newnham or Girton. At any rate, the volumes just mentioned have a twofold interest, if only because they indicate and reflect the high-water mark of a culture first provided by the nineteenth-century ladies' colleges for the future wives and daughters of the upper section of the middle class. Crime and misery as the unfailing offspring of folly and sin, she had learned from the Greek drama, inevitably resulted from some earlier misdeed, the product, not of some deliberate iniquity, but the involuntary issue of personal innocence confused and misdirected by a blinding conflict of duties, to that agonizing consciousness of foreseeing the destined evil and of inability to avert it. The conspiracy of the elements against the Troy-bound fleet

demands the murder of his daughter by the *generalissimo* of the expedition. Then comes the victory and the victor's re-establishment in his native palace, less as it is fated, to resume his reign than to expiate the murder of his daughter. The Greek hero's son swells the chapter of family crime by slaying his father's murderess, only himself to become a Furies-driven wanderer. The superhuman avenging powers resolve themselves into a court of justice. Orestes escapes with his life by the casting vote of Apollo. In her reference to the Agamemnon episode Miss Royden dwells especially on a smaller incident of Cassandra, in whom she sees something of an inspired prophetess. Another ornament of the Attic stage deals in its own manner with the same perplexity or obscuration of human duties as that treated by Aeschylus. At the command of unwritten but always inexorable natural duty Antigone elects to die rather than dishonour her dead brother's body. Meanwhile the Mycenian ruler's son Haemon, betrothed to Antigone, learns the burial alive to which his own father has doomed his bride-elect, and in the impotence of despair takes his own life.

The nations and their rulers of our day are, in effect, says Miss Royden, as distracted by an antagonism of patriotic and moral obligations as any of those fabled in Greek tragedy. In what direction, revealed by what light, lies the one path which can lead mankind to safety and peace? The answer given (*Political Christianity*, p. 28) is less political than Miss Royden considers most of her discourse on this subject. It amounts, indeed, to that counsel of perfection that formed the moral of *Joshua Davidson*, and towards which Alfred Austin's muse in the *Human Tragedy* faintly and shudderingly pointed her finger.

> Forgiveness to the injured does belong;
> But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.[1]

'There is but one way,' says Miss Royden (*Political Christianity*,

[1] Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada*, Part II., Act i., Sc. 2.

p. 28), 'of breaking the awful entail by which justice produces injustice.' It may not be politics, but it is Christianity, and it is the latter because, very early in her course the poems of Jonathan Edwards, among other influences, had brought home to her the fact that amid all diversities of doctrine and organization, Christianity, in its differing developments on both sides of the Atlantic, unites in a common faith the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race. The National Establishment on the south coast was recently impoverished by the death of a well-read and devotedly earnest son, blessed with a partner as earnest and gifted as himself. 'I think,' were his last words to that lady, 'you might as well keep my surplices; you may find them useful perhaps.' So it has proved—consolations of widowhood. A perpetual round of good works includes a weekly discourse, less, indeed, after the manner of Miss Royden than the one earlier homilist of her sex whose pulpit gifts, personified in Elizabeth Evans, George Eliot's aunt, the 'Dinah Morris' of *Adam Bede*, have come down to us by the tongue of tradition or the pen of history. As for 'mere man' post-war pulpit precedents, that which exactly fits our own time and its problems is Henry Melvill, whose St. Paul's sermons and Lothbury lectures are as relevant to the present reconstruction period as if the volume containing them bore, instead of 1876, a date of nearly half a century afterwards (see especially in the Lothbury Lectures that on 'The Return of the Dispossessed Spirit').

T. H. S. Escott.

A GREAT PARLIAMENT MAN[1]

MR. GARDINER undertook to write this *Life* at the request of Lord Harcourt, not only because he was personally attracted to it, but because he believed that it had an enduring human interest and an important political value. He says, 'I did not anticipate any difficult or obscure problem of character to encounter me in attempting the portraiture of Harcourt. He was writ large and very plain. He was natural and spontaneous, elemental and singularly child-like. He wore his heart on his sleeve, and it was a very big heart. It was easily moved, and when it was moved the calculations of the head went by the board. . . . His thoughts lay clear as pebbles in a brook. When he was angry he exploded in violent wrath, and when he was happy—and few men have been endowed with such an abounding gift of happiness—he exhaled an atmosphere of gaiety and good humour that warmed the general air.' Lord Harcourt lived to see the first volume written. His chief occupation after he retired from office had been to gather and arrange the vast mass of material bearing upon his father's career, and on those official documents, private memoranda, contemporary criticisms, and tens of thousands of letters Mr. Gardiner has based the *Life*. He has also had the advantage of using the journal which Lord Harcourt kept whilst he was private secretary to his father in 1881–5 and 1892–5. The result is an outstanding biography. We seem to live through all the scenes of Sir William's public life. It is essentially a political biography, and opinions will be strongly divided as to many of the situations here described, but it is a real contribution to the understanding

[1] *The Life of Sir William Harcourt.* By A. G. GARDINER. 2 vols. (London: Constable & Co. 1923.)

of not a few events of our parliamentary history during a memorable half-century.

William Vernon Harcourt was born on October 14, 1827, either in his father's rectory at Wheldrake, six miles from York, or more probably in York itself, where Canon Harcourt was then Canon in residence. The child's grandfather had been for twenty years Archbishop of York, and held the See till his death in 1847, in his ninety-first year. He went about his diocese in a carriage and four, played a conspicuous part in the House of Lords, served on the Queen's Council during the illness of George III, preached the sermon at the coronation of George IV, and took part in the coronation and the marriage of Queen Victoria. Dr. Vernon succeeded to the family estates in 1830, and changed his name to Harcourt.

Canon Harcourt was the Archbishop's fourth son. He was the most precocious of the family of sixteen children, and when nine years old was criticizing quantities in his brother's Latin verses and turning them into excellent English. He entered the Navy at the age of twelve, and on his way to his ship sat in the House of Commons from four in the afternoon till three next morning. He told his father that he heard Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wyndham, and had been delighted with 'the amazing eloquence and happiness' of Wyndham's speech. When his brother Edward died his father, whom Pitt had made Bishop of Carlisle, gave William permission to enter the Church if he wished. He went to Christ Church, Oxford, and after his ordination in 1814 became the Archbishop's chaplain and Vicar of Bishopthorpe. He afterwards became Rector of Wheldrake, and finally Rector of Bolton Percy, where he remained till he succeeded to the Nuneham estates in 1861. He was devoted to chemistry, founded the Science Museum in York, organized the first meeting of the British Association held at York in 1831, and was appointed general secretary. In 1839 he was elected President, and gave his address on the discovery of the composition of

water. He had two sons and five daughters. William was the second son. Theirs was a busy household. The father took no holidays and thought his children needed none. As a boy William helped his father with his farm accounts and provided his mother with a glass inspection hive for her bees. When he was eight he went to a private school at Southwell, near Nottingham. Three years later he tells his father: 'I think, as you say, that Milton is rather too learned for me, for some of the passages I have to read over and over again before I understand them, so that I do not get on very quick with it, and I am afraid it will be a long time before I know enough of Greek, Latin, and Italian to write such verses as Milton's.'

From Southwell he passed with his elder brother to Durnford, near Salisbury, as one of six private pupils under Canon Parr. In 1840 the Canon became Vicar of Preston, in Lancashire, where he took his pupils with him. The classics occupied most of their time. William writes: 'We learn sixteen lines of Virgil every morning and then say forty lines of repetition on Saturday.' He did not care much for sport, but was deeply religious. On October 16, 1840, he wrote: 'I have now just entered on my thirteenth year, and have up to this time, I must to my sorrow confess, lived in neglect of Thee, but now by the assistance of Thy Holy Spirit do resolve to follow Thee, the only God, and to renounce the service of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, and the more to strengthen me in this resolution I have determined to draw up a solemn dedication of myself to Thee, which I mean on the return of each Sabbath day to read and ratify by Thy grace—Signed, W. G. V. Harcourt.' The covenant follows, and twelve dates are added, which show that it was faithfully read during the following weeks.

After leaving Preston he studied at home for two years, and in 1846, when approaching his nineteenth birthday, went up to Cambridge as a gentleman commoner at Trinity

College. He had reached his full height of six feet three and a half inches, and carried himself with ease and self-confidence. 'The boldly sculptured face, with its wide-set eyes, strong nose, and ample mobile mouth, was instinct with intelligence and humour, and his general bearing had that suggestion of the gladiator which he carried with him to the end of his days.' One of his contemporaries says he 'made a great impression on me. He was taller and handsomer than the others, and he knew more of literature and politics than any of us. He was witty and full of anecdotes of distinguished men who were only names to me, and he had a talent for conversation which was very unusual.'

He studied carefully, and took an active part in the debates at the Union. Before the end of his first year he became an 'Apostle,' and his tussles with Fitzjames Stephen soon attracted attention. Harcourt was superior to his antagonist in adroitness and chaff, but 'the encounters were veritable battles of the gods.' Harcourt's special friend was Julian Fane, who joined the society later, and was, as Harcourt says, 'the salt and life of those well-remembered evenings. He had interest in every topic and sympathy with every mind, and when graver discussions were exhausted would delight us inexperienced schoolboys with the tales of the great world outside, of which we had seen nothing, and of which he knew as much as a man of fifty.'

Harcourt's health made it necessary for him to winter at Madeira in 1847, and it was still unsatisfactory when he returned in April, 1848. He now began to dominate the Union. He belonged to a Tory family, but his own sympathies were turning towards Liberalism. Mr. Gardiner says that he 'developed a reasoned view of government, based in many respects on a conception of Liberalism well in advance of the Whig thought of the time, and on no fundamental issue did he ever depart from it. If he shifted his ground, it was usually to the Left, and a comparison of his parliamentary record with his undergraduate convictions

reveals not only a rare continuity of thought, but an even rarer loyalty to that thought in action.'

His reputation in the Union led Mr. Cook, editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the Peelite paper, to come from London to offer the youth of twenty-one a post as leader-writer. He was to have £20 for six articles. He began his contributions in the Long Vacation of 1849. They were sonorous and highly dignified, but had little of the sparkle of his later writing. He graduated as eighth in the Classical Tripos of 1851 and as a Senior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos.

He came to London that spring and entered Lincoln's Inn, reading in the chambers of James Shaw Willes, who formed the highest opinion of his legal promise. His sole source of income was journalism, which was also his mainstay for some years after he was called to the Bar. His reputation as a political writer was growing. He tells his father, 'I only go to political parties now, which I do not consider waste of time.' He generally spent the week-ends with his Uncle George at Nuneham, where he made friends with Gladstone, 'who is the man of all those going I have most respect for.' He became increasingly intimate with the Gladstones and Herberts, and tells his sister in 1858: 'I breakfast with Gladstone on Monday. Mrs. G. is a great ally of mine, as also Mrs. Sidney Herbert, who is the most beautiful woman it is possible to see.'

He was already writing on international law, though the letters signed 'Jus Gentium' were more ponderous and less finished than the famous series by 'Historicus.' They show, however, 'the same skill in marshalling authorities, the same ability to discover the weak points of his opponent's reasoning, and the same enormous industry and persistence.' On May 1, 1854, he was called to the Bar, and began his legal career on the Home Circuit. He reports that he had a fair share of business in town, and was in a great case in the Privy Council with Sir J. Kelly. He applied for the post of secretary to Lord Canning in India, but Mr. Willes was made

an Indian Judge and passed over his business to his old pupil. This kept Harcourt in England.

His legal work was now enlarged, and the establishment of the *Saturday Review*, with Mr. Cook as editor, gave him new opportunities as a journalist. Mr. Gardiner says the ringing blows of his quarter-staff and his boisterous chaff make his articles gay and refreshing reading even seventy years after they were penned. 'He writes, as it were, in his shirt-sleeves, out of a full mind and the abundance of his animal spirits, using the racy style and the picturesque illustration which afterwards made him the most entertaining platform speaker of his time.'

In April, 1859, he stood as Liberal candidate for the Kirkcaldy Burghs, but the local magnate kept his seat by a slender majority of eighteen votes. Harcourt's supporters were so pleased with his candidature that they presented him with a silver epergne and a silver claret jug. He was married in November to Thérèse Lister, whose mother was now the wife of Sir George Cornewall Lewis. The young folk settled in Pont Street. Their first child, called Julian, after his father's friend, died at the age of eighteen months. A second son, the future Lord Harcourt, was born on January 31, 1868, but his mother died the same day. That shattering blow was followed two months later by the death of Sir George Cornewall Lewis. Harcourt wrote, 'To me the loss is irreparable. He was a second father, my guide, philosopher, and friend. Another sheet-anchor of my life is severed, and I am more than ever adrift.' Harcourt had called his second son Reginald, but now had him re-christened Lewis, after his mother's stepfather. They moved to Wimbledon Common for the boy's sake. When 'Loulou' was four they dined together in state on Christmas Day. 'Loulou in his finest clothes and a crown at one end of the table, and I in my black velvet court suit and knees and buckles at the other, drinking solemn toasts in fits of inextinguishable laughter.' Harcourt's intense affection for

Loulou became a legend of the social and political world. He tells Mr. Chamberlain in 1891: 'He grows every year in grace with God and man, and is the joy of my life.'

The increase of his legal work led Harcourt to give up writing for the *Saturday Review* in April, 1859. He had acquired consideration with the Government, and was entrusted by them with important commissions. The American Civil War gave rise to many difficulties with England, and led Harcourt to deal with the duties of neutral nations towards belligerents in his famous Historicus letters to the *Times*. He had been Delane's neighbour in the Temple ten years before, and despite his severe criticisms of the policy of *The Times* in the *Saturday Review*, they were still personal friends. Harcourt stood for moral as well as political neutrality, and Delane, whose policy was far different, recognized the value of such contributions and gave him the ear of the world. Mr. Gardiner says Harcourt's sympathies were with the North, but through the long discussion he preserved a judicial detachment from the merits of the quarrel, and aimed solely at stating the legal case as each new issue between the countries arose. He was 'the spokesman of English policy to the unofficial world, but he was also in no small degree the author as well as the defender of that policy. He not only justified action when it was taken, but he largely dictated the nature of the action by the force of his preliminary arguments. At each critical stage it was his robust thought and his astonishing industry in the pursuits of precedents, especially precedents provided by the jurists of the United States, that clarified the discussion and cleared the path to reasonable decisions.'

He had taken silk in 1866 and had had dreams of becoming Lord Chief Justice. His reputation steadily grew, and in 1868 he was elected one of the members for Oxford. Some thought he would be made Solicitor-General, but Collier could not be set aside. Gladstone offered him the position of Judge-Advocate-General, but that he declined. He told

a friend: 'I should not regret having a little heedless rhetoric below the gangway before I go into the dull harness of office. To go there at once would be like marrying at sixteen.' He was appointed Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge in 1869, and entered on his work with no little pleasure. His maiden speech in Parliament was a marked success. He applied himself in these early days to legal rather than general political subjects, but in 1870, in the Education Bill debates, he urged that the religious instruction in rate-aided schools should be undenominational in character, and confined to unsectarian instruction in the Bible. He now crossed swords for the first time with Gladstone. Mr. Gardiner says, 'The two men, though they were perhaps more nearly agreed on the main issues of politics than any of their leading contemporaries, were born to strike mutual sparks. Both were intellectual autocrats, and intolerant of opposition, and temperamentally they were remote from each other. Harcourt to the end was sensible of Mr. Gladstone's moral grandeur, but his high spirits were a little chilled by his senior's enormous seriousness. He loved the fun of the fight, and could not restrain his gift of caricature, and his tendency to drive in his points with an exaggerated phrase offended the austere mind of Gladstone, whose excesses proceeded from the other extreme of an ingenious intellect so painfully concerned to be exact that it often gave the impression of a deliberate attempt to obscure the truth.'

He became Solicitor-General in November, 1873, but the Liberals were defeated in the following autumn. The Public Worship Bill introduced by Archbishop Tait led to an open conflict between Gladstone and Harcourt. Gladstone regarded the Church as a divine institution which owed no homage to the secular will of the state. Harcourt was 'both by origin, taste, and training the most unmystical of Erastians. He was a sound Church and State man, who stood upon the rock of the blessed Revolution, spoke of the Prayer

Book as the schedule to an Act of Parliament, and regarded the Church as an institution by law established, over which Parliament presided as a court, armed with pains and penalties. Between these two hostile views there could be no reconciliation, and the attack on Ritualism brought them into sharp collision.' Harcourt wrote letters to *The Times* with much the same zest as he had put into the Historicus series, and at Westminster the struggle became largely a duel between himself and Gladstone. Harcourt praised Disraeli's attitude in the matter, and urged him not to draw back. He was firmly convinced that the Church of England could only be saved by Protestantizing it, and that this could only be done by the State which originally made it Protestant. He was in constant communication with Archbishop Tait throughout the struggle, and both of them rejoiced when the Bill became law.

Sir William, even as an undergraduate, had been active against the 'Romanizer in the Church,' and wished to have a meeting of undergraduates on the subject, but the Vice-Chancellor would not allow it to be held. He never changed his attitude in the matter. The Benefices Bill of 1898 aroused all his fighting spirit. He was also strongly opposed to the question of a Catholic University for Ireland. Dr. Rigg, who was then editor of this REVIEW, wrote to thank him for standing forth as the champion of Protestant teaching, and received a reply from Malwood on November 18, 1898 (see *Life of Dr. Rigg*, p. 319). Sir William says, 'I have long known and admired the distinguished part you have played in that Church which you have so long and so worthily represented, and which has done so much since the days of its great founder to maintain in this country the pure religion of the Protestant faith. It is a great satisfaction to me to know that the efforts I have made in the same cause meet with your approval. I firmly believe that the laity of the Church of England are loyally attached to the principles of the Reformation, and that they have no sympathy with

the ecclesiastical conspiracy which is insidiously at work to undermine the doctrine and the practice of the Reformed Church of England.'

On December 2, 1872, Sir William married Mrs. Ives, the daughter of Motley, the historian, who was the Minister of the United States in London. She is described by Lady St. Helier as 'an extraordinarily pretty young widow,' and had seen much of the world and its greatest figures. Harcourt wrote: 'I am fortunate in having one whom I have known so long and so well to make a home for me and him (his son). She is a good Liberal, and I hope will do her duty to the party and its leaders.' It was a happy marriage, and gave him a second son, Robert, who afterwards entered the Civil Service in the Foreign Office.

In 1880 Sir William became Home Secretary, and found in that great office abundant scope for his interests as a lawyer and as a man in touch with every-day affairs. The criminal business of the whole country, the work of judges and magistrates, and innumerable other concerns filled his mornings. Then came ten hours in the House of Commons. He had generous sympathies for prisoners, and was always thundering against judges or magistrates who were harsh or inconsiderate. The Queen was disturbed at what she thought his undue tenderness to offenders, and he had to pacify her by exhaustive reports. He had Disraeli's art of cultivating royalty. When in attendance at Balmoral in 1882 he tells his son: 'I sit every day at dinner between alternate Princesses, Beatrice, Albany, and Connaught. I have a good deal of baby talk with the Duchess of Connaught, who is a very charming little woman.' He did not forget to write letters of sympathy or congratulation to Queen Victoria on family events, and these were warmly appreciated. He almost succeeded to Disraeli's place in the Queen's admiration, and tells his son, after a visit to Windsor in 1883: 'I should blush to write the civil things that Lady Ely says the Queen is always saying of me.'

In 1886 he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and threw himself with his usual ardour into his difficult task. 'I shall go to the Treasury,' he said, 'and leave the reputation of being the greatest *skinflint* that ever entered the gates.' 'He had imbibed from Cornewall Lewis a passion for public economy; his experience of office had convinced him of the enormity of departmental waste; above all, he had long groaned under the ever-increasing exactions of the war services, and the opportunity of coming to grips with those devouring monsters had a special attraction for the most pugnacious pacifist that ever drew his sword in the cause of brotherly love.' He had a stiff fight with the War Office and the Admiralty, but succeeded in securing reductions which enabled him to avoid the imposition of new taxes. That was the real achievement of his first Budget.

He was a strong supporter of Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme, and many side-lights are thrown on it and on his relations with Gladstone, Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Spencer, and his closest political friend, John Morley. Three months after the introduction of the Budget the new Irish policy led to the overthrow of Gladstone's Government. In his chief's absence Harcourt led the Opposition in the House of Commons with boundless energy and resourcefulness. The Piggott forgery and the judicial investigation was followed by the fall of Parnell and the split in the Nationalist party. In these anxious times Sir William held firmly to his leader and to the Irish settlement. Another subject awoke his keenest interest. He carried on the attack upon the Compensation clauses of the Local Government Bill of 1888 both in the House and in great public meetings, and their abandonment did much to establish Harcourt's popularity with the rank and file of the Liberal party. He was a strong supporter of Local Option, and was indignant when Mr. Gladstone intervened in the debate on the subject in 1894 with a eulogy of the Gothenburg system. 'Does anybody believe,' he asked Mr.

Morley, 'that the real temperance people are going to accept a State traffic in drink *à la* Gothenburg?' His defeat at Derby in 1895 was mainly due to the publicans and their supporters, but that did not shake his convictions. Was the drink trade a great evil that required legislation, or was it not an evil? he asked. 'I desire no fairer issue on which to take the opinion of the English people.'

The Liberal victory of 1892 brought him again to the Exchequer. His Death Duties Budget in 1894 marks what Mr. Gardiner calls 'the zenith of his career.' It was 'a landmark in history—perhaps the weightiest contribution to the problem of the public finance of the country made during the nineteenth century. It established new principles in taxation, and it established them on so solid a basis that they have never since been departed from.' Before Harcourt introduced it the succession to Mr. Gladstone had passed to Lord Rosebery. Harcourt's title seemed unchallenged so far as the House of Commons was concerned. Mr. Morley's influence largely turned the scale against his old friend. This was a great disappointment to Harcourt, and still more to his eldest son, who had long set his heart on seeing his father Prime Minister. He accepted office under Rosebery and led the House of Commons, but found many difficulties, caused by the fact that the Premier was in the House of Lords. Such experience no doubt had its weight in deciding the King's choice of Mr. Baldwin as Prime Minister, which the whole nation endorses. Lord Curzon, whose claims were admitted to be so strong, knows full well how important it is to have the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, and will use all his acknowledged powers and prestige to conduct the foreign affairs of the Empire, which were never so much in need of wise and strong guidance as to-day.

Mr. Gardiner says Harcourt was 'in the best sense of the word that foolishly derided person, "A Little Englander," and he rejoiced in the description. His conception of the function of his country in the affairs of Europe was that of

the peacemaker, the smoother of irritations, the friendly policeman of a rather disorderly mob.' His attitude to the continental powers was that of benevolent impartiality. The new Imperialism which was pervading the Liberal party gave him much concern. But he said in 1899 that he laughed sometimes to hear himself and others denounced as Little Englanders. 'I confess I did not know that there was a "Little England" to belong to. I have always thought that England was the greatest, the most extensive, the most powerful, the most famous nation in the world. . . . If I desire (which I do not) to be a Little Englander, I must cease to be a British citizen, because, being a British citizen, I am necessarily a Great Englander, a citizen of a great Empire.'

Many references in the volumes show how he regarded his contemporaries. 'Nothing,' he said in 1894, 'can prevent Asquith from leading the Liberal party when I am out of the way.' He greatly esteemed Campbell-Bannerman as a wise and strong leader. He pays high tribute to Sir Henry Fowler's great speech on India, 'which will live as a model of parliamentary force and judgement.' His admiration for him was unstinted, though he was out of sympathy with the Imperialism of Rosebery, Fowler, Grey, and Sir Robert Perks. In that respect many will regard him as behind the times.

Not the least charm of these volumes is their picture of Sir William's delight in the home which he made for himself at Malwood. 'The trees, the flowers, the skies, filled him with a perpetual ecstasy, and he threw as much passion into the details of his life in the New Forest as he was accustomed to throw into his attacks on Goschen's budgets or his assaults on the Unionists.' His nephew, who died unmarried in 1904, left him the family estate at Nuneham, but that home never took the place in his affections that Malwood held. The dearest hope of his life was fulfilled when he had the joy of introducing his son Lewis to the House of

Commons as member for Rossendale. His own resignation followed. He was busy with affairs at Nuneham, and was looking forward to the winter at Malwood. On September 30 he wrote a letter to Lady Spencer and left it to be posted next day. He then went to bed and read an article by Mr. Morley in the *Nineteenth Century*. He was found dead in the morning, having passed painlessly away in his sleep. Loving tribute was paid to his life-work. Campbell-Bannerman described him as a fine sample of the grand old type of statesman; Mr. Balfour, whom he had described as 'one of the rare men who make public life tolerable, and even respectable,' spoke of him as 'one of the greatest parliamentary figures we have known in our experience.' His statue in marble, subscribed for by past and present members of both Houses, stands on a pedestal in the members' lobby at Westminster. Sir William had a high temper, which he never mastered, but it was never mean or malicious. Sir L. N. Guillemard, one of his private secretaries at the Treasury, found him from the first 'the kindest of friends, the most stimulating of generous chiefs, the most delightful of companions.' He held strong opinions on many matters, and was outspoken and fearless in advocating them, but even 'those who had fought him in life vied with those who had followed him in their recognition of the splendour of his career, the greatness of his gifts, the generosity of his heart, the wit and the wisdom with which for half a century he had irradiated the public life of the country.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

A NEW WORK ON THE HEXATEUCH

It is now nearly fifty years since Wellhausen, following Graf and Kuenen, worked out, for the composition of the whole of the Hexateuch, the brilliant guess (it was little more) of Astruc. Astruc, as is well known, was led to his suggestion by observing the variety of divine names, hardly to be considered merely accidental, in Genesis. This circumstance, however, has led to a good deal of popular misapprehension. The difference in these names (Jahveh or Jehovah and Elohim or God) fails us after the first few chapters in Exodus; and the differences on which all scholars after Graf have relied in order to distinguish between the various documents have far more to do with style, vocabulary, and religious outlook, than with the two names for God.

But the study of the Hexateuch is now far from confining itself to literary or documentary questions. Indeed, since the beginning of the century, comparatively little has been done in the way of fresh documentary analysis. And no one now thinks of putting down everything that occurs in the later documents (P or 'Priestly writings') as late, and everything that occurs in the earlier as primitive. Some of the most primitive religious ideas and practices mentioned in the Bible occur in P. The Pentateuch (for Joshua has in this respect little to add to the preceding five books) is indeed a manual of religious history and even of ethnology. The broad stream of belief and devotion which flows through it, itself receiving tributaries from the most varied regions of religious faith and social practice, has fertilized all the shores where the study and pursuit of religion find a home. The anthropologist, for example, who is writing a history of human marriage or of initiation ceremonies, will find some of his most striking data in the stories of the Patriarchs; and the theologian who desires to show in what way Jesus fulfilled the law and the prophets must turn to passages in the Law to which Jesus Himself chose to add nothing.

All this takes us far beyond analysis of the documents. The documents can only show us what was the state of religious feeling and practice at the actual periods when they were compiled, and how much of what had been previously accepted was preserved or rejected later. Yet, for all this, the documents, analysed with all the skill available, must always be our starting-point. If we were not wrong in comparing the Hexateuch to a river, the documents give us the only fixed points for mapping out its course. Without those fixed points, any conception of the historical connexions between the various strata of religious belief in the books would be impossible. It is customary, in certain schools of theological writing, to laugh at the discussions of Old Testament students. 'Will the analysis never be definitely fixed?' they ask. The analysis cannot be final. Fresh

study will always bring its results. As well laugh at our Shakespearian students, because they are always revising previous results as to the poet's life and his authentic writings.

The most recent examination of the literature has been carried out by Dr. Otto Eissfeldt,[1] formerly of Berlin and now of Halle; and he has exhibited his results in the form of a 'Synopsis,' i.e. an arrangement of the documents in parallel columns. Previous editors have used various devices to make the change of author clear to the eye. Driver, in his well-known edition of Genesis, places a '*J*' or '*E*' or '*P*' in the margin; the Polychrome Bible, as its name implies, uses a distinctive colour for each document; Gunkel, in accordance with a common German practice, uses different types. The advantage of this is that the number of available types is almost unlimited; the disadvantage, that one seldom remembers which type stands for which document. C. F. Kent, in his *Student's Old Testament*, arranges the contents of the different documents in parallel columns. Eissfeldt has done the same. The result is that we have a page reminding us of the familiar Gospel synopses. It is thus possible to see at a glance how the different narratives have been combined to make the one composite narrative, so fascinating, yet, in detail, so strangely inconsistent, which finds its place in our Bibles.

The process, for the Gospels, is comparatively easy. In most instances, the parallels are unmistakable; and the exceptions to this rule are well known. It is when one begins to construct a harmony—to decide what should be left out, and which version of an incident or parable should be used as the groundwork, and how much of each account can be preserved, that the difficulties commence. In dealing with the Old Testament the reverse is true. The harmonization has already been carried out. In most passages the constituent documents can readily be distinguished. But it is far from easy to trace out the workings of the mind of the harmonizer, to detect his dealings with joinings and linkages and omissions, and his various devices for avoiding an impression of repetition which at other times does not disturb him at all.

Without going into details in a fashion impossible here, it is enough to say that in general the results of Eissfeldt's disentanglement of the early Biblical narratives (up to Judges ii. 9) harmonize with those of other scholars, and that the special plan of spacing which he follows makes it easier than with Kent, for example, to take in the parallelisms at a glance. One feature of his work, however, will strike the eye immediately. In place of the three main documents whose existence is almost a commonplace of Pentateuchal criticism, Eissfeldt finds four. By the side of the Jahvist, the Elohist, and the Priestly, he sets one which he calls 'L,' the 'Lay codex.' This, however, is not so novel as it might appear. Students have long recognized that the Jahvist document has different narratives incorporated in it, of which the chief have been called J^1 and J^2; Eissfeldt proposes to give the new name of 'L' to the older of these, as showing less of the influence of the prophetic and priestly spirit;

[1] *Hexateuch-Synopse*, von Otto Eissfeldt. Leipzig. Hinrichs. 1922. 11s.

it will thus stand at the opposite pole to 'P,' and the separate letter will indicate the independence of its origin. As it stands in the Pentateuch, it is a considerably shorter document than J, though it contains the story of Eve's temptation, the shorter of the two accounts of the institution of the Passover, and most of the more popular and less edifying parts of the story of Jacob.

If Eissfeldt is right in finding four more or less independent sources for the Pentateuch harmony, we have a curiously complete, though reversed, parallel to the Gospels; since P stands out against L, J, and E as the Fourth Gospel stands out against the three Synoptists, whilst L and J are related to E much as Mark and Matthew are related to Luke. To do full justice to the industry which has thrown fresh and welcome light on numbers of individual passages (*e.g.* Gen. xlviii. 22) would require a far longer notice; but the book will certainly hold a permanent place with the works on Pentateuchal study of which all serious students have to take account.

W. F. Lofthouse.

LIBERAL EVANGELICALISM

An important volume has just been issued by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. It is an interpretation of Liberal Evangelicalism by members of the Church of England, and seeks to present a reasoned and coherent statement of their theological position. The group of friends who write the essays have collaborated in the work, and the view broadly presented and the general method of treatment have been submitted to the 'common mind.' The title suggests that the heredity of the movement is traced to the Evangelical Revival, which, 'with its rooted emphasis on the soul's direct relationship to God, on the freedom of the spirit, the authority of the Bible, the centrality of the Cross, and the need of conversion,' has been a dynamic force within the Church of England. 'It has not only profoundly affected individual souls, but has gradually created a feeling and an emphasis with regard to Tradition, Church Order, the Ministry, Sacraments, Reunion, and the Rule of Life which are of the first importance.' The writer feels, however, that restatement has become essential. The modern Evangelical is dissatisfied with some of the older and cruder substitutionary theories of the Atonement, and seeks to explore the impact of the Cross upon personality. Fourteen subjects are treated in the volume by twelve contributors. Canon Wilson of Cheltenham writes on 'The Development of Evangelicalism.' Wesley and the Evangelical fathers 'saved England from a godless and superficial civilization. English religion was reborn.' The tenacious resistance of the Evangelicals of last century to all inquiry and criticism resulted in the loss of multitudes of their former followers, and even the Student Christian Movement demanded a spirit of honest inquiry and bold adventure which they could not gain among the Evangelicals. The Vicar of West Ham's subject is 'Religious Authority.' He holds that it is the personality of Jesus expressed in thought and will and feeling which is authoritative. Dean Burroughs, in 'Evangelicalism and Personality,' seeks to sketch in the philosophical background of Liberal Evangelicalism,

'the present dominance of the conception of personality is itself a fruit of Christian influence.' The new attitude seeks to meet the protests and claims of personality on the terrain of personal experience. 'The authority which the modern world will recognize is that of "fresh acts of the Holy Ghost." The Church which is able to do them will gradually clothe itself with valid authority as, by the same method, the Church of the first century did.' Canon Storr writes on 'The Bible and its Value' and 'The Person of Jesus Christ.' He believes that as the splendid constructive work of criticism becomes known to the community the Bible will come again into its own, and be what it was to an earlier generation—the unrivalled treasure-house of spiritual truth. In his second essay he examines the doctrine of Christ's person, shows the modern difficulties in regard to it, and points out that the task before our theologians is so to present it anew as 'on the one hand to avoid what seem to be defects in the traditional mode of presentation, and, on the other, to preserve the deep redemptive value of His Person which it has always been the object of Christology jealously to guard.' Principal Howard, of St. Aidan's College, emphasizes the work of Christ as Saviour and the gospel we have to preach. Principal Gooding writes suggestively on 'The Church, the Sacraments, the Ministry.' The Bishop of Truro thinks the Prayer-book as it stands ties our hands too much. Liberty is needed, there must be elasticity. The Bishop of Hereford, in discussing 'Reunion,' points out that 'Evangelicalism within and without the Church of England looks back to the one source, and finds a common beginning in that movement which originated, as far as the eye of man can trace, in the "Holy Club," as its detractors called it, founded by "four young gentlemen of Oxford," in November, 1729.' The Rev. E. S. Woods, in 'The Rule of Life,' insists that the Christian disciple's whole view of life and whole way of living must at every point take into account the Cross of Christ. He also writes on 'The Presentation of the Gospel at Home,' and pleads for a sincere, patient, and humble attempt to give men 'the real Christ.' 'The time is fully ripe,' he says, 'for all of us who follow Christ to fling ourselves into the adventure of proclaiming His message to a needy world, not because we can see the ultimate issues of our task, but because we believe in the Church that is to be, and because we know that the purposes of God's Kingdom are marching on towards final victory.' Canon Davies, Principal of St. John's College, Agra, urges that we should adopt a more liberal attitude in 'The Presentation of the Gospel Abroad.' The European must develop a greater sensitiveness to the feelings of the native Christians among whom his lot is cast. The Evangelical party 'must be prepared to recognize essential unity in Christ with people and parties who express their loyalty to Him in unfamiliar ways, and, while honestly combating what it believes to be errors, must find room for them in its conception of the Catholic Church.'

Not the least interesting and significant contribution to the volume is that of Canon Barnes as to 'The Future of the Evangelical Movement.' He says, 'I am an Evangelical, *tout court*. The religious life of my forbears was made by the Evangelical Revival. Something in the texture of my mind, which is probably the result partly of

heredity and partly of early training, makes me proud to belong to the great Evangelical tradition. I believe that my Evangelical convictions are not the result of prejudice or thoughtless bias. I have sought to be not wholly unfamiliar either with modern science or with the investigation of the origins of Christianity and of the books of the Bible by the methods of literary and historical criticism. Yet I am certainly not, in the Roman Catholic sense of the term, a Modernist. I am, in short, convinced that for true religious inspiration and insight we must rely on the gospel, the good news of Christ.' He holds that we must find in the New Testament the unalterable standards of Christian morality and the principles by which they shall be enforced. 'Our faith must be in Christ, in Jesus of Nazareth, God's incarnate Son, the Holy and Righteous One, who rose from the dead; the faith in Him which we reach after careful and thoughtful examination of the records of the New Testament.' He believes that Evangelicalism is Christianity in its simplest and purest form, and that it is destined to become the religion of the world. He says, 'We seek to convert men, to turn them to Christ, to persuade them to follow His example, to obey His precepts, to see in the power of His Spirit the only hope of the regeneration of mankind. So will men love Him and know Him to be both Lord and Saviour.'

The younger Evangelicals affirm that the right use of criticism, science, and philosophy will not disintegrate Evangelical faith. Modern Evangelicals remain true to the moral and religious teaching of Christ. If Evangelicals 'will be both honest and earnest, rich in the life of the spirit, and alert to the claims of the mind, they will in the present century write an inspiring chapter in the history of the English Church.' The book shows that Evangelicalism is facing the problems of to-day in a spirit which is likely to renew its youth and broaden out its influence.

JOHN TELFORD.

THE LOVE-TRAGEDY OF SAUL OF TARSUS[1]

No study of the life of the Apostle Paul can leave room for doubt that the influences which effected the greatest response on his part were personal. To these influences his sensitive and chivalrous soul made readiest answer, which it naturally could do in the course of his pre-Christian, as of his Christian, career. That it did so in the case of the most attractive Personality of the ages, may be suggested with some force by the following considerations.

In quoting part of 2 Cor. v. 16, Johannes Weiss asserts that Paul is using the editorial 'we,' which would leave the direct statement: '*I* have known Christ after the flesh'—a statement made as a retort to a similar boast on the part of his opponents. Weiss lays it down that this is simple testimony that Paul had known Jesus as a Man, and that such an interpretation is the only satisfactory one that can be placed upon the words. If such be the case, is it possible to trace any evidences elsewhere of this personal knowledge? The writer holds that it is.

[1] Following suggestions given by Johannes Weiss in his *Paul and Jesus*, and by the late Rev. Dr. James Hope Moulton in an address to the Cambridge University Wesley Society, May 28, 1911.

Luke tells us how anxious Paul always was to attend the chief Jewish festivals held at Jerusalem. In Acts xx. 16 he refers to Paul's determination to sail past Ephesus, when on his third missionary journey, 'that he might not have to spend time in Asia; for he was hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost.' How much more would Paul be determined to attend the principal of all Jewish feasts, the Feast of the Passover, and particularly in these earlier days when he was of the strictest party of the Pharisees, and with ample time and means for making the journey! It is thus no stretch of imagination to assume His presence at that Passover Feast which coincided with the Passion-week of our Lord. Jesus was approaching Jerusalem with his company of unlettered disciples, and already He was the centre of discussion. Saul, meanwhile, so we may picture him, had arrived at his lodgings in the city, and here he is greeted by certain of his Pharisee-friends, who supply him with the latest information concerning the Prophet from Nazareth. They speak of His signs and wonders, of His revolutionary preaching. 'He breaks the Sabbath, and even makes Himself equal with God. And for this we have tried to kill Him, but either some strange magic in His look kept us back, or it was dangerous to provoke His crowd of admirers.' Saul is then left to his own thoughts—thoughts of a prophet, of signs and wonders, of One whose teaching is that He also is God, then of his friends, who conceived it service to God to kill Him. Some strange familiarity of language strikes the recollection of this trained student of the law. He seizes his copy of the Scriptures, pores over its pages, arriving finally at the Book of Deuteronomy, where he finds the passage which had haunted him (Chapter xiii.). For Saul of Tarsus duty led no other way than to see this commandment obeyed in the case of Jesus.

Worthy of notice is the deputation of Pharisees which came to Jesus from Jerusalem, at the commencement of the Passover-feast, directly Jesus had arrived in Herod's dominions. The very peculiarity of the question concerning divorce (Mark x. 2) embodied its danger and its amazing cleverness. In contrast with Greek and Roman law, Jewish law laid down that a woman might not put away her husband. But a *princess* was exempt from the operation of this law, and therefore might. This was the very thing that Herodias, Herod's wife, had done, and done in very unsavoury circumstances; so that, if Jesus had spoken against divorce with any personal implication, Herod would soon have seen that He filled John the Baptist's prison. Without doubt, Saul, a born leader, whether of Pharisees or of any company, was a member of this deputation. Genius such as he possessed is seen throughout its proceedings, while 1 Cor. vii., in which the subject of divorce largely figures, is very probably a retrospective view.

This might have been the first time that Saul came into contact with Jesus, and it would seem that he saw Him frequently in Jerusalem, especially in the Temple Courts, during that momentous week. That he was attracted by the immense personal magnetism of Jesus would be a foregone conclusion. The two might become even as David and Jonathan. But, remembering the command of

Deuteronomy, he turned away, torn asunder between love and law. In agony, he confirmed his determined course, swayed by the stern devotion to the sense of duty which always characterised him. 'I *verily* thought with myself that I *ought* to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth,' he informed King Agrippa in later years (Acts xxvi. 9), so completely had he thrown himself into the scale against Him.

The next move in the unfolding of Saul's strategy is revealed in a second deputation, this time concerning the more obvious subject of the payment of tribute. The Pharisees advance with a question as to the right or wrong of paying the tax, introducing themselves in skilful flattery such as might disarm suspicion of any trap. Apart from the probability of a leader's presence among his friends, the hand of Saul is again suggested by two indications. A somewhat uncommon word for tribute (φόρος) is used in Luke's account of this deputation, and this word is the one which Paul uses in his letter to the Romans, suggesting that Luke received his account of the deputation from Paul. Indeed, it is possible that the third evangelist largely drew upon his apostolic companion for much of his information concerning the week of the Lord's Passion. Again, the answer of Jesus to this question of the deputation—'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's'—is recalled vividly by Paul in Rom. xiii. 7, where he writes: 'Render to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute, . . . fear to whom fear.' The denunciation of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii.) was an occasion on which Saul was probably present, for recollections of such an incident appear at the close of Romans i. and throughout the whole of Romans ii.

After the failure of the deputations the Pharisees stirred up a rising of the populace of Jerusalem, that 'nursed constituency,' which finally forced Pilate's hands. Before this the Galilean pilgrims who had cried 'Hosanna' were powerless, while the twelve legions of angels were never summoned. The dreamer of dreams—dreams of love for a wayward race—hangs upon the cross, toward which a little crowd of Pharisees elbows its way, only to break out into jeers directly the Sufferer can hear them. Can we see their leader? The evidence fails here, as one might expect. That brilliant persecutor who, with breaking heart, had handed the law its 'pound of flesh' in the secret idol of his own dreams, found no room within his nature for scorn. Having to the point of torture fulfilled the inexorable demand of Jehovah's commandment, so conceived, as touching One who had thrilled his soul, he would now strive to crowd the whole incident into oblivion. At least he was spared the sight of another of the high-priest's acquaintances tenderly caring for the Victim's mother, spared also the outspoken meditation of the centurion-in-charge. The Voice from the central cross would seem to present a prayer for Saul, if for any: 'Forgive him, Father; for he knows not what he has done.'

When *did* he know? On the way to Damascus, when, still in the rôle of persecutor, he was prostrate before the heavenly brightness. The point and power of the whole incident lay in recognition. In the words of Weiss: 'Paul's vision and conversion are psychologically

inconceivable except upon the supposition that he had been actually and vividly impressed by the human personality of Jesus.' He had believed in the Messiah; he had seen Jesus; *now* he knew the two to be the same from the familiar features which he beheld. The connexion between the Vision and the Man Jesus could not have been made, to natural lines of reasoning, apart from recognition, and it was this recognition that broke him down. Thus he had got facts enough without consulting others—a very significant feature in the opinion of the late Dr. Moulton. 'Immediately,' says Paul, 'I conferred not with flesh and blood; neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me; but I went away into Arabia' (Gal. i. 16, 17). Having lived through those earlier events in the capital city, he needed, not information, but quiet, in which he could think out all the implications of what he had recognized on the Damascus road. Part of an intervening period of three years spent in the comparative solitude of Arabia was not too long for one who realised that he had helped to kill none other than the Son of God, who loved him and gave Himself up for him.

Thus had he known Christ after the flesh, but more precious still was his knowledge of Him after the spirit. For this apostle, too, it was expedient that Christ after the flesh should go away in order that He might be *in* him, the hope of glory, the principle of life. Outlawed from his family and his nation, he had found the Messiah—not the conjectured being of his old creed, but Jesus, the Son of Man and Son of God, in whom he was a new creation, the old things having passed away for ever.

H. Watkin-Jones.

THE ART OF THOMAS HARDY

Thomas Hardy is now recognized as the grand old man of English literature, and increasing attention is being paid to his work, both in prose and poetry. Mr. Lane has just published a new and revised edition of Lionel Johnson's *The Art of Thomas Hardy* (8*s*. 6*d*. net), which is still eagerly sought after by Hardy enthusiasts. It was originally issued in 1894, the first of many volumes dealing with Mr. Hardy's work. Mr. Lane was not willing to republish it until he could add a section dealing with the author's great and still growing reputation as a poet. This he has now secured from Mr. J. E. Barton, the headmaster of Bristol Grammar School, and it is a valuable addition to the volume. William Strang's fine etching, which he secured as the frontispiece for the original work, has been regarded as the artist's finest etched portrait, and did much to popularize his portraiture. It is given in this volume, with another portrait by Mr. Vernon Hill for which Mr. Hardy has consented to sit. Mr. Lane has added a bibliography of first editions, with, when possible, the dates of the various poems, the notes, traditions, and sources, where given, of the subject dealt with, also the places where the poems and stories were written. This is an opportune introduction to Mr. Hardy's *Collected Poems* and *The Dynasts*, which Messrs. Macmillan have just issued in two neat volumes printed on thin paper (cloth 8*s*. 6*d*., leather 10*s*. 6*d*. net). They run to 700 and 546 pages, but are

light and pleasant to handle. Each has a signed portrait as frontispiece, that in *The Dynasts* being from a portrait by Miss Mary Hardy.

Mr. Johnson says that Hardy 'is no spendthrift, nor miser, of language, but has no notion of careless or of niggardly dealing with his material. This fine economy in the use of words helps towards that general effect of gravity, seriousness, deliberation, which Mr. Hardy's work creates; you can no more miss a sentence, or give some hurried minutes to a chapter, than you can appreciate the proportion of a great Palladian building if you omit to notice one of its orders. This unity of effect is, in my own judgement, the distinction of Mr. Hardy: that eminent quality, which I place at the head of his fine qualities, and which should constitute his securest claim to a lasting regard.' He thinks *The Return of the Native*, among Mr. Hardy's works is like *King Lear* among Shakespeare's plays. Every detail is instinct with life and full of strength, but not one exceeds its just limit, not one makes him forget its final end, in its immediate excellence.

Hardy's art is concentrated on Wessex and its people. That includes Exeter, Bristol, Salisbury, and Winchester, but it may be considered as equivalent to the county of Dorset. 'Few parts of England seem more saturated with historical memories, more stratified by the successive passages of historic time.' To him the county is a living palimpsest, and no hint or trace upon it escapes him. He says, 'Many of these labourers about here bear corrupted Norman names; many are the descendants of the squires in the last century, and their faces even now strongly resemble the portraits in the old manor houses. Many are, must be, the descendants of the Romans, who lived here in great pomp and state for four hundred years. I have seen faces here that are duplicates of those fine faces I saw at Fiesole, where also I picked up Roman coins, the counterpart of those we find here so often. They even use Latin words here, which have survived everything.' Mr. Hardy is devoted to Wessex, like William Barnes, to whom he paid a beautiful tribute, now included in Mr. Lane's volume. But he writes of provincial ways without provincialism. 'He laughs at Wessex, he is unsparing of Wessex, he delights in Wessex; with all the world round him, and all history behind him, he is content to find "infinite riches in a little room," and he cleaves to Wessex.' Through the Wessex scenes move aged patriarchs, half-witted clowns, shrewd workmen, village butts and wits and characters.' They never lose their reality, or their hold upon life and truth. 'As we read, it is borne in upon us that in this peasant talk we have the spiritual history of a countryside—feudalism and Catholicism and Protestantism, law and education and tradition, changes in agriculture and commerce and tenure, in traffic and society and living; all these have worked and wrought upon the people, and here is the issue: *This* and *this* is their view of life; *thus* and *thus* they think and act; *here* is a survival and *there* a desire; *here* a spirit of conservation and *there* a sign of decay, and *there* again a look of progress.' He deals with men hard to understand and portray, and not only makes us see them, but shows us why they are what they are. We see the play of life among men of

powerful nature, and the end of the drama is 'told with a soft solemnity, a sense of pity, striving against a sense of fate.'

Steady progress in seriousness of presentation is a striking feature of Mr. Hardy's stories. Mr. Johnson dwells on their unity of design, 'because it is an excellence rarely desired now, and an excellence which atones for a multitude of faults. Mr. Hardy's faults, as I seem to see them, are easily copied: but his severity, his austerity, his clearness and seriousness of conception cannot be copied: they are his proper birthright, as an inheritor of the spirit of art.' The criticism of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* is just and searching: 'Upon Mr. Hardy's principles, there was no real struggle of the will with adverse circumstance, no conflict of emotions, nor battle of passions: all was fated and determined: the apparent energies of will, regrets of soul, in Tess were but as the muscular movements of a dead body: "simulars" of freedom and of life. Our pity and our fear are not purified merely: they are destroyed, and no room is left for them.' We may add Mr. Johnson's last sentence: 'I do not find his books quite free of all offence, of anything that can hurt or distress; but I never find them merely painful: their occasional offences are light enough, and unessential; the pain they sometimes give is often salutary, even for those who still hold, with Aeschylus, to the truth of that ancient doctrine, which makes the sorrow of the world, a discipline: *The Gods are upon their holy thrones; the grace of the Gods constraineth us.*'

When Mr. Johnson's study appeared Mr. Hardy had not revealed his genius as a poet. Mr. Barton feels that there was nothing abrupt in the transition from prose to poetry. 'The poetic spirit inhabits almost every page of Mr. Hardy's prose. And the novels and the poems are so inseparable and complementary in their effect on the mind that it would be idle to analyse their unity of power in the hope of discovering where the novelist ends and the poet begins.' We feel that he writes from experience. His work is obstinate, knotty, close-grained, as befits its themes. *The Dynasts* stands in a sense between his poetry and his fiction. He tells us in its Preface that the drama is concerned with the great historical calamity or clash of peoples in the Napoleonic wars. He was led to choose that theme because he was familiar with a part of England that lay within hail of the watering-place in which George the Third had his favourite summer residence at that time, and where he was visited by ministers and others, who bore the weight of English affairs on their shoulders. The district was near the coast which had echoed with rumours of invasion and had its memories and traditions of desperate military preparations for that contingency. The fact that the village where Nelson's flag-captain at Trafalgar was born was in the district was another attraction. Twenty years before *The Dynasts* appeared Mr. Hardy had printed *The Trumpet Major*, and discovered that he had 'touched the fringe of a vast international tragedy without being able, through limits of plan, knowledge, and opportunity, to enter further into its events.' About fourteen years later he returned to the subject, and for six years worked on it at intervals till the drama was complete. Mr. Barton says in *The Dynasts* he gave free play to his synoptic and metaphysical genius. 'Its versatility of diction is

prodigious. In this enormous composition he presses into service all conceivable turns of speech. Uncouth or musical, colloquial or grandiose, drab or romantic, all come alike to him, and are hammered to his purpose.' It was not intended for the stage, but simply for mental performance, and everything that careful study of authorities as well as of oral tradition, scenery, and existing relics could do to form a vivid representation of the whole course of events, has been done. The *Collected Poems* cover a wide range. Wessex is still the chief scene. 'The world of the novels and marvellous short stories reappears with enchanting new vividness in the poems. Church choirs and country dances, shadows of the graveyard yew, rustic quaintness and heartaches, the spreading heath whose colour is lost in a sense of undulation and elemental space—such things are touched again with that romantic hand, so stubbornly individual yet so intensely local, and gain in poignant power, if that were possible, from the poetic brevity with which their significance is distilled.' Hardy never flinches from facts as he sees them, and his poetic interpretations of life are often stern and cruel; but no one can doubt that there is in it 'that mysterious transfusion of vitality, effected by art, which exhilarates and raises the imagination; just as, in the religious sphere, the soul is raised by contact with genuine sanctity.'

A month ago Mr. Hardy kept his 88rd birthday. He was greatly touched when choristers from Holy Trinity Church visited Max Gate where they sang several hymns and Sterndale Bennett's anthem, 'God is a Spirit.' He asked them to sing for him the old hymn, 'Sun of my Soul,' and afterwards expressed his thanks in touching words of appreciation.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Anglican Essays: A Collective Review of the Principles and Special Opportunities of the Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed. (Macmillan & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.)

These seven essays come from two archbishops, two archdeacons, two rectors, and Dr. G. G. Coulton. The editor is the Ven. W. L. Paige Cox, Archdeacon and Canon of Chester. The Preface lays stress on the position of the English Church in the Christian world as essentially central. That makes it of inestimable value in 'an age of shrieking partisans, and of revolutionaries who are prepared to destroy everything in the hope that something else may turn up.' The value of this mediating position was never more evident than in the Lambeth 'Appeal to all Christian people.' The great body of the Church, both clerical and lay, keeps to the historical middle path, 'clinging to all that is valuable in the old and welcoming all that is true in the new.' 'If the Church finds the continual source of her inspiration in Christ she cannot go wrong. For in Him she has not only a personal object of faith, but also a principle which will ever keep her in the true path. Also in Him she will find that which overcomes the opposition between faith and freedom, for He is at once the unchanging Word of God and the prophet of spiritual liberty.' In the strength of a faith thus centred in Christ the Church of England may, in the providence of God, be called to a very glorious destiny. There can be no reunion with Rome till her leaders become cognizant of the obstacles which 'arise from its persistence in its unreformed methods of teaching and influence.' It is hoped that these essays, which set forth the principles which formed the basis of the Reformation Settlement in England, and the opportunities of extended influence which lie before the Anglican Communion as Catholic and Reformed, may lead to a reconsideration on all hands of the principles at stake. Dr. D'Arcy, Archbishop of Armagh, writes the first essay on 'Christian Liberty,' in which he shows that the doubts and controversies of the present day drive us back on an authority superior to both the Church and the Bible, the divine Logos. All modern movements of Christian thought have united in setting forth His pre-eminence. 'The great need of the world is the unification of Christian forces, so that, through the Church, the influence of Jesus Christ may be brought to bear upon the life of man.' Dr. Murray's 'Aspects of the English Reformation' and Dr. Coulton's 'Rome as Unreformed' are of great interest and importance, and put many phases of the history in clearer light. There is much also to learn from Archdeacon Cox's 'Communion or Mass.' He clearly states the objections to the doctrine and specific ritual of the Mass. The Church of England should, he maintains, emphasize in the Communion Service the corporate fellowship of the members of

Christ, and stand firmly to 'the true and Catholic doctrine' of Holy Communion as held persistently in practically all schools of thought in the Christian Church from the first institution of the sacrament to the present day. The Archdeacon of Macclesfield's essay on 'The Cultus of Saint Mary the Virgin' is wise and timely, and Mr. Raven's on 'The New Reformation' deals forcibly with the present crisis and the opportunity of the Church of England. Dr. Lowther Clarke writes on the Lambeth Appeal, and an Appendix gives extracts from the charges of the late Bishop Jayne on such subjects as auricular confession, fasting communion, &c. The essays are written with a fine tolerance and a firm grasp of Reformation principles. There is no doubt that if the views of this book were adopted in all quarters our generation would witness a wonderful concentration of Christian power and influence in the service of the world.

Christianity and Liberalism. By J. G. Machen, D.D. (The Macmillan Co.)

Dr. Machen's book has grown out of an address which appeared in *The Princeton Theological Review*. It brings out clearly the points at issue between Christianity, the great redemptive religion, and the modern non-redemptive religion called 'modernism' or 'liberalism,' 'which is only the more destructive of the Christian faith because it makes use of traditional Christian terminology.' At every point the two movements are in direct opposition. The inquiry is arranged under the headings: 'Doctrine,' 'God and Man,' 'The Bible,' 'Christ,' 'Salvation,' 'The Church.' Christianity begins with the consciousness of sin, and if that is to be produced, the law of God must be proclaimed in the lives of Christian people as well as in word. 'The rank and file of the Church must do their part in so proclaiming the law of God by their lives that the secret of men's hearts shall be revealed.' As to the Bible, modern liberalism rejects 'a vast deal that is absolutely essential in Jesus' example and teaching—notably His consciousness of being the heavenly Messiah. The real authority for liberalism can only be "the Christian consciousness" or "Christian experience."' Christianity is founded upon the Bible, liberalism on 'the shifting emotions of sinful men.' The liberal Jesus remains a manufactured figure of the stage; the Jesus of the New Testament is a genuine Person whom a man can love. The chapter on 'The Church' deals clearly with present conditions. Too often the preacher gives forth human opinions about the social problems of the hour or easy solutions of the problem of sin. The turmoil of the world has invaded the house of God. The book has a message for the times, and there is insight and conviction behind it.

The Origin of the Synoptic Gospels. By H. G. Jameson. (Blackwell, Oxford. 6*s*. net.)

The most generally accepted theory of the construction of the Synoptic Gospels, the 'Two-Document' theory, accepts Mark as the main source both of Matthew and Luke. The matter common to Matthew and Luke which is not found in Mark is assigned to a second, hypothetical, source, entitled the 'Sayings of Jesus,' and

generally referred to as Q. This theory is challenged by Mr. Jameson, who maintains that Matthew is the main source both of Mark and Luke. Taking Matthew as the original work, he argues that St. Mark wished to give a succinct account of the events of our Lord's ministry and death, for which purpose he made a selection from Matthew, rearranging several of the incidents, and much amplifying the details, drawing upon his notes and recollections of St. Peter's memories and teachings. St. Luke, in composing his Gospel, has used Matthew and Mark, as well as a good deal of material peculiar to himself. He prefers the Marcan outline of events to that of Matthew, and so follows the order of Mark in the main, but he wishes to embody most of the discourses of our Lord from Matthew, and therefore fits them in at suitable points in the Marcan sequence. He follows the order of Matthew in these first selections; but, as he has a wealth of material and a strictly limited space, he omits a good deal. However, having got about half-way through, he finds there is more space than he at first allowed for, and so he goes back to Matthew, and picks up a number of sayings omitted in the first instance. Thus the discourse-material presented in long united sections in Matthew is broken up and scattered about a good deal in Luke. But Matthew is the source; and there is no need to bring in a conjectural Q at all. Mr. Jameson presents a very carefully wrought and ingenious argument, which deserves careful scrutiny. It is always a good thing to have popular and orthodox theories seriously tested. The main objections are, first, the great improbability that Mark is an amplification of part of Matthew. St. Mark often carries us almost breathlessly through a series of incidents, as if living them over again. Such writing could never be built up as the literary extension of a less living version. The reverse process is fatally easy. The other main objection is that it is so much easier to account for Matthew's discourses as collections of our Lord's teaching on definite subjects, gathered up from a source in which they were not so grouped, than to suppose that St. Luke (even for the reasons advanced) should break up Matthew's discourses, and scatter fragments about at later points, at the same time inventing incidents and occasions by means of which he can introduce them. If Mr. Jameson can establish his thesis he will accomplish a great feat in criticism.

Byways in Early Christian Literature. By Adam Fyfe Findlay, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 10*s*. net.)

Dr. Findlay chose this subject for his Kerr Lectures from a desire to supply an introduction to a body of literature which is comparatively little known. The inferiority of these 'apocryphal' books to the canonical writings has often been brought out; these lectures regard them as documents for the study of early Church history which have real and substantial value. 'They give us a glimpse of popular religion among Christians whose outlook on life was largely influenced by their pre-Christian inheritance, and of the interpretation put on the facts of primitive tradition by believers who in outlying regions stood apart from the main currents of Church life.'

They have three special features—a craving for the miraculous as a sign of the divine origin of Christianity, a legalistic conception of the Christian life, and a view of Christian truth coloured by the prevalent world-view. These points are discussed in an introductory chapter. We then come to the Jewish-Christian Gospels, among which the *Gospel of the Ebionites* stands out unmistakably. It has no genealogy, no Virgin birth. It holds that only through the entering of the Holy Spirit after His baptism did Jesus become the Son of God. Of the Gospel of Peter we had not a single fragment until the French Archaeological Mission discovered about half of it in an ancient Christian cemetery in Upper Egypt. This was first published in 1892. The account given of the Passion and Resurrection is very similar to that in the canonical Gospels, though many details are new. In the Gnostic Gospels symbolism is subversive of the historical character of the Gospel history. It is no longer a record of an actual life, but a set of shadow-pictures of invisible realities. The *Protevangelium of James* had an astonishing influence. It was a pleasing and edifying tale which appealed to the popular mind. 'In it we have the first literary expression of the glorification of Mary which seriously influenced Catholic theology and eventually led, in association with influences which flowed in from other quarters, to the exaltation and adoration of the Virgin.' The *Acts of Paul* arose in an orthodox circle within the Church, and for two and a half centuries its Catholic standing was never questioned. From it comes the well-known story of Thecla, which is a glorification of virginity as the supreme Christian requirement and as a necessary condition of attaining to eternal life. There is good reason for supposing that we are here in touch with a primitive and reliable tradition of the apostle's ministry in Iconium. The Acts of Paul do not give us history but legend, and the section as to the apostle's death under Nero is a worthless story. Dr. Findlay's book is one of real value and absorbing interest.

Religious Foundations. Edited by Rufus M. Jones, LL.D. (Macmillan Co. 5*s.* net.)

A summer school has met since 1900 at Haverfield College at intervals of about two years. In 1922 it was suggested that instead of the school a volume should be published, which would reach a wider circle. Dr. Jones contributes the three first articles, 'How Shall we Think of God?' 'of Christ?' 'of Man?' He has no fear that religion will turn out to be a slowly waning and gradually vanishing subjective dream. Through Christ's life the most complete revelation of God has come to the world. That is the background or foundation of everything in His gospel. If we hate our sin and failure, and rise from our solitary aims and become merged in life and love and spirit with Him who is knocking at our souls, lo! we have found Him and He is ours and we are His. Dean Sperry answers the question, 'How Shall we Think of Nature?' Mr. Rowntree, in 'How Shall we Think of Society and Human Relations?' says that selfishness has failed as a motive, and the old dynamic of love is alone able to replace and dominate it. Mr. Clutton-Brock's

subject is, 'How Shall we Think of the Kingdom of God?' 'The very aim of life itself is to become fully alive in the kingdom of God; the aim of reality is to attain to complete reality in that Kingdom.' The Bible, Evil, Progress are dealt with by Professors Elihu Grant, Jacks, and Lyman. The closing chapter, 'What Shall we Think of Life after Death?' is by Professor Peabody. 'Immortality,' he says, 'is a corollary of theism. . . . Less than this would be not only disillusion for us, but failure for God.' Both the subjects and the manner of treatment make this book a powerful aid to faith.

St. Paul and Social Psychology. By F. R. Barry, M.A., D.S.O. (Milford. 4*s*. net.)

This little volume is an introduction to the Epistle to the Ephesians by the Principal of the Ordination Test School at Knutsford, where for half an hour before ordinary lectures began the Bible was read and explained. In Lent, 1921, Ephesians was thus read, and this book has grown out of those expositions. It is an attempt to expound St. Paul's thought in relation to modern needs and the modern outlook, and a contribution towards the revival of Christo-Centric churchmanship. It seeks to show that the Christian Society as St. Paul conceived it, and as its Founder willed it to be, supplies the only effective solution for national and international problems. A new fellowship must be achieved, built on something more imperishable than the ties of mere self-interest, or Western civilization must reel into inevitable dissolution. For St. Paul the Christian Church is the real League of Nations. Professor Royce finds the essence of Christianity in loyalty to the beloved community, and in this is very close to St. Paul's thought. The apostle regards life as wrapped about with eternal issues. 'The supernatural permeates the natural, and it is impossible to separate them if you wish the life of man to make sense.' The Cross brought new knowledge—the enlarging revelation of new conceptions both of God and man. It also brought God's power into human life. The Church is called to train men's group-tendencies to more ample horizons by a redirection of their wills, and a new estimate of human worth. Christendom can no longer be divided, and to concentrate on one object is the way to reunion. The book is packed with suggestive thought, and deserves careful study.

The Adventure into the Unknown. By the Ven. R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s*. net.)

These sermons were delivered in Westminster Abbey with a view to set forth the great truths of the Christian Faith in their bearing on the individual and corporate life. That on Abraham's call, which gives its title to the volume, shows that the 'Go forth' and the 'Enter into the land that I will show thee,' are no abnormal or extraordinary requisitions, but are simply the expression of the injunction that in some form or other God issues to every child of man when first he wakes to the knowledge of divine truth and duty. Great truths are thus brought to bear on present-day conditions in a way that will stimulate all readers of the sermons. That on Origen is a fine tribute

to 'the greatest amongst the Fathers of the Early Church.' The two sermons on Pharisaism and the four on forgiveness are of special importance, and that on 'Wicked Husbandmen' has some plain and strong words on the general strike and the systematic lessening of output. Canon Charles is an acknowledged expert on the past; this volume shows that he is fully alive to the problems of the present.

The Century Bible appeared twenty years ago and has had a great and well-deserved reputation. Messrs. Jack are now issuing a Revised Edition (*8s. 6d.* net per volume), which gives it an enhanced claim to a place in every preacher's library. Professor Box has edited *St. Matthew* on the basis of the earlier edition by Professor Slater; *St. Mark* has been edited by Professor Bartlet on the basis of Dr. Salmond's work; Principal Adeney lived to revise his *St. Luke*, and Dr. McClymont has prepared the new edition of his *St. John*. Much space has been gained by omitting the Authorised Version, which is in every one's hands, and all the new light that later study has thrown on authorship and text is now incorporated in the Introductions. A novel feature is the Symbolic Letter affixed to each section and showing at a glance what St. Matthew and St. Luke owe to St. Mark, to the Quelle, or to special sources. Professor Bartlet deals with the Synoptic problem in his Introduction to *St. Mark*, and Dr. McClymont gives the latest conclusions as to the author of the Fourth Gospel and adheres to his earlier position that we owe it to John the Apostle. The four volumes have been revised and enlarged with rare skill and knowledge, and *The Century Bible* is now abreast of the latest scholarship, and makes a new appeal to all students.—*The Fourth Gospel.* By Henry Scott Holland, D.D. Edited by the Rev. W. J. Richmond. (Murray. *6s.* net.) We are glad to find that Dean Armitage Robinson's desire to have a cheap reprint of Professor Holland's work on the Fourth Gospel has led to the present publication. It is a noble argument in favour of the authorship of St. John. If 'the disciple whom Jesus loved' be not St. John, the Fourth Gospel, which takes such special pains to introduce us inside the apostolic circle, and to establish their characters and relationships, has practically omitted to mention St. John altogether. The argument is both freshly and strongly put, and the style has a grace of its own. Every student will need to master this book, and no better subject could be suggested for devotional reading. Canon Gore's Preface is brief but full of interest. —*The Creed for the Twentieth Century.* By C. G. Harrison. (Longmans & Co. *4s. 6d.* net.) This is an endeavour to remove the obstacles, real and fancied, which prevent many intelligent men from a hearty acceptance of the truths enshrined in the Nicene Creed, more properly known as the Oecumenical Creed. Its statements are considered in their order in a clear and helpful way. 'They constitute the foundations of a philosophy of life which, translated into practice, is the Christian religion.' That religion and philosophy claim to be Catholic, or adapted to all men and all times. The writer suggests that 'the chief task of the cultured laity will be to draw the *more intelligent* of the working classes into the net of the Catholic party in the Church.' On that point opinions will differ, but this exposition of the Creed

will appeal to all devout students.—*The Religion of Science.* By William H. Wood. (Macmillan & Co. 6*s.* net.) Professor Wood traces the sources of the religious situation in America with its 'absence of absorbing, captivating, soul-stirring, religious beliefs' to the year 1859, which witnessed the rebirth of the evolution idea. 'A religion of science ensued which has now arrived at the point where it is declared to be the real Christianity.' He shows that such a religion, if one may give it such a name, leads to pessimism and scepticism. It over-emphasizes the animal side of man. Its 'explanations of God, man, and the future rob men of faith and hope.' In many ways the religion will not work. The subject is worked out in a striking way. The canons and creed of the religion of science are examined; the teachings of evolution are discussed, and the conclusion is reached that this religion, with God, man, and immortality left out, is manifestly not the real Christianity.—*The Way to Personality.* By George B. Robson. (Swarthmore Press. 8*s.* 6*d.*) This book was first published in 1916, and the reprints called for bear witness to its importance and timeliness. It shows that Christ claimed sonship with God on behalf of all, and with it the world-order and fullness of life and personality which such sonship demands. This is brought out by a detailed study of the Beatitudes, in which we have a searching test of personality. The third part of the book —'The Way to Personality'—finds its realisation in entire committal to Christ, the realization in the consciousness of Christ, the true personality, by whom we are sons of God. The way to it is the way of love. Such a study will inspire many with keener devotion and loyalty to Christ.—*The Presence of God*, by W. G. Holmes, M.A. (S.P.C.K. 8*s.* 6*d.*), is 'a study in divine immanence and transcendence' by a Canon of Calcutta Cathedral, who uses his Indian experience to light up the subject of immanence. The spirituality of Vedantism is entirely different in kind from that of the Christian resting in and inspired by the divine presence. The presence in the new way assured us by Christ's promise is clearly brought out, and those who try to live the prayer-life within the presence even now dwell in God and God in them. The spirit of the book, as Bishop Gore says in his Preface, is devotional, and in the true sense practical. It is a study that will be a great help to many.—*The Local Colour of the Bible.* By C. W. Budden, M.D., and Edward Hastings, M.A. Vol. I., Genesis—2 Samuel. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.* net.) This work seeks to illuminate the Bible by facts dealing with the manners and customs of the East put in a form that will make them of service to preachers and teachers. Both the writers have lived for some years in the Middle East, and have travelled widely over it. Their own experience has been supplemented from that of other travellers and writers. A second volume will cover the other part of the Old Testament and a third will be devoted to the New Testament. Twenty passages, covering fifty-two pages, are given to Genesis, and sixty-four to Exodus. The matter is well arranged and clearly put. Such subjects as Egyptian burial customs, Bedouin hospitality, Hebrew marriage customs, blood feuds, wells and water in Palestine, are carefully treated, and there is a General Index and an Index to Scriptural References. It is a work which will be of real service to

Bible students.—*Work, Play, and the Gospel.* By Malcolm Spencer, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 4*s.* net.) This is a plea for a new evangelism which may remove the wrong conception of Christianity which now fills the popular mind. To be a Christian is not to refrain from doing what the natural man desires to do, but 'doing them with more refinement of perception, more proportion between one activity and another, more care to promote the enjoyments of our fellows, and a more insatiable passion for the best.' The way of progress in religion is the way of faithfulness to the claims and invitations of our ordinary life in the world. That is the burden of the argument, and it is one that will especially appeal to the young.—*The Renaissance of Religion and other Sermons*, by Lynn Harold Hough (Epworth Press. 3*s.* 6*d.* net), is a volume which no lover of good sermons should overlook. Great themes are handled with masterly discernment and rare beauty of style. That on 'The Renaissance of Religion' appeals to the multitude of quiet people who cherish the fire of God in their hearts. That fire must be placed on the hills of the world. 'And thus, with a new spirit of prophecy and a new spirit of action based upon a new participation in the energies released by the living Christ, we shall go forth into that day which contains all for which we hope.' The renaissance of religion will be an actuality in our hearts and before our eyes. That is the spirit of this fine set of sermons.—*Good Men Without Faith.* By Bertram Pollock, D.D., K.C.V.O. (S.P.C.K. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The Bishop of Norwich deals with this problem in a clear and helpful way. He starts with a quotation from Bishop Gore on the difficult question of love without faith, and thus opens up the question. Article XIII. is discussed, and the preface of St. John's Gospel, with its teaching as to the Light of the World. We do not think the bishop's distinction as to those who are being led by the Light but not by the Holy Spirit can be held in view of the passage in John xvi. 8. The work of foreign missions is discussed, and the two last chapters will specially appeal to Anglican readers. It is a broadminded and suggestive study of a living subject.—*The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology.* By J. S. Griffiths. (R. Scott. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The Vicar of St. Barnabas, Morecambe, begins his inquiry with Israel's national consciousness of the Exodus, not only as a fact of history, but as the event which gave them their freedom, and their position as a nation and a Church. He brings out a long chain of coincidences, &c., which heighten our confidence in the Pentateuchal records as genuine history. He adopts 1288–2 B.C. as the date, though it may have been ten years later. The witness of archaeology is clearly stated, and objections and difficulties are skilfully met.—The Epworth Press publishes three important pamphlets. *Is Gambling a Social Evil?* by E. Benson Perkins (2*d.*), puts the problem in the clearest way and suggests wise methods for dealing with it. *Fellowship with Christ*, by J. Arundel Chapman (3*d.* net), is an attempt to describe actual experience, and will encourage many to seek and to claim abiding companionship with Christ. *The Cross of Jesus*, by G. R. H. Shafto (3*d.* net), shows that the Atonement brings God and man together as Father and child. It makes man feel that God is unutterably lovable, and restores him to communion

with His eternal love.—*Q, The Earliest Gospel. An Elementary Reconstruction.* By Albert Peel, M.A., Litt.D. (4 Fleet Lane. 6*d.* net.) A very interesting attempt to discover what the earliest Gospel was which Matthew and Luke used in writing their own, and which Mark had set himself to supplement. Dr. Peel's reconstruction is necessarily hypothetical and incomplete, but it is a very interesting attempt to set side by side the passages which were included. Students of Gospel origins will be very grateful for the little pamphlet. —*What Mean Ye by this Service?* By Elizabeth. (Longmans & Co. 6*d.* paper, 1*s.* 6*d.* cloth.) Mollie's aunt goes through the Communion Service with her, explaining it in a way that makes it more beautiful and more richly helpful. It is a little manual which will be a real aid to many young Christians.—Messrs. Skeffington & Son publish *A Service for Children*, by the Rev. B. N. Adams (1½*d.*), and *Children's Services*, by the Rev. W. H. Cock (2*d.*) They are skilfully adapted to the needs of young folk and will promote reverence and intelligent interest in worship.—*Getting into your Life-work*, by Herald M. Doxsee (Abingdon Press. $1.25 net), is a guide to the choice and pursuit of a vocation. Many fathers and mothers will welcome such a book, and so will thoughtful young readers. The writer is teacher of Social Sciences in a Chicago High School and dedicates his book 'to those who dare to make the most of themselves.' He shows how boys and girls may prepare for service and gives many wise counsels based on large experience. There are nine full page illustrations of men and women who have won success in various fields. Jane Addams is here and John Mead Howells, the son of the novelist, who won the prize offered for the most acceptable design for the new *Tribune* Building in Chicago. The moral tone comes out in the words about 'Being on the square with yourself' and 'with the other fellow.'

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Five Centuries of Religion. By G. G. Coulton, M.A., Hon. D.Litt. Vol. I., St. Bernard, His Predecessors and Successors, 1000–1200 A.D. (Cambridge University Press. 30*s.* net.)

Mr. Coulton's second and third volumes are almost ready for the press. The second on 'The Friars and the Dead-weights of Tradition,' deals mainly with the monks' finance, economy, discipline, daily business, and exterior relations in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the institution was possibly strongest, and certainly most conspicuous in the Western world; the third will describe the reforms of the fifteenth century, their failure to arrest the general decay, and the ensuing catastrophe of the sixteenth century. Mr. Coulton began to collect material for this work more than twenty-five years ago. Time has strengthened all his main convictions, but he feels some misgivings as to the necessarily fragmentary and discursive character of the work. He has half completed a collection of original documents, mostly translated from the Latin, which will serve as *pièces justificatives* of the three volumes. He hopes at some later stage to publish a series of separate studies which may utilize all the evidence he has collected from various sources. There was a great gulf even in the eleventh century between the average monk and his rule; the salt was sorely needed, yet it had lost too much of its savour. Here and there, as at Lanfranc's and Anselm's Bec, the growth was pure and vigorous, but in most places it was half choked with the weeds of the Dark Ages. After the great Cistercian movement and the Franciscan-Dominican revival there was a slow cooling and settlement of this vast cenobitic sea. 'Popes and Councils prove powerless to move it to any general or steady purpose; gusts of reform pass like catspaws over the face of the waters without stirring the deeper stagnation; little by little society begins to lose faith and patience; an age of partial and tentative disendowment begins; and then, when the slow currents have gathered unity of direction, and, from that unity, a tenfold force—then, at last, comes the great revolution.' Mr. Coulton brings out the significance of monasticism, traces its rise, and throws much light on the monks' religion, the Mass, and the Gospel of Mary. He holds that the cult of the Virgin probably did a little indirectly to raise the status of women, but thinks that the influence has been grossly exaggerated. Special attention is given to Benedict and his rule, and to St. Bernard, whose fame has been perhaps too much overshadowed in recent years by that of St. Francis of Assisi. We look into Clairvaux as he made it and see that he 'demanded too much from himself and his brethren; he would have got more if he had asked for less, and civilization would have been better served.' The Epilogue shows how mediaeval society 'began to outgrow the cloister, and justly; for a cloistered Christianity could never, by itself, have subdued the world.' 'The true monk lived a noble life,

but it was not really Christ's life.' 'A body which feared contamination of morals or of creed by mixing daily among the unsaved lacked one essential element of the earliest Christian faith; and, failing to admit its own limitations, it lacked that self-knowledge which is always and everywhere essential to true success.' Twenty-four plates of monasteries and their buildings and other subjects with plans and text-figures, add greatly to the interest of the volume. It is a worthy result of unwearying research, and one that will be of immense service to all students of monasticism. Dr. Workman's *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal* is described in the list of authorities as 'an excellent book within its self-imposed limitations,' and the appendix says, 'Those who desire a sober and balanced resumé of monastic life must go to a handbook like Dr. H. B. Workman's *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*.'

The Chief Ministers of England, 920–1720. By the Hon. Clive Bigham. (John Murray. 21*s*. net.)

Mr. Bigham's *The Prime Ministers of Britain* has reached a third impression, and that success has led him to carry on his studies from the days of St. Dunstan to the time of Godolphin and Harley. The volume covers a wider range than its predecessor, but it is not the less interesting. It is based on wide reading, and gives the chief facts of each minister's life and rule, with an estimate of his character and influence. It has portraits of twenty-seven of the ministers, which add greatly to the interest of the work. In Saxon times the Justiciar was the first man under the King. He was the *Capitalis Justicia*, the lieutenant of the kingdom. A captain-general, a chief justice, often a treasurer, his duties were enlarged by the Norman and early Angevin Kings, who were so often absent on the Continent. When the foreign provinces dropped away the Justiciar sank into a judge and the Chancellor assumed the chief place. This held for three centuries, and was practically always in the hands of Churchmen. After the Reformation the Treasurer, who had the power of the purse, became pre-eminent. That is the general position, though at times the chief minister had to act as High Steward, Lord High Admiral or in some other special office. Dunstan, Godwin, Roger, and Burghley between them were chief ministers for 125 years. Of the twenty-seven ministers five were bishops, five archbishops, seventeen nobles. It was an office beset with perils. Nine of the ministers died a violent death; three died in disgrace. Ten were exiled or fled abroad, ten were imprisoned in the Tower, ten were impeached or attainted. 'Carrying their lives in their hands, never knowing from day to day what fate might await them, prepared to see their families and their fortunes, their policies and their lives, swept away at a single blow, they yet provided for the safety, honour, and welfare of their sovereign and his dominions.' Mr. Bingham has an eye for the details which give vitality to such sketches as these, and it would not be easy to find a book which throws so much light on the government of this country for eight centuries. The first pages, given to Dunstan, Godwin, and Harold, arrest attention at once, and the interest deepens as we pass on to Wykeham, Wolsey, Thomas

Cromwell, the Cecils, Strafford. The volume will be as popular and as much appreciated as that devoted to the Prime Ministers.

Sir Christopher Wren: Scientist, Scholar, and Architect. By Sir Lawrence Weaver. (Country Life. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This little volume does not profess to be a Life of Wren but a series of impressions of the many sides of a great Englishman. It gives an interesting account of his parentage and his family life, and shows how early he devoted himself to all kinds of scientific inventions. He was a skilled mathematician, and though the very universality of his mind perhaps led to distraction in too many directions, his varied experience and knowledge proved of the utmost service in his work as an architect. The story of St. Paul's is told with many illuminating details, and the account of special features of Wren's churches is even more instructive. Chapters are given to Chelsea, Hampton Court, and Greenwich, to other buildings, and to his contemporaries. Other chapters set out his position as the professional man, the classical archaeologist, and the architect of adventure. The attempt at a Wren chronology is a special feature, and the whole study is full of interest and architectural discrimination.

Timothy Hackworth and the Locomotive. By Robert Young. (Locomotive Publishing Co. 21*s*. net.)

Timothy Hackworth has never received due credit for the important part he played in the development of the locomotive, but this volume brings out his fertility of invention and his wonderful enterprise. It is the work of an expert who gives full particulars of the various stages in the gradual growth due to Trevithick, Stephenson, Hackworth, and others. Mr. Young neither detracts from the work of Hackworth's contemporaries, nor revives ancient controversy, but he uses all available material to present the facts in their true perspective and in greater detail. Hackworth was the inventor of the blast pipe, and produced the first locomotive which successfully competed with horses and definitely settled the supremacy of steam. He was a trained mechanic, self-reliant and confident in his own knowledge, experience, and ability. His workmen at Soho looked up to him as a just and generous master. He and his wife had become Wesleyan Methodists in early life and were unceasing in their devotion to the interests of their Church. It is a story that was worth telling, and Mr. Young has told it in a way that is singularly interesting and instructive, even to those who have no mechanical gifts. One hundred and sixty-eight illustrations and portraits add greatly to the value of a notable book.

The Children of England. By J. J. Findlay. (Methuen & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The Professor of Education in the University of Manchester here makes 'a contribution to social history and to education' which has behind it a lifetime of practical experience. He has gathered together in historical perspective the store of impressions garnered

from children and from men and books. He takes a wide survey of his subject, which has to include within its scope all the experiences, ideas, sentiments, that have played their part in the life of a people. The only limitation is that attention must be paid to the behaviour of children and young people as distinguished from older folk. The life of farmer and peasant is traced during the centuries in an illuminating survey. The advance from hunter to ploughman not only involved increase and storage of food and invention of tools. It meant a homestead, and when a surplus was created craftsmanship was evolved apart from husbandry. The contrast between children in the fifteenth century and to-day is drawn, and the beginnings of modern England and educational theory are described in a most interesting way. History and organization lead up to 'Notes on Reform.' Here such subjects are discussed as legislative interference with parental rights over children, the status of the teacher, and self-government within the schools. Professor Findlay then reaches his chief contention, that the school is the place where the boy and girl should be taught how to live. The practical and social experiences which children of peasants have enjoyed for ages should be shared by all children as a vital element in a sane curriculum. That includes not merely the care of plants and animals, but the use of tools, the observation of an open-air world, and preparation for the fine arts which evolve from the renewal of experience with movements, visions, sounds arising from contact between the mind of man and the objective world. The subject is approached from a fresh point of view, and the conclusions must commend themselves to all who are anxious for the best interests of the future.

William Wordsworth: His Doctrine and Art in their Historical Relations. By Arthur Beatty. (Madison.)

This is one of the University of Wisconsin studies in language and literature, and is written by the Assistant Professor of English. It deals mainly with Wordsworth's mature work, but sufficient attention is given to the earlier period to make the poetic development clear. The attempt to unify and harmonize the poet's mature theories with his actual performance is one of the claims of this study to a distinct place in Wordsworth criticism. The detailed study of his prose writing as supplementary to his poetry has never before been seriously undertaken. The first and second parts of the study deal with Wordsworth's doctrine in its earlier and mature forms; the third is given to the poetry. 'The Prelude' is at once a repudiation of the Revolution and a record of personal readjustment in accordance with another code of ethics; 'The Excursion' is a reconstruction of the moral life of the world on the ruins of the Revolution. 'Life first, poetry afterwards, was always his attitude.' A special feature of the work is the chronology of 'The Prelude' and 'The Excursion' and 'The Recluse.' The conclusion reached by the study is that Wordsworth was a philosophical poet with a distinctive philosophy like that of Locke and the English Associationistic School in particular. That explains why he so generally adopts the psychological and autobiographical method. The closing words bring out

the writer's position: 'Before the real quality of Wordsworth can be perceived the prose must be studied in connexion with the poetry. If this is done, and if the results thereby gained are viewed in those relations which are very clearly indicated by the poet himself, we shall have a new Wordsworth, restored to the integrity of a philosophic poet, a title to which he always laid claim, and firmly established as the noblest exponent and poet of man and nature and human life, mainly as interpreted in their origins, development, and mutual relations by the English philosophy of associationism.'

The Story of Bologna. By Alethea Wiel, with Illustrations in Line by Margarite Janes. (Dent & Sons. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The writer has tried to make the stones of Bologna speak to her. The city may not have the romance and glamour of some other Italian towns, but its dignity and solemnity set it in a special category. It stands in a rich and fertile plain in the centre of Italy, with the Po to the north, and nearer still the Savena and the Reno. It was originally called Felsina, from Felsino, King of Tuscany (397–365 B.C.). His son Bono loved the town so much that he gave it his own name, and Bononia has been modified into Bologna. Three historic chapters bring us to the University, which has carried on its work for more than 800 years. From the Middle Ages down to present times women have filled academic chairs with proficiency and distinction. It would be difficult to find anywhere in Italy a group of finer buildings than those in the great square, the Piazza Vittoria Emmanuele. There are some remarkable palaces here, but the most interesting building is the Church of S. Petronio. Petronius, Bishop of Bologna, died in 450 A.D. The first stone of the church was laid in 1390. There are three naves and twenty-two side chapels, the earliest pair finished in 1392. An account is given of each of the chapels, of the cathedrals and other churches of the town. Bologna has 180 towers, which date from days when space within the walls was limited, and room was needed either for refuge in times of war, or warehousing of arms or other things for which room could not be found in the houses. The Asinella Tower, erected at the close of the twelfth century, is a landmark of exceptional beauty. St. Dominic came to the city in 1218, after his new Order had been sanctioned by Honorius III. He died here in 1221, and his tomb is one of the choice treasures of the city. There is also a great Franciscan Church, which was finished in 1260. A chapter is given to the Pinacoteca, with its masterpieces, and the last chapter describes the environs of the city. There is a good general map and an array of illustrations which bring out the charms of one of Italy's noble cities.

On the Site of the Globe Playhouse of Shakespeare, lying to the north of Maiden Lane, Bankside, Southwark. By George Hubbard, F.S.A., Vice-President R.I.B.A. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Hubbard is convinced that the site of the Globe Theatre was to the north of Maiden Lane, now called Park Street, and not on the brewery site on the south side. Professor Wallace's discovery and

publication in *The Times* for October 2 and 4, 1909, of the lawsuit between Thomasina Ostler and her father, John Hemynges, gives clear details of the property, and on its statements, confirmed by extended personal research, Mr. Hubbard's argument is based. The frontispiece shows objects found on the site of 6 and 7 Bankside, and in a pocket are twelve plates, representing views and maps of London from 1572 to 1754. These are explained in the text, and from them Mr. Hubbard finds strong confirmation of his view. He criticizes the pamphlet prepared for the London County Council, and reaches the conclusion that a passage-way between the back of the warehouses 6 and 7 Bankside and the back of the premises belonging to the wardens was originally the Globe Alley which led to the Globe Theatre. He says, 'My conviction was announced in the upper frontage of 6 and 7 Bankside before the Park Street bronze memorial was affixed': 'Here stood the Globe Playhouse of Shakespeare, 1599–1644.' The case is stated with exemplary care and professional knowledge, and it will have to be taken into account by all who deal with the subject.

Milton Agonistes. By E. H. Visiak. (A. M. Philpot. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.)

This 'metaphysical criticism' attempts to discharge the 'debt of endless gratitude' which the writer owes to Milton from his youth up. He begins with 'Milton in his Own Times and After.' In his replies to Salmasius and Moore he sometimes 'falls to the level of his adversary, playing to the gallery like a war-politician and stirring up the lees of laughter by expatiating with remorseless iteration upon a sordid intrigue in the life of Moore.' His conflicts with the bishops and the retrograde Presbyterians were quite as savage. He was strangely insensible to artificial beauty apart from his consummate sense of music, poetry, and literary style. *Paradise Lost* only proceeds easily and powerfully when Milton's ordinary mind was in abeyance. Many passages were actually composed in sleep, and were dictated in the morning from his bed. When he wrote it, 'save for the comfort of a devoted wife, he was as desolate as Defoe when he escaped to a remote island.' Yet he never lost the genial cheerfulness of his personality. 'The fires of his genius burst into rekindled flame, so that he is at once an inspiring embodiment of his transfigured Prometheus and a superb vindication of his belief that the author of a noble poem must be noble in his life.' Shakespeare manifested the genius of humour or genial insight, Milton that of sublimity. Those twin-modes of genius seem to the critic to exhaust the nature of poetic faculty. That position is illustrated by reference to other masters, and the whole study is a stimulus to thought and discussion. Milton was 'an egotist in the sublime sense, of momentous importance to himself and to the world, because, as he felt, he was of momentous importance to God, especially as His champion.'

Women Writers of the Nineteenth Century. By Marjory A. Bald, M.A., LL.D. (Cambridge University Press. 10*s*. 6*d*. net.)

Miss Bald has endeavoured in these studies to concentrate, not

merely on questions of sex, but on the complete humanity of each woman. It has been her desire to look at them face to face, with a quickened sense of kinship and reverence. Her gallery is not extensive. It includes Jane Austen, the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot, Mrs. Browning, and Christina Rossetti. The chief facts of each life are clearly given, and the nature of the writer's literary gifts is well brought out. Jane Austen defined her own boundaries, and never stepped beyond them. She chose the microscopic mode of observation, and in that small world there was nothing immune from her laughter. In all her novels 'life is described from the same standpoint of minute simplicity. Her writings come as a revelation of the fineness and clearness of touch requisite for miniature painting.' Each of the Brontë sisters is described. Anne never attained to genius, but passages and phrases scattered through her two books strike a note of quiet charm. Charlotte had an intensely emotional temperament, and her books quiver with life. 'Nobody before her wrote with such intimacy and fervour; and nobody since has been able entirely to forget what she did.' Emily's world was in all points sharper and more bleak. She was 'a terrible woman, but wonderful' and gave English literature the marvel of her own personality. Somewhat fuller space is given to Mrs. Gaskell on account of her many-sidedness. Her peculiar achievement was her power of combining the life of genius with a round of common interests. 'She takes her readers very close to the heart of reality, and she does this without leading them into the wilderness of novel sensation or speculative theory.' George Eliot's novels expressed her own attitude to life. She felt its complexity. With poor vitality and varied experience she seeks escape from self by the pathway of knowledge, and attains remarkable efficiency without the magical touch. Miss Bald thinks that a deliberate refusal to exercise discrimination runs like a flaw through Mrs. Browning's poetry. 'She did not choose between the texture and the embroidery of her imagination. She wished to keep both, and usually achieved the result of covering her texture with disfiguring embroideries. Occasionally we get glimpses of the real stuff—the true material of poetry.' Christina Rossetti was an ascetic, yet her poems are rich in colour and picture. It seems possible that the future verdict will 'assert her extraordinary aloofness from currents of literary progress; she will be remembered as a solitary, exquisite flower, blooming for a season, fading, and casting no seed.'—*Men of Letters*. By Dixon Scott. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.) This is the first volume of *The Bookman Library*. It is a reprint of the volume of 1916, which won for the writer immediate recognition 'as perhaps the most brilliant, certainly the most promising, of the younger essayists and literary critics of his day.' He died of dysentery at Gallipoli, and Mr. Max Beerbohm's Introduction gives the chief facts of his life. Much of his best work appeared in *The Bookman*. He writes on Bernard Shaw, Rudyard Kipling, Sir James Barrie, Beau Beerbohm, Henry James, Sir W. R. Nicoll, Mrs. Meynell, Rupert Brooke, and others with what Mr. Beerbohm calls freshness, vigorous youngness, and humility. It is rich and discriminating work, and it centres round writers whom we are all anxious to know more intimately.

The Indictment of Mary Queen of Scots. With comments by Major-General R. H. Mahon, C.B., C.S.I. (Cambridge University Press. 5*s.* net.)

This manuscript is one of the treasures of the Cambridge University Library, but has never before been published. It seems to be a genuine example of the vernacular writings of George Buchanan, and goes far to set at rest the question of the origin and authorship of that final form of the indictment which was produced at the Westminster Commission of December, 1568, and known as the 'Book of Articles.' The Introduction deals with the problems raised by the indictment, and, by comparing certain passages with the Hopetoun MS., reaches the conclusion that Buchanan's preceded it. Major-General Mahon refrains from expressing an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the Queen of Scots, but her trial was a travesty of justice, and his deductions show to how great an extent Cecil manipulated the evidence. He says the true story of the 'Gunpowder Plot' at Kirk o' Field has yet to be written, and when it is written he believes it will be found to have little relation to the contents of Buchanan's famous indictment or its connected documents. The Cambridge Press has done students good service by the publication of this valuable historic document, with its important Introduction and notes on the text.

Gautama Buddha. By Kenneth J. Saunders. (H. Milford. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This new volume of 'The Heritage of India Series' is based on the canonical books of the Theravadin. In his Introduction Professor Saunders gives an account of the material at our disposal for compiling such a biography, and dwells on the fact that Buddha's influence after the lapse of twenty-five centuries is still a mighty power in the world. The early life of Gautama, his quest and conflict, the height of his power, his old age and death, and his teaching are described with skill and knowledge. He was pre-eminently courteous and great in his humility—'a morning star of goodwill heralding the Sun of Love.' Many of our readers will be interested to know that the volume was printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore City. The work should not be overlooked by those who wish to know the facts about Buddha and his teaching.—*A Gentleman in Prison.* (Student Christian Movement. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is the story of a Japanese thief and murderer who became a Christian as he lay in Tokyo prison waiting for execution. Miss Macdonald, to whom and to Miss West he owed his knowledge of Christ, has translated Ishii's autobiography. It is a wonderful story of sin and of grace. In the New Testament which these ladies sent him he read the prayer of Jesus on the cross: 'Father, forgive them.' 'Through this simple sentence I was led into the whole of Christianity.' The book will give new courage to all who seek to win the lost for Christ.—*Father Thames.* By Walter Higgins. (Wells Gardner, Darton & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Higgins deals with his subject in three sections: London River, from the Nore to London Bridge; The Great City which the River made; The Upper River. It is a wonderful theme, and he surrounds it with fascinating detail as to the past history and the traffic of to-day. The geological sketch

in the Introduction takes us back to the time when there was no English Channel or North Sea, but a great stretch of land from Denmark and Norway to miles beyond the west of Ireland and the north of Scotland. All the features and places of interest along the course of the river are graphically described and illustrated by a striking set of pictures. Mr. Higgins knows his subject well, and makes it very attractive to his readers. The story of the 'Stripling Thames' takes us into many lovely rural scenes. The book will delight young readers and teach them much about the past and the present which they ought to know. It can be had in three separate parts as well as in this attractive volume.—*In and Around London.* By Constance M. Foot. With drawings by A. S. Forrest and photographs. (T. C. & E. C. Jack. 6*s.* net.) This is a new edition, carefully brought up to date by the help of many authorities whose help is gratefully acknowledged. It begins with the first days of the city and a description of the site when it was a broad marsh which stretched from Fulham to Greenwich. The roads, the 'buses, the tubes, the posts, the port, St. Paul's Cathedral and Cross, Westminster, Whitehall, the palaces, are all described in a way that will fascinate young folk and older folk also. The drawings and photographs add much to the charm of a very pleasant book.—*Chronicles of a Century of Methodism at King's Cross Wesleyan Church.* By J. J. Graham. (Epworth Press. 5*s.* net.) This is a story worth telling, and the lay pastor has told it with much skill and sympathy. He gives some interesting facts about the neighbourhood, which took its original name from Boadicea's heroic stand against the Roman legions, then he traces the history with much lively detail from its rise in Maiden Lane and the building of the chapel in 1824 down to the present time. The church has had a great succession of laymen, such as the Waddys, Dingleys, Greeves Walker, and others. Its pulpit has been filled by many gifted preachers, and it has been a centre of blessing to the whole district. It has lost its well-to-do supporters, but it was never more alive, and its minister is sustained by an enthusiastic people. The volume is well illustrated.—*The Story of Empire: The Homeland. In Europe and India.* By Ernest Protheroe. (Epworth Press. 1*s.* 6*d.* net each.) This is a new series, and one for which there is a real opening. The first two volumes are brightly written and well illustrated. The growth of the Empire is the subject of the first volume; the second shows how England gained Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus, and thence passed to the conquest of India and the annexation of Burma. A bird's eye view of the subject is given in a way that will win the attention of young readers and make them both better patriots and imperialists. —*A History of Everyday Things in England*, Vol. I., by Mr. and Mrs. Quennell (Batsford), has now reached a fourth impression, making 28,000 copies. More than 80,000 copies of the two volumes have been sold. The record stretches from the Norman Conquest down to the end of the eighteenth century, and is written for boys and girls of public school age. It describes houses, meals, games, ships, and sea fights, manners and customs, trades and all aspects of the life of the people in the happiest fashion, and has a wealth of attractive illustrations.

GENERAL

The Miners' Unions of Northumberland and Durham. By E. Welbourne. (Cambridge University Press. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

We do not wonder that this treatise was awarded the Thirlwall Prize, the Seeley Medal, and the Gladstone Prize in 1921. It is an exceedingly careful survey of the history, based on prolonged study of the records, supplemented by personal information derived from leading officials. It is also marked by conspicuous fairness in the judgements passed on the attitude taken both by masters and men. The pitman attained the height of his outward splendour during the eighteenth century. Wesley's *Journal* speaks as to the change that came over the miners at Plessey, near Newcastle. 'Methodist piety replaced the splendour of the holiday clothes by the respectability of Sunday blacks.' Mr. Welbourne says, 'No influence had effects as important, or as little the object of hostile criticism, as the steady spread of Methodism. It was true that the management of their little chapels gave some of the pitmen a dangerous habit of self-sufficiency. It was true that the local preacher stepped only too readily from the pulpit to the strike platform. It was this tendency which hastened more than one Methodist schism.' He adds, 'The Wesleyans were never the leaders of strikes. It was the Ranters, as the Primitive Methodists were called even in official reports, who continued the real work of Methodism—the uplifting of the lowest ranks in society. They fought the evils of drunkenness, gambling, and improvidence.' We are glad to see such a tribute, but it overlooks the fact that Primitive Methodism was not born till 1811, before which much splendid work had been done by Methodism among the pitmen. It is not pleasant to find that Mr. Love of Durham, a local preacher among the New Connexion Methodists, was openly said to have made £5,000 a year from coal for hewing which he had not paid a farthing. No payment was made for tubs which did not reach the shaft level full, and as the seams were low it was impossible for a heaped-up tub to pass without this coal being knocked off. The Unions had a hard struggle for existence, but in 1864 Thomas Burt was the means of forming the Northumberland Miners' Mutual Confidence Association, and he exercised a wonderful controlling influence over the miners. Crawford was even more popular among the men of Durham, for whom he founded the first lasting Union in that county. John Wilson, a Methodist convert and local preacher, was Crawford's ablest successor. He did memorable work for the miners. Mr. Welbourne's volume is one of real interest and deep importance.

Early Latin Hymns. By the late A. S. Walpole, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 15*s.* net.)

In this volume we have a notable addition to the Cambridge Patristic Texts. A posthumous work, it has been prepared for publication by the general editor, Dr. A. J. Mason, who has arranged the author's material and added critical notes and explanations where required.

It is not a *Corpus* in the sense of being a complete collection of extant Latin hymns and fragments of hymns sung in the Western Church before 600 A.D.; it is—what is perhaps more useful—an anthology which includes the hymns which on various grounds the author deemed worthy of admission within his available limits. He has brought to what evidently was a labour of love competent Latin scholarship and untiring industry and research, involving several Continental journeys to collate manuscripts and examine hymnaries, in addition to the close study of sources and the works of experts and critics. The result is a book which, if it lacks the author's final revision and arrangement, is both valuable and interesting to students of hymnology. The hymns selected include forty of which the authorship is either undisputed or asserted with some confidence; the rest, numbering eighty-seven, are anonymous. If the anonymous hymns are not without interest and even fascination for the liturgiologist, it is in the earlier group that the reader will find the historical models and types on which all the subsequent developments of Christian poetry were to be based. The first name is that of Hilary of Poitiers, who is represented by *Hymnum dicat turba fratrum*; at least, strong grounds exist for attributing the poem to him. We miss a reference, until p. 224, to Gammurini's discovery in the library of Arezzo of fragments of his *Liber Hymnorum*. Possibly the whole book may some day be discovered; but, valuable as such a find would be, the claim of Hilary to be the first Latin hymn-writer is already established, and we would have welcomed some extracts from the Arezzo MS. Nevertheless, Ambrose remains the real creator of the Latin hymn, not only because he shaped a model of surpassing dignity and simplicity, but because he was the first to realize that Christian psalmody lacked devotional inspiration if it was not sung by the worshipping congregation. The author is at his best in treating of Ambrose, whose prose works he read throughout in order to grasp his characteristic thought and style. In contrast with Ambrose is the poetry of Prudentius, richer in romantic fancy and beauty of expression. He was not a writer of hymns, but of Christian poetry, like Keble, and centos which were introduced into the liturgies and breviaries of the Western Church were destined, like the excerpts from the *Christian Year*, to become hymns at once inspiring and popular. The annotations which accompany the text of each hymn quote the parallels and illustrative passages in full and carefully elucidate the difficulties of the original. The book also contains notes on the grammar of the hymns, but the scheme is incomplete, and we share the editor's doubt if it was worth while to make the attempt, although there is interest in the studies of word-formation, and the list of Greek words found in these hymns will appeal to the student of their vocabulary.

The Poems of Alice Meynell. Complete edition. 6*s.* net.
The Last Poems of Alice Meynell. 3*s.* 6*d.* net. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne.)

A Note in our last issue paid tribute to Mrs. Meynell's rare gifts as poet and essayist. Lovers of poetry will greatly prize these two

volumes of her poetry just published. One gives all the poems, with Sargent's beautiful portrait as frontispiece; the other contains her last verses, printed in bold type with wide margins, and in the neatest of covers. Her poetic output was not large, but every poem is a piece of dainty workmanship, and allows one to look into the writer's mind and heart. William Sharp knew no nobler or more beautiful sonnet than 'Renouncement.' John Ruskin described the last verse of 'A Letter from a Girl to her own Old Age,' 'San Lorenzo's Mother,' and the end of the sonnet 'To a Daisy' as the finest things he had yet seen or felt in modern verse. Mrs. Meynell is endeared to us as the good genius of Francis Thompson, and her little poem 'In Manchester Square' in memory of the paralysed crossing-sweeper shows how she saw the noble soul beneath that unpromising exterior. Nor will any one overlook the three verses devoted to 'Nurse Edith Cavell.' It is all gemlike in its felicity of phrase and its music. The last pair of verses headed 'At Night. To W. M.' are of deep personal interest:

> Home, home from the horizon far and clear,
> Hither the soft wings sweep;
> Flocks of the memories of the day draw near
> The dovecote doors of sleep.
>
> Oh, which are they that come through sweetest light
> Of all these homing birds?
> Which with the straightest and the swiftest flight?
> Your words to me, your words.

1. ***Recent Psychology and the Christian Religion. Some Points of Contact and Divergence.*** By Cyril E. Hudson, M.A. (Allen & Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)
2. ***The Psychology of Christian Life and Behaviour.*** By W. S. Bruce, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)
3. ***Christianity and Auto-Suggestion.*** By C. H. Brooks and E. Charles. (Allen & Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)
4. ***Self-Healing by Auto-Suggestion.*** Translated from the French by M. Dolonne. (Dent & Sons. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

1. There is a clear call for discussion as to the conclusions of current psychological inquiries from the Christian point of view, and this compact presentment of the subject will be of service to many. It begins with 'The Unconscious,' and devotes chapters to 'Psycho-analysis and Sin,' 'Psychology and the Spiritual Life,' 'Herd Instinct,' 'Suggestion,' 'Psychology and the Problem of Free Will,' 'Religious Origins and Spiritual Experience.' The conception of extra-marginal consciousness has caused a revolution in psychology. It is the keystone of the new psychology. Mr. Hudson makes that his starting-point, and shows that in dreams the unconscious really comes to its own. The Church may perhaps learn something from the psycho-analysts' insistence on the paramount importance of the individual soul's autonomy. No Christian thinker can, however, allow the claim sometimes made that within an appreciable time psychology will have taken over entire the function of religion. 'The aim and object of psycho-analysis is sublimation of *libido*,' and it may accomplish great things, 'not in

abnormal cases only, but in the lives of ordinary men and women, hand in hand with Christian faith, recognizing that *libido* may in man be reinforced by the grace of God.' The discussion of suggestion is very instructive, and the spiritual application of this and other positions taken by the new psychology is suggestive and helpful for religious students and workers.

2. Dr. Bruce shows the bearings of psychology on all sides of the Christian life, secular no less than religious. He writes with a desire to help parents, teachers, Christian workers, and preachers, by unfolding the quality and structure of the mind both in rest and in action. The psychology of childhood, the religion of adolescence, normal religious growth, conversion, religious mass movements, the psychology of sainthood, of prayer, of mysticism, of religious experience, are all treated with sympathy and insight. Dr. Bruce has had wide experience of Christian work, and has thought out the subject of the new psychology in all its bearings, so that no more wise and capable guide could be found by those who wish to understand the workings of the mind. He says religion has always appealed to man's rational nature. The view that the exhibition of deep emotion in religion belongs to a sickly type of piety is not supported by psychology. In the subconscious there is a huge 'feeling-background' in which religion has its deepest roots. It is impossible to banish feeling from the contents of faith. The great majority of modern psychologists have justified the importance of feeling as a factor in religious experience. The chapter on 'Psychology and Auto-Suggestion' has many helpful suggestions. The psychological moments are before and after sleep, and should be utilized for prayer with children and families. 'Auto-suggestion should get a primary place in education to teach self-control, love of work, diligence, and dutifulness. In this way boys and girls can be made to love their work, and to choose the fittest occupations in accordance with their known aptitudes.'

3. M. Coué's teaching is here compared with that of Christ, and from the essential harmony which the authors find in them an attempt is made to place auto-suggestion in its true position in Christian life and thought, and to utilize the Christian dynamic for extending and deepening its power. The claim is made that auto-suggestion on M. Coué's lines brings back after centuries of disuse the healing power which distinguished the ministry of Christ and His apostles. 'It illuminates the meaning of prayer and faith, and settles the ancient controversy between faith and works. Finally, it offers a means by which the Church can escape from its present lethargy and impotence to become once more a source of energy, inspiration, and heroic life.' If that were true we should all welcome such an ally, but there is need of great caution and suspension of judgement.

4. The writer is enthusiastic over the influence of auto-suggestion, and gives some striking instances of its success. Many will find it difficult to accept his statement: 'One becomes one's own doctor, and there are no diseases, physical or moral, which resist its application.' But we can well understand that auto-suggestion is capable

of communicating, under the influence of an idea, a vibration to the nervous system. The system is clearly explained, and directions are given for putting it in operation. It is a book that ought to help many who need new hope and courage.

Sussex Church Music in the Past. By K. H. Macdermott, L.Th., A.R.C.M. (Selsey Rectory. 5*s.* 10*d.*, post free.)

The Rector of Selsey's account of the old singers and minstrels, the bands, psalmodies, and hymn-book of Sussex churches from the end of the seventeenth to the latter half of the nineteenth century has reached a second edition. That shows how much the record has appealed to others. Music, both secular and sacred, has been neglected in Sussex literature. Apart from Chichester Cathedral it had no existence in Sussex as a science, and scarcely as an art, a hundred years ago. Mr. Macdermott begins with the musicians, allowing some of them to give their own reminiscences. They are distinctly entertaining, and show how the ardour for the music of the Sunday services kept awake a great deal of native musical talent that would otherwise have been dormant. One of the happy features was the family spirit, which made the juniors regard it almost as a sacred obligation to carry on the traditions of their ancestors. As to instruments, no less than twenty-four different kinds were employed in one church or another. The vamphorn, of which two illustrations are given, was used at Ashurst, where it is still preserved. It is a single tube of tin, three feet long and seven inches wide across the bell or larger end. The third chapter is given to the music, which had many ludicrous repetitions, duly recorded here. The volume has some quaint illustrations. It is a piece of work that musicians will greatly appreciate.

The Choëphore (*Libation-Bearers*) *of Aeschylus.* Translated into English rhyming verse by Gilbert Murray. (Allen & Unwin. 2*s.* and 3*s.* net.) The Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford is making the Athenian drama accessible to English readers by a series of verse translations which have won wide popularity. The *Choëphore* belongs to the only trilogy preserved to us from the Athenian stage, and describes the vengeance of Orestes on the murderers of his father Agamemnon. It is a terrible story, which throws light on the great problem which lies at the centre of Greek religion—crime, punishment, deliverance. The translation and notes are such as only a master hand could have produced.—*Life's True Values.* (Allenson. 5*s.* net.) Many will be grateful to the publisher of this set of forty-eight papers selected from *The Times.* The Archbishop of York says how much he has been interested, stimulated, and helped by the essays. He thinks it is a striking illustration of the present widespread interest in religion that a great newspaper should for many years have given a column every Saturday to an essay dealing with the moral and spiritual life. Sir James Marchant has arranged them in three groups on life, conduct, achievement. They only fill four or five pages each; they lose no time in opening the theme, and they do not wander from it.

They provoke thought, stir the conscience, direct the judgement, and stimulate and guide conduct. We owe much to these essays, and are thankful to have them in this compact volume.—*Companionable Books.* By Henry Van Dyke. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) By companionable Dr. Van Dyke means those books that are worth taking with one on a journey. He begins with 'The Book of Books.' 'No other book in the world has had such a strange vitality, such an outgoing power of influence and inspiration.' 'Poetry in the Psalms' is another beautiful estimate. Then we have estimates of Dickens and Thackeray which will delight their lovers and increase the number of them. Dickens has 'deepened our faith that there is something of the divine on earth, and something of the human in heaven.' Dr. Van Dyke finds *Vanity Fair* the strongest, *Pendennis* the most intimate, *The Newcomes* the richest and in parts the most lovable, and *Henry Esmond* the most admirable and satisfying, among Thackeray's novels. The other studies are on George Eliot, Keats, Wordsworth, Browning, Izaak Walton, Emerson, and R. L. Stevenson. Wordsworth's specific for restoring the native tranquillity and vigour of the soul was a simple, healthful, loving life in fellowship with man and nature. The clue to Browning's mind was 'vivid and inexhaustible curiosity, dominated by a strangely steady optimism.' It is a delightful book, full of sympathy and rich in discerning appreciation.—*Beautiful Gates in Life.* By G. Beesley Austin. (Epworth Press. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mr. Austin has devoted much thought and time to the young people during his able and successful ministry. Their perils and possibilities have moved him deeply, and he has realized that it is in early life that the great choices are made. The ten papers in this volume begin with the gates of the Temple and end with St. George of England. We have a martyr story from the Colosseum, Browning's 'Boy and the Angel,' and other suggestive themes, which are made to yield their rich lessons for young life. There is a grace and wisdom in them all which will make a strong and happy appeal to thoughtful youth.—*Sunshine and Wattlegold.* By F. W. Norwood, D.D. (Allenson. 5*s.* net.) These addresses to children were given during Dr. Norwood's Australian ministry, and it is a pleasure to read them. They have a spice of fun, but they are always instructive and happily applied to conduct. There is an Australian atmosphere in such pieces as 'The Smell of the Gum Leaves,' and it is distinctly exhilarating.—*A Garden of Beautiful Stories.* By W. J. May. (Allenson. 5*s.* net.) Here are thirty-six nature parables and stories which will charm children. They are short, but they are wonderfully crisp and entertaining, and many a golden moral is packed into a closing sentence.—*Mrs. Beeton's Household Management.* New Edition. (Ward, Lock & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.) Mrs. Beeton's *Complete Cookery Book* is still without a rival. This new edition has been revised by the best-known chefs and culinary experts and the best results are given, with due regard to economy. New chapters on labour-saving in the home and on laundry work have been added; medical and nursing chapters have been contributed by eminent physicians. Special attention has been given to first-aid, and a well-known barrister writes on the legal rights of master and servant and other legal

questions. The book has been entirely reprinted in clear type on the best paper, with good margins; it is strongly bound, and has 48 colour plates and 700 half-tone illustrations. The page is larger, and despite its 700 pages it is an easy book to handle. The world owes a lasting debt to Mrs. Beeton, and her work enters on a new life with this complete and skilfully prepared edition.—*Marriage and What it Means.* By Ernest de Vere Hill. (Deane. 6*d.*) A very sensible pamphlet which will help married people to trust and love each other all their life long. There are also some wise counsels as to the training of children.—*The Collected Poems of Madeleine Holland.* (Merton Press.) The poems are grouped as the Rhodesian in Africa, in England, and *Inter Alia.* The first piece, 'Looking Northward,' is a tribute to Cecil Rhodes, and others have the life of the pioneer and the scent of the veldt about them. 'The Children' is a dream of what might have been, and the little poems have a beauty of their own. It is a work that many will prize.—*Sacred Verse.* By Margaret G. Ferguson. (Amersham: Morland. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Devout little poems, evidently by a Roman Catholic writer.—*Desolate Splendour.* By Michael Sadleir. (Constable & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) There is power and beauty in this picture of what the author calls the desolate splendour of a girl's devotion. One trembles now and then at the lengths to which it threatens to lead her, but a kindly fate saves her from herself and opens the eyes of her guardian to the wealth of love which she is lavishing upon him. The finest man in the book is the clerk in the Foreign Office who had fallen under her spell, and the most detestable is old Mrs. Plether, who plots the girl's ruin in the hope that the family estates may come into the hands of her younger son. Madeline Gray is a fine specimen of a true woman, and the heroine's development from her humble position in Canadian society to the riches of Charles Plethern's household is worked out with rare skill and insight. There are some situations that are not quite savoury, but there is not a wasted sentence in this notable story.—*Simon of Cyrene, Dimachaerus Splendens: or the Story of a Man's (and a Nation's) Soul.* By Thomas Hall Shastid, M.D., Sc.D., &c. (Michigan: George Wahr.) The Rector of St. Paul's, Duluth, considers this one of the best stories of ancient times which he has read. Samson-Solomon, the young Jewish shepherd, stands for the soul of the nation, and as he bears the cross of Jesus and witnesses His crucifixion we see the effect it produced on the Jewish inner consciousness. His wonderful strength and mastery of the sword, his marriage and his journeys to Athens and to Rome, are described with many vivid details. We see the Roman Emperor and his court, the terrible scenes of the amphitheatre, and the friendship between the Jew and the Greek Lampadephorus. Some of the incidents leave a thrill of their own, and the book has a note of mystery about it which keeps us wondering up to the dramatic close of the story, where the Jew falls at the feet of Christ, crying: 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord.'—*A Yellow Napoleon.* By Arthur E. Southon. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) The writer has used his five years' experience as a missionary on the West Coast of Africa to produce this vivid and powerful story. It describes the life of a half-caste who became the acknowledged chief of a band

of native outlaws by playing on their superstitions. He is a dreadful creature, and the British Commissioner has a long and hard fight before his power is broken. Rilston, the missionary, sees the transformation of the native city and the conversion of its king and people. The evils which have to be fought on the West Coast are clearly shown, and form a powerful plea for missions, but the book is also a thrilling story, full of adventures and perils, told with real literary skill.—The second volume in *The Readers' Classics*, published by Mr. Cedric Chivers of Bath, is *Ivanhoe* (*5s.*). It is got up with the same taste and skill as its predecessor, *David Copperfield*, and has original appreciations by living writers and by writers of this and other ages and countries. It is strongly bound in scarlet cloth and well printed on good paper. Mr. Chesterton says that all Scott's 'characters are kings in disguise. He was, with all his errors, profoundly impressed with the old religious conception, the only democratic basis, the idea that man himself is a king in disguise.' Such an edition of *Ivanhoe* will be in demand as a prize, and the list of volumes which are to appear in the series shows what treasures are in store.—The Epworth Press publishes some attractive stories. *The Courage of Jean*, by Florence Bone (*3s. 6d.* net), is a delightful tale. Jean and her little half-brother descend on London, and find some strong and kind friends, who are charmingly sketched and who rejoice in the good fortune which comes to a brave girl and a bright little boy.—*Pam's First Term at Greyladies*, by Alys Chatwyn (*3s.* net), begins in a little island of the South Pacific, from which the heroine comes by a strange turn of fortune to a Cornish village, and then to Greyladies. She has some extraordinary adventures which keep one wondering right up to the end.—*A Prince of Schoolboys*, by Kenyon Wynne (*1s. 6d.* net), will greatly appeal to boys. John Leighton is a manly little fellow who wins the heart of his schoolmates and plays a strange part in the fortunes of the Vanestrian Royalists. It is all alive from first to last.—*The Scalp Hunters* (*2s.* net) is one of Captain Mayne Reid's tales of fierce encounters with the American Apache. No boy could wish for more excitement than this famous tale supplies.—'*Polly Peachum*'; *The Story of* '*Polly*' *and* '*The Beggar's Opera*.' By Charles E. Pearce. (Stanley Paul & Co. *2s. 6d.* net.) *The Beggar's Opera* was almost 'the first popular success of the English stage,' and this volume describes its composition, and the actors and actresses who have taken part in it for nearly two centuries. Many new facts have been brought to light by Mr. Pearce's research, and the world of the theatre and Pope's circle at Twickenham are vividly described. Lavinia Fenton, who married the Duke of Bolton, was the first Polly Peachum, who made the fortune of the opera, and none of her successors has eclipsed her fame. The play throws much light on the shady sides of the eighteenth century.—*The Bedside Library*: *The Life and Death of Sir John Falstaff*; *Cranford*. By Elizabeth Gaskell. (Dent & Sons. *2s. 6d.* net cloth; *3s. 6d.* net leather.) For size and clearness of type these are ideal books for bedside reading, and the subjects will appeal to such readers. Two old Shakespeare students have worked together to present Falstaff's life and death as a single consecutive record. Sir George Radford's essay has been printed from Mr. Birrell's *Obiter*

Dicta, and adds much to the interest of the volume. The Foreword to *Cranford* says that in the story 'the very sense of a woman's presence is over all, and we are conscious even of that delicate odour which her very draperies give out as she passes before us. They are women's oddities we laugh at and women's hearts of tenderness we look into. It is always a woman's conception of a man, too, that we see in Mrs. Gaskell's work.' That is well said, and is just the word that speeds the reader to his bedside pleasure.—*Through the Shadows*. By Violet Graham. (Amersham: Morland. 2*s*. net.) Merle Heriot has some dark hours, but she gets out into the sunshine and finds a true and worthy lover in Claude Hamilton. The characters are well drawn, and none better than the loyal and large-hearted nurse and servant. It is a pleasant story.—*Roses in December*. By Rev. R. Lloyd Williams. (Morland. 2*s*. net.) Eight capital short stories.—*British Insects and How to Identify Them*, by J. H. Crabtree (Epworth Press. 1*s*. 6*d*. net.), is a welcome addition to a very popular series. The illustrations which face each page of letterpress are effectively produced, and the descriptions are both interesting and really instructive. The grasshoppers come first, and bees, gnats, earwigs, the Mayfly and other insects are in Mr. Crabtree's collection.—*John Halifax: Gentleman*, by Mrs. Craik (Epworth Press. 2*s*. net), is a new edition of a much-loved story. The coloured wrapper and two illustrations add to the charm of the book.—*A Quarter of a Century of Cumulative Bibliography*, 1898–1923, is a retrospect and prospect issued by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, as a souvenir of its twenty-fifth birthday. Portraits of the members of the staff, and illustrations of the buildings and processes, add to the interest of the record. The work has long established itself in the favour of publishers, and this description of its methods will increase the confidence of its clients.

Messrs. Collins send us the recent additions to their *Pocket Classics* (2*s*. net.). They are handy volumes strongly bound in red cloth and gilt lettered. The type and paper are good and the coloured picture wrappers catch the eye. *Daniel Deronda*, in two volumes, is George Eliot's Jewish novel with the racial romance and tragedy of Jewry. 'It may almost be taken as the author's testament, the avowal of her faith; and no faith in human aspiration and destiny could be more noble.' *The Golden Butterfly*, by Besant and Rice, has an outstanding figure in Gilead P. Beck with his despair over Browning's poetry; Alexandre Dumas is represented by *The Conspirators*, published in 1848 after the first volumes of *Monte Cristo*. *A Daughter of Heth* is one of William Black's pleasant stories; *A Life's Secret* by Mrs. Henry Wood has a fine hero in Austin Clay, who deserves all his good fortune. *Black Anna* by Anna Sewell is a horse's autobiography and a very good one. The Library now numbers 266 volumes and meets the tastes of all kinds of readers. Each volume is illustrated by a well-known artist and introductions are supplied which add much to the interest of the stories.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (April).—Tribute is paid in the opening paper to 'Arthur Elliot,' who gave up no small part of his best years to the service of the *Edinburgh*. Politics was his dominant interest in life; literature came second. He was interested in all the scientific movements of his time. He was a keen fighter, and at the same time the most gentle and kindest of men. 'The French and the English,' by M. De Chassaigne, suggests that England, France, Belgium, and Italy, acting together, should impose on Germany the one thing its bankers and industrial profiteers dread: an international loan in gold marks, mortgaged on all the wealth of the nation—lands, houses, mills, natural resources, &c. Mr. Ashby discusses 'The Agricultural Situation' in an important article which expresses confidence in the farmers' power to solve their own problems. The Editor deals with 'The Gold Standard.' 'As we get nearer to gold parity the financial position of London grows stronger, to the general advantage of the trade and industry of our country.'

Hibbert Journal (April).—The first three articles are concerned with the relations between science and religion, chiefly with regard to doctrines of evolution. Dr. J. S. Haldane writes broadly on the whole theme summed up in the statement that 'the material world as such is an imperfect appearance, and the only real world is the spiritual world, the only real values spiritual values.' Professor Julian Huxley's essay deals with 'Progress: Biological and Other.' He from a different standpoint agrees that 'spiritual progress is our one ultimate aim.' Sir Oliver Lodge discusses 'The Effort of Evolution,' contending that in matter there is only passive opposition to spirit, an inertia which is overcome by effort, while 'every other kind of opposition can be accounted for by free will.' Education is another subject which receives full attention in this number, and the best of four or five articles devoted to it is 'Until Teachers are Kings,' by Principal Ernest Barker. Professor Bompas Smith writes on 'The Reviving Interest in Religious Education,' H. W. Household on 'Teaching through the Mother Tongue,' and G. M. Sargeaunt's article, 'Two Studies in Plato's Laws,' deals with 'Song and Dance' as a function of State education. Of other articles the most important is Professor Vernon Bartlet's paper on 'Christian Ethics; their Distinctive Quality and Present Rôle.' This is no mere passing note on a great theme, but a careful and comprehensive examination of the subject which claims and deserves study. Bishop A. Robertson's article on 'Revelation and Relativity' and that of Professor Bonham on 'Spiritual Conditions in Canada' help to make up a number which is full of interest for readers who like substantial pabulum.

Journal of Theological Studies (January and April).—Dom Chapman continues his examination into St. Jerome's relation to the Vulgate

New Testament. H. Loewe's paper on the Petrie-Hirschfeld Papyri gives a picture of a Jewish congregation at Oxyrynchus during the first and second centuries of the present era. Dom Connolly, in a paper on the *Didache*, argues that the *Didascalia* 'offers the earliest known testimony to its existence, and that this testimony, as far as it goes, points to its existence in the form in which our only Greek MS. gives it to us.' The Rev. H. Ranston, in 'Koheleth and the Early Greeks,' finds a connexion between Koheleth and Hesiod and Theognis, especially the latter. Dr. Badcock's contribution to the interpretation of the *crux* in John vii. 38 favours the view that the living water described in it is to flow from Christ Himself as the Rock, not from the believer. The Reviews of Books are full and instructive; amongst the rest is a notice, critical but appreciative, of the Rev. H. Watkin-Jones' *Holy Spirit in the Mediaeval Church*. In the April number Mr. C. H. Turner continues his account of Niceta of Reinesiana, following up the text of his *De Vigiliis*, already published, by a similar text of the treatise *De Psalmodiae Bono*. In the section 'Notes and Studies' Dom Chabrol, writing in French, describes the historical work of Mgr. L. Duchesne. Dom Chapman continues his examination of St. Jerome and the Vulgate New Testament. The Rev. E. Walder seeks to show that the *Logos* of the Pastoral Epistles must be understood personally, but his arguments are hardly convincing. An interesting note by F. H. Colson contains yet another exposition of St. Luke's Preface to his Gospel, as well as of Dr. Cadbury's view as set forth in Foakes-Jackson & Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity*. The Reviews include notices of Ragg's *St. Luke*, Harris' *Creeds or No Creeds?* d'Alés' *La Théologie de S. Cyprien*, and other recently published theological books.

The Church Quarterly (April).—Dr. Emmet writes on Dr. Gore's *Belief in Christ*. He says many will wonder that he can feel that so little of the old scheme is affected by the new thought. The essential religious beliefs remain even to those who cannot be content with his position, and all that Dr. Gore has done to help the modern world to recognize them is welcomed with gratitude. The Bishop of Edinburgh thinks that Church life in America responds to the democratic spirit of the country, and provides a second home, which is often greatly valued by those who find themselves in a strange land. Christianity is diffused rather than intensive, and measured by the benefits it can give rather than by the service for which it calls.

Expository Times (April and May).—The Notes of Recent Exposition, which have always formed a leading feature in this periodical, are well maintained by its present Editors. The two numbers before us deal with such subjects as the Apocalyptic element in the teaching of Jesus, Dr. N. Talbot's *Returning Tide of Faith*, Bishop Headlam's *Life of Christ*, and the recently issued *Anglican Essays*. The April number contains a paper by the Rev. Dr. Tasker on Herrmann of Marburg, an interesting discussion of the 'Differentia of St. Luke's Gospel' by Dr. J. A. Hutton, and a fresh solution of the difficulties arising from the narrative of the withered fig-tree, by the Rev. S. Tonkin, B.D. In the May number the Rev. J. S. Stewart

protests against the attempt made by Bousset and others to interpret St. John's 'Eternal Life' by the Hellenistic doctrine of deification. A sermon by the Archbishop of Dublin on 'Christ our Redemption' and Mr. Lamont's plea for the place of systematic theology in preaching are well worth reading. It should be emphatically said that a large part of the value and interest of this esteemed periodical is to be found in its treatment of expository and theological literature. The sections dealing with the subject in these numbers are excellent.

The Congregational Quarterly (April).—There is much variety in this second issue. The Editorial Notes deal with living topics. Sir John Simon writes on 'Democracy and War'; Dr. Grenfell on 'Thirty years in Labrador'; Mr. Basil Mathews on 'Jesus and the Church in the New India'; Dr. Selbie on 'The Training of the Ministry'; Mr. B. L. Manning on 'Nonconformity at Cambridge.' The whole number is alive.

Science Progress (April).—Mr. Jones, the chief assistant at Greenwich Observatory, describes the British Eclipse Expedition to Christmas Island. The rehearsals passed off well, but the clouds gathered at the critical moment and effectually prevented any observation. Mr. Mace writes on 'The Evolution of the Caterpillar.' The portraits and brief accounts of Dr. Aston and Professor Soddy, who were awarded the Nobel Chemistry Prizes for 1921 and 1922, are of special interest.

Poetry (April).—A very interesting number, with some striking poems and notes which appeal to all lovers of poetry.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (January and March).—This periodical, published by the University of Chicago Press, continues to provide valuable articles on the greatest of all themes by well-informed writers, mainly of the progressive and critical school. The first article in the January number by Professor E. C. Moore, of Harvard, on 'The Christian Doctrine of Nature,' is an excellent example of the thoroughly modern, but also entirely reverent, treatment of an important theme. Its spirit appears in its last sentence: 'The faith in the God of the world, in the world as from God and to God and for God, is only a longer reach of the same thought by which we truly live at all.' In the same number Professor G. A. Coe writes on the 'Enrichment of Worship,' W. C. Bower on 'The Organization of Religious Experience,' and Professor G. M. Stratton on a much-discussed subject—'Where has Psychology left Religion?' An attempt is also made—with indifferent success—to provide 'A Valuation of the Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. In the March number Professor Ellwood writes on a subject familiar to him, 'Social Evolution and Christianity.' The ethical significance of Isaiah liii. is interestingly treated by Professor Powis Smith, of Chicago. Professor Kenneth Saunders, who is a recognized authority on Buddhism, gives an historical sketch of Buddhism in China. An

excellent article of a practical kind is 'The Golden Rule in Business,' by W. C. Keirstead. Bishop M'Connell contributes an important review of Professor Adams Brown's *The Church in America*, a book which deserves careful study on this side of the Atlantic. We all want to know what America has to say on 'The Old Religion in the New Intellectual Environment' and on 'The Churches Getting Together.'

Harvard Theological Review.—In the January number Professor Henry J. Cadbury reviews several recent German books on the Synoptic problem. The title of his article, 'Between Jesus and the Gospels,' indicates that the field of research lies behind the written records. 'The material has a history more varied and more extensive than we have sometimes realized.' The results obtained are 'tentative,' but sufficient to assure us that 'in believing in the historicity of Jesus we are not following cunningly devised fables.' Miss Lucy Shepard Crawford gives an interesting account of 'Emile Boutroux,' the distinguished French philosopher who died on November 22, 1921. 'In his religious life Boutroux seems to have found himself at home in Christianity, but he was always careful not to press his particular faith upon others. What he did urge, with all the ardour and fire of his Gallic spirit, was that man, as man, must look beyond factual experience, beyond the limits of positive science, and must seek the "Beyond that is within."' Boutroux based his whole philosophy on his belief in God. Religion 'has made man happy in wretchedness, miserable in prosperity. Whence proceeds this strange sovereignty, if not from a faith stronger than knowledge; from a conviction that God is with us more effectual than all human aid; from a love stronger than all arguments?' (April).—The first article contains a translation of a document never before rendered into any Western language: 'On the Method of Practising Concentration and Contemplation.' The translator, Kakuso Okakura, is described as an 'Admirable Crichton' in his way and a man of vast learning. He had practised for some thirty years the so-called 'Interior System' inculcated by a Chinese monk who came to Japan in the ninth century, and founded there a Buddhist sect named Tendai. Of this system the document translated is the foundation. 'It embodies complete and detailed directions for reaching or acquiring the state of consciousness called Samaji, for which there is no word in English except "ecstasy," and this only in its etymological sense, of a state outside of the body.' The instructions given illustrate the difference between the Eastern and the Western view of consciousness. 'In the East the study of self is the study of consciousness. . . . In the West it is called psychology. In the East it is called religion.'

Princeton Theological Review (April).—The first article, by R. D. Wilson, discusses the origin of the ideas of Daniel from the point of view that God, as the author of Revelation, is under 'no limitation as to the time and manner and order and emphasis, extent, and subject-matter' of the truths it pleases Him to make known. W. H. Johnson, who in a previous paper in the Review presented the main

biblical data in answer to the question, 'Is God Almighty?' here, in a second article, considers the relation between the doctrine of omnipotence and religious experience. A third paper is promised dealing with recent philosophic discussion of the subject. Other articles are: 'Adoption,' by T. Whaling; 'Protestantism and Property,' by E. E. Eells, and 'Ramon Lul,' by H. K. Kumm. Professor Allis, in an article dealing with the disputed verse Ps. xlv. 6, defends the orthodox text and translation, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' The 'Reviews of Recent Literature' are able and interesting.

The Methodist Review (March–April and May–June).—Dr. Elliott is doing great service by his vigorous conduct of this Review in the interests of Methodism and religion at large. In the March number are to be found interesting notices of the late Bishops Thoburn and Lewis, also a full report of Dr. L. H. Hough's address on 'Pragmatic Christianity,' delivered to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada. Modernist views of religion are intelligently discussed in 'A Conceivable Atonement,' by R. E. Fairbairn, 'The Consciousness of Immortality,' by R. T. Flewelling, and 'New Paths in the Scientific Study of Old Testament Literature.' In the May number four articles deal with Methodist subjects—'John Wesley's Use of the Bible,' 'John Wesley on Old Age,' 'John Wesley in Ireland,' and 'Methodism: an Inside View.' The first article in this number, 'The Significance of Religious Values for Religious Knowledge,' is an able treatment of an important theme by Professor Knudson, of Boston University.

The Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville, edited by G. T. Rowe).—The January number of this Review is full of interest. Some of the leading articles are on 'The Social Creed for the Industrial Crises,' 'The Protestant Outlook in Catholic Europe,' 'The Gospel in Greece' by Professor J. C. Granbery, and 'John Knox' by H. C. Howard. The Department of Exegesis and other editorial departments are well maintained.

Bibliotheca Sacra (April).—The first 'Editorial' says, 'Respect for law is going down in the United States, going down a steep place fast—in fact, it is tobogganing.' Where 'a community of thieves and murderers can elect the sheriff and the judge and the prosecuting attorney, and appoint the policemen . . . respect for law will be very low and still going down.' The Rev. H. E. Guilleband of Bath discusses the travel narrative in St. Luke (ix. 51–xviii. 4). He shows their substantial chronological accuracy, and finds in them a striking series of obviously undesigned correspondences with the Fourth Gospel.

FOREIGN

Analecta Bollandiana. Tomus XII. Fasc. I. and II. (Brussels).—Professor Block here publishes a Life of Edward the Confessor written in 1138 by Prior Osbert de Claire, of the Westminster Monastery. Dean Armitage Robinson has greatly helped the writer by placing

in his hands a copy of the best manuscript of the Life. It was prepared by Mr. Herbert of the British Museum. The Life has never appeared in print. The account of Prior Osbert and the appendices on the miracles added to the Life by Osbert in the manuscript at Cambridge make this study one of special interest and value to English students. Notes on Christian iconography after the seals of the archives of Zurich, the conversion of S. André Avellin, and other subjects are dealt with in shorter studies.

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly (April).—This new quarterly is edited by Rabindrarath Tagore, and bears the name of the University which he founded to concentrate the different cultures of the East and West, especially those that have taken their birth in India, or found shelter in her house. He contributes two short poems to this number and 'A Vision of India's History.' He loves India 'because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons—Brahma is truth, wisdom, infinite; peace is in Brahma, and goodness, and the unity of all beings.'

Calcutta Review (March).—Mr. Bose continues his record of 'Fifty-eight years' Fight with Malaria,' dealing with remedial measures. There is an instructive article on 'The Contact of Indian Art with the Art of other Civilizations'; an account of 'The American University,' and other articles of varied interest. (April–May).—An account is given of 'The First Scientific Excavation in Bengal.' The famous mound at the small village of Paharpur attracted the attention of English travellers as far back as 1807, and is now being excavated under the auspices of Calcutta University with the co-operation of the Varendra Research Society. An address and an article on Islamic culture are features of the number. 'The same spirit of assimilation and absorption which marked the early history of Islam is clearly discernible in the Muslims of to-day. . . . European learning is eagerly sought and mastered; European political institutions are carefully studied and set up; the European commercial system is diligently learnt and followed.'

Reformacja W. Polsce. No. 7.—This quarterly publication, which is issued by the Society for Historical Research into the History of the Reformation in Poland, opens with an article on the struggle of the Diet against the privileges of the Church from 1520 to 1587. Another article gives details as to Ephorinus and Rozanka, medical men who took part in the Reformation movement. Leon Sapieha was converted to Catholicism in 1586. He was Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the second founder of its Catholicism. No. 8 has an article on Przyluski and his attempt to provide a complete code of law. His work came under ecclesiastical ban and did not obtain the success he hoped. M. Brückner writes on 'The Confessional History of Polish Lithuania,' describes the translation of the Bible into Polish by Rapagelan and the issue of a Polish catechism and canticles.

Hindustan Review (January).—Mr. Nundy says in the opening article that it would be idle to dispute the fact that Indians distrust the English. He dwells on some statements made by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons as to the Indian Civil Service and on the Viceroy's explanations. In a second article he proposes to show that the pronouncement 'has a bright side and can minister to our advantage.' There is an important article on 'The Influence of Social Movements in Mass Education in India and England,' and an interesting account of 'The Romance of Gya, the home of the 37th Indian National Congress.'