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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

OCTOBER 1926

RAYMOND POINCARÉ

THE Memoirs of the French Premier and President have been translated and adapted with great skill by Sir George Arthur, and current events have given them new significance. Here we see the man as he really is. The volume is the first of a set of Memoirs which stretch from 1912 to 1923 and cover M. Poincaré's first and second Premiership, with his memorable Presidency before and during the Great War. It is published by Messrs. Heinemann at one guinea, and will have to be studied along with the *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* and *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* by all who 'wish to survey the great drama of the war as a whole in its prelude, its progress, and its consequences.' It is essentially an apologia for the author's policy and for that of his country in days when the war-clouds were gathering round her. In that respect it has peculiar interest and significance. The Duke of Northumberland describes M. Poincaré as 'a realist who sees facts as they are. He saw the danger in which his country stood, he framed his policy to meet it, he succeeded in his task, and thereby raised France to a pinnacle of true greatness such as she had not known before. What other statesman of our epoch has shown so just a view of the world situation and of the steps required to deal with it? What other statesman's policy will bear comparison with his in its simplicity, its consistency, the determination with which it has been pursued, and the measure of its success?' The Duke refers to the attitude assumed by France towards

Germany in the post-war period, for which Poincaré was largely responsible, and which has been much criticized in this country, but says 'the truth is that he has always seen in Pan-Germanism and Bolshevism what his superficial critics have never been able to see—the greatest peril which the civilization of the West has ever confronted, enemies with whom no compromise was possible.'

The Memoirs open with the downfall of the Caillaux Ministry in January 1912. A Commission of Senators had been examining the Treaties as to Morocco and the Congo, which had been entered into between France and Germany. M. Caillaux's statement had disposed the Commission, almost to a man, to approve the Treaty as to Morocco, and it seemed as though 'the Cabinet, which had lately come in for a good deal of abuse, might be put upon its legs for a considerable time. Then the unfortunate occurred. Caillaux, perhaps a little carried away by the success he had just scored, went out of his way to tack on a few words as unnecessary as they were unlooked for. "There has been some attempt," he blurted out, "in the Press and elsewhere, to put about that the negotiations were carried on outside the Foreign Office; I pledge my word that on no occasion has there been any sort of political or financial dealing other than diplomatic and official conversations."' He knew that some whispers against the Government had been current, and had consulted his colleague Poincaré as to what he should say if the Commission asked questions on these matters. Poincaré 'advised him simply to state that as head of the Government he was directly responsible for the negotiations, that he consulted the persons he deemed desirable, and that all he had done had been done purely in the public interest.'

Now, without being asked a single question, he 'set a match to a matter which was anyhow only smouldering, and blazed out a contradiction of what had never been asserted.' Clemenceau leapt to his feet and asked if the

Foreign Minister would confirm the statement of the Prime Minister, and if there were not documents to show that the French Ambassador in Berlin had complained of meddling by certain individuals in diplomatic arrangements.

This led to the resignation of Caillaux, and Poincaré was summoned by the President to the Elysée and asked to form a Ministry. He had felt unable to form a Cabinet when requested to do so six years earlier, but he now faced the heavy task. He was clear in his mind that his Cabinet must hold only men of real worth and ripe experience, and took comfort from the thought that the Treaty with Germany, whatever its shortcomings, would make for the peace of Europe. He first turned to his old friend Millerand, whose breezy optimism, love of work, and inflexibility of purpose shown during the railway strike of 1910 he greatly admired. Millerand accepted the post of Minister for War. His next call was on Briand. 'At one time his quasi-revolutionary speeches had rather shocked the army and a little scared the middle classes; ten years, however, had passed since then, and many things had happened; the army had forgotten the episode, and the middle classes had forgiven the man, as they are always ready to forgive any man, even if he has threatened them, so long as they think him capable of defending them. His was the genius to diagnose the public temper, to scent a situation still far ahead, to smooth ruffled tempers, to conciliate, to adapt; when difficulties were thick, Briand as an adviser was peerless.' Poincaré was soon able to report his success to the President, whose mind was relieved of a great weight, and who was delighted with the team M. Poincaré had harnessed together. The Press dubbed them 'the Great Ministry,' though one or two journalists were a little afraid that a Cabinet which contained so many first-class men might quickly be at enmity with itself.

The Premier's difficulties soon began. The Italians were at war with Turkey and were policing the Mediterranean,

where they stopped a French postal boat on the pretext that she had a French aviator on board with his machine. When that matter was settled the Franco-German Treaty came before the Senate. 'M. Clemenceau would have none of the Treaty; his indomitable pluck was more than a match for the violent internal pains which were just then attacking him, and his fiery speech swayed a group of Senators to his side. He professed himself anxious, but quite unable, to support me. Long and obscure negotiations, he thought, had only issued in the birth of a diplomatic eccentricity which bore a good deal of likeness to the Trojan horse.' He held that Caillaux's overweening ambition had led him into assuming hurriedly a Moroccan protectorate, which might cost France very dear. Despite this inflammatory speech, 242 voted in favour of the Treaty, and only 42 against it. Relations with Germany, however, were not much improved. German telegrams had been deciphered in Paris, and Baron de Lanken, the German Chargé d'Affaires, came to complain to the Director of Political Affairs. M. Poincaré says, 'Under a veneer of frosty politeness the Baron—later to figure as the executioner of Nurse Cavell—personified the most detestable type of Prussian arrogance and cruelty.' He pretended to be satisfied with the explanation given as to the telegrams, but M. Poincaré had to use great care to prevent this and other awkward matters being discussed in the Chamber. Incidents occurred in unhappy succession at Morocco which made General Lyautey, the French Resident-General, write, 'German hostility to us colours all her policy with regard to Morocco.'

Germany was supremely conscious of her supremacy in arms, and, though the Kaiser might appear to be a moderating element, 'he was so impulsive, his tempers and his tantrums were so frequent, that with him a morning of smiles was more than likely to be followed by an afternoon of storm.' He made a sort of state entry into Strasbourg,

where he had such an icy reception that in an after-luncheon speech he declared that 'if this frame of mind continues,' instead of the degree of autonomy given them, 'Alsace will be joined up with Prussia, and, after having known me as amiable, will find me quite the reverse.' Great umbrage was given by this outburst, and the Chancellor had to throw his cloak over his master in the Reichstag. M. Poincaré, himself a native of Lorraine, felt that trouble was ahead. 'Germany was at once a fortress and a school, a huge workshop and a chain of enormous docks, and in this vast establishment a sort of inborn discipline bound up individual acts with the action of the whole country. When the military party should lay its hands on a perfected organization, would the fickle will of the Emperor be able to stay it?' The Emperor—so Colonel Pellé, the French Military Attaché, reported—'was becoming unpopular. What more sinister threat to peace than an Emperor invested with something like absolute power who knows, or thinks himself, an object of dislike? And when that Emperor is vain, irritable, and fretfully jealous of his own glory, who can say how he would be affected by the drum-and-trumpet talk of a Crown Prince or the truculence of a Bernhardi?' M. Poincaré adds, and the facts bear him out, 'We honestly tried to deal dispassionately with a passionate people; we did everything we knew to avoid offence to a Personage who was capable of making the misery of the world.'

M. Poincaré's first care was for France's relations with England. Everything was done in accord with the British Cabinet. The Kaiser wished to see a member of our Government, and Sir Edward Grey asked Lord Haldane to go to Berlin. Sir Arthur Nicolson, the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, disapproved the visit, but Sir Edward Grey hungered for peace, and would not let slip any chance, however slender, of coming to a practical agreement. He took care to send M. Poincaré word of this mission. There was no thought of any negotiation or

Treaty, but England wanted to know what were the genuine intentions of the German Government, and more particularly what its naval programme was. Mr. Churchill's speech at Glasgow on the day before Lord Haldane was due to leave Berlin showed our position. England, he said, was absolutely obliged to maintain her supremacy at sea, and whereas the Fleet was of vital necessity to the British Empire, it could only be regarded as a luxury for Germany. The Kaiser wished England to pledge herself to benevolent neutrality in the event of European war, but England refused. 'She knew perfectly well that if she allowed France to be crushed, Germany, as mistress of the Continent, would be able to complete on the seas her full hegemony.'

M. Poincaré paid warm tributes to Queen Victoria and to Edward VII at the unveiling of their statues at Nice and Cannes. He dwelt on the Queen's devotion to duty, her experience and wisdom, and on those womanly and domestic virtues which won for her the esteem of the world, no less than the love of her own people. At the celebration in Cannes he spoke of the King's 'ineffable charm in which no man, not even excepting Gambetta, surpassed him. When at the age of sixty he came to his throne, all his accumulated stores of tact and prudence and foresight and knowledge of the world were brought into light. His knowledge of men was even greater than his knowledge of matter, and he was determined to harness everything he knew to the service of a loyal policy which should make for peace and order.'

M. Poincaré carefully cultivated the friendship between France and Russia, though he felt it necessary to be on his guard against the Russian Ambassador, Isvolsky, who 'did not hesitate to substitute his own ideas for those of his Government, or to interpret in his own way instructions which he received or replies which were given him at the Quai d'Orsay.' He was a big man, but one whom Poincaré preferred to keep at a distance. He was sincerely desirous

of peace, but was not altogether to be trusted in delicate matters. There was unfortunately also a lack of contact between the French Ambassador at St. Petersburg, M. Louis, and Sazonoff, the Russian Minister. Their difference of temperament gave rise to a series of misunderstandings. Louis had not 'the social qualifications which adorn an Ambassador. He lived as a bachelor in his Embassy, and took no trouble to entertain, while his delicate health was affected by the cold and fogs of the Neva. He was often ill-informed of what passed around him.' In August M. Poincaré visited Russia. He had much intimate conversation with Sazonoff, and had an audience with the Emperor, whose absolute loyalty to the French alliance was evident. On his return he told the company which welcomed him at Dunkirk: 'Russia and France are equally interested in the solidarity of the Alliance, which allows them daily to concert diplomatic action, to co-operate in their efforts to keep peace, and at the same time to follow attentively events as they occur, thus protecting themselves by a mutual agreement against any future dangers. The union is completed and enlarged by our cordial understanding with England, and surely no one can see anything provocative and aggressive in this peaceful grouping of three friendly powers.'

Amid manifold anxieties the Premier had the warm support of a united Cabinet. Briand often came to his rooms. 'He was already, what he thirteen years later described himself to the Chamber, "a man of conversation," and one never ceased to admire his almost uncanny gift of penetration, his consummate tact, his quasi-feline charm which sometimes reminded me of my Siamese cat or of Anatole France's "Sleeping Prince of the City of Books"; Briand's collaboration, and more especially his *flair* in foreign affairs, became more valuable and delightful every day.' He contributed powerfully to Poincaré's election as President.

Léon Bourgeois was also a tower of strength. When President Fallières was about to retire, Poincaré thought

Bourgeois was the right man to succeed him, as no one could exercise the functions of that great office with a better blend of authority and tact. He told him so in April 1912, but Bourgeois said he was far from strong, and that Poincaré himself ought to be President. 'The notion,' Poincaré says, 'did not appeal to me, as it would mean giving up the hard work in which I delighted, and perhaps some of the personal convictions to which I clung. I told Bourgeois that I was comparatively young, that in the exercise of authority I had probably trodden on many corns, that I loved fighting and individual freedom, and I renewed my own proposals as regards himself; it was not till the eve of the election and on the persistent pressure of Bourgeois—based on his approval of my foreign policy—that I accepted the candidature.' Steeg, Minister of the Interior, was just as intimate, loyal, and devoted a friend.

The Memoirs give many interesting and important particulars of the unrest in the Near East before the Balkan States made war on Turkey. When she was defeated there were wretched squabbles among the victorious allies which taxed all the resources of the Great Powers to control. At the end of the year news came that Austria had cancelled a large order for cartridges, and that the War Ministers of Russia and Prussia had breakfasted together without saying a word about politics. Russia was happy in her mind about European peace. M. Poincaré had spent many anxious hours. 'One could only be thankful that the Balkan War—which all our efforts were powerless to prevent—had not spread, and that there was no break in the European Entente, to the creation of which France had so largely contributed. The Government of the Republic, which in these last months had tightened up its friendships and alliances, could say that at the same time it had done good service to the cause of humanity.'

JOHN TELFORD.

IS CHRISTIANITY THE FINAL RELIGION?

MANY phases of modern thought are once again urging this centrally-significant question upon the present generation. Past confident affirmations are generally being regarded as suspect. The validity both of the modes of reasoning and of the conclusions of former apologetic structures is being increasingly questioned. A radically new intellectual situation has arisen during the last generation or so, and it is the judgement of many that this is imperatively calling for a type of apologetic for Christianity different from any that has yet received the *imprimatur* of those who have been regarded as the custodians of orthodox theology.

It is our purpose here to refer to but two of these influences. Considerations of space forbid any adequate reference to the issues as presented by Science and by Idealistic Philosophy.

I. The first and, to some minds, most important factor in the present apologetic situation is the *Comparative Study of Religion.* Already the influence of this study, which only began to be seriously and scientifically undertaken about the middle of the nineteenth century, has been considerable. The most important manifestation of its impact upon Christian theology in this country up to the present has been the noble series edited by the late Dr. Hastings, *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.* But it may, I think, be without hesitation said that we are only at the beginning of the matter. The patient elucidation by anthropological and historico-literary research is, of course, the indispensable first task ; and this has been, and is being, undertaken by a multitude of scholars in all lands. But the more difficult task yet remains, viz. the assimilation of this knowledge by Christian theologians, and the adequate restatement of apologetic in the light thereof.

A task is here requiring courage, caution, and candour—a combination of virtues seldom housed in a single personality. Those to whom discretion is ever the better part of valour, to whom the art of keeping silence has been elevated into the loftiest of virtues, will not merely themselves refuse the task, but frown upon others who feel impelled to set about it. They, likewise, who confer infallibility upon every 'new thing,' to whom history is merely a deposit of mistakes, while they may be expected to accomplish the task to their own satisfaction, are not likely to contribute anything of abiding worth. The task, however, remains as the most important which has been laid upon this generation of Christian thinkers. The extraordinary welcome accorded to Rudolf Otto's *The Idea of the Holy* is in large measure accounted for by the fact that it is pervaded by an appreciation of religious experiences awakened by other 'faiths,' and envisages the problem of the 'numinous' as one which must bring for its solution these multifarious religions. Such popularity has much to teach the professional theologian. It is indicative of an awakening sense of need on the part of thoughtful Christians—the need, namely, of an apologetic for religion based upon *all* the facts. For nearly a generation now theology so-called has been severely at a discount among educated people. The reason for this indifference, if indeed we are not to call it hostility, is not that people are no longer interested in the real questions of life. The patent fact is that they are more so than ever before. It is that they believe that theology still speaks in a language which the age has outgrown, and still uses categories of thought which are no longer felt to have validity. It is a rare thing to find even a minister of religion with a dominant interest in theology. Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Anatole France, and others seem to have primacy in many ministerial studies. It is the judgement of many that as soon as theology emancipates itself from its infallibility shackles, and presses forward

with faith and zest to the realms of thought which are beckoning her onwards, so soon will theology regain her pristine influence, and so soon will thinking men cease to be astonished that there was a time when she merited the appellation, 'The Queen of the Sciences.' Our present tragic position is that our religion is too good for our theology.

Whatever the ultimate result of the impact of the comparative study of religion upon theology, one or two securely-established positions have been reached. The old distinction of religion into 'true' and 'false,' one religion being conceived as 'true' and all others in varying degrees as 'false,' has been rendered inadmissible. It has come to be seen that there are diverse elements in all religions, good grain mixed with bad in varying and sometimes disconcerting proportions.

To condemn that which is not our own, or which is imperfectly known, is the common peril of humanity. It is for this reason that Truth advances so slowly; the resistance of traditional beliefs and customs is ever a retarding force. Thus is to be explained, in some measure, the slow advance of Christianity among peoples with a long cultural and religious past. Thus also is to be, in some measure, explained the one-time widely-held view that religions are either 'true' or 'false.' May I be permitted to give my own experience at this point? As a boy I was taught to regard the religions of India, of China, of Persia, &c., as so many false religions. I had certain difficulties even then with this teaching, which manifested themselves chiefly as lurking hesitations of the mind. Sundry inconvenient questions were for the most part brushed aside as my metaphysical idiosyncrasies by friends and elders. Being unable at that time to resist the infallibility of tone which my questions inspired, I perforce bowed before it—with what the Roman Catholic would call, I suppose, *exterior* assent. Now, however, no dogmatic assertion of any mind on this issue can influence the judgement I form when I

read for myself beautiful passages from the sacred writings of other religions. Nothing which *finds* me can to me be false. I see at once that it is futile to talk about a religion as an indivisible entity, as all-of-one-piece of falsity. Even the least 'critical' Bible reader refuses to regard our sacred book in this 'all or nothing' way. There are, it is obvious, lower and higher strata in all the great ethnic religions. I have yet to meet a Christian who denies that this is so even of the institutionalized forms of Christianity. To decide which are the lower and which the higher strata may not be an altogether easy task; indeed it is one of age-long contentiousness. Our decision, obviously, is determined by our whole standard of values, and by the whole basal philosophy which we bring to the judgement of the matter. It is a familiar fact that the pragmatic philosophy tends in the direction of regarding all the strata as true *for their own day and for their own purpose*, and that every judgement as to *higher* and *lower* is relative to a practical situation. Roman Catholic Modernism made large use of such pragmatic categories in constructing an apologia for its own development and place within the Church. In this it was merely pressing home to a logical conclusion—in truly Latin fashion—the 'developmental' theory of Newman, who indeed might well have shuddered in his grave at his progeny. One may, however, be deeply suspicious of a theory which can be used to justify every truth-opposing idea and practice, even while sympathizing with many of the beliefs and actions of those who utilize the theory.

In point of fact, however, no one is a strict pragmatist in his ordinary judgements. We all have some *ultimates* by which we decide what is beautiful, what is true, what is good. And in regard to the several other religions of mankind, not one of us but distinguishes between the higher and the lower, the true and the less true, the valuable and the less valuable. Every one acknowledges the sublimity of the monotheistic idea of Islam, while repudiating

the sensuous and sensual concepts of Paradise proclaimed in the Quran—the enlightened Muslim himself manifesting the same distinction by his endeavour to show that the latter were meant to be interpreted symbolically. Those who refuse to regard Nirvana as a worthy consummation yet rejoice in the high moral teaching of Gautama the Buddha. The philosophic sublimity of the Upanishads and the devotional warmth of the Bhagavad-Gita are recognized by those who note the primitive *naïveté* of the religion of the Vedas or who condemn the superstitions of modern popular Hinduism. Illustration might be heaped upon illustration to establish the point. *True* and *false* are not terms which can be applied to a whole religion, in all its manifestations—not even to the Christian religion. The Protestant repudiates *de cœur* many phases of Roman Catholic thought and practice as contrary to the essential religion of Christ. Papal Infallibility, Mariolatry, Hagiolatry, The Assumption of Mary, Transubstantiation, and the whole concept of Magical Sacramentalism, are inacceptable to those who have inner acquaintance with the emancipating spirit of Protestantism. Likewise, we shall be reminded, Roman Catholicism in its turn regards the Protestant reformation of these teachings and practices as begotten of hostility to what is conceived as essential Christianity. Thus the very fact of these divergencies within Christianity should forbid *any* member of a Christian Church from regarding a non-Christian religion as wholly false.

The study of other religions, therefore, besides engendering a joyful and sympathetic appreciation of religion wherever it has manifested itself, compels us to ask whether, or in what sense, we are justified in speaking of 'a' religion. What are the 'entities' we term Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Christianity? They cannot be parcelled and labelled with the facility with which we parcel and label our material belongings. For who is to do the parcelling—the possessor himself or a

stranger? If an outsider were to pack my goods without instructions from me he would preserve much that I regard as rubbish. Likewise, if asked to state the 'value' of the goods packed, he would doubtless suggest a figure very different from one that would satisfy me.

The study of History—and this is the second main contribution of the comparative study of religion to the determination of the question—has shown, and is increasingly showing, that it is hardly possible to regard 'a' religion as some isolated entity which one may believe, practise, or even discuss as a thing in itself. 'A' religion is a religion *of men and women. It* has a history as much as they; and *its* history is found in *their* history, and nowhere else. To trace the history of Christianity through the centuries is merely to trace the history of Christian peoples through the centuries—*abstracting* from the whole entity of their history that part which we call their religious history. The history of any religion is merely some phase of the life of peoples.

Now it is of the highest importance to note how what we call the religion of a people becomes inseparably one with its whole interior and exterior life. The cultural environment of a nation is both made by and makes the religion it believes and practises. This fact in large measure 'explains' the divergent forms of Christianity. There is a Latin form, there is an Eastern form, there is a Teutonic form, with yet other forms which are combinations or attempted reconciliations of these predominant forms. It is not without significance that the Anglican Church, which manifests both Protestant and Catholic tendencies, is found among a race to whose making has gone several racial strands. The form which a religion takes has some rough relation to the prevailing mentality of the people. Likewise the form which the religion has taken becomes an inheritance which leaves an indelible impression on the mental and emotional characteristics of the people. The sects of

Buddhism and Mohammedanism may doubtless be similarly 'explained' in large degree. The point requiring emphasis is that these forms of the respective religions have a growth and a history only to be appreciated or understood in the light of the whole cultural inheritance of the peoples among whom they are manifested. Remembering the inheritance of the Latin races one asks, Could Christianity be other than it has become among them? The Roman Empire, which failed to destroy Christianity by persecution, left in the end its own indelible mark upon the religion of the Galilean which was held to have conquered. Many, when perusing this history, have found it difficult to restrain the exclamation: How momentous was Christianity's defeat in the hour of her victory over Rome! But, whatever be the judgement passed on the fact, the fact itself remains. Every religion bears the stamp of the racial characteristics of the people among whom it has its home. A religion becomes almost indissolubly one with the whole civilization under which it develops. Even in the cases where a people or a race adopts a religion alien to its modes of thought and practice, it is found that the religion itself in being adopted becomes itself adapted. The missionary religion in conquering is itself always in a measure conquered. In spite of the ideal of Catholicism, racialism and nationalism refuse to be 'resolved.' And the form of Christianity which most tenaciously claims 'catholicity' can only do so by virtue of conserving within its borders customs and beliefs whose history goes back to the pre-Christian days of the diverse races. 'Catholicity' becomes simply a tolerant 'comprehensiveness.'

The student of Troeltsch is familiar with the fact that this emphasis was one of the dominant features of the closing phases of his thought. He described the great religions of the world as 'crystallizations of the thought of great races, as these races are themselves crystallizations of the various biological and anthropological forms.' This led him to

maintain, in regard to the practical question of missionary enterprise, that such ' must stand in quite a different relation to the great philosophical world-religions from that in which it stands to the crude heathenism of smaller tribes.' He held that in regard to the former ' there can be no conversion or transformation of one into the other, but only a measure of agreement and of mutual understanding.' 'So far as human eye can penetrate into the future, it would seem probable that the great revelations to the various civilizations will remain distinct, in spite of a little shifting of their several territories at the fringes, and that the question of their several relative values will never be capable of objective determination, since every proof thereof will presuppose the special characteristics of the civilization in which it arises.'[1]

Now it does not seem to us that it is necessary to indulge with Troeltsch these—from the Christian point of view—pessimistic prophecies, while acknowledging that his emphasis on the interdependence of a religion and its climatic and racial environment is historically valid. The question of the future of the institutionalized forms of religion in the world is hid in the mists of futurity—shall we not say, in the mind of God. The nature of our prophecy will be determined by the place we give to ' Institutionalism ' in our concept of religion. Those of *practical* mind, to whom the welfare of religion consists in the welfare of the Church, will prophesy confidently. Those of *philosophic* mind will be less inclined to this optimism. To these latter, to use the words of Dean Inge, 'an universal institutional Church is as chimerical an idea as an universal Empire.' Such judgements, however, have no *finality* about them. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that it seems impossible to conceive religion existing as a potent force in the world without institutional embodiment; and yet that religion is at its purest and best in its earliest, pre-institutional days. Which twofold judgement would

[1] *Christian Thought: Its History and Application*, pp. 29-31 and p. 88.

seem to lead to the conclusion that if humanity is to progress religiously it must be in the direction of de-institutionalization. Even so, while we may be reluctant to prophesy either optimistically or pessimistically in regard to the future of specific forms of Christianity, we may, I think, challenge those pragmatic philosophic standards which accompanied Troeltsch's historical conclusions. Such seem to lead to fundamental scepticism. The *polymorphous* concept of truth which he enunciated may be regarded either as the *fount* of his pessimistic diagnosis of the future of Christianity as a world religion, or as the *topstone* of the arch built up of his historical investigations. We incline to the latter understanding of his position. In either case, however, there seems to be no *essential* connexion between the recognition of the historic facts enunciated and a *polymorphous* philosophy of truth.

The bearing of this contention on the subject, as we see it, is that the uniqueness and fullness of Christ's experience and revelation of God to humanity may be maintained by the Christian, while acknowledging the diverse and divergent modes by which in history this experience and revelation have been transmitted and interpreted by various peoples and sects. In other words, we may believe that while the *historical modes* are undeniably *polymorphous*, the fountal, unimorphous experience and revelation have finality. Behind the many forms of Christianity as at present existing in the world—forms differing profoundly both with regard to theological interpretations and to modes of worship—there is the 'fact of Christ.' And the whole question as to whether there is any final truth in Christianity is the question as to who Christ was and what was His relation to the Ultimate Ground of all Reality we call God. Have we in the life and teaching of Jesus a revelation of what is finally true of the nature of God and His relation to, and will for, humanity? That is the question. Is the 'gospel' simply another of the mistaken, pathetic searchings of humanity

after God; *or* is that 'gospel' the definite response of God to man's quest? In Christianity is there simply another of the sublime, but futile, gropings of those who are doomed by the inanity of things to seek that which does not exist? *Or* is there in Christianity the truth contained in the Johannine affirmation, 'The Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world'?

Without, however, seeking an answer here to these fundamental questions, it is to be noted that the Comparative Study of Religion enforces the ever-recurring question, What *is* Christianity? Who is to declare to us wherein lies its *essence*? Shall the Liberal Protestant in the person of Harnack be our guide, and thus essential Christianity be found in certain strands of the teaching of Jesus about the Fatherhood of God and about the Kingdom? Or shall the one-time Roman Catholic Modernist in the person of the unexcommunicated Loisy answer for us, declaring that the whole history of the Roman Church points to this developing essence? 'The Church can fairly say that, in order to be at all times what Jesus desired the society of His friends to be, it had to become what it has become: for it has become what it had to be to save the gospel by saving itself.'[1] Or shall the orthodox Romanist be our guide, declaring to us that we must go for an answer to the *ex cathedra* utterances of Infallibility? Or shall the corresponding type of mind in Protestantism, the 'Fundamentalist,' answer for us, declaring that an Inerrant and Verbally Inspired Book contains 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth'?

II. The second and, perhaps to most minds, more insistent factor calling for a new statement of what is meant by the finality of Christianity is the *critico-historical study of Christian origins*. The student of history has during the last fifty or sixty years been increasingly engaged on the task of tracing the growth of Christianity during the early centuries

[1] *L'Evangile et l'Eglise* (Eng. Tr., p. 150).

of our era. Numerous translations of the Fathers are at the service of this generation as the result of the scholarly zeal of the past two or three generations. The extra-ecclesiastical literature also of those years has been ransacked, and the endeavour has been made to trace in some understandable historical fashion how the former both influenced, and was influenced by, the latter. The result has been a quite radically different way of regarding those fruitions of early Christian thought we call the Creeds. The historical modern mind is not now chiefly concerned with these as statements of truth which in their phraseological entirety have to be 'believed'; but rather is eager to trace the historical stages which led to their formulation in the precise form in which they eventually matured—or solidified. Familiarity with the Nicene disputations, for example, is an essential part of the mental background of the historian who recites the Nicene Creed; and even among ordinary, intelligent Christians the number of those who can recite the Creeds in the naïve, unhistorical attitude of former generations is rapidly and increasingly diminishing.

Early Church history can no longer be written with the underlying, determining idea in the mind of the writer that, no matter how these credal formulations were reached, they are only to be understood as having been arrived at by a supernaturally-intrusive or 'miraculous' guidance or control. Since the days of Baur this idea has been increasingly regarded as inadmissible in the impartial historian—though few, if any, accept in its entirety the Baurian reading of early Church history. It is inadmissible to apply canons of dogma to the investigation of history.

To the more vital branch of this historical study, viz. the critical investigation of the books which constitute our New Testament, similarly intensive critical scrutiny has been given. The 'necessity' of this task cannot be disputed. For Christianity is an historical religion, having its origin in certain historical facts. That being recognized, *the necessity*

of the task of seeking to discover what exactly those historical facts are cannot with any logical standing-ground be questioned. Baron von Hügel very justly pointed out the inner contradiction in the attitude of those who claimed the inseparability of Christianity from history and yet feared the critical investigation of that history.

This necessary study seems destined to have not unimportant bearings upon the question which heads this paper. What precisely are the facts on which Christianity is based, or from which it began its process of development?

The task which confronts this and the coming generation of Christian thinkers is, then, one of the most urgent significance. We have no wish to underrate the great *practical* task and problem confronting the Church to-day. Let us rejoice in the fact that there are multitudes who hear *that* challenge, and in many ways and in many spheres—in social work at home, in evangelistic, educational, and medical work abroad—are seeking to respond to it. Not less *ultimately* significant, however, is the *thought* problem of our times, which attracts, in comparison, but few labourers. The new statement of Christian apologetic which is being called for will slowly but surely arise, in spite of all the obstacles which the intellectual and spiritual lethargy of the age places in the way. The retreat from theological positions that in reality have been abandoned will become open and unashamed. And, chiefly, the whole concept of the 'supernatural' will receive a statement which will be on the one hand faithful to the 'revelations' belonging to other 'faiths,' and on the other to the scientific concept of an orderly and developing universe.

The task must be undertaken *in faith*. Both those who regard 'faith' as 'belief in testimony against experience,'[1] and those who regard it as requiring a fearful distrust of the new knowledge gained by the reason of man, will keep away from the endeavour. We can only baptize new knowledge

[1] So Mozley, *On Miracles*, third edition (1872), p. 109.

into Christ if, having tested its validity, we cordially *welcome* it. If we seek uneasily to evade it, it will refuse to be baptized. In that case—and this is the profoundest peril—it will seek a haven elsewhere, and the present difficulties in the way of *rapprochement* between scientific and theological principles will be intensified. A forceful plea could doubtless be made for the conservative attitude of traditional apologetic to new knowledge, based first on the difficulties of the *practical situation*, and second on the necessity of 'proving all things' before accepting them. Even so, to ask with scientific insistency for proof of a truth is one thing; it is quite another to adopt at the outset the attitude that such knowledge must be, if not opposed, at least hidden because it will render untenable an inherited position. Christianity's future apologetic can never be based on philosophic scepticism. Truth must ever be welcomed, whencesoever and howsoever it comes. The task of philosophic theology to-day is not less than that of rethinking and restating, in the light of the immense accumulations of recent knowledge in regard to History and to Natural Science, the truth of the Christian religion.

Alas, it will be pointed out, no ordinary mind is adequate for such a task. Which indeed is true. Aquinas himself would shrink from its immensity. Not only is it that since his day knowledge has accumulated, and, especially during the last hundred years, of staggering amount; but the very presuppositions on which his stupendous edifice was erected no longer satisfy. His fundamental presupposition—the dualism of natural and supernatural—raises to the modern mind more and greater difficulties than it solves.

The task, doubtless, is great, but it is urgent. None is more so for Christianity, though none will be less popular. The *lump* does not like the *leaven* in spite of its indispensability. The study of history, however, is not without comfort to those who are inclined to despair for the future of Christian thought. The baptism of Greek thought into

Christ must have seemed to the pessimistic, philosophic Christian of the first century an almost hopeless task. But it was in large measure accomplished. Future history, we have faith to believe, will confound a similar present-day pessimism.

The familiar parable of Lessing is well worth our recall. A wise king had built a splendid palace of a unique type of architecture. Learned connoisseurs disputed largely as to its ground plans, without having acquaintance with its interior. One day the cry 'Fire!' was raised, whereupon these, instead of making at all speed for the building, spent the precious moments in disputing, with the ground plans before them, as to the exact location of the fire. Fortunately the palace was in no danger. The alarm was a false one, caused by a display of the Northern Lights. The 'morals' to be drawn from the parable are, doubtless, many, and, to different schools of thought within the Church, conflicting. But let this be ours, and the chief. The essence of Christianity is secure, for it is inwoven with the whole fabric of our life and thought. Some of the historical forms, however, which are still frequently mistaken for this essence, do not partake of this security.

C. J. Wright.

A DAY OF JUDGEMENT

THE day I intend by this title is of earth, not of heaven. I intend also, not a judgement of men, but of books. Books are judged even as men are judged, now or hereafter; and the same division which shall be made celestially occurs terrestrially, when the good books are separated from the bad, and the first are received into fame without end, but the second are damned everlastingly.

Every man and woman who sets up for author, writes to acquire fame or money or both, or to serve some other end which he or she regards as sufficient unto the pains which authorship entails upon them. And, roughly speaking, there are two kinds or classes of authors; they who have been bred up to it, and have adopted letters as a profession, and they who dabble in authorship, and so are not of the true household of the craft, as it were. The work produced by the first is often little superior, and sometimes much inferior, to that produced by the second; the work produced by the second is in some cases entitled to take rank with the best efforts of the first; but as a rule it is very inferior to it.

What the judge is in a court of law, so is, or should be, the critic in the world of letters; and laws are to citizens what the canons of criticism are to letters. At all events, the latter is the relationship in which men of letters should stand to the laws of criticism; and would indeed stand, doubtless, were the canons of criticism as fixed and as certain as they ought to be. That they are not as certain as they might and should be, springs from the nature of literary criticism, which is rather like the wind that blows where it listeth, and at no time subserviently to human control. There have been endeavours made from time to time to reduce into an absolute system these so-called laws of criticism, and, undiscouraged by the little progress that has as yet

been made in that science, professional critics continue to labour to produce a sufficient canon of their craft; but still are they very far indeed from imitating with success the precision and clarity which attends some law-giving, though doubtless not all. To say truth, it is a somewhat rough and ready method by which the book and its author are used to be judged. The sun of perfection in criticism may rise with the morrow; but, in the meantime, the canons of criticism wander in the twilight.

But books resemble men in yet another regard, and that is, relatively few of them are worth knowing. Unlike dull acquaintances, who should be cut, dull books are ever best left uncut. In any event, no man of understanding who has stood in a modern book-shop can fail to have experienced a feeling of depression at the prodigious waste of matter that is there. How few of the thousands of books which issue annually from the press are worth dipping into! How much smaller the few worth reading, and how infinitesimally slender the number of those worth both reading and buying! To hale these sorry multitudes before the courts of criticism (supposing such could be formed), for trial and sentence, were equivalent to arraigning a pickpocket before some international tribunal of justice. Instead, they should be bound in bundles and burned, without trial, in batches; and their ashes, collected and placed in appropriate vials, should be sent, some to the publishers, and the rest to the public and circulating libraries, for a warning.

It is some time now since there was a vogue for the kind of trifling science which Horace Walpole made popular, whose *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* set many people inquiring into it, and not a few to imitating the examples which his book gave forth. Few royal authors write nowadays, because there are few crowned heads to write; and, as for nobles, they, for the most part, are far too busy turning their estates into limited liability companies to turn authors. Nevertheless, dilettante literature flourishes; and

were it not for amateurs in letters hardly would the bookshelves groan, nor the critics who have to do with them neither. I affirm not, of course, that it requires a professional writer to produce a good book, since this kind of merit resembles the contents of Pandora's box, which flew out incontinently; but merely that in respect of the superabundance of books and authors we lie under, and suffer from, at present, more than a commonly guilty party is dilettantism of the kind I glance at. That part of the land of letters to which we are now come is wellnigh overgrown with this jungle, whose dense and rank growth impedes yet more the faltering foot of criticism, shuts out the light of learning, and harbours all manner of strange beasts, some ridiculous, others annoying rather than formidable, but all of a piece with their rude surroundings. But no matter; a time will come whose fan shall winnow for us all manner of grain of literature, and 'the chaff shall be separated from the wheat.'

I have spoken above of time in general, so far as this matter of a Day of Judgement for books is concerned, but some there are who write them to whom the epoch I intend is apt to occur in a very particular manner. These are they upon whose work judgement is passed before they come to die; and these are they who will be thought fortunate, or the reverse, according to the nature of the sentence they receive from the tribunal to which all writers, consciously or unconsciously, appeal. 'Judge no man fortunate till he be dead,' was a maxim of Crassus, not the friend and confidant of Tully, but the object of the vengeance of Orodes He might well say so, having regard to his own violent end, which happened to him notwithstanding his wellnigh unlimited command of the things which men are apt to esteem most in this world; and he was wise to postpone to posterity the giving of praise, and, doubtless, the withholding of it too, though that, to be sure, is implied rather than expressed by what he says on this head. Still, some

writers there are, as I have already remarked, who, amid general applause, acquire fame during their lifetime, though whether they deserve it, and, further, whether posterity will be always as kind to their memories as their contemporaries are partial to their exploits, whilst yet they are in the flesh, are, of course, very different matters. Tacitus says somewhere that the public have little power, and less means, of judging correctly; but, be their talent and opportunities in that respect what they will, this much at all events is certain, namely, that the verdict of the people is often false. Time dissipates it even as a puff of wind dissolves the spider's thread. It is borne away on the air, and is lost to view, just as happens to the other under the conditions I mention.

But that author is justly to be esteemed truly fortunate to whom fame comes during his lifetime, and the merit of whose work is undeniable. In the annals of letters the names of those fortunate ones occur but seldom, but others figure therein who, of inferior merit, enjoy perpetually an inferior sort of fame. These authors resemble those dull Prime Ministers and principal officers of State whose names cannot be kept out of history, because they are of the texture of the stuff of which history is composed; but always are they mentioned therein perfunctorily, and with such allusions and reflections as the slenderness of their parts, and the indifferency of their performances, call for in the text of the historian. Present times are prodigal of this sort of authors; the popular anthologies and autobiographies of the day are big nests of these little names; and when the literary history of the present age shall come to be fully written—when, that is to say, the existing race of writers shall be called to judgement at the seat of posterity—doubtless the names of certain of these inferior scribes (the 'best sellers' and fashionable scribblers of their age) will be cried in court, but only in order to a swifter and more summary administration of justice than could be procured were the rabble of offenders who

own these writers as their masters tried and condemned separately, instead of promiscuously, through the convenient channel of their acknowledged aiders, abettors, leaders, and representatives.

But, alas, some there are for whom the Day of Judgement I intend never dawns. These are they of whom it may be said with truth that an unkindly fate has condemned them from eternity to bloom and blush unseen for ever. Other writers have their Days of Judgement, on which the vault of the heavens of letters is made soundful with the wings of the appointed messengers, if I may put it so without profanity; the trumps of criticism blare forth the final stirring notes; and many graves of literary reputations are opened; but, somehow or other, these I intend are passed over. The Days of Judgement come and go, even as do the appointed cycles of the seasons; but these are found on such occasions neither among the elect, nor yet among the rejected, of writers. They are indifferently called to judgement who have deserved well of the Republic of Letters, and they whose works on earth condemn them; but among the first sort, though not among the second, there are strange omissions. In the fullness of their time they pass as falls the leaf of autumn, which, fallen, loses all identity among its fallen kind, or they are to be compared to the dewdrop which glitters in the risen sun with a brilliance far above the purest diamond, but presently slips from the leaf it bejewelled for a space, and is gone. For sometimes Fortune plays a final scurvy trick on worth and merit. The slings and arrows of outrageous circumstance are apt to pursue the man of genius far beyond the grave. They who let down the nets of criticism for a draught must know that, ply they their calling never so long and skilfully, some must escape them, because they search the depths with nets whose meshes are imperfect. Where, I ask, can be found a bitterness more bitter than this, that, amid the many doubts and mysteries, uncertainties and perplexities,

that surround us, darkening reason and obscuring counsel, whichever way we turn for light and leading, there is none so great as this: doubt of the future as regards its power to make straight the crooked ways of the present, and doubt as regards the power and will of posterity to mete out justice in every case wherein preceding ages have failed to mete it out. It is said that men of letters are given to dreaming dreams and seeing visions; that may be so, but, for sure, the nightmare which abides by the couch of every craftsman whose talent is unknown, and haunts his ambitious hours, is the doubt of which I speak.

In the posthumous writings of the late Mr. Clutton-Brock, that able writer and critic defines art as being part of human experience. 'While I am experiencing a work of art' (he says in one place), 'I am aware of no connexion between that experience and my own conduct or the conduct of any one. If a work of art is good to me, its goodness is not moral, but simply aesthetic, something perceived immediately, and valued for its own sake, without relation to any kind of conduct.' And the sense of this passage he draws out in yet another, wherein he says: 'If we would realize heaven we must conceive it in terms of art; and if we would know what art is we must understand that it gives us a kind of heaven, a state of being, parallel to our actual experience, but freed from all that prevents us from experiencing it fully, freed from past and future, and from questions about true and false and right and wrong.' Now, to regard art as a part of human experience seems to me reasonable enough, though, for my part, I cannot bring myself to consider the objects of it in the absolutely detached manner acquired apparently by Mr. Clutton-Brock; for I think that this science of beauty of which he speaks, and speaks so eloquently too, is a 'tied' science in the sense that it is bound to other senses and different modes. Doubtless, it is within the power of all of us to experience art as Mr. Clutton-Brock was privileged to do, who was used to

take it in by virtue of an immediate apprehension of it; but though thus much should be allowed to us, as to him, yet will the question naturally arise: Whence, then, springs the intuitive knowledge which is at the root of Mr. Clutton-Brock's aesthetics? The spring of intuition in man must be fed, even as the spring in the bowels of the earth is fed; neither one nor the other flows from nothing and from nowhere, which means, in effect, that as the natural spring draws upon its surroundings to give it force to flow, so when intuition wells up in a man, and floods his being, the power of the soul-spring which thus visits him is from on high, as well as within him. But, no matter, let us now quit this aspect of the topic, and pursue a little farther the thread of this matter of experience in relation to art.

'Every man's reason is every man's oracle,' says Bolingbroke somewhere, whom I often quote, not as he did Montaigne and Seneca, for the smartness of their utterance rather than the weight of matter, but for the brilliance of one and the sense of the other. I make bold, then, to take this pithy saying of Bolingbroke, and to make of it the following: Every man's intuition is every man's oracle, so far as the objects of art are concerned. I agree with Mr. Clutton-Brock that art must be apprehended even as he apprehended it, if we are to understand it rightly—that is to say (to hold his own language), we must make of it to ourselves that 'heaven' which, he affirms, we ought to make of it; yet, though I for one am most agreeable to confess the truth of what that author lays down in his Essays touching art and experience, here I make bold to ask: What about the critics and criticism, whose best efforts have been bent heretofore in order to persuade us to believe in themselves and their science? If, as Mr. Clutton-Brock contends, we apprehend all objects of art intuitively, independently of 'past and future,' and untroubled by notions of 'true and false and right and wrong,' in that event it should seem that critics are superfluous, and their efforts

to reduce their craft into a system so much waste of time, since that which the naked eye of a man's soul discovers to him about art, the same must needs be true. I must confess that, reasoning on the principles laid down by Mr. Clutton-Brock, I see not how the conclusions I append to them can be avoided, no matter how disagreeable to the critical faculty in general those conclusions may be.

Nor do these observations, justly apprehended, invalidate what I have here ventured to advance touching the bookish Day of Judgement, since what I contemplate by that expression is not an occasion or occasions on which there shall occur a universal submission to man-made critical laws, to be followed by a distribution or distributions of justice in respect of authors and books, conformable to the spirit and letter of those laws; but a coming together, as it were, of the principal conclusions drawn from a universalized experience of art in respect of letters, simultaneously with the application of those conclusions in a final adjustment of the values, as well practical as aesthetic, of all literary endeavour. As the rays of the sun cannot be separated, but bathe with their light, and cheer with their warmth, all on whom they are made to descend, so perhaps, on the Day of Judgement I speak of, will the sun of man's common experience of art pour forth indifferently its penetrating rays on the good and bad in letters.

R. Erskine of Marr.

THE CHINESE WHEEL

THAT history repeats itself has been strangely illustrated in the Chinese events of the last few months. I have unearthed two very scarce volumes in the Hankow Club library by Sir John F. Davis, who was one of the Commissioners sent to regulate the British trade in Canton in 1835, after the monopoly of the East India Company had been abolished. The volumes were published in 1852. Sir John Davis was present in China during the events which led up to the war of 1840–2, and during the whole of the war. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Nangking, he succeeded Sir Henry Pettinger as the chief representative of Her Majesty's Government in China, and had his work cut out to see that the provisions of the treaty were properly carried out by the Chinese. The two volumes contain a most interesting account of the operations of the war, and of the negotiations which occupied the years following the peace.

The book is all the more valuable because it contains no trace of animosity against the Chinese. It is simply a true and straightforward account of the difficulties which arose in all attempts to establish international relations. These difficulties were due partly to ignorance and prejudice on the part of the Chinese; partly, too, to the rascally conduct of the opium-smokers, some of whom, it must be confessed, were of British nationality; but, most of all, they were due to the arrogance of the Chinese mandarins, to their supreme contempt for the foreign 'barbarians,' and to their refusal to grant to them such elementary rights as most civilized nations have always granted as a matter of course to foreigners resident in their territory.

Some of the notions entertained by the people about the foreigners when they first appeared upon the shores of China are very quaint. It was believed at first that

the soldiers from the enemy ships would not be able to fight on land, because they were so tightly buttoned up in their clothes that they would fall down if they tried to run. The ships themselves, propelled apparently by smoke, were a great cause of perplexity to the Chinese. An enterprising engineer in Ningpo undertook to make Chinese vessels which could be propelled in the same way. He built some big wooden ships, fitted up with enormous paddle-wheels at the sides; then he went down into the hold and made a lot of smoke by burning paper; but unfortunately the ships did not go. After this failure, handles were fitted on to the paddle-wheels, so that they could be turned by a number of coolies, and this was found to be a much superior method to that employed by the foreigners.

Prizes were offered by the Emperor to the scholars of the country who could devise the best methods for dealing with the enemy. Many were the suggestions put forward by *literati* from all the provinces. One essay was written to show that the best way to meet the English was to march across Russia and then attack London (which was said to be just the other side), thus cutting off the foreign soldiers from their base (of supplies). The plan was proposed of sending divers to go under the ships and bore holes in their bottoms, so that they would sink. Another was to send out ships to attack them only at the stern, because their guns could only fire sideways.

The guns, too, were a cause of much heart-searching to the Chinese. They were, of course, familiar with the use of gunpowder, and were able to cast big guns, but only of brass. They could fire neither so accurately nor to so great a distance as the foreign guns. Their guns were often too roughly cast, and when too much explosive material was rammed in they were in the habit of sometimes bursting, with deadly effect upon the gunners. In 1840 a British gunboat, the *Kite*, was grounded on a shoal near Ningpo and captured by the Chinese. Among those captured

were Captain Noble and his wife, who, with a number of the crew, were confined in narrow cages and kept thus for a considerable length of time. Two guns from this ship were noticed to have some letters engraved upon them. These were taken to be a magical sign, and it was supposed that if the inscription were copied upon the guns they would shoot as straight and as far as the foreign ones did. A number of brass guns were cast from moulds made from these cannon. They were used in action against the English, stuffed as full of gunpowder as they could hold. Unfortunately they burst, and destroyed the unhappy men who had tried to fire them.

Many other interesting details in the book referred to show that the Chinese have travelled a long way since the time of their early intercourse with foreigners. Superstition has died to a considerable extent, and there is by no means such gross ignorance, even on the part of the common people, of the foreigners and their ways. Nevertheless, the recent outcry for war against England, and the current idea that treaties can be abolished by a stroke of the pen, or that foreign trade injures China, and similar doctrines which have been recently spread very widely amongst the Chinese, show that they have not yet completed their education in the study of Western things.

With regard to the war, it was fought long enough ago, and it ought to be possible, at this distance of time, to face the facts dispassionately. The smuggling of opium was the direct cause which led to the war. Sir John Davis states this definitely, for he says, ' Of the war it (i.e. opium smoking) certainly was mainly the cause.' The only fact which can be pointed out in extenuation is, that the smuggling was done by Chinese co-operation, and that if the mandarins had been honest and determined they could have put it down. As a cause of the war it was lost sight of long before the treaty of peace was declared, and, as the writer also informs us, ' in the treaty not a word was mentioned

of the subject, and it has never once been revived since the war.' He wrote, it must be remembered, in 1852. But the war would have come, independently of the opium question. It had its origin in the injustices which were continually inflicted upon the foreign merchants at Canton, the majority of whom were engaged in honest trade, and also in the insults which were continually heaped upon the official representatives of the British Government.

The Treaty of Nangking was signed on August 29, 1842. It was, of course, the first and the most important of the so-called 'unequal treaties' which are giving so much trouble to-day. But, it must be noted, the main provisions of the treaty were directed to securing for foreigners in China merely those rights which would have been accorded to them naturally in any other civilized country. The right to reside in a foreign country for purposes of trade is one for which it is not usually necessary to make a treaty, for the extension of commerce is generally recognized to be a benefit, both to the country to which traders come, and to the country which they represent. That five ports were by the treaty thrown open to foreigners for residence and trading purposes was not an injustice to China, but a distinct advantage to her merchants.

It was laid down that a fair and proper tariff should be fixed at all these ports, so that the trade should no longer suffer from the unjust and outrageous imposition which the mandarins had previously been at liberty to impose at their own will and for their own benefit. The Hong monopoly at Canton was abolished, and it was agreed that at all the ports the Chinese merchants should have the full liberty to trade on their own account with the foreigners. It was further agreed that the official representatives of the British Government should make all communications direct to the local Chinese officials, who in their turn might communicate them to Peking. Previously such communications had been made at Canton through the Hong

merchants, because the Chinese officials considered themselves too dignified, and the foreign officials too barbarous, for direct communications to be allowed. This absurd attitude had been the root of all kinds of misunderstandings, and was the cause which, above all others, led to the war.

Besides the above provisions, which are one and all an obvious benefit to China, the treaty naturally contained other provisions of such a nature as are usually imposed by a victorious nation upon a conquered one. In defence of this, it needs to be remembered that it was absolutely necessary to impress upon the Chinese nation, and especially upon the Court at Peking, the fact that the war had gone against them, and that they had no earthly chance of victory against a Western nation. Unless they were taught this lesson completely and thoroughly, it would be impossible to enforce any of the terms of the treaty, and all the old troubles would occur again. Consequently the imposition of an indemnity, while it meant little perhaps to England, at least served to enforce a valuable lesson upon the Emperor Taokuang and his advisers. The remaining provisions, which secured for foreigners in China the privileges which come under the head of 'extra-territoriality,' were rendered necessary by the plainly contrary ideas of justice and the enforcement of law which were held by Chinese and foreigners.

Sir J. Davis's book contains many instances of the manner in which the execution of justice according to Chinese ideas led to what appeared to the foreigners as rank injustice, and vice versa. Thus the Chinese maintained, in the case of homicides, that for every Chinese life taken by a foreigner, whether by accident, in self-defence, or otherwise, a foreign life was due; and it did not seem to matter much to them whose life it was so long as they got one. Their ideas of the conduct of a trial, and of the value of evidence, also varied considerably from the foreign idea of what was

right. So long as the Chinese hold such ideas, some kind of an 'extrality' clause will be necessary in every treaty that is made with her by foreign nations.

But, in spite of all care, the task of seeing that the provisions of the treaty were held to proved to be one of immense difficulty. The second volume of Sir J. Davis's work contains the history of the negotiations which took place during the four or five years following the signing of the treaty, in which he himself took the leading part. The instances of evasion, of wilful misinterpretation, of straining at the letter, of deliberate infringement, show that he had far from an easy time. One all the more admires the temper of the man who could come through such an experience unsoured, and write a book so full of kindly human interest, of latent humour, and of strict impartiality. Nowhere in the book is a trace of venom, or an instance of evil spoken about the Chinese merely for the sake of letting off steam. Indeed, wherever it is possible he speaks well of the Chinese mandarins, and one or two of them he praises highly for their integrity, honesty of intention, and ability in managing affairs.

As an instance, we may take his account of Keying. Of this statesman Sir John Davis says, 'Keying was by far the most elevated in rank, as well as the most estimable in character, of any person with whom the representatives of European States have ever come in contact. During a course of four years' intercourse and negotiation I had a fair opportunity of forming an estimate, and when he only *occasionally* betrayed that departure from conventual stipulations which is the *constant* failing of most Chinese Ministers, these instances might be attributed rather to the difficulties of his position than to the bias of his natural temper.' It was this Keying with whom Sir J. Davis conducted most of the post-war negotiations, and we shall have occasion to mention him again later.

But to return to the treaty. Although it was drawn

up between England and China alone, it was provided that the other European nations were to share in all the advantages which had been secured for English subjects in China, so that 'the advantages secured by one Christian State were to become the common property of all.' Two years later, in 1844, two more commercial treaties were drawn up with China, by France and America respectively. These two new treaties introduced a few fresh conditions with regard to trade which experience had shown to be advisable, and the new clauses immediately became applicable to English merchants. This principle was loyally held to in most of the early treaties with China, and finally developed into the 'most favoured' policy, by which any favourable conditions won by any nation were automatically expanded to all. It is this common front shown by the nations of Europe in their dealing with China that has proved in Chinese eyes the most convincing proof of their solidarity. For even so early as the times with which we are dealing the idea of playing off one European nation against another had occurred to the wily Oriental mind, as the following instance will show.

Lin Tseh Hsu, the Commissioner who was sent to Canton to suppress the opium traffic in 1839, and whose conduct towards the British it was which really led to the outbreak of the war, was a man of ingenious mind and some enterprise. He took especial pains to collect all the information he could about the Western nations and their history. His sources of information were rather unusual, and his results were somewhat strange, for he availed himself of missionary tracts, the *Chinese Monthly Magazine*, a treatise on commerce, a description of the United States and of England, a work on geography, &c. These works he had translated and abstracted, and then he put together a number of articles, 'a strange compound of truth and fiction, history and fable,' of which Sir J. Davis in an appendix gives us a few extracts: 'This present compilation differs from all

others, being composed, not from our Chinese records, but from what foreigners have said upon each subject. The object is to attack barbarians with barbarians, and to avail ourselves of the superiority of barbarians to master barbarians; for which purpose these lucubrations may serve as a text-book.' Later on: 'It is our custom to attack pirates with pirates; and should we not assail in the same manner barbarians who have come thousands of miles over the sea? But to do this effectually we must make ourselves fully acquainted with the state of foreign affairs. The English respect three hostile powers, viz. Russia, France, and the United States; they fear four of our tributary States, viz. Cochin China, Siam, Ava, and Nepal! In the event of a war, we can attack them in two ways: 1. By land; 2. By water.

'1. Their most vulnerable point by land is India, against which we can array the Russians and Nepalese. India lies to the south-west of the Himalaya mountains, which separate it from Thibet, but is distant from England many thousand *li*, while Nepal and Burmah border upon it. The Russian Army would have to come by way of the Yellow (Black) and Caspian Seas. . . .

'2. To attack them by sea we may avail ourselves of the French and Americans. France is separated from England only by a strait; America by an ocean. The former had established colonies which the English took, and hence there existed the deepest enmity. When the Americans rose on account of the oppressive taxes levied by the English, the French assisted them by a powerful armament to expel the enemy by cutting off their provisions. . . . Of the nations repairing to Canton, the English only have shown themselves proud and insolent, while the French and Americans have proved very reverentially obedient to China. When the trade was put a stop to, the English gave rise to discontent among all other nations by blockading our ports; had they not soon

ceased to do so, the latter would have sent men-of-war to settle the point with them. . . .'

Another State document which was prepared by Yihshan, the *generalissimo* at Canton, and sent to Peking, is reproduced in the same appendix. In this, Yihshan reports that he had an interview with two of the French commanders, and he was hopeful of enlisting their aid against the English. 'We, your Ministers, considered that the said nation (i.e. the French) had, in its commercial intercourse, been reverentially obedient, and that the English, by proving themselves refractory, and by waging war, had interfered with the trade of all nations, and given rise to resentment. As the chiefs wished to talk privately, we yielded to circumstances, and relaxed in our dignity, in order to adopt plans for attacking barbarians with barbarians.' Later on, Yihshan found that the French commander was not prepared to attack the English as allies of the Chinese. His object was, in fact, to try to bring about peace by persuading the Chinese to yield to the British terms. When this becomes clear, Yihshan launches out in a different strain: 'When we, your Ministers, examined into the conduct of the French, we perceived that, being at peace with the English, they intended to reap the benefit of their interference, and thought to divide the spoil; we therefore considered them as imbued with barbarian principles, and in every respect crafty.'

It was well that the foreigners in those early days stood by one another, and the growth and subsequent prosperity of the treaty ports was in great part dependent upon this mutual goodwill and co-operation. In great contrast to this was the miserable fate of the Portuguese colony at Macao, which in 1839 had refused protection to the British merchants and their families when driven from Canton. The Portuguese attitude was that, since they paid an annual rent for their residence at Macao to the Chinese Government, they and they alone had the right to the

trade facilities afforded by the island, and there was no obligation upon them to render assistance to foreigners of any other nationality, even in times of danger.

Even years later, when the trade of Macao was declining owing to the proximity of the new British colony of Hong-Kong, its Governor, Senhor Amaral, attempted to impose a tax upon Chinese boats in order to replenish the depleted treasury. The owners of the boats not only protested, but became violent, and, 'landing with a gun in the inner harbour, assumed a threatening attitude. The Governor, perceiving a violent emergency, dispatched a letter to myself [i.e. Sir J. Davis] requesting any assistance I might be able to afford him. I was willing to forget the conduct of his predecessor in 1839 to our countrymen, when these were driven by the Chinese from Macao and in vain asked for protection.' So a British frigate was sent to take up her station in Macao harbour, and her mere presence, without the necessity of any warlike measures (which, in fact, were not intended), sufficed to calm the situation. The Governor Amaral was afterwards assassinated by the Chinese, the Portuguese colony dwindled, and Macao never again rose to any prosperity as a trading port.

Among the invasions of the treaty was the failure to grant an amnesty to all Chinese who had helped us in the war. It had been agreed that 'the Emperor of China should publish and promulgate, under his imperial sign-manual and seal, a full and entire amnesty and act of indemnity' to all such persons. This, however, was evaded. No such promulgation was ever made, but every functionary was left to the exercise of his own discretion in his own province. New Tajin expressed himself in very ambiguous terms, but Eleepoo was more honest and explicit. The former implied that the culprits, though at present escaping punishment, could not escape if they henceforward proved guilty of the slightest misdemeanour. The other declared, 'It has been agreed that all native traitors should be set

at liberty, and we have therefore received an imperial order to absolve them from their crimes.' But a paper addressed to the Governor of Chekiang, and never intended for our perusal, fully betrayed the vindictive spirit of the Government towards these people. 'The assurance amnesty,' wrote Dr. Gutzlaff, 'was soon slighted. The men noted on the list for political crimes were, by an order from the Court, put under surveillance, and every magistrate was directed to let them be marked men, who, on the accusation of any of their neighbours or others for previous crimes, should instantly be brought to summary punishment. This was a direct violation of the treaty, and in opposition to the most solemn assurances.'

But the worst instance of treachery was the massacre in Formosa of some shipwrecked Englishmen who had been taken prisoners during the war. 'Another instance of bad faith occurred with reference to the dreadful massacre of British subjects, perpetrated by the commandant at Formosa. When Eleepoo, in May 1842, made his proposition of giving up all British prisoners, it was distinctly demanded that the unfortunate castaways in the vessels *Nerbudda* and *Anne* should be included in the number. Those on the main were all liberated, and so general was the confidence that the shipwrecked people at Formosa had also been set free, that no one thought more about the matter. How great was the horror, then, on hearing at Amoy, when a portion of the expedition reached that place from Nangking, of their cold-blooded murder! On the thirteenth of August, 1842 (while the British force was investing Nangking), upon a wide plain near the gates of the capital of Formosa, 197 British subjects, composed of whites and natives of India captured by the Chinese from the wrecks of the *Nerbudda* and *Anne*, were placed on their knees near to each other, and their hands manacled behind their backs. These unfortunate people had been brought from their prisons ignorant of their fate. In this

state of suspense the executioners appeared, and proceeded with their swords to sever the heads of all from their bodies. The heads were exposed along the line of the seashore, and the bodies were thrown into one immense grave.'

Tahunga, the perpetrator of this dastardly crime, had announced to Peking the bravery and skill with which he had enticed these ships on to the rocks and taken their crews captive. For this deed of daring he had received high commendation from the Emperor. For his act of butchery Tahunga was without excuse, for at the very time 'news had already reached Formosa of a speedy settlement of differences, and this remorseless deed was committed in spite of it.' When the violation of the treaty was complained of, Tahunga was recalled by the Emperor to Peking, and, 'having been put on his trial, appears to have been either acquitted or very slightly punished. He was afterwards promoted to be one of the principal generals on the Elee frontier, a great leap from being only *tsoonping* of Formosa. He was, in fact, rather rewarded than punished, and, if there was any motive in this, it must have been a secret approval of his crime.'

The island of Chusan, off Ningpo, which had been occupied by the British during the war, was held for four years after the conclusion of peace as guarantee for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty on the part of the Chinese. Frequently as the conditions were evaded or broken, this would no doubt have occurred much more often but for this safeguard. It was just after the final evacuation of Chusan that a riot occurred in Canton, which bears in its details so close a resemblance to the event of June 11, 1925, in Hankow that it seems worth while to reproduce Sir J. Davis's narrative in full. 'It has been observed before that Chinese good faith is inviolable, so long as the securities are sufficient. Such security was Chusan; and this constituted its real worth to us during the four years

in which it remained a British garrison, for, as a set-off to the expense of maintaining an English and Sepoy regiment (about £70,000 a year), it returned absolutely nothing in the way of trade; or, indeed, any other advantage whatsoever, except that of a commanding military and naval position (which it must ever be) and a pledge for the fulfilment of the Chinese promises. It was naturally surmised that the restoration of Chusan would soon be felt in relaxed vigilance of observance as regarded treaty stipulations; but at the new ports of trade there had been scarcely any trouble from the beginning. The people were generally well disposed to us, and where local circumstances favoured trade the progress was satisfactory, especially at Shanghai, which seemed destined to supersede Canton in course of time. By way of accelerating this event, the vicious and incurable rabble of the latter place, who burned down the British factories only three months after the treaty of peace, seemed determined from time to time to renew the old feud, lest its embers might gradually become extinct. The evacuation of Chusan had just been completed in July 1846, and I had parted on the most friendly and cordial terms with the high officers appointed to receive it, when a dispatch from Hong-Kong announced that another riot, at Canton—the third or fourth since the peace—originating in a street brawl, had wellnigh caused the sack and pillage of the whole foreign quarter. It appeared that the rabble, excited at first by the maltreatment of one of their number, and soon reinforced by whole shoals of vagabonds always ready for mischief, had made a desperate onslaught upon the dwellings of the English and Americans, who, soon perceiving the extent of the peril, combined to repel them with firearms, and at length succeeded in dispersing their assailants, after shooting three of their number. The Chinese Government, in the meanwhile, like "an ancient and most quiet watchman," did nothing for three hours from the commencement of the broil, and would perhaps not

have interfered at all, unless in some fear at last for itself.

The English residents, with good show of reason, considered their safety compromised by this event. The following instruction was written to the consul, who considered the danger less imminent: 'It appears to myself that the British merchants at Canton have no considerable grounds of alarm for the safety of themselves and property under existing circumstances. I do not deny that you were right in not desiring the presence of a vessel of war near the factories at the exact period in question; but contingencies may soon occur in which such protection may be indispensable for the security of our people's lives. There is nothing whatever in Article 10 of the supplementary treaty to prevent a man-of-war lying opposite to Canton, in common with Shanghai, Ningpo, and Amoy; and, though I am far from thinking that one should be permanently retained there, it would be a most superfluous and uncalled-for concession on my part to the crafty Government of China to make a voluntary surrender of so indisputable and indispensable a right. By Article 30 of the French treaty, a man-of-war is entitled to go wherever she can float; and the restrictions in our own treaty are obviously applicable only to merchantmen.'

In addition to their tardy interference to suppress the riot, having sent assistance only when the mob had been already repelled, the local Government—that is, Keying himself—endeavoured to simplify the question by confining it entirely to the English, though it was only common to them with the Americans. He likewise required that the *lex talionis* should be visited on those who had killed the three Chinese. It therefore became necessary to address him thus: 'Your Excellency must be well aware that from the commencement a most unjust and unusual attempt has been made to fasten the odium of the late disasters exclusively on the subjects of my Government. My very first dispatch protested against this, and I shall continue

to protest against it so long as it is persisted in. My countrymen, not without reason, are highly incensed at such a flagrant injustice—at such an unfair and odious distinction—and I cannot expect them to submit to it. Had an impartial and fair line of conduct been adopted at first, the affair might long ago have been arranged. It is a rule with all nations, founded on the plainest principles of natural justice, that any person who chances to kill an aggressor in the necessary, and therefore lawful, defence of his life and property, cannot be punished. According to this universal rule, the American who happened to shoot a Chinese aggressor in 1844 could not be punished by his countrymen. But if an Englishman maliciously, and without the justification of necessary self-defence, were to kill a Chinese, I should not wait until your Excellency called for it, but would instantly take measures for subjecting him to the last penalties of the law.'

Truly, history repeats itself. In this Canton affair of eighty years ago we find an almost exact parallel to the incident which happened in Hankow last year. The attack on the foreign quarter by a bloodthirsty mob; the self-defence of the residents and consequent killing of a number of their assailants; the long delay of the Chinese authorities to interfere in the matter; their outrageous demand, and their failure to recognize a principle of justice which is considered fundamental by every civilized nation; also the insidious attempt to separate the British from other nationalities, and to lay the whole blame of the occurrence upon them, shows that the methods of Chinese diplomacy have not changed. Not one of the incidents of the past few months but has taken place before, with minor variations, in a period of more than a century. A study of the past ought to guide us towards a correct estimate of the present situation; and there is much to be learned from the conduct of those who lived before us in this old land of the Orient.

IVAN D. ROSS.

NATIVE SEPARATIST CHURCHES

IN 1921 a special Commission was appointed by the Union Parliament of South Africa to inquire into and report upon: (1) The origin, nature, and extent of any disturbing influences at work among the natives of the Union, and more particularly the origin and nature of the 'Israelite' movement; and (2) The origin, nature, and extent of the various religious organizations within the Union which are solely under native control.

A questionnaire was issued to officials, missionaries, and other persons claiming to be interested in native affairs. Considerable verbal evidence was also taken from both European and native witnesses. The Commission was not able to report at once, but, although the delay has been somewhat regrettable, the report was published in March, 1925, and is now printed for public information. The report is the first authoritative publication on this profound subject that is engaging, and will continue to engage, the attention of all students of South African native life and religion. The Commission rightly states that 'the spread of the Separatist movement among native Churches and the results springing therefrom are matters of the greatest concern to the Government of the country.' And whilst there is a genuine hesitancy on the part of the State to interfere in religious matters, the Government is bound to take notice of what is happening, and, in so far as the spread of the Separatist bodies tends to become a danger to the public good, the Government will have to take action to check such tendencies.

The Commission very naturally takes cognizance of the growing race-consciousness among the Bantu of South Africa. The idea of nationhood, in which shall be merged the differing

tribes, is taking hold of the native people, and has as its concomitant definite 'social and political aspirations.' Other elements, of course, have had a determining influence on the minds of thoughtful native people. There has been a latent feeling of suspicion against Europeans generally, because the Bantu's just claims to better economic opportunity, more land and greater political influence, have been disregarded, or, shall we say, not sufficiently regarded. Hence the desire to act independently and to form independent religious communities.

Without doubt the Separatist movement stands in connexion with the awakening all over the world of a spirit of Nationalism, and, maybe, the way of political independence being seemingly closed, races are striving after ecclesiastical independence. What has come to be called Ethiopianism in South Africa is a quasi-political and quasi-religious movement. There is a good deal of 'dread' as to how far-reaching is this Ethiopian influence on the political side of life. Some of its prophets have been accused of stating that 'all white people must be driven into the sea.' It is reassuring to read that the Commission 'has not been able to find among the natives of the Union any influences disturbing to the extent of the subversion of public order.' Political and economic movements amongst the Bantu are but 'the expression of the aspirations of a people towards an improvement of the conditions under which they live.'

There are native organizations, such as *The African National Congress*, *The Bantu Union*, *The Industrial and Commercial Union*, *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union*, *The Negro Mutual Improvement Society*, and *African Communities League*, that often create alarm by the extravagance of their claims and the crudity of their methods. The Commission speaks also of *Criminal Societies* such as the so-called *Ninevites* and *Amalaitas*, who are irresponsible breakers of public order. But again it is all to the good to discover that on investigation 'no special legislation is

necessary.' The considered statement of the report should give confidence: 'The natives as a whole are a sensible, law-abiding people who are not hostile to the white race.'

The terms of reference to be observed by the Commission included special mention of the *Israelite Movement* and the tragedy of Bulhoek in May, 1921. In 1917 Enoch Mgijima, member of the original Church of God and Saints of Christ, became a trouble through his 'visions.' He stated that he saw a battle between two white Governments and that he saw a baboon crush these Governments and destroy them. The interpretation was simple. The white Governments were the Europeans and the animal was the natives, and the whites would be crushed by the natives. He was discommunicated, and started a sect of his own which became a fanatical, politico-religious body, refusing obedience to Government and subverting public order. No amount of kindness influenced him or his people, and Enoch promised his warriors that 'the white man's bullets would be turned to water.' Pitiful was the disillusion that followed their armed resistance to the authorities. It was the misguided who suffered most of all, but the prophet, Enoch Mgijima, was responsible for leading them astray, and he was punished.

The instance of the Israelites at Bulhoek shows how easily separate native sects are formed. The native Separatist movement had its beginnings in South Africa as far back as the year 1884, when a Tembu named Nehemiah Tile seceded from the Wesleyan Church and founded a sect of his own. From that early beginning the movement has spread until the Native Affairs Department has knowledge of the existence of over 130 native Separatist bodies. Many of them are unstable and factious, making a caricature of religion; while a few have developed into stable, well-disciplined organizations wielding a big influence among the natives. Perhaps the best known among the latter is the *African Methodist Episcopal Church*, with a membership of 15,000 in South Africa. It is connected with the parent

Church in America, which has 700,000 communicants and church property valued at over 14½ million dollars. The leading Separatist bodies are :

The African Methodist Episcopal Church ; The African Congregational ; The Ethiopian Churches (several kinds) ; The Ethiopian Catholic Church (an offshoot of the Anglican order of Ethiopia) ; The Church of God and Saints of Christ ; Independent Wesleyan Church ; Independent Presbyterians ; Apostolic Faith Church ; Ama-Zionists ; Amalika Churches (types of American Congregational).

Generally they have their rise through the action of some one or other native minister who finds continuance in the regular body intolerable, or who refuses to conform to the discipline of the older order, or who has been disciplined by the former Church. For example, the establishment of the African Congregational Church centred in the late Rev. G. B. Mvuyana. We regret to record his death in August, 1925. He was born at the Umvoti Mission Station in 1866, and, losing his father early in life, he was taken care of by the missionaries. He lived first at Groutville—well known to the present writer—and then at Amanzimtote, where he went to school. He became a teacher in 1886 and an evangelist in 1890. Later he was sent to Johannesburg, as an evangelist, by the American Board of Missions. By and by he went to the A.B.M. Theological School at Amanzimtote and became a minister. He soon established himself as a leader of native life, and in the stormy times occasioned by 'mission glebe rent collecting' he was particularly involved.

Then it dawned upon him that 'the natives must rely upon themselves and not childishly look to the missionaries for everything.' The idea was evolved of an African Congregational Church, which was begun in 1917 as a separate and native-controlled body. It is but eight years old, and already it has churches throughout the Transvaal and many adherents in Natal and Zululand. The Royal family of

Zululand is well disposed towards it. Several of its members belong to it, and it is significant that its 1926 annual meeting is to take place at Mahashini, the Royal kraal of Solomon-qua-Dinuzulu. The Government recognized this movement and made Mvuyana a marriage officer, as now it has conferred the same privilege upon his successor, Rev. M. S. Dabe.

The secession of Rev. Mpambani Mzimba from the Presbyterian Church was an instance of one objecting to discipline. He went out and formed the *African Presbyterian Church*. There had been a dispute over money. Generally speaking, the mishandling of Church funds has been the most fruitful cause of disruption. It was so with Rev. James Dwane, who was disciplined by the Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1895. Dwane joined the Ethiopian Church that had been formed in 1892. In this body politics and religion are very closely allied, and, as an old Lutheran missionary says, ' We can afford to be tolerant of the minor secessionists, but we must keep a close eye on the Ethiopian movement.'

Dwane was not satisfied, went to America, and came back with a new title—Superintendent of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa. Trouble arose, and he again changed colour. Seeking ordination in the Anglican Church, he was made the head of the Order of Ethiopia. But that Church would not make him a bishop, and he never seemed to make good. From the Order of Ethiopia another sect broke off under the name of the *Ethiopian Catholic Church of South Africa*, with Rev. J. M. Gqamane as bishop. So ludicrous has it all become that there are two other bodies which have broken away from the Anglican (Native) Church and each has an archbishop. It must have been an amusement for the Commission to discover that ' the highest educational qualification of one of these was that he had passed Standard II.'

The Independent Methodist Sect is twenty years old. It was begun by Rev. Joel Msimang, a minister of the Transvaal

Wesleyan Church. The cause of his secession was twofold. He refused to take up his appointment at Lourenço Marques, where he had been sent by the Transvaal Synod, on the plea that he could not live in that fever country, as he had a large family. The other cause was a quarrel over class-money. He would not submit to his superintendent's ruling enforcing its payment, and went out. Several other men joined him, including later Rev. J. Conjwa, who had been guilty of maladministration of Church funds under the South African Conference. It is interesting to observe that they in turn have had to be insistent on Church assessment from every member of their new body. This new Church uses the Rules and Regulations of the parent Connexion. It is questionable whether it will live after 'the passing' of Mr. Msimang. He is its life and soul, and 'it is his wealth that keeps it going.'

The Commission naturally considered these very fully, and every student of native affairs endeavours to know why so many Separatist Churches exist. The alleged reasons are: desire for independence in Church matters; 'colour bar' among white missionaries; discipline of members; example of Europeans; personal ambition; a tribal Church desired conforming to native custom; desire to administer Church property and money.

The causes of the Separatist movement are many: resistance to discipline, jealousy, personal ambition, love of power, and a desire to be free from European control—commonly known as Ethiopianism. It is true that a very able native leader, Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, teacher at the South African College, Fort Hare, says: 'The formation of independent Churches was an attempt of the natives at self-expression and not an act of antagonism to the European Churches.' But even he must accept other causes of separation; *some worthy*, as when the movement has its occasion in real conviction of the correctness of conduct (e.g. the secession of Rev. Joel Msimang); *some through irritation*,

as when old native ministers are placed under youthful, uninformed European superintendents, or when white superintendents have no sympathy with the native ministers, or when the native has no proper place in the control of the Church or in Conference, or when native ministers are taunted by other secessionists that they are 'but the boys of the white Umfundisi.' But, without doubt, very serious are the reasons for secession having their occasion in *racialism*. The African Congregational Church is an instance. A chief in Zululand is said recently to have advised all the Christians in his area to pay all Church moneys to him and he would pay ministers, evangelists, and teachers. It is stated that what is wanted is a Zulu-Tshaka Church. What an idea to entertain—a black Napoleon who is a pope! There are racial causes for some separations.

The bulk of those going out perhaps go because of *discipline*. It is a question of character and ability. Moral laxity and financial incapacity involve many brethren in trouble. Maybe the parent Churches have expected too much from their native agents, and put them in positions of responsibility too soon. One has said 'the Methodist Church created an order of native ministers fifty years too soon.' What we say is that so often we all forget the injunction of Gladstone, 'Let us beware lest we allow our religion to spoil our morality.' Have we sufficiently emphasized that the Christian religion is a moral life as well as a verbal creed? It is a question of character very largely, and it is here perhaps where the Churches have somewhat failed.

Here two observations must be made. The first is that in all the Churches are many fine, able native ministers who, with all their faults, are proving themselves good Christian men, in whose lives the gospel is being adorned, and who are proving that native ministers can be loyal to God and to the Church. These do not secede because they have not all they think is their right, but seek by constitutional means to secure redress of grievances and further opportunities

for self-expression. It would be unjust not to register this judgement. The second observation is that we cannot deny the right of individuals to secede, nor should we refuse inter-denominational comity to responsible native secession Churches.

This brings us to *The Problem of Control.* Perhaps control is not the proper word, but it makes possible the suggestion that the only way to control such movements is through the will, character, experience, and judgement of those whom we wish to guide aright. Outward restriction, either ecclesiastical or Governmental, will avail little. Both reasonable and foolish secessionists may, after a time, be won back by sympathy, or, if not, may be persuaded to unite in one strong Church under a constitution mutually determined. The Commission has expressed the opinion that this is desirable. The subject affords a study in loyalties—loyalty to conscience, to race, to Nationalism, to old associations, to the chief, who has a traditional hold on their obedience. And when loyalties are in conflict it is easily understood that with the native the nearest claimant to obedience has the biggest pull. It is a question of 'must' or 'ought.' Is Machiavelli right when he says, 'Men never behave well unless they are obliged'?

The 'ought' of Christian grace has still a long way to go before it perfectly overcomes the 'must' of race, tradition, and chieftain authority. In other words, it is easier to get the devil out of man's heart than his grandfather out of his bones. Again a Church—even the Methodist Church—may condemn when God approves, and ecclesiastical rule may be unjust to sections of the ruled. Hence Thomas Aquinas's word should have weight with us on this subject: 'In the court of conscience there is no obligation to obey an unjust law.' All this indicates what the attitude of both Churches and Government should be to the secessionists.

The desire of the native for religious autonomy is undeniable, and without doubt there must be provision for

the normal channels of self-expression for native aspirations. Ethiopianism as a movement may be harmful, as many sane missionaries think, or it may be harmless to the State, as the Commission believes; but, although it is a conglomerate of sense and nonsense, it is nevertheless a movement of minds, opinions, and feelings; of resentment, ambitions, and anticipations. In the older Churches a right must be given before it is demanded, and privileges tending to knowledge of the details of a constitution and to 'how' the thing works must be granted before the claim for them becomes too insistent. In the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, native ministers and laymen sit in conference together, and have the same voting power with their European brethren. There are to be six native brethren on the Central Finance Committee this year, and a woman representative of the Native Women's Auxiliary sits with twelve native brethren on the Missionary Committee, having equal power with their European brethren. These are steps in the right direction.

The formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church with but a few white missionaries to guide it is an experiment in native Church control which will be watched with interest. It is all a *question of efficiency*. When the native Church is really fit to take the reins of control there is no reason why it should not. One native intellectualist has stated that it will not be so fit for the next twenty-five years, and we are inclined to agree with him. But efficiency is the only reason for delay.

The attitude towards the Separatists should be touched with Christian grace. In the main they should be recognized as Christian. The people led astray are often good Christians. If they wish to return, the door should be always open. The leaders are to be watched, especially if they are refugees from discipline for moral laxity or wrong use of Church funds. But even these should, if possible, be won back to the truth and a right morality. The Separatist Churches

should not be persecuted by those who do not secede. Often their path is beset with thorns, and if such bodies are built up on a wrong foundation they will come to nought.

The Commission has wisely recommended that 'the Government's attitude should be one of toleration.' In a letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs—which I appreciate—there is the useful note :

> The attitude of the Government to these native Separatist bodies has been one of non-interference, provided law and order are observed, thus following out the principle of allowing freedom in religious matters. To oppose would but strengthen them. For the present, by checking any subversion of law and order and by witholding special privileges, such as the granting of railway travelling concessions and the appointment of marriage officers to those bodies which lack stabilizing control and which are torn by internal disputes and rivalries, it is hoped that the movement will be robbed of most, if not all, of its power to harm either the native himself or the State as a whole.

The Commission makes certain suggestions as to the conditions of official recognition of Separatist Churches :

(*a*) No Church should be recognized that has not been in existence for ten years and shows signs of health.

(*b*) In rural areas no Church allowed within three miles of another existing Church.

(*c*) At least six congregations should be associated with the movement.

(*d*) Its ministers should have a certain educational qualification—at least to have passed Standard IV.

(*e*) Government to be satisfied as to the character of both Church and minister before giving recognition.

All these are eminently wise, and as conditions of official status few enough.

A last question may be asked : Is a United Native Church for South Africa possible ? Dr. Donald Fraser, of Nyasaland, has recently urged this upon us in the south. It certainly is an ideal thing. Some natives, perplexed by so many denominations, have asked, 'Is there a Presbyterian God ?

An Anglican God? A Methodist God? Which is right?' Certainly it does seem a pity to carry over into Africa the doctrinal differences and ecclesiastical feuds of Europe and the mother country. But the facts are against us to-day, and it seems that the denominations must abide for the present. Their differences may be softened and their points of agreement emphasized rather than the differences. There is more co-operation to-day than ever, and what might be called the denominational superiority complex is becoming less dominant. Even among the Bantu of South Africa we must beware lest we kill what Dean Inge calls 'the propensities of variation, for they are the principles of progress.' After all, we are dealing with *life*, and religious life knows no static method of expression, and, as life multiplies by division, so, in the good providence of God, the variations we see to-day in South Africa may, under wise guidance and control, turn out to the furtherance of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

ALLEN LEA.

ZONES OF PROGRESS

THE influence of the geographic environment responsible for the mere supplying of food has resulted in a classification of primitive societies into collectors, hunters, pastoralists, and agriculturalists. More definite knowledge concerning the course of such human development can be acquired through investigation of the work a man may do, and the mental and moral progress this work may bring about. For this purpose the earth's surface can be parcelled out into certain 'Zones of Progress,' which, through the medium of transition areas, insensibly shade off the one into the other.

The areas covered by The Zone of Too Little (The Zone of Strain) include high, isolated plateaux such as Tibet, the tundra regions of the Arctic circle, hot deserts, temperate deserts where vegetation is lacking through poor soil, though rain is constant, as in the islands at the southern extremity of South America, the equatorial forests, with their constant rainfall and overmuch vegetation, and the poorer grasslands on the margins of deserts.

In Tibet the life is of a pastoral character, depending mainly upon the herding of yaks (a species of ox), at once a source of food and transport, and subsisting cheerfully on the scantiest and coarsest of herbage. The houses are little other than shallow clefts in the rock, roofed in with dead wood and blocks of ice.

Other dwellers in the zone of privation are the 'Indians' of the islands to the south of Tierra del Fuego. Technically these are temperate lands, but are swept over unremittingly by the wet west winds, and the sides of the perennially snow-capped mountains which form these islands are streaming with rain. The soil has long since been washed away, and the coastal platforms are sand and pebbly deserts. The

natives spend their whole life in the business of food-getting, or, possessing neither tents nor clothes, in fitful sleep in the open air. Shell-fish forms the staple food, to which a few roots in winter and wild berries in summer may be added. Charles Darwin, who visited them in 1832, was at once struck by the wretchedness of their existence and their apparent indifference to the hardships of their lot. He writes of them (*Voyage of the 'Beagle,'* p. 156): 'There is no reason to believe that the Fuegians decrease in number; therefore we must suppose that they enjoy a sufficient share of happiness, of whatever kind it may be, to render life worth having.'

The pygmies of the equatorial forests of Africa are equally unfortunate. This is a region of great heat and moisture, in which plant-growth abounds. The trees, rising two hundred and more feet into the air, so interlace their leaves and branches that the sun's rays are very effectually screened from the 'underworld.' Here all is still and stagnant, for free circulation of air is impossible. Creepers, spreading from tree to tree like a gigantic net, serve to bind the whole system together, while the 'ground,' covered with dead leaves, branches, and rotting tree-trunks, is a thick, stinking slime. For eight months of the year the forest is a well-defined swamp, and the water-rats, mice, and frogs form the diet of its luckless inhabitants.

Existence was scarcely less strenuous for the aborigines of Australia in their dry and windy deserts. These unhappy beings have furnished material for many an eloquent text, but actually their geographical environment was almost entirely responsible for their vices. With their arid climate, scanty vegetation, absence of domestic animals, the 'cannibalism' in which these savages indulged in times of extreme want, and the practice of infanticide and murder of the sick and aged, were deemed necessary for the preservation of the race.

The different conditions of living that occur in this zone

of privation have this much in common : that if the inhabitants would sustain life they must be working all the while. There is no relaxation from the unremitting labour of food-getting, and in consequence the people pass their days in a spiritless and mechanical endurance under which social progress is impossible.

The Zone of Difficulty is a distinct advance. Here great and prolonged effort may bring but little reward, it is true, but that little is an enormous step in the right direction. Among the dwellers in this zone who must excite admiration for the special ingenuity and enterprise with which they have met extremely adverse circumstances may be mentioned the Eskimos. These admirable people furnish a striking example to all malcontents of the much that skill and patience can manufacture out of the little. Living in a land where trees do not grow, and with no other material of this kind than the dead wood that, after years of storm-tossing, drifts in from the ocean, the Eskimo has contrived to make himself a responsive bow and arrow, a harpoon of deadly efficiency, and an unsinkable canoe.

The Zone of Difficulty presents many problems. Co-operation in times of stress leads to a clan-spirit often a decided menace to the less warlike peoples of neighbouring and more productive lands. The bandits of Italy, Spain, and the Balkans must come into this class no less than the Highland chiefs of Scotland, with their cattle-raiding and marauding expeditions upon the rich villages and farms of the Lowlands. Famished Taffy in hilly Wales may well have cast covetous eyes upon the beefy herds of the prosperous Severn plains, but the real offender was his bleak, rain-swept environment. On the other hand, these ' Lands of Difficulty ' are often left to the undisturbed possession of the native inhabitants by a more civilized conqueror who does not regard them as worth having. An instance is found in the Roman occupation of Britain, which was practically confined to the 500-foot contour. Thus Wales became a

refuge for 'lost causes,' and, uninfluenced by contact with the more prosaic and practical incidents of English history, it has become a storehouse for former traditions, long-vanished customs, through which an idea may be glimpsed of the nature of many a lost ideal.

This zone produces one product of great importance: men and women who by reason of life in lands of difficulty have acquired ways of coping with difficulty—an asset which exercises a telling effect when the inhabitants of the zone go into more favoured localities. For as one 'difficult' area becomes exhausted the tribe or clan must move to another. In the present it is the individual or family, and not the tribe, which emigrates. In this manner the great towns of England are said to have imported their most enterprising citizens—Owens, Lloyds, Evanses, Griffiths, and the numerous combinations of 'Macs.' Historical antagonisms have driven many of the old, virile, Irish families farther afield, and Irish nobles and their descendants repeatedly held high office in the Courts and armies of the former monarchies of France. Some of these 'emigrants' to other lands have risen to surprising degrees of eminence, ultimately providing richer lands with their rulers, as in the case of the Franks and the Germans. Possibly Henry VII and James I, Kings of England, should come into the same category.

There is so much diversity to be found in both efforts and their rewards that it is convenient to divide the Zone of Rewarded Effort into two sections, the one comprising conditions of life in which agriculture forms the basis of all wealth, and the other, life under modern industrial conditions. Naturally there must be overlapping, both in period and in kind, and a scrupulously rigid demarcation is impossible.

The section based upon agricultural wealth lies in those regions where nature has co-operated to give good reward for useful, persevering work. The keynote is work and

leisure. The reward is sure and abundant, and often without much delay. The work, however, is of an intelligent type; thought and organization are required before nature makes her ready response. But the thought expended for subsequent production inevitably brings about the forethought to retain, and this prudence or providence heightens the enjoyment and possibilities of the resulting leisure. It is significant that in this zone the Mediterranean region, a 'land of corn and wine,' is also the choicest fruit-garden of civilized Europe. Fruit-eating is said to lead to clear thinking, and, if this be really the case, fruit-eating may have combined with leisure in producing the marvellous mental powers of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Aristotle and Plato may have been more truly 'creatures of their environment' than is generally supposed.

Fruitlands and cornlands, two of nature's blessings, early gave the ideal of the City of God; ideals of thought, of criticism, of discussion, came from the Mediterranean countries, ideals which still excite wondering admiration, and whose perfection has never been, not only equalled, but even approached.

A striking feature of this zone is the absence of disturbing factors. There are no extremes. In very early times man here found life easy on the geographical grounds of a climate reducing his needs and a soil of great fertility. Here, therefore, the higher forms of primitive life were evolved, and it was from these regions, with their continually growing populations, the spread took place to far-distant lands. Thus the peoples of the central and western Mediterranean countries spread into north-western Europe, and those of similarly favoured zones to the east into western and central China. In later days the lack of extremes still held good. In the absence of both enormous wealth and absolute poverty, the types of mankind were vigorous, and the energy released expressed itself in ways varying with the impulse of the varying environments. The dwellers by the

Aegean Sea raised the beautiful cities of Ancient Greece, and the vastness of the monuments of Egypt were an inspiration derived from the illimitable expanses of the desert. The more subtle architecture of thought and word expression resulted in the Greek philosophers and the orators of Rome. The leisure gained was at times expended in searching out the secrets of the universe for the satisfaction of man's legitimate curiosity, and this purely intellectual desire is considered to be at least partly responsible for the famous astronomy of Babylon, while the beginnings of modern science were first practised in the agricultural oasis of Egypt, the Land of Khem. Intellect, transfigured by emotion, may express itself in a warmer and more altruistic aspect, and to this zone the world owes the origin of its three greatest religious aspirations. Here, too, is found the beginnings of music; the wind murmuring over the 'green pasture' lands or through the cornfields, the echoing of the silver horn calling home the scattered flock—who shall say how music originated? But it is, perhaps, significant that David, the shepherd lad, was skilful on the harp!

He who laboriously obtains a surplus will not squander it wantonly. Rather will he seek to exchange his excess for commodities foreign to his own home locality. This is, of course, the beginning of trade, and naturally takes place between two regions of different productivity. The Phoenicians early established a trade in tin with north-western Europe and the British Isles, but the greater part of the Mediterranean trade was with the Orient, and concerned with objects of luxury, such as spices, amber, dyed cloth, gold work, ivory, &c.—a very definite direction being thereby given to the arts and crafts.

Unfortunately the picture has its darker side. The dwellers in the Zone of Rewarded Effort eventually drew upon themselves the envy of their less-favoured contemporaries, to say nothing of the rivalry *inter se*. Thus it became necessary to develop military strength if the invader and

despoiler were to be repulsed. The stirring adventures of the battle proved very entrancing in those vigorous times, so that the call to arms was as often for defiance as defence. As the centuries rolled onward these powerful States became organized upon new lines, a military nobility and a governing, fighting class, with a working class of slave status. When such a system has reached its perfection a danger arises from within as well as from without. Surrounding States become tributary to the dominant one as head of Empire, or else find friendly alliance or neutrality convenient. When the sword lies in the scabbard its owner must find other occupations, and when the duties of civil life have fallen under contempt the occupation tends to follow the line of self-indulgence. Thus was it with Rome when the Barbarians from the Zone of Famine cast covetous eyes upon her Empire, and her children, enfeebled by long courses of enervating pleasures, succumbed—not without heroism—before the onslaught of the Goth at her gates.

To-day in a large measure this region of Rewarded Effort has lost much of its former superiority. The reasons may be historical, climatic, or physiological, quite apart from the fact that standards have changed. This brings us to the second division of the zone.

As far as it concerns our own country, the Zone of Rewarded Effort based upon modern industry is unique in arising from the former zones of difficulty, where hidden sources of wealth have been unexpectedly revealed, or which have shown possibilities of reward under more modern conditions of working. It is met with where regions in the Zone of Strain become industrialized. There was a time when the poverty of the Lancashire villages was proverbial. The discovery of America ultimately brought Liverpool considerable overseas trade, so that Defoe, touring through Britain in 1725, could comment on its 'flourishing and increasing trade,' but the surrounding country was wofully poor. The discovery of coal as a source of power instead of

water gave Lancashire, with its moist climate and good coal-fields, a pre-eminence in the cotton industry, previously held by Yorkshire. The South Lancashire coal-field is now the most densely populated area in the British Isles, and the world's greatest centre for the cotton trade. In a similar manner the industrialization of South Wales has converted a zone of difficulty to one of sufficiency and even wealth. The present development of Middlesbrough will supply an example of an industrialized region off the coal-fields.

In this zone should also be classed those regions which methods of modern irrigation are bringing under cultivation, such as the so-called 'Mediterranean' lands of western United States, where enormous dams of masonry serve to store up almost incredible amounts of water. To them should be added Holland and our own Fen District. Here the 'difficulty' was formerly supplied by a superabundance rather than a lack of water. In both these countries the surplus has been drained away by the ingenuity of man, and areas of special fertility for the growing of foodstuffs and market produce have resulted.

The Zone of 'Too Much' occurs along the margins and the elevated parts of the equatorial forests, the hotter parts of the monsoon lands, and in isolated areas where some special commodity is produced that is in great demand elsewhere. The superfluity results in laziness, and this laziness in the moral deterioration of the native peoples, assisted, it is true, by the climatic conditions. Things come too easily, and therefore are not valued; a little work will support existence for a very long time, so that the life maxim seems to be, 'Work little and idle much.' In this connexion it has been stated that the sago-eating peoples of the East-Indian Archipelago are idle, improvident, quarrelsome, degenerate, whereas the eaters of rice neighbouring these same districts are industrious, painstaking, and the morally superior!

It is, perhaps, a far cry from the head-hunting Dyaks of

Borneo to the millionaires of our great modern cities, but here, no less than yonder, is to be found the Zone of Too Much. The cause is a complete monopoly or very high degree of specialization in some one or two forms of extremely well-paid industry, and the result is largely the amassing of money at the expense of mind, and mechanical perfection within narrow limits at the expense of natural versatility. But, with some edifying exceptions, in England the greater part of the vast increment goes into the acquisition of personal possessions and private pleasures. In Germany—before the war, at any rate—the harvester of great commercial wealth expected to settle his obligation to the State in ways quite foreign to the generality of English practice. This is, possibly, why that country does not show certain characteristics common to the Regions of Too Much at home and in the so-called 'savage' lands. For there these zones are always proximate to the Zone of Strain, the sago-eaters of the East Indies and the Australian aborigines, the African negroes of the forest margins and the pygmies of the forest depths. With us the case is precisely similar; for we have our 'West-Ends,' where dwell in monied leisure the families of our great capitalists, and the 'East-Ends,' with the squalor and dirt, ugliness and poverty, characteristic of the whole slum-machine which marches with the glory of English industrialism.

E. H. Carrier.

THE RUSSIAN NOVELISTS

THE Russian novel was conceived in sorrow and brought forth in great anguish of spirit. It descends in a straight line from the folk-songs. Those familiar with the song of the boat-haulers on the Volga, with its sombre, swelling music, will recognize the same tones in Russian literature. Before the age of prose, as far back as the twelfth century, we come across an epic in rhyme—'The Raid of Igor,' passionate and trembling with a sense of pending disaster and despair. Yaraslavna laments for her husband, who has gone to the wars.

> Oh, wild, terrible wind, why doest thou my master blow so strong?
> Why didst thou carry on thy light winds the arrows of the Khan against the warriors of my hero?

But there is no answer in the wind.

> Oh, glorious Dneiper, thou hast pierced thy way through the rocky hills to the land of Polovtsi.
> Bring, oh, bring my master, my husband back to me, and I will send no more tears through thy tide towards the sea.

But the river flows on.

Gogol, in the nineteenth century, making of the novel a pliable and responsive instrument, caught these same tones of lamentation, and his successors bring in again the eternal notes of sadness.

Great humanists, drinking a bitter cup to the dregs and eating the bread of sorrow, the Russian novelists are spirits singing in prison, and never, like Paul, succeed in converting their jailers. Men at close touch with all the coarseness and depravity of human nature, yet sensitive to its infinite pathos and abounding tenderness, they rounded a circle

of experience which, if limited in circumference, was both poignant and deep. It will not be wide of the mark to describe the Russian novel as the literature of emotion.

Does it differ in this respect from any other body of literature? The artist, according to Oscar Wilde, is always a man of sorrow and acquainted with grief. The struggle to find expression in the homecoming word, to articulate those aspects of life which have been woven into the writer's mind, is certainly common enough. But whilst the English *littérateur* may have to fight for the right word, to find the fitting medium for his rich and varied life, beat the stubborn elements of life in the crucible of experience before he can transmute them into gold, achieve that unity of the sensuous, emotional, and intellectual parts of himself before he can work successfully, the Russian was confronted with something much more difficult. He felt that he was struggling with the titanic forces of life, which would never, perhaps, yield to his embrace. He enters into the throes of a struggle with a dark, invisible, but very powerful adversary, who never seems to yield an inch of ground. All that he can do is to tell out in staccato notes of pain the story of his spiritual travail.

The ambition to make words malleable and swift-winged does not seem to trouble most of the Russian writers. They do not consider art, but pour themselves out in a spontaneous and interminable stream of utterance. Those who look to their works for the perfect form into which a novel should be cast—if there is such a thing; Arnold Bennett does not believe there is—will be disappointed, save in the consummate technique of Turgenev. But 'pent-up, aching rivers' must find a vent. In Lermontov, a lyrical poet writing just before the prose age, we have a good example of the hunger for expression. 'Mtsyri, the novice,' is a Circassian boy who has been taken from his free-limbed life to live in a monastery, from which he makes his escape. 'As for me, I was like a wild beast. I was ready to fight

with the storm, the lightning, the tiger of the forest.' When he is found by a monk, dying from wounds contracted in a fight with a leopard, he exclaims: 'Thou wishest to know what I did when I was free. I lived, old man. I lived. And my life without those three happy days would have been gloomier and darker than thy powerless old age.' The 'powerless old age' represents the institutions, political and religious, which were incarcerating the best Russian life. Denied freedom of the soul, freedom of speech, there remained no other outlet for the best minds than the arts.

It is to the Russian's soul, his inner consciousness rather than his mentality, that we must look for the important factor. The psychologist tells us that we all share alike the same primitive, instinctive emotions, but the form in which these offer themselves varies very greatly in different conditions. There is a strong emotional quality in English novels. John Galsworthy, whom we may instance as objective in his art, could never be accused of want of feeling. Even in the most chastened and restrained style of an essayist, invisible hands play gently on the heart-strings. But in our cultivated writers emotion has been subliminated to reason, its force variously directed and its fierce heat tempered in the operation. The belief that we live in a rational society, and the long discipline to which, in this country, we have submitted ourselves in attempting to achieve something approaching to a unity of human life, has affected temperament to a degree which we do not always realize. No one would deny to Elizabethan literature a fine glow and radiance of emotion, but feeling runs so swiftly into so many varied and many-coloured interests that we are scarcely sensible of the presence of emotion. This epoch is one of rich-blooded and unconscious delight in the fullness of life. In Russia emotions pulse wildly within and call for notice, as the quickened beating of one's heart calls for it.

Inevitably, therefore, Russian prose is introspective in

character and somewhat morbid in tone. The average Englishman, who, if he takes his pleasures sadly, pretends to take his sorrows gaily, has no natural predilection for this class of literature. Yet are these works well worth study, for reasons which we shall now try to make clear.

The habit of introversion, to which the Russian was driven, led him into the very heart of his emotional life, and there he touched upon something that was not fluid and fluctuating, but something hard, substantial, yet wonderfully alive and tenacious. He made the great discovery of himself, of his deeper, intimate, and most personal being. With a solemn and mysterious kind of joy, he learned to know himself—as it has been given to very few—as a rich and separate entity. Dostoevsky, in *The Brothers Karamazov*, making Alyosha a mouthpiece for himself, says :

> In his childhood and youth, he was by no means expansive and talked little indeed, but not from shyness or sullen unsociability, quite the contrary, from something different, from a sort of inner preoccupation entirely personal and unconcerned with other people, but so important to him that he seemed, as it were, to forget others on account of it.

In childhood and youth we do not look for the altruistic spirit ; but preoccupation with the self, as it proceeds, may lead to something somewhat different—a sense of identity with other selves. And this 'knot of identity,' this interlacing with other lives, is precisely what we do find in the Russian novelists. They know their people from inside. They creep into one another's skins. They do not evolve, in their works, characters ; they achieve living personalities. Because they know their subjects with first-hand intimacy, they live on paper, and survive translations. The rare quality of sympathy, so conspicuous a feature in all Russian literature, may not lighten the sense of universal suffering, but it certainly stimulates the nerve of compassion.

But excess of pity may become a kind of vice. It may

easily degenerate into a maudlin sentimentality. 'Desperate tides of the world's great anguish poured through the channels of a single heart' may deepen and enrich passion, but sentient beings are only capable of enduring a given amount of emotion, and when this is exceeded there is incapacity for action. Thus we note how the torrential energy of the Slavonic nature lapses time and again into complete inertia, sluggishness, and weakness of will. Goncharoff's sublime creation of Oblomoff is the classic example of this fatal tendency.

Oblomoff is ashamed of being a serf-owner, and entertains great schemes of reform, which he will put into writing some day. Unfortunately he can never get out of bed, though an ominous bulge in the ceiling warns him of what will be his fate. 'Thoughts would burn within him, rolling in his head like the waves of the sea; they would grow into decisions that would make his blood boil. Moved by a moral force, he would rapidly change over and over again his position in bed. . . . But the morning would pass, the shades of evening take the place of broad daylight. Oblomoff would slowly turn over and recline on his back, looking sadly through the window to the skies.'

Gogol's short story, *The Cloak*, published in 1836, should be read by all who seek an intimate knowledge of Russian literature. There is very little that is characteristically Russian that we shall not find within its pages. 'We have all issued out of Gogol's cloak,' wrote Dostoevsky. The *naïveté* and pathos of this story is surely without an equal. A poor Government clerk, whose ambition never rises above copying documents, is driven by the extremity of the weather to buy a new cloak. Wearing it for the first time, 'Akaky Akakievitch walked along in the happiest of moods. Every moment he was conscious of the new cloak—in the first place, it kept him warm; in the second place, it gave him such pleasant feelings to wear it.' A bit of colour is added to his drab existence, a feeling of comfort, enhanced

by the privations necessary for its purchase. What joy! Alas, what short-lived joy! Coming home from a party, which his fellow clerks had given in honour of the new garment, the cloak is wrenched from his shoulders. A visit to 'a certain great personage,' who, he is informed, may help him to its recovery, ends in disappointment. 'Next day, white as a ghost,' he returns to the office 'in his old cloak, which looked more wretched and older than ever.' Pierced by a bitter wind, he catches his death-cold. 'You had better order a pine coffin for him as quickly as you can; he cannot afford an oak one,' said the doctor to the landlady. Did Akaky Akakievitch hear those fateful words? We do not know. 'In a few hours he was dead.'

Gogol tells us whose cloak it was—'any who can feel for others and judge how Akaky spent the first night after its loss.' We know that it was over Gogol's shoulders when he wrote the story, and that warmth entered into his body when the new garment came from the tailor's hands, and that the bitterness of frost was in his heart when it was wrenched from the back of its owner. But is it not the cloak of every man?

It is this 'knot of identity' with all living souls that we feel in *The Cloak*, and in the other novelists who emerge from its ample folds. Who that has read Tolstoy's masterpiece, *Anna Karénina*, will forget how Tolstoy passes into the character of a simple peasant and sees in his simple faith the ideal for his own life? We might be tempted to say that the simplicity of Levin, who could accept the Church, with all its superstitions, without any feeling of incongruity, was not for Tolstoy, whose only way of reconciliation could be found in the unification of his very different and complex character. All that we can with safety emphasize is the sympathetic *rapport* with those who share his flesh and blood.

Dostoevsky is an even greater high-priest, touched with the feelings and infirmities of the people. In *The*

House of the Dead—that frightful transcript of Siberia—every one of those convicts lives, starts out of the page with the warmth of living personality, because the writer's spirit has passed sympathetically into them all. And poor little Sonia, in *Crime and Punishment*, keeping virtue bright in her little sisters, selling her body but never her soul, how involuntarily we love her, because Dostoevsky loved her, and made her a part of his own life.

So dominant is this power of sympathy, springing out of a seemingly opposite tendency—a looking and probing within—that later writers regard those who miss 'the common touch' as freaks and emasculated types of humanity. Chekov, in *He who Wore a Husk*, pours derision on Bielikhav, who 'in the finest weather would go out in goloshes, carry an umbrella, and wear a wadded coat,' and had a case for everything—his watch, his knife, &c. 'Actuality annoyed him, alarmed him . . . and the dead tongues which he taught were, in reality, those same goloshes and umbrella behind which he sought protection from actual life.'

We may speak of the Russian mind as introspective, their religion as mystical, but we can never accuse them of want of realism.

But does this emotion of sorrow, this instinct of pity, exhaust itself? Is it getting anywhere? Is the last word one of futility and negation? Writing over a period of thirty years, no one was more sensible of the deep, far-reaching modifications of European history than Turgenev. He watches patiently for the deliverer among the leading men and women of the educated classes. 'Rudin' is the man of words but no action. Turning to *On the Eve*, it is the consumptive Bulgarian patriot, a foreigner, who figures as the type-man. But at the theatre the mimic cough on the stage is answered by the hoarse, terrible cough of Insarov. The fine Russian woman whom he has married knows that he is doomed to die and accomplish nothing.

Again, in *Fathers and Sons*, it is a young doctor who is the hero, for whom Nature is not a temple, but a workshop. Bazarov, whom Turgenev will not sweeten in syrup, 'must also die young.' 'Will there ever be men among us?' is the question constantly urged, and from this Hamlet-like people, in whom 'resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,' action never seems to proceed.

Does our reading of Russian novelists lead us to the conclusion that they are simply expressing the philosophy of nihilism and despair? Are we listening to nothing more than the death-groans of a succession of souls crushed to pieces by some dark and invisible monster? Are we left with the impression that life, amid all these sordid conditions, has been suffocated, or do we not find, in spite of all adversity, the throb of invincible vitality, an insurgent rush of life as icy fountains have been thawed and living water in deep wells has been overflowing its walls? He would be a bold man who said that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, in writing their immortal poems, were sounding the trumpet of defeat, or that Shakespeare, completing *Hamlet* and *Lear*, was completing the extinction of his own spirit. Can any writer, however black the night over his head, be said to have renounced hope and trust when he can handle the inscrutable mysteries, face the most devastating sorrows, in a manner that makes them yield the immortal spirit of beauty; or, driven by the fury of events, turning inward, where he discovers something that endures, something clear cut, hard, and sparkling like a diamond, renounce that which is most dear? Does such a one, coming to himself, believing and accepting himself as a part of the order of beauty, truth, and goodness, and his fellow creatures as in some sense inseparable from that same order, really abandon hope, even when he enters the portal over which is written, 'All hope abandon, ye who enter here'?

'Each time that there arises in Russia a movement of thought, it becomes clear that that movement sinks deep

into the Slavonic nature where it would have skimmed the surface of other nations.' What a rich sediment there must be in the Russian soul after what has happened these hundred years since Gogol wrote those words! Russia has never been Russia of the Russians, nationally and politically. The body that calls itself Bolshevik Russia to-day is as little like the soul of Russia as Stanley Baldwin or Ramsay MacDonald are like King John. The real Russia lies hidden in its poets, painters, musicians, and novelists, and the life that is in them will one day live in Russian institutions, as Shakespeare lives in all that we call England. Meanwhile, they are conquering the realm of the spirit.

Of an ancient people it was written: 'There is no morning for them. And they shall pass through hardly beset and hungry, they shall fret themselves and curse by their king and by their God, and turn their faces upwards; and they shall look upon the earth, and behold distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; and into thick darkness they shall be driven away.' So it may seem in Russia. 'But there shall be no gloom to her that was in anguish. The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.'

J. H. Bodgener.

THE MEANING OF BELIEF IN A PERSONAL GOD

IT has often been pointed out that our somewhat overworked word 'personality' has no equivalent in the vocabulary of the earliest Christian thinkers. Its associations to-day, psychological, philosophical, and religious, are many and diverse; and not seldom it serves conveniently to cloak, if not to hide, a lack of adequate thought. To the student of Christianity it is at once attractive and dangerous; attractive, because somewhat less vaguely than the word 'Spirit' it shadows forth the ultimate unity or 'atonement' of the divine and the human; dangerous, as lending itself readily to a too rigid and absolute view of human individuality. That Christianity can, however, in the last resort be interpreted only in personal terms has become a cardinal principle of modern theology. We believe that God is personal, or, conversely, that personality is divine; and our belief springs immediately from our apprehension (such as it is) of the fact of Christ. Thus, if we try to force the faith into the categories of, say, metaphysics, or evolutionary science, or law, or morality, at once its meaning eludes us, and we are left with a mere formula—consistent and logical, it may be, but without life. This is not to say that Christianity has no bearing on these and other forms of human speculation. Since it makes its appeal to the whole personality, it must needs react upon all the modes of activity in which that personality is manifested. But it does so indirectly, and by virtue of the fact that the philosopher or the scientist or the moralist is also and primarily a human being. The philosophy of T. H. Green or the Caird brothers is necessarily coloured by their Christian sentiment or belief; but no system of either philosophy or ethics or anything else can ever enshrine Christian truth wholly, or, indeed, fail more or less to misrepresent it, since

on the finite plane of experience faith is bigger than reason. The Fourth Gospel, in one of its aspects, comes nearer than any other book yet written to a system of Christian philosophy; yet the writer, in his version of the Logos doctrine, as E. F. Scott points out, attempts the impossible in seeking to express a religious experience in the restricted form of a metaphysical concept. The Christian religion is neither a formula nor a theory, but a way of life; the Christian's God is Himself, we believe, Life whole and unconditioned. Nothing, therefore, short of personality, which is the highest mode of life conceivable by us, will serve to convey our partial apprehension of the truth revealed by Christ.

The present article will attempt to show that the life of Jesus reveals at all points what may well be described as a supreme faith in personality; that for us the Christian religion is a progressive sharing in, and experience of, such a faith; and, further, that in His consciousness and in ours alike the discrimination, within personality, between divine and human is relative and incidental rather than absolute and ultimate.

Looking first, then, at His dealings with men and women we see revealed in them all a spirit which can only be called sheer reverence for their humanity. In every man and woman, however degraded, He sees not merely soiled goods, waste products of the social machine; He sees also at the same time potential sons of God's family. In His eyes the water-drawer at Sychar, the miserable little tax-farmer at Jericho, the disillusioned young plutocrat, see their own better selves. Nor was it that Jesus did not see that the goods were soiled. But always He saw also, never quite extinguished by sin, the spark of God-given selfhood, the personality we must needs call—not by division, but synthetically—human and divine; and to this alone He directed immediately His appeal. It was the same with sick bodies and sick souls. The healing of disease and the forgiving of sins sprang both from the same unflinching

recognition of the supreme, the divine value of personality. The evil, whether appearing as physical or as spiritual, was never for an instant allowed to form a barrier between Himself and His brothers. He was come to take away the veil.

There is, indeed, no more significant image than this of the veil that is done away in Christ. For what, we may ask, does it figure but this same barrier between God and man, the divine and the human? Nor must we be content to speak of its removal in bare terms of Christology, as when we say that Christ united in Himself the two natures. The Christ is not only a personal identity, but also the Life of men; and the veil which He lifted was the veil which lay upon their hearts. It was just this immediacy of contact that those highly religious Pharisees found intolerable. They had been content to hold commerce with God over the barrier, to behold Him dimly through the veil of their mortality. But Jesus would have no half-communion. The surrender of self must be complete on their side as on His. They killed Him because He valued their love more highly than they could bear; and His agony, unfathomable as it must remain to us, was perhaps in part the longing to retain men's love on their own terms, and so escape the loneliness of rejection on His. It was in the unconditioned faith in the ultimate divinity of human personality that He died for our sins, and, dying, opened the gates of life.

But the crucifixion meant that man's divinity is potential, unrealized, precarious. Jesus's unconquerable reverence for personality as finite and determined in men is but a part or aspect of His reverence for the personality of God as infinite, complete, transcendent. And this wider and deeper reverence embraced the whole objective universe—all the hard facts of Nature, and death the hardest fact of all. Nothing ever presented itself to His consciousness save as a sacrament of the love of God. If sin could not obscure for Him the personality of men and women, no more could

mere *matter* obscure for Him the personality of God—that is to say, the love of God, since love is simply personality in action. Thus the whole order of Nature to Him was personal—the lilies, the leaven, the wind lashing the lake, the change which men call death. God was not only the Father of the Prodigal : He was also the Father of the house-sparrows. It was no new faith that St. Francis preached; it was only Jesus's sublime conviction that we live in a friendly universe—that we are all, men and things alike, at home in our Father's house, a house which has many mansions, and where there is no more death.

It is of the greatest importance to us to see that these two attitudes in the mind of Jesus—His reverence for men as personal and His reverence for God as personal—are really one and the same thing. They are more than interdependent. This is not to deny that Jesus habitually shut out the world at will and communed in a special way with God in the quietness of His own meditation. To say that He was the Son of God must mean that for Him the closest communion of all was to be found within His own consciousness. But this special inner communion is not to be conceived as *sui generis*, but rather as the full experience of something which was to be found less perfectly in company with the friends who awaited Him at the foot of the mountain. For in both cases the consciousness of the presence of God arose out of a yielding up to and absorption of Himself in that which He loved. We may not be with Him on the mountain at night. But we may be sure that He knew there the fullness of joy in fellowship that was partially His in loving intercourse with fishermen, and little children, and lepers. The truth we can see, albeit dimly sometimes, in our thought about the Person of Christ—that He was divine by being perfectly human—appeared for Him in the assurance that all men shared in the divine Spirit, had all received their portion of the Father's substance.

But it is time to approach the question anew from the

starting-point of our own consciousness. 'If the foregoing offers anything like a true indication of the road along which a right understanding of Jesus is to be pursued, it must be that along the same road lies the true interpretation of the Christian faith. For Christianity must mean following where He leads, and seeing the world as He sees it. It is not enough that we reverence a Jesus who lived once; 'but that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our mortal body.' 'As He is, even so are we in this world.' True, Christianity is an historical religion, but in a sense in which no other religion is historical. The historicity of Jesus is important, not because we must 'get back' to it, but because we must start from it. The life of Jesus in time, the words He spoke once and which have been preserved, find for us their significance not in providing a fixed objective standard of reference, but in revealing something which is true eternally, and true for us now only as we make it true in our own experience. We cannot, that is, understand the Christian faith save by entering into the experience of Jesus and living the life He lived. This we may do more or less, and the more we can do it, the greater will become our understanding of the truth He reveals. But until we *begin* to do it we cannot begin to understand the truth at all. 'I am the Truth,' He said. And we cannot begin to know what He meant merely by coming to Jesus as a Teacher. We must even begin to be in Christ as a life. No one has said this more clearly than the writer of the Fourth Gospel, when he puts into the mouth of Jesus the words, 'Greater things than these shall ye do, because I go to My Father.' The whole of the First Epistle of John is evidently an exposition of the same thought. And Paul had already realized it and expressed it in his doctrine of the indwelling Christ. Such a book as Dr. Oman's *Grace and Personality*, with its account of the operation of God's grace, not as counter to, but as fulfilling, human freedom, is based upon exactly the same principle—that Christian truth cannot be objective unless

and until it is subjective also. Indeed, the possibility of experiencing in some measure here and now that ultimate and ideal identity of divine and human nature in which Jesus believed is the postulate of all Christian mysticism; and mysticism is the very life-blood of religion—in Pfleiderer's words, 'the religious life at its very heart and centre.'

How far, then, is it possible to trace in our own experience the beginnings, as it were, of the experience of Jesus? If, as we saw, His belief in God and His belief in man are at bottom indistinguishable, because both were nothing but an utter giving of self—a refusal to be separated from personality—in the end, a denial of death, on our own limited plane of life the same identity may surely be perceived. We cannot love God without loving our brother, not because some law has arbitrarily connected two different activities, but because personality is divine wherever we meet it, and because there is only one kind of love. 'This is My commandment'—there is but one—'that ye love one another, even as I have loved you. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.' No act of love, Jesus (or His interpreter) clearly means, has any greater right than this to be called specifically love of *God*. Yet as in the life of Jesus we see Him sometimes upon the mount, and at other times among the multitude, so in this temporal order of our experience we may, if it helps us to do so, regard the one commandment in two distinct aspects—even as Jesus Himself did when He was giving practical teaching to more or less unreflective people. The distinction may be said to be that between meditation and service: prayer strictly, and prayer in its wider aspect. It is incidental to the temporal and material limitations of our experience, and has obvious practical value. At the same time, the ultimate identity of these two, the Godward and the manward aspects of the faith, should never be lost sight of. It is interesting and not irrelevant to observe in this connexion how to-day, apparently more than in any

previous age, everything conspires to abolish the distinction between matter and spirit, body and soul, secular and sacred, the real and the ideal. From both sides the barrier is being assaulted. On the one hand, religion is more and more concerning itself with economics, sociology, and politics. The faith is generally regarded no longer as demanding a more or less complete renunciation of the world, but rather as finding its fulfilment in a redemptive and sacrificial, but at the same time eager and joyous, sharing in the world's life in all its infinite complexity and variety. In the same way the imaginative and creative activities of our nature—our art and our poetry—are becoming more and more 'realist' in outlook. On the other hand, science and mathematics are proving with bewildering rapidity that space, time, and matter do not absolutely exist. From opposite poles the physicist and the philosopher seem to be approaching the same conclusion. And in a like manner our physicians concern themselves with the mind, and our spiritual pastors with the body.

With this in mind, however, we can still say one or two things about the Christian's attitude to personality as man and to personality as God. As regards our fellow men, 'living Christ' must mean reverencing individual men and women as Jesus reverenced them; that is, not for what they are, but for the Christ in them that they might be. It is comparatively easy to see that this reverence means sympathizing with them to the utmost; refusing to allow either their temperamental idiosyncrasies, or their sins against us, or their indifference to us, or anything else that is theirs, to form a bar to our communion with them. It is a considerably harder saying that we must refuse equally to allow anything that is *ours* to form a bar to their communion with us; that we must never be so aggressively ourselves as to repel them with our fancied superiority, or our complacent charitableness, or our cherished principles, or our conscious virtue. Yet surely Christian fellowship means this—and

perhaps it means even more. For there is a sense in which we cannot really be ourselves at all without being aggressively ourselves; and reverencing the other man to the utmost means in the last resort forgetting ourselves altogether. The last and most fatal barrier to communion is self-consciousness. And here we are met at once by two objections, the one philosophical, the other moral and practical. First, if Christianity demands the effacing of self-consciousness, what becomes of the inexpugnable unity and individuality of the human self, without which religion and morality alike must become an empty negation? The question is fundamental; and it can only be glanced at here. We may remind ourselves, however, that a paradox is embedded in the very centre of the Christian faith; that when our Lord said that he who would save his *psyche* must be willing to lose it, He certainly meant neither losing his physical life nor 'losing his soul' in the popular sense. He must therefore have meant us so to live as to *forget* ourselves; 'to cease,' as Dean Inge has said, 'to revolve round our own selfish interests, to pass out freely into the great life of the world, constructing our universe on a Christocentric or cosmocentric basis, not on a self-centred one.' 'The individual assumed by the psychologist,' says the same writer, 'and by the common political and ethical theories, is a half-way abstraction of the ordinary understanding, a bastard product of bad metaphysics and bad science. Christianity . . . from the very first rejected it.'[1]

Secondly, it may be asked, are we as Christians to cheapen our dearest convictions to obtain fellowship at any price? To which it may be answered roundly that if our dear convictions lead us to judge and pass condemnation on others, we were better without them. 'Right relations,' the goal of our common striving, will never be discovered by a balancing of rights and dues between individual men regarded

[1] *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, p. 108.

in distinction merely as autonomous moral agents or impenetrable spiritual entities. The Kingdom of Heaven on earth demands, we might say, a kind of practical, human mysticism which has yet to be adequately explored. Jesus, the sinless, reverenced sinners, because He saw God in them. If we can but see the Christ in men we must needs forget ourselves and our convictions, and worship Him there in our brothers.

And in our chambers, having shut the door? The Christian's belief in the Personality of God must vitally affect his conception of prayer. We may not follow Him on to the mountain at night; yet Peter and James and John saw Him transfigured, and, as He lives in us, so He will be with us on a mount of our own, and our prayer will become nothing less than His very realization of Himself through us. Indeed, we do not well to conceive of prayer as a relation established between two individual persons—God and a human being. This is but an imperfect makeshift image of prayer, drawn from the semi-communion of our relations with one another. Even in the intercourse of men, it is only as one begins to lose himself that he finds real communion with his friend—and so finds himself more fully, since communion is life. And, if God is personal, He cannot be less personal than man. If we would find communion with Him we must learn to lose the sense of separation between Him and ourselves. This means that for every man the communion must be measured, so to say, by the capacity of his own personality. He who has most to outpour receives most. Every man, in this sense, worships his own God. Prayer can never be described but in the language of mysticism. Perhaps Paul's figure is best: 'We all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory.' The light received by the mirror and the light given forth by it are one. Even so shall the pure in heart see God—not as the reward or consequence of being pure

in heart, but inasmuch as the vision and the purity are one and the same thing.

Finally the Christian, believing that God is personal, must learn as he faces life with all its apparently impersonal forces what Jesus believed with all His being—that the whole universe transmits to our souls as in a Eucharist the love of God. 'Do not,' says St. Francis in Laurence Housman's play, 'be afraid of Brother Sin. He is a leper; but when thou hast washed his feet, then shalt thou see . . . in them . . . the wounds of Christ.' And again, at the last: 'Welcome, Sister Death.' So Paul also: 'I am persuaded that *nothing* shall separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

ARTHUR S. GREGORY.

ENGLISH MEDIAEVAL PREACHING[1]

DR. OWST'S learned work is worthy of the best traditions of English scholarship. With untiring industry he unites breadth of vision and power of expression. The field that he has chosen for his work is almost virgin soil, so far, at least, as England is concerned. By his researches in our libraries, Dr. Owst has shown us how rich is the new material that he has brought to light, and the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the social and moral condition of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. *Preaching in Mediaeval England* is a work that must find a place on the shelves of every scholar, especially of all interested in the history and development of the pulpit. As we have little but praise for the volume, we do not propose in this article to criticize; we shall serve best the interests of our readers by briefly drawing attention to its subject-matter.

Probably few students know much of mediaeval preaching except for such light as they may have obtained from reading Wyclif's English sermons. But Wyclif's method of preaching was altogether alien to that prevalent in his time. Hence knowledge of his sermons gives us no insight into the pulpit of his age, except negatively from his denunciations of current methods. In his work, Dr. Owst, though he refers to Wyclif time and again, has not given us any compact study of Wyclif as a preacher; he prefers to show by valuable notes the support that Wyclif had in contemporary sermons for the attacks he made on the abuses of the age. Wyclif's sermons, as we have pointed out in a recent study, are, in fact, the sermons of a Reformation divine rather than of mediaeval times. In their form they savour more

[1] *Preaching in Mediaeval England.* An introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period *c.* 1350–1450. By Dr. G. R. Owst. (Cambridge University Press, 1926.)

of Geneva or Scotland; they have all the severity of the Puritans, and were part of Wyclif's protest against the abuses of the day. Thus the student unfamiliar with the methods of the mediaeval pulpit will fail to appraise Wyclif's isolation as a preacher. For Wyclif will have nothing to do with the current fashion of preaching from the legends and tales of the saints, or basing the discourse on facts of natural history or even upon fables. He bitterly attacked those preachers, especially the friars, who garnished their sermons with insipid stories, tragedies, comedies, fables, coarse anecdotes and buffoonery, tags of poetry, interpretations of dreams, all 'for profit of their wombs.' The multitude was amused, the collection was good, the sale of indulgences satisfactory, and the 'penny-preacher' could go on his way rejoicing. Upon all these methods of securing interest Wyclif pours his scorn; they seemed to him 'lying and ludicrous,' a detraction from the dignity and effectiveness of the message. Such preachers, of whom the worst offenders were the questors and pardoners, in Wyclif's judgement 'preach more for a bushel of wheat than to bring a soul from hell!' In his attack upon the 'penny-preachers' Wyclif was by no means alone. Bishop Grandisson of Exeter called such men 'heralds of antichrist,' while Chancellor Gascoigne recalls the fragment of a sermon that he heard in 1458: 'Know all of you present,' the preacher had declared, 'that, if any of you shall give a penny to me or to any member of my house (order), he is freed from all penances enjoined upon him by his parish priest or any other priest.'

The characteristic feature of mediaeval preaching was the use of anecdotes, the technical name for which was *exempla*. This use Wyclif completely rejected, and in consequence failed to reach the multitude. No doubt many of the mediaeval anecdotes employed by preachers were foolish, superstitious, and sometimes coarse. But there was a legitimate use of anecdotes, for other than mercenary ends,

by parish priests anxious to gain the attention of an illiterate congregation. It was for such men that the Dominican John Bromyard provided over a thousand *exempla* in his *Summa Predicantium*. It is one of the merits of Dr. Owst's volume that he has made Bromyard live again, and by his abundant quotations has introduced us to this great preacher, as well as to Master Robert Rypon, sub-prior of Durham, of whom we confess our previous ignorance. But Bromyard knew the dangers of the method. 'If any one,' he says, 'tells some open folly in the pulpit the congregation retain it well enough; not so the useful things.' They go home bursting with the jokes, to retail them at leisure, but 'the good things they fail to bring away.' Mediaeval preachers also made great use of what they called the 'properties,' based upon the idea that these 'properties of things' will give insight into the mysteries of Scripture. 'Properties' as a pulpit aid give us the mediaeval form of Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. Of books on 'properties,' the most important was the work of an Englishman, Bartholemew Anglicus, which was translated into English in 1388. As regards the use of both '*exempla*' and 'properties'—in spite of Wyclif's condemnation of the method—Dr. Owst rightly tells us that when their worst crudities and extravagences 'have been duly noted the general verdict upon the mediaeval preacher must be one of generous approval. Without their quaint thunder, their homely thrusts, their melodramatic narrations to hold the rustics' attention to higher things our social progress might have been even slower.' One feature of the mediaeval pulpit on which Dr. Owst dwells may come as a surprise to readers unacquainted with Dr. Coulton's researches: 'All that that unpopular word Puritanism has ever stood for, to the minutest detail, will be found advocated unceasingly in the preaching of the pre-Reformation Church.'

Wyclif's sermons in the vernacular, as well as his large collection in Latin, have come down to us and are familiar

to all students. Some authors have written as if preaching in the vernacular by Wyclif's Poor Priests, especially their preaching in village churchyards and on village greens, was a novelty. So to plead is to forget the methods of St. Francis and his followers. Of Chaucer's 'pore persoun of a toun' we are told that

> Christes gospel gladly wolde he preche.

It were absurd to suppose that he declaimed in a language which his flock could not understand. Only sermons intended for the clergy were delivered in Latin, though the knowledge of Latin possessed by the average priest would hardly enable him to follow an intricate oration. Nuns were addressed in French, but after the middle of the fourteenth century the language of other sermons was always English. The open-air pulpit also, as at Paul's Cross, was a great instrument of popular appeal in English. The friars had found in open-air preaching the secret of their success, and there were many secular priests, in addition to Wyclif, who followed their example. Many labour leaders to-day are only imitating their famous predecessor, John Ball, who used to collect his audience as the parishioners came streaming on Sunday from the church door. Dr. Owst has shown that many of the sermons that have come down to us in a Latin version only, were first delivered in English and then translated by the author for publication. Of eighty Latin sermons that exist composed by Archbishop Fitzralph, all but six were originally preached in English. Dr. Owst gives a reason for this custom which is, we think, true. He finds the preference for Latin publication to lie in a fear of the taint of heresy. The mediaeval preachers were as bitter as Wyclif in their denunciations of the vices of the age, and of the loose lives of bishops, friars, and clergy. There is nothing in all Wyclif's writings which cannot be matched in severity and plain speaking in the sermons of John Bromyard, who, by the way, was one of those who

assisted to condemn Wyclif at the Blackfriars Council in May 1382, and who was also the only Oxford man who ever became Chancellor of Cambridge—that he was Chancellor also of Oxford is a fiction of Anthony Wood. But when it came to publication it was safer to put all this in Latin, for otherwise it might smell too much of Lollardy. In Latin, attacks on the vices of the clergy, especially if delivered behind closed doors, might prove to be the mark of a new St. Bernard, but when the same are made in English they betray the follower of Wyclif or other revolutionary, especially since, as Bishop Brunton tells us, the middle classes, with their strong anti-clerical bias, would believe them. As far back as the days of Hezekiah, authority had learned the value of a foreign tongue, and the danger of speaking unpleasant truths in the ears of the people. So 'let the preacher adapt himself to his audience or otherwise be punished.' Moreover, sermons in Latin, like all other books, would have a wider appeal than if written in the colloquial. To say nothing of circulation on the Continent, the reader should remember that in the fourteenth century there was not any definite standard of English; Northern English, Kentish English, the English of Essex, i.e. of London, widely differed from the West Midland dialect which Wyclif used, whereas mediaeval Latin was much the same for all.

Dr. Gasquet, reviving an old controversy, has tried to persuade us that preaching was the common routine of the mediaeval Church, with a minimum of sixteen sermons a year; Bishop Hobhouse, on the contrary, that preaching was no regular part of the Sunday observances. Dr. Owst examines the evidence at length, and decides that continuous Sunday preaching was the exception. In the towns, especially in London, no doubt there was abundance of preaching, especially in Lent, and the Londoners were noted sermon-tasters, though somewhat inclined, as one preacher informs us, to be 'new-fangul.' One London preacher, Dr. Lichfield

(*d.* 1448), rector of All Hallows the Great, actually left behind him 8,088 sermons 'written in English with his own hand,' besides a collection of materials for sermons. But Lichfield was the exception, and, on the whole, the mediaeval clergy, both bishops and curates, neglected their duty as preachers. Many priests, as the author of *Piers Plowman* tells us, could track hares in the field better than Latin case-endings in their Psalter book. In consequence, as one writer bitterly complains, 'They were cocks who neither crow nor generate, and who shall be swept off to the infernal market, head downwards.' After 1407, Archbishop Arundel increased this neglect by his insistence, in the Constitutions of Oxford, on the securing of an episcopal licence for preaching. Others, especially the rural clergy, left the whole matter to the wandering friars, who had received a training in preaching denied to the seculars. Of all negligents, in Wyclif's judgement, the prelates were the worst; they were 'dumb hounds that cannot bark.' On the other hand, there were many priests who did more than merely instruct the people at fixed seasons in the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the like—the minimum demanded by Archbishops Peckham and Thoresby. It was for these, with their lack of books, that there were composed the many 'Preachers' Helps,' skeletons of sermons, illustrations, anecdotes, and the like, generally arranged alphabetically. Of such manuals the most valuable is the great work of John Bromyard. One of the best known, if only because of its title, is the *Dormi Secure*, or 'Sleep Soundly'—the reference is not to the congregation, but to the anxious pastor on Saturday night. So valued was this dreary compilation that no less than thirty early printed editions still survive, in addition to numerous manuscripts.

Methods of preaching change from age to age, but congregations, as Dr. Owst shows us, in some respects seem to be much the same in essentials. Congregations then, as now, went to sleep, especially after the Sunday dinner, and

Jacques de Vitry, the famous thirteenth-century preacher, tells us how he roused them up:

> 'Do you want me now to talk to you about worthy womanhood? I am going to say something instead about that old dame whom I see asleep over there. For God's sake, if any one has a pin, let him wake her up. Those who sleep at sermon-time take care not to sleep at the table.'

Is not the following, from Bromyard's *Summa Predicantium*, just as true as when it was first written?

> 'When their own sins are preached against, people get angry; when it is against those of others, they are pleased. In spiritual "good" they consider others' welfare before their own, but not in temporal, for it seems that they would rather that others were healed than themselves, and that all the aforesaid benefits should be the lot of other men rather than theirs.
>
> 'The men are delighted when the preacher harangues against the women-folk, and vice versa. Husbands are pleased when their wives' pomposities are denounced in the sermon, how perchance they may spend the half of their wealth upon their own adornment. Wives rejoice to hear the preachers attacking their husbands, who spend their goods upon the ale-house. And so what is preached against others' vices, gives pleasure, but what is said against their own, displeases. Thus, when the preacher attacks all vices, every one is displeased.'

Then there was the vice of coming late, almost the rule with the lady of the manor with her towering head-dress. Like Charles Lamb, some made up for this by leaving the church before the sermon was finished, or indeed before it was begun. In Paris, it appears, confusion was made

worse confounded by the people returning in time for the Creed. Even playing at chess or tossing dice at sermon-time was not unknown. But reverence is the last thing that we expect in the Middle Ages. Myre's priest spits in church like his modern *confrère* of the Balkans, and may leave foul even the sacred vessels. A hum of conversation during the sermon was the general occurrence. We hear too of those who objected to long sermons:

> 'Sometimes they say to the priest: Let us out of church quickly, because one of our friends is having a banquet, and we have to rush off thither. . . . But afterwards, when they go away to dinner and the tavern, there is no hurrying in this fashion.'

The famous French preacher, Nicholas Bozon, tells us that 'many are more grieved by a short homily than by six week-days of labour.' But length is a relative term: was the 'sermon preached every Sunday in the year in the Galilee [of Durham cathedral] from one of the clock till three' deemed long or short? According to Bromyard, the English 'are the worst sermon-goers in the world, against whom the Queen of Sheba and all the nations of Christianity will rise up in judgement.' But the reader should remember that the English have always enjoyed running themselves down. One thing is, however, certain. The phlegmatic English were proof against certain types of revivalism frequent on the Continent. As Dr. Owst rightly says, no Savonarola would ever have persuaded English women to throw their best bonnets into the fire.

H. B. Workman.

Notes and Discussions

FRANCIS OF ASSISI

It was at sunset on the third of October, 1226, that St. Francis finished his Christ-like life in the little hut at the Portiuncula. His last days had a radiant beauty. Thomas of Celano tells us he went to meet death with a song. Bonaventura says, 'At the hour of the passing of the holy man, the larks—birds that love the light, and dread the shades of twilight—flocked in great numbers unto the roof of the house, albeit the shades of night were then falling, and, wheeling round it for a long while with songs even gladder than their wont, offered their witness, alike gracious and manifest, unto the glory of the saint, who had been wont to call them unto the divine praises.'

He was only forty-four, but he had given his age a new ideal of religion. It had lost its terrors; it was clothed with alluring sympathy; it set itself afresh to follow Him who went about doing good. A host of biographies have told his story, and it never loses its charm. The Student Christian Movement has just published *The Little Poor Man of Assisi*, by James O. Dobson, who feels that through historical research and criticism St. Francis and his movement have almost been rediscovered. 'The chroniclers tended to lose sight of the man in portraying the saint, and imagined that they were serving his memory by reproducing and working up any story, drawn from however doubtful a currency, and however capable of sufficient explanation, that by their canons enhances his worth. And again, when the Order fell into a schism, the story was retold in the interests of a party. But to-day, thanks to the neo-Franciscan Movement inspired largely by M. Sabatier, we can see the saint in clearer light, and more truly estimate his significance.' Dante compared his influence to the rising of a new sun upon the world. He was born in the garden of Umbria in 1182, and the poet in him responded to its beauty. Mrs. Goff's illustrated volume on the city describes it as clinging 'to the rugged mountain-side, rising and climbing, terrace upon terrace—a mass of golden-coloured building—up to the foot of the ancient savage Rocca, the ruined citadel, which, like some lonely sentinel, gazes from the hill-summit far across the mountains and the valleys lying below and around it.' That is the Assisi of to-day with the basilica of St. Francis on the west, and in the extreme east the church and convent of his friend and disciple, St. Clare.

Life was full of promise for the silk mercer's son, and he became the gay leader of the youth of Assisi in their revelries. He was merrier and more generous-hearted than his father, 'given unto jests and

songs, going round the city of Assisi day and night in company with his like, most free-handed in spending; insomuch as that he spent all his havings and his profits in banquets and other matters.' His parents told him that he behaved as though he was the son of a mighty prince, but, when the neighbours talked about his prodigal ways, the mother replied, 'What think you of my son? He shall yet be the son of God by grace.' It was not long before her prophecy came true. Francis 'began to pray unto the Lord to direct his way.' He befriended the crowd of beggars, he gave his money to a leper and kissed his hand. Then, as he prayed at the little chapel of San Damiano, Christ seemed to bid him repair His house, which had fallen into ruin. He begged the stones and built up the walls with his own hands. His father cast him off, but he had found his mission. A boy of Assisi joined him; then one of the noblest and richest men of the city cast in his lot with him. As the number of his disciples grew he sent them out as evangelists: 'Go, proclaiming peace to men; preach repentance by the remission of sins. Be patient in tribulation, vigilant in prayer, modest in speech, grave in morals, and grateful for every kindness, because by all these things you will prepare for the eternal Kingdom.' Three years after he had been hooted through the streets of Assisi Innocent III gave his sanction to the new Order, and in 1219 five thousand brethren assembled at the Chapter of the Straw Huts.

Francis won hearts wherever he went. He was crucified to the world. Poverty was his bride. His overflowing sympathy was contagious. He spoke to a crowd as though he were talking to a single friend. The Lord's Prayer, the death of the sinner, the story of the Cross, were his themes. He knew how to adapt his message to his company, and had always a word in season. He loved every one he met, and was wont to say, 'What every one is in God's sight, that he is and no more.' The name of Jesus gave new music to his voice as oft as he read or repeated it. He was a poet and a minstrel, and made constant and powerful use of song in his mission.

The birth of the Third Order broadened out his influence. It was no longer confined to his brothers and the sisters of St. Clare. Like John Wesley, he was prompt to follow every leading of Providence, and when the castle full of lords and ladies, of servants, pages, and soldiers, were so mightily moved by his preaching that they wanted to leave all and follow him, he saw his opportunity. His net, as his Danish biographer says, like that of the apostles, was ready to tear under the too rich draught of fishes. 'Remain in your homes,' he told them, 'and I will find you a way of serving God.' So the Tertiaries were born. They have been called the Puritans and the Methodists of their century, who steeped their daily life in prayer and deeds of mercy. 'Cottage and castle, lord and peasant, were linked together by new bonds. The apostle of the new religion had caught the spirit of Jesus Christ, and his mantle still rested on other shoulders when he himself was gone.' The Tertiaries might not preach, but St. Francis knew that there was preaching that needed no words. He told the

young companion who reminded him once that he had forgotten to preach that they had been preaching whilst they were walking. Their behaviour had been closely watched. 'It is of no use, my son, to walk anywhere to preach unless we preach everywhere as we walk.' Renan said that since the time of the apostles there had never been a more powerful attempt to put the gospel into practice than in the movement started by Francis. The saint had a lowly heart. On one journey his strength failed him again and again, till at last his companion went into a farmyard to borrow an ass. When the peasant learned who needed it, he came out and asked, 'Art thou the Brother Francis there is so much said about?' Receiving an affirmative answer, he added, 'Then take care that you are as good in reality as they say, for there are many who have confidence in thee.' Francis was deeply stirred, and, casting himself down, he kissed the peasant's feet in thanks for his warning.

His personal austerities are a painful subject. He would mix ashes with any pleasant food, or drench it with water to destroy its flavour. He did not behave well to Brother Ass, and it was no wonder that his physical strength gave way. The Stigmata are said to have been printed on his feet, his hands, and his side one September morning in 1224 at La Verna whilst his soul was stirred with thoughts of the sufferings of Christ. The story was current in his lifetime and officially declared at his death, and Mr. Leathem says in his *Life of St. Francis* (James Clarke & Co.) that 'only the ultra-sceptical doubt to-day the reality of the Stigmata.' Whatever opinion we form as to the way in which the marks were made, the story embodies the belief of his time that the saint was in all points conformed to the likeness of his Lord.

SCIENCE AND RELIGION

THERE is still a deplorable, though unnecessary, antithesis between science and religion. Religion exhorts us: 'You cannot do wrong without suffering wrong'; but along comes Darwinism with its unwarranted assertion that ethics and morality are not according to nature, and, to the credulous, stultifies all that ancient wisdom stood for.

Modern biology, modern medicine, have pandered to the low tastes of the multitude—that is the secret of their 'success,' as also of their stagnation and impotence. There is a widespread disgust with science, and a concomitant yearning in the modern world for a return to the fold of 'sweet religion,' with its call to purification, to endeavour, and to emancipation from low conditions.

The Bishop of Durham has recently told us that thousands of religious people in this country, too, are in a mood to do for themselves what the Tennessean legislators have done for their school-children—oust the new scientific doctrines by a *coup de main*, and restore to unchallenged supremacy the old familiar teachings of the Bible.

It is clear that men of science have brought the wrath of the people

upon their own heads, by their foolish dogmatism, their excessive zeal and specialism, their jealous sacerdotalism, which have alienated all sympathies. Mankind is to-day obliged, in sheer self-preservation, to make a stand against science and to hurl defiance in its teeth. It may be expected that opposition will prove as useful here as ever it did in the life of political parties.

If you suffer wrong, you must have done wrong yourself—that is a broad and fair implication of the above religious tenet. It is one, however, regarding which, strange to say, 'science' has nothing to teach, boasting to be above that sort of thing. That the implication is scientifically correct there can be not the slightest doubt, once we study health and disease in their entirety. Yet are 'good and evil' declared to be no concern of science—a monstrous position to have taken up, indeed.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that religion has still some vital lessons to teach, and has even to make good many deficiencies of science. It is the chief glory of the lawgivers of old that not only did they function as revealers of spiritual truths, but that they were at the same time great physicians—so much so that it may be fairly claimed for the great established religions that they have acted as powerful, healthful, uplifting forces in the evolution of the human race. It is to the ignominy of the great savants of our day that, with all their knowledge of detail, they can do nothing to stem the spread of disease and degeneration amongst us. We live in a world of sick men, crippled and stunted in more than one part of their nature. We do not sufficiently strive after wholeness; and, unfortunately, the tendency of modern science is not in favour of such endeavour. Self-discipline is the cry of religion. Money for barbarous 'research' is that of modern science, promising us, in return for our gold, 'immunity,' i.e. absolution for our indulgence.

Science, having failed to take a panoramic view and to study the whole field of sequences entailed in the production of health and disease, has supplied only partial views, which it has yet dogmatically upheld as the whole truth and nothing but the truth, very often in opposition to superior religious wisdom. The orthodox view of disease is far too superficial. It does not go further than what the mere man in the street cares to see. Although a few leading physicians have from time to time bewailed the fact that we have not even a clear definition of disease, and that altogether pathology is in a primitive condition, yet no improvement seems to be contemplated. It is here where a sane, reformed theory of evolution might prove very helpful, as I have often pointed out.

Many of our maladies, being of the nature of degeneration, come under a category with which 'evolution' should be able abundantly to deal; but it has so far signally failed to do so. In particular, orthodox biology, having been too long under the incubus of that Darwinian shield of ignorance, 'natural selection,' has wofully misled us, by inverting the idea of progress, furnishing us at the same time with a vitiated interpretation of degeneration.

So far from seeing anything abnormal and morbid in degeneration, the Darwinist blandly assures us that we have merely to view it as 'simplification'—a phenomenon, as he fondly believes, belonging to the normal phase of nature. There is, alas, a good deal of it to be met with; hence, he concludes, it must be normal. We cannot wonder that our biologists, with such shortcomings, find themselves in truly Cimmerian darkness, as it is their wont to be, *vis-à-vis* to cancer. What is worse is that they should be seen even vaunting this disgraceful nescience, and that many of them, so far from apprehending any rebuke, should deem themselves entitled to browbeat the true reformers.

We have become, as fatalistically as any follower of Islam, resigned to this ominous state of affairs. We endure misdirection, even evident imposture, from that quarter with a truly pathetic exhibition of impotence, comparable only to the weak-kneed resistance that many moribund species in nature offer to parasitic imposition. Were we truly intent upon keeping our professions up to the mark, we should make a beginning in reform by calling to order those biologists whose boast it is that they are 'beyond good and evil'; for such as these are also without all standards of judgement on all important issues, while their 'science' is sure to be at arm's length from reality. Darwin, indeed, was a great naturalist. Had he been a great physician too, as the great lawgivers of old proved themselves to be, 'evolution' would not appear so dismally as it does. As it is, there is no justification for the attempt to claim Darwin as to all intents infallible. He failed precisely, and signally, through being too little of a physician; and, indeed, betrayed the same lack of independence and want of foresight in matters medical that characterizes our age generally. He bowed too readily to the opinions of the physicians of his day; frequently, too, when his own inspirations would have otherwise led him to repudiate their errors.

The spirit of traditional submission to the medicine-man is a *damnosa haereditas*. The fact that the medical profession still fosters this spirit acts as a growing canker, militating against all true progress. It is nothing short of a misfortune, too, that the man in the street has got hold of the belief that the laboratory worker has the last word to say on all matters affecting his physical well-being.

The study of pathology is in reality that of the dark and seamy side of life; but no one has as yet been able to tell us wherein exactly pathological development consists, or how we are to separate the grain from the chaff in the study of biological development generally. Scarcely any one knows what is really normal or abnormal. What distinctions have so far been made are either arbitrary, or, where correct, of the nature of lucky guesses.

Parasitism—the admitted stumbling-block—which plays a leading part in the seamy side of life, has been entirely misunderstood and misconstrued by Darwin and his followers, wherefore it is that, as I have often emphasized, biology has failed to provide inspiration to medicine, as it ought to have done.

If Darwinism had not so grotesquely miscarried on these important issues, 'evolution' might, indeed, ere now have contained a doctrine of salvation, and it might thus also certainly have become more consistent with actual religious truth than it has been hitherto. Had he been able to make due qualitative distinctions, Darwin could not possibly have regarded merely expedient adaptation as the *summum bonum* of life, thereby wiping out at one blow the difference between normal and abnormal, physiological and pathological development, which was fatal, inasmuch as it closed the door for ever to harmony. To 'religious,' or discriminative, biology, what counts first is righteousness. To Darwinian, non-discriminative, biology, what matters most is mere expediency. The quaint Darwinian view militates against all common sense. Surely our own well-tried and well-tested experience of life, which is 'biological' experience, too, ranks higher than all we can infer from the life of fleas and bugs—that is, if experience of life counts for anything at all. Surely, too, moral excellence stands higher than all theoretical sapience. He who is morally noble, however deficient in mental penetration, reveals by his conduct the deepest insight, the truest wisdom; and puts to shame the most accomplished savant, if the latter's acts betray that his heart is a stranger to great moral principles. Without the instinct of sympathy, there is no possible solution of the difficulties of social life, be it amongst men or animals.

How strangely ready we were to throw overboard our well-seasoned morality—a mere 'man-manufactured article,' if we were to believe Huxley—in favour of Darwin's 'non-moral' fetish of 'natural selection'—a shield of ignorance, as Samuel Butler rightly called it. Should it be that we are thus easily hoodwinked on fundamental matters? Should we not have been more on our guard against the perversion of moral values which Darwinism was sure to promote? If we had held our own faith in human responsibility firmly enough, we could not possibly have extended to Darwinism the high regard, amounting almost to reverence, which has been paid to it.

It is one of the most disquieting symptoms of our time that such a fallacious teaching as that of 'natural selection' should have obtained so uncanny an ascendency over people's minds as unfortunately it has done. It attributed evolution to accident or, in Samuel Butler's words, to 'luck,' and, according to him, the theory that luck is the main means of organic modification is the most absolute denial of God which it is possible for the human mind to conceive. Butler's view was that God is in all His creatures—He in them, and they in Him—and that, if certain creatures have advanced more than others, this is for the reason that they, or their fathers and mothers, have taken greater pains than the laggards. Says he, in his sarcastic way: 'The survival of the fittest is only the non-survival or going away of the unfittest—in whose direct line the race is not continued, and who are, therefore, only uncles and aunts of the survivors. I can quite understand it being a good thing for any race that its uncles and aunts should go away, but I do not

believe the accumulation of lucky accidents could result in an eye, no matter how many uncles and aunts may have gone away during how many generations.'

So he rightly insisted, as against the parrot-cry of 'anthropomorphism,' which is easily raised if one attempts to break away from the impossible materialism of Darwin's theory, that we must extend a system of moral government by rewards and punishments to the lower animals, just as we should extend reason to them, too. If we admitted, he said, that to some considerable extent man is man, and master of his fate, we should admit also that all organic forms which are saved at all have been, in proportionate degree, masters of their destiny, too, and have worked out, not only their own salvation, but their salvation according, in no small degree, to their own goodwill and pleasure, at times with a light heart, and at times in fear and trembling.

Success in life and in evolution is due to good breeding; and good breeding is due to good sense, as we were long accustomed to think, in accordance with religious tradition. Some organisms show more ready wit and *savoir faire* than others; some give more proofs of genius and have more frequent happy thoughts than others, and some, as Butler has it, 'have even gone through waters of misery which they have used as wells'—a fine adumbration of the value of evil in evolution.

There can be no doubt that a fortunate accumulation of useful variations occurs most often and most happily to those that have persevered in well-doing for some generations.

Our cancer-researchers are driven to posit an 'ethic' of the cell—a kind of physical morality—there being no other way of envisaging the normal, co-operative condition of the cell, consisting of that behaviour of which cancer, the anarchic and immoral state of behaviour, is the reversal. They feel constrained, in other words, to reckon with that moral imperative, in obedience to which the cell perseveres, normally, on the path of 'communal' duty.

But much the same imperative is implicit also in the 'web of life,' as I have often shown. If the very cell must be conceived of as involved in 'good and evil,' *a fortiori* should organisms themselves be seen to be similarly involved. They, too, are dependent upon constant socio-physiological interaction with others, and have from the first to take pains to arrive at a workable mutual accomodation, an economically satisfactory *modus vivendi*, with each other. For only so could progress, or even the self-preservation of organic life, have been assured.

It has been justly said that great disservice is done to the cause of religion by those who seek to win men's adherence to it by minimizing the rigour of its claims on their lives. Equally so, great disservice is done to the cause of human progress by those who preach the doctrine of biological irresponsibility, or worse, of evolution by mutul plunder.

H. Reinheimer.

CONFUCIUS AND ARISTOTLE

THE question 'What is a good man?' is an excellent example of the mystery of simplicity. It would be an interesting study to collect and compare the various answers given by different ages and races. For instance, the Jewish ideal was the 'righteous man,' the ideal man being the 'righteous servant of Jehovah.' The Roman ideal was the *vir gravis*, the 'man of weight,' the kind of character naturally admired by a governing race. To the quick-witted Greek, with his keen love of beauty, the ideal man was the καλὸς κἀγαθός, the 'beautiful-and-good man.' To the Chinese sages the ideal man is the *keun-tsze*, the 'superior man' of Confucius.

The Greek and Chinese conceptions are strikingly similar. Both recognize the close connexion between moral and aesthetic values. In Chinese the same term is often used for moral and aesthetic value. In general, the parallel between the two systems of thought, if they can be called systems, appears so close that some have jumped to the conclusion that there must have been borrowing on one side, if not on both. But all attempts to prove such would almost certainly yield negative results.

It is true that in ancient times there was probably far more intercourse between China and other countries than we generally suppose. The 'exclusiveness' of the great closed land was probably a comparatively late development, the natural sequel to barbaric hordes of invaders and to increasing European aggressiveness. Certainly there was a flourishing Arab trade before A.D. 600, and even to-day the distinctively Arab type of face commonly seen amongst the Chinese Mohammedans of the South is direct evidence of an Arab invasion. They still have their own mosque in Canton, where the visitor is actually shown the reputed tomb of Mohammed's uncle. Of the ancient overland trade-routes we know very little, but we do know that for centuries before the Christian era there was most probably a considerable trade with India and Mesopotamia, Antioch and Alexandria, Samarkand and Persia. Imagination can picture the silk, furs, iron, &c., going from Cathay in exchange for dyes, spices, gems, ivory, and peacocks. Perhaps also the search for gold played an important part, having possibly some special connexion with religious rites, as the late W. H. R. Rivers suggested.

But with what has been called the 'commerce of thought,' as regards Greece and China, for instance, the case must have been very different. No trade-routes would in themselves suffice to convey ideas and systems of thought. Also we know that the Greeks were not linguists; and no one would maintain that Eastern sages were versed in the Greek language and philosophy. Until the time of Alexander's Eastern conquests and the establishment of the Seleucid dynasty it is most unlikely that any Eastern science and speculation could have been known to Greek writers and thinkers. It is barely possible, of course, though by no means likely, that some Greek thought influenced Buddhism through Alexander's conquests in

India, and in this way may have entered China. But we cannot build upon that, any more than upon the discovery a few years ago of those MSS. dating back to 98 B.C., and the wonderful art-finds that led many to expect a still more striking discovery of the genius of Hellas buried deep in the bosom of far Cathay. Nor can we see the Jews in exile as intermediaries, though it is no doubt true that after the death of Aristotle, when Babylon became a Greek city, Eastern influences entered Greek thought.

Leaving the dim moonlight of speculation, and coming out into the sunlight of historical fact, we do find more solid and satisfying explanations. To begin with, we know that about the sixth century B.C. there was a wonderful parallel development of thought, Hebrew, Greek, and Oriental. Some have spoken of a great 'Wisdom Movement' uprising the world over. In any case, both the Greek genius and the Chinese were specially fitted to develop a kind of *ars vivendi*, a philosophy of life, based upon good sense, upon *reason*.

Confucius and Aristotle—we can imagine these two practical and speculative geniuses confronting each other, with only a century or so between them. To assume any kind of real *causal* connexion between them would be almost foolish. Confucius—or even Chuang-Tzu, two centuries later—could hardly have imagined such a man as Aristotle existing, and almost certainly knew nothing of his predecessors in Greek thought. And Aristotle, sage though he was, shared the narrow racial prejudice of his countrymen, with their calm assumption of the natural inferiority of the Thracian and all other 'barbarians.' It is all the more significant, therefore, that the description they give of the 'ideal man' should be so remarkably similar.

Aristotle's picture of the μεγαλόψυχος, the 'high-minded man,' is well-known. It was a familiar and admired type, the man who was properly proud of himself and his advantages, and careful not to compromise his 'dignity.' Not that this was necessarily Aristotle's own ideal—which was rather the profound thinker, devoted to the speculative life, the rapt figure of Rodin's famous statue, with 'a mind for ever voyaging through strange seas of thought alone,' as Wordsworth said of Newton. Indeed, there is probably a touch of quiet satire in Aristotle's account of the accepted type. At any rate, his immediate purpose is simply to show that this conception of the man of complete virtue does fit in with his definition of virtue as depending upon 'a right mean.'

Turning now to the *kewn-tsze*, the 'superior man' of Confucius and the others, and piecing together the rather fragmentary bits of description given, we get much the same general impression. It is a rather remote, shadowy figure, poised like Mohammed's coffin somewhere between heaven and earth. And when we are told that 'Only the sage can know the sage,' we are by no means sorry to leave it at that!

Self-cultivation is the key-note in both cases, Greek and Chinese alike, the result being a rather pathetic, futile figure, a kind of walking

compendium of all knowledge and all virtue. He is pondered in speech, with deep voice, slow of gait, moving about in splendid isolation. A great soul perhaps, and impressive, but to unsophisticated minds rather a 'prig,' if not actually a fraud! How could it be otherwise with such a starting-point? 'Man is good'; 'Reason and ceaseless self-cultivation are sufficient'—these are examples of those terrible half-truths which, like Rousseau's famous 'Man is born free and is everywhere in chains,' serve to bedazzle and ensnare the minds of men the wide world over. So the dragon continues to bite its own tail; the vast system of thought for ever revolves around its own axis. 'Man's knowledge reaches to the hair upon a hair, but not to heaven.'

As a philosopher, Confucius has no claim to rival Aristotle in speculative range and depth; and, even if he had, the practical effect of Confucianism upon the lives of the Chinese would probably still be a refined kind of materialism, as at present. Much the same may be said of Taoism, the next great attempt to meet the human longing for a final working philosophy. And even in Buddhism, introduced from India and Tibet, we find the same failure, though perhaps of a nobler kind.

In China, as in Greece, religion had gone a long way, but still it could not bridge the gulf between the finite and the 'absolute,' between theory and practice; that is, in the final issue, between man and God. 'The way of man is not in himself.' Through Jesus Christ alone was to be found the adequate spiritual dynamic, the implanting of a new principle of life. In Him is the true marriage of East and West. The philosopher and the wayfaring man meet in the shadow of His Cross. Knowing Him, and responding to His call, they know that they have reached man's final lore.

CHARLES A. GIMBLETT.

KARL HOLL

ON Whit Sunday, 1926, a week after his sixtieth birthday, Karl Holl, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin, died of apoplexy. Outside Germany, where he has long held a foremost place amongst the 'masters of those who know,' he was widely recognized as an historical authority when his volume of essays and addresses on Luther was published in 1921. In this book, Dr. H. R. Mackintosh[1] says, 'Holl has given us work of the first quality, which future travellers in the wide world of Luther's mind will neglect at their own risk.' Of especial interest is the essay on Luther's significance in the history of exegesis. His commentaries

[1] *The Expository Times*, xxxiii: 506.

on Romans and Galatians, which left an abiding mark on John and Charles Wesley at a critical hour in their spiritual experience, are said to 'have never been surpassed.' The wide range of Holl's studies and the thoroughness of his scholarly researches had, however, been indicated by the publication in 1904 of his monograph on *Amphilochius of Iconium in his relation to the great Cappadocians*. Interesting details of the career of this ecclesiastical historian, whose investigations in many fields were gaining for him increasing influence, are given in *Die Christliche Welt* (July 8, 1926), by Dr. Adolf Jülicher of Marburg.

Holl was born in Tübingen on March 15, 1866, and began his studies at the University which gives distinction to his native town. Jülicher made his acquaintance in Berlin in 1899, when Holl's horizon was widening and the problem of the relation between knowledge and faith was occupying and perplexing his mind. 'An intimate friendship sprang up between us which, in later years, no differences of opinion have ever shaken.' An appointment of great importance in his future development was given to Holl in 1894 when he was commissioned by the Berlin Society for the Study of Patristics to proceed to Rome and pursue there his investigations. The results of his work appeared in 1896 when he published *The Sacra Parallela of John of Damascus*, an invaluable work of reference which gives scholars access to this immense mediaeval collection of quotations from Greek ecclesiastical authors. A supplementary volume, entitled *Fragments from Ante-Nicene Church Fathers*, was published in 1899.

During a short period of residence in Berlin, as University Lecturer in Church History, Holl wrote *Enthusiasm and Penitence* (Bussgewalt) *in Greek Monasticism* (1898). Jülicher says that this work is 'a highly-interesting, and in many respects a surprising, endeavour to understand and to portray the peculiarities of the religion of Oriental Christians, especially of Eastern monks. The author was deeply grieved that so little attention was given to his treatise; since the Stockholm Conference he would probably have been able to count on greater appreciation.' In 1900 Holl was appointed Professor (extraordinary) of Church History in Tübingen; there he elaborated his series of lectures on the 'History of Dogma and the History of the Church.' In addition to the work on Amphilochius of Iconium, already mentioned, he published *Luther's Judgements on Himself* (1903); 'quite remarkable was the familiarity displayed with the widely-scattered material.' In due course Holl was called (1906) to the newly-founded Chair of Church History in Berlin, holding this professorship for twenty years.

It was as a member of the philological-historical section of the Prussian Academy of Science that Holl made some of his most important contributions to historical study. Its 'Proceedings' from 1915–25 contain 'the most precious pearls from the store of a fortunate discoverer.' Reference is made to Holl's friendship with Harnack, and to his great distress during and after the Great

War. 'He was too sagacious to think that a return to the old conditions before 1914 was possible. He hoped, as we all did, for the restoration of Germany by a spiritual renewal, especially by winning our youth for a higher ideal.' Significant of the esteem in which he was held was his appointment as Rector of Berlin University (1924–5). His conscientious discharge of his new and exceedingly onerous duties, without any relaxation of his work as professor, overtaxed his strength. A much-needed rest was not taken. On his sixtieth birthday he was greatly cheered by the dedication to him of a volume of valuable scientific essays by his former pupils, but a week afterwards this indefatigable worker 'died in harness.'

Jülicher classifies the writings of Holl under three headings, philology, historical research, and theology, recognizing, however, that a hard and fast line cannot always be drawn between these subjects. High appreciation is expressed of his recent work, *The Origin of the Four Fasts in the Greek Church* (1924). Witness is also borne to the comprehensive range of his interests. Most of his studies are on fourth-century themes, but he writes sympathetically on *Thomas Chalmers* and on *The Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola*. The monograph on Epiphanius upon which Holl was engaged will be completed by his Berlin friend, Dr. Lietzmann. In Jülicher's opinion it will be his *magnum opus*, and 'after three hundred years will still be the best,' whilst in that period other scholars may advance upon his interpretation of Luther.

As regards Holl's theological position, Jülicher described him as 'an old Tübinger,' and says that he was never a disciple of Ritschl. In all essentials Luther supplied the basis alike of his dogmatics and of his ethics, but he took complete cognizance of the progress made in the scientific study of theology during the last three hundred years. 'From Luther to Paul, from Paul to Jesus, through Jesus to God—that was his way.'

To the same number of *Die Christliche Welt* interesting reminiscences of Holl as a University professor are contributed by one of his students, Erna Ohm. The first impression made by his encyclopaedic knowledge was bewilderment; it seemed impossible to find one's way through the dense thicket of events, names, and figures. His treatment of every theme was profound and rigorously scientific. 'He told us, in the opening lecture, that he would rather have in his *Seminar* two or three who really worked than ten who did nothing.' He surpassed all his colleagues in rough criticism, but his 'brief words of praise' for diligence and careful preparation were highly valued. 'He taught us to work on scientific methods, for he would tolerate neither vague formularies nor sentimental notions,' and he himself set the example of accepting no solution of a problem that failed to take account of all the factors involved and to trace it back to first principles. Those who had the good fortune to hear Holl lecture on Luther's *Commentary on the Galatians* gained a knowledge of absolutely fundamental truths.

J. G. Tasker.

'THE FUTURE OF THE BODLEIAN'

THROUGH the courtesy of the Master of University College we have received an important paper on *The Future of the Bodleian*, printed at the University Press. The annual intake is between 20,000 and 25,000 volumes, and in ten years the library will be overcrowded. 'Books will have to be piled on the floor, as was the case twenty years ago. We shall look down a vista of embarrassment to a state of paralysis.' Five ways of dealing with the problem have been proposed: contraction of intake; underground chambers; a suburban annex; enlargement of present buildings; a new library in the Park. The relief to the shelves by a contraction of intake or by discarding books now in the library would be comparatively small. Further underground chambers do not seem desirable. The library already occupies a large and well-arranged chamber in the cellars of the Examination Schools, the basement of the old Ashmolean, and the unlighted basement of the Sheldonian Theatre. The best plan seems to be the provision of a new building in the University Parks. The meadow between the entrance opposite Keble Road and the Norham Gardens Lodge would be a suitable site. Books for classical, linguistic, and theological study might be retained in the old Bodleian. The new library would cost half a million, and modern methods and modes of lighting could be introduced. Sketch plans and a balance sheet enable a reader to grasp the situation, and will, we think, make him strongly favour the scheme for a new Bodleian. The historic buildings would be preserved and the great library made adequate to its growing population of books and to the needs of its host of students.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Essays Catholic and Critical. By Members of the Anglican Communion. Edited by Edward Gordon Selwyn. (S.P.C.K. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This exposition and defence of the Christian faith is the work of writers who have nearly all been engaged in University teaching during recent years. They have 'thus been brought into close touch with the vigorous currents and cross-currents of thought and feeling amid which Christianity has to render its own life and thought explicit; and they have been compelled, both for themselves and for others, to think out afresh the content and the grounds of their religion.' The essayists owe much to *Lux Mundi*, through which the critical movement effected a significant lodgement in the citadel of faith. But the volume will not cause the controversy which greeted its predecessor. Christian thought has moved forward and these essays are singularly well-balanced and discriminating. They will be read with eager attention and with a large measure of agreement from thoughtful readers. Dr. E. O. James opens the series by an essay on 'The Emergence of Religion,' which brings out primitive beliefs in survival after death and the early developments of theism in an impressive way. Professor Taylor in 'The Vindication of Religion' urges that 'the verdict on the religious life if it is to count must come from the men who have first made it their own by living it.' 'Authority' is carefully treated by Dr. Rawlinson and Wilfrid L. Knox, who cannot accept the view that the Pope is an autocratic ruler of the Church, responsible to God alone, though he recognizes that the Holy See has many times preserved Catholicism from the gravest dangers by acting as the voice of the Christian community in general as against fashionable errors. Mr. Knox also points out that 'in the sweeping away of false conceptions, and establishing a truer conception of the nature of the means by which truth is to be apprehended, Protestantism has played a vital part in the life of the Church and the progress of mankind.'

The second section opens with an important essay on 'The Christian Conception of God.' That involves at least the possibility of miracles which may be defined as unusual events, in which we catch a glimpse of a divine purpose which is actually embodied in all events. 'In the last resort the universe is best understood as the unfolding expression of God's love.' Sir E. C. Hoskyns, who writes on 'The Christ of the Synoptic Gospels,' holds that the way is now prepared for a new line of approach to the history of Christian origins. The New Testament is one book because it presumes an underlying unity

of faith and experience. The Crucifixion was the climax and completion of our Lord's humiliation, for by it He was both freed and glorified. Mr. Mozley's subject is 'The Incarnation.' He shows that the claim of Christianity as the 'absolute religion' depends altogether for any valid answer upon the view taken of Christ. The Church's life is centred in Him. 'Aspects of Man's Condition' pleads for a restatement of the doctrine of original sin which should be adequate to the facts of the Christian life and should possess the old Spiritual values. The writer on 'The Atonement' reaches the conclusion that 'to recognize that, in the death of Christ, God has Himself provided a Lamb for the sacrifice is to lay aside remorse, despondency, and despair, and to be reconciled to God.' Mr. Selwyn's study of 'The Resurrection' is of special interest and importance, though his 'veridical visions' will not be accepted by many as the explanation of our Lord's appearances. Such a change in the body of Jesus is involved as takes it out of the category of things to which the laws of natural science apply and sets it in a relation to experience, both His and ours, to which we know no parallel. 'What faith claims is that, in embodying the manhood of God Incarnate, the whole course of physical evolution reached its highest destiny, and through the conquest of death passed over into forms of energy as yet unguessed. Into the mystery of that mode of being, only the heart of the worshipper can penetrate; and its only language when it does so is that of St. Thomas—My Lord and my God.' Mr. Milner-White in 'The Spirit and the Church in History' says Christianity was not dead in the eighteenth century 'because its officials were cold and worldly, and because it was suffering through its new disunity the devastating experience of provincialism. The peoples waited for their Wesleys and followed them.' Professor Hamilton Thompson in his paper on the Reformation regards it as a mistake to suppose that the revival of spiritual life in the second half of the eighteenth century was 'wholly promoted by disaffected enthusiasts. It was accompanied, as for example in the Wesleys, by a devout desire to give warmth and reality to the services and doctrines of the Church; and it was only the distrustfulness and reluctance of ecclesiastical authorities which alienated the would-be reformers and laid the foundations of modern Nonconformity. The unreadiness of a privileged institution to set its house in order was still as manifest as it had been three hundred years before.' In 'The Origins of the Sacraments' Mr. Powell criticizes the Mystery hypothesis and refers to Dr. Schweitzer's 'brilliant suggestion' that our Lord from time to time held a dramatic or symbolic rehearsal of the 'Messianic banquet.' The last paper on 'The Eucharist' holds that it 'affords a presence of our Lord as our sacrifice, and that this presence is of such a character as to give opportunity for full and complete expression of our worship of the Lamb.' That is the High Church view which many will not altogether accept, but the papers are rich in thought, and both editor and contributors have laid us under deep obligation by the knowledge and the fine catholic temper of the whole volume.

The Evangel of the Hebrew Prophets. By A. S. Geden, D.D. (Epworth Press. 5*s*. net.)

The Fernley Lecturer for this year is the son of a previous Fernley Lecturer. In 1874 Dr. J. Dury Geden chose for his subject the teaching of the Old Testament on the subject of Immortality, and now, after the lapse of more than half a century, Dr. A. S. Geden follows up his honoured father's work by a study of the teaching of the Old Testament generally. For the title of his lecture, in the usual acceptation of the words, hardly gives an idea of its scope. By 'prophets' he means all the writers of the Old Testament; and by 'evangel' their teaching as contained in the canonical books. 'All the writers and contributors to the volume of the Old Testament are prophets in the wider and less restricted acceptation of the word' and 'all the Hebrew authors whose words are recorded in the Old Testament are "prophets" in the larger and more enduring sense.' So also Dr. Geden does not discuss in detail and with special emphasis what is sometimes called the 'evangelical' element in the Old Testament—the wealth of promise in the prophetic writings, the indications of a transition from particularism to universalism, the anticipations of a wider kingdom of God, and the specific work entrusted to the 'prophets' of preparing the way for the coming of an Anointed King.

But all question of title apart, the volume here published is full of valuable information, and it forms an excellent introduction to the study of the whole Old Testament. Dr. Geden gives in his first chapter an account of 'the general thought and purpose of the Old Testament Scriptures,' showing the great importance of the progressive character of the whole. 'The belief was throughout subject to growth, modification, and change. It was never stereotyped or fixed in terminology or detail . . . it finally ripened into a faith, reasoned and strong, that has maintained itself through centuries of weariness and persecution and wrong—a nation's faith in a nation's God.' Dr. Geden wisely eschews the details of critical controversy, for which in a work of this kind there is no room. He touches occasionally upon the composite authorship of books which have come down to us under one name—e.g. Moses, Isaiah, or Zechariah—and very occasionally upon textual questions, such as are raised by the wholesale discrepancies between the Hebrew and the LXX versions of Jeremiah. His view is that there is no 'doubt with regard to the reliability of the text as a whole or the general trustworthiness of the narrative or discourses,' whilst lessons of importance are to be learned from the variations that have come down to us. The tone and spirit of the lecturer, in dealing with some burning controversial questions, forms an excellent preparation for their more detailed examination, when such is necessary.

Some interesting pages in the book deal with those who are numbered in the 'goodly fellowship of the prophets' according to the generally accepted use of the word. Amos and Hosea amongst the

earliest 'writing prophets' are well compared and contrasted within the compass of a few sentences. As to Jonah, Dr. Geden holds it to be 'passing strange that its narrative or story should ever have been regarded as literally true or intended to set forth events as they actually occurred in the experience of one man.' In a few pages the lecturer attempts to deal with the whole of the books known as 'Writings,' such as Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. His remarks on Job, for example, are sound and instructive, but it is obvious that in so small a compass only a very cursory examination of such a book can be given. An appendix gives a brief but instructive account of 'apocalyptic' teaching, with its 'speculative and idealized future,' and its relation doctrinally to the prophetic tradition. The comprehensiveness of the lecturer's survey may be gathered from the fact that his essay contains separate chapters on 'Parable and Metaphor in the Old Testament generally' and the relation of Old Testament religion to Nature and to Art.

The last chapter is entitled 'Permanent Value of Prophetic Teaching and its Contribution to the World's Ideal and Goal.' This chapter forms an appropriate climax to the author's previous descriptions, and contains what most readers will have been led to expect from the title given by the lecturer to his book. The unity of Old Testament teaching as a whole is clearly shown and rightly emphasized. The conception it presents of God is described, with due stress upon the characteristic word 'Holiness.' The main principles of Old Testament religion are summarized, and these, it is said, 'remained unshaken and unchanged through all prophetic history.' The second main element of prophetic teaching, the 'covenant relation between Jehovah and his people,' raises some questions discussed in pp. 248–6 which obviously needed more space for their discussion, especially when at the very end the lecturer reaches the heart of his subject. 'It was a real and living gospel,' he says, 'which the prophets proclaimed, not evanescent or transitory, but of permanent and universal import, and giving that proof of vitality which is furnished by the capacity of adaptation to changing needs and times, while retaining the essential truth without weakening or deviation.' The Fernley Lecture for 1926 contains abundant material for the proof of this great thesis, and the lecturer has done valuable service in illustrating afresh his own concluding statement that 'the essential truths which the Hebrew prophets proclaimed' have become 'interwoven into the very fibre of religious faith, and cannot be destroyed without impairing the faith itself and loosening the foundation of the citadel of truth.'

Israel: Its Life and Culture. By Johs. Pedersen. (Humphrey Milford. 15*s.* net.)

The Professor of Semitic Philology in the University of Copenhagen published this book in Danish in 1920, and it has now been translated with much skill, and references added to the discovery of the Assyrian

and Hittite laws which throw much light on the formation of Israelitic culture. Canaan was settled for thousands of years before the history of Israel began, and streams from the countries of the Euphrates met those from Egypt, which had a strong cultural influence in Canaan, as appears from archaeological finds around Gezer and Jerusalem, and also in the plain of Jezreel. These foreign influences are carefully sketched, and lead up to the making of Israel, of which the Old Testament gives 'an incomplete, but, nevertheless, vivid picture.' The growth of the tribe and the family is described at length and leads up to the Israelitic conception of life. Man is regarded as a soul—an organism which centres and ranges itself round a point of gravity. This organized strength is generally described as the heart. When Saul left Samuel 'the kingly soul which had lain dormant deep down in him welled forth and made itself felt. The violent force of the new soul had to find a vent; when he met with a crowd of prophets, it burst into ecstasy and, drunken with enthusiasm, Saul went about among the prophets.' The conclusion of a deeply interesting study is that 'if we know the soul of the Israelite, then we also know his view of life; this firm and strong power, which always is a community and yet appears in individuals, which swells in the great and flags in the small, which is constantly taken over and must still be maintained, and which, before all, craves to be able to carry on its activity, infinitely and without ever running out.' The second section of the book is given to the community which we always see rising behind the soul. 'What it is, it is by virtue of others.' That leads to consideration of the community, of justice, sin, and death. The object of the Israelite is to keep his world clean by living a normal life from birth to death. The work is remarkably fresh in outlook and style of treatment.

The Psalter in Life, Worship, and History. By Adam C. Welch, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 5*s.* net.)

The Psalmists: Essays. Edited, with an Introduction, by D. C. Simpson, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Dr. Welch gave his four lectures to a Vacation School for Old Testament Study in King's College Hostel, and many will be grateful for an opportunity to share in them. He begins by showing that the psalms reveal no real conception of the laws of nature. God is conceived as directly controlling it. The conception of kindly mother-nature holds no great or real place in the thought of its writers. History is dwelt on to emphasize what God has shown of Himself and His will in the great acts by which He has made known His grace. The psalms are chiefly 'associated with an act of the cult, one of the greater festivals, a procession to the temple, a sacrifice for sin, the payment of a vow.' Yet as the last lecture on 'The Psalter and the Inner Life' shows, they have 'survived the purpose for which they came into existence, and have continued to be the help of unnumbered

souls.' The beginnings of the Psalter must be looked for in the period when the influence of the prophets was at its strongest. Psalm xvi. dwells on life as rich, full, satisfying, and being that it could be brought to an end through the accident of death. This is a book that appeals strongly to all lovers of the Psalter.

As Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Scripture, Dr. Simpson invited five experts to lecture on the Psalms in Oxford. His Introduction points out how the Higher Criticism 'has long since proved itself the ally alike of faith and reason.' Professor Gressman of Berlin holds that Hebrew psalmody is in its origin pre-Davidic, and many of the psalms bear evident traces of their pre-Exilic ancestry. Amos, he thinks, knew of David as a psalmist. Mr. Wheeler Robinson, Principal of Regent's Park College, dwells on the inner life of the Psalter. Calvin called it 'the soul's anatomy,' which both mirrors life, and demands life for its true exegesis. Dr. Theodore Robinson lectures on 'The Eschatology of the Psalmists.' They supply the raw material out of which such an eschatology can be reconstructed. The closing lectures view the psalms in the light of Babylonian and Egyptian research. Mr. Driver protests against the idea of immediate borrowing from Babylonish sources, but admits the possibility of mediated, indirect, unconscious borrowing. Dr. Blackman holds that Egypt was indebted to the Semitic world for certain ideas, and the Semitic world was in other respects indebted to Egypt. 'It can almost be said that the Songs of Sion were being sung in a strange land before they were sung in Sion herself.' Students of this set of essays and of Dr. Welch's volume will get into the very heart of the Psalter.

Essays in Ethics and Religion. By James Seth, M.A., LL.D. (Blackwood and Sons. *7s. 6d.* net.)

The interest of this volume is enhanced by the memoir with which the editor, Professor Pringle-Pattison, introduces his collection of his brother's essays. It is the portrait of a singularly inspiring personality. James Seth, after holding professorships in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Brown University, Rhode Island, had just begun his second session as Professor of Moral Philosophy at Cornell University before being elected the successor of Calderwood at Edinburgh. He was to hold this position for twenty-six years. A man of simple, modest, and kindly nature, firm and yet catholic in his opinions, he exercised a remarkable influence both on his students and on the public mind. He was beloved by the former, securing their interest by his method of catechetical instruction and encouraging them to break in with questions or objections, being 'always on the outlook for any new truth that his students could teach him.' Like T. H. Green of Oxford, he was interested in all social movements and delighted in the applications of ethical theory to the civic life of the community. His social outlook affected his interpretation of Christianity, and his essay on 'Socialism and Christianity' reveals

his steadfast conviction that at bottom the Christian ideal is identical with the ideal of Socialism and that modern social conditions called for new applications of the Christian ideal. His essentially social conception of duty appears also in the first essay on 'The practical interest of Ethics,' in which he asserts that the good man is always the good citizen, even if civic goodness is not the whole of goodness. As an example of his independence of outlook and his logical acumen we note his treatment of 'The alleged fallacies of Mill's Utilitarianism,' in which he combats the criticisms of Bradley, Sorley, and others, by pointing out that the famous essay is not concerned with the deeper ethical question which is inevitably raised, but is really inspired by the practical purpose of the social reformer. The discussions of 'Morality and Religion,' 'The Christian Ethic,' and 'Certain alleged defects in the Christian Morality' illustrate his clear thinking and logical method, and contain matter of much value to the student and preacher. The book concludes with an essay on 'Methods of instruction in Philosophy,' and a set of lecture-summaries and addresses to graduates. A volume of striking practical interest, suffused throughout with the ennobling idealism of a much revered teacher.

God and Evolution. By W. R. Matthews, M.A., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 8*s.* net.)

The Dean of King's College gave these three lectures under the auspices of the Liverpool Board of Divinity. He feels the urgent need of presenting the doctrines of our faith in the setting of evolutionary ideas. The conception of evolution is not likely to be shaken, though it may be affected profoundly. The emergent theory of evolution is truer than a mechanistic one, but is not the whole truth. Evolution has really reinforced the teleological argument. Christianity cannot abandon the belief in creation. 'It is bound to hold that the system of nature is not self-explanatory, but depends throughout on creative intelligence.' 'Emergent evolution invites us to conceive God as creating always—now and in the future. If we frankly accept this conclusion we shall find ourselves in possession of a nobler and more hopeful view of God.' It is a little book based on deep and clear thinking, and its argument will be of great service to other thinkers.

The Inescapable Christ. By Walter Russell Bowie. (John Murray. 6*s.* net.)

Dean Inge's Preface dwells on the special feature of Dr. Bowie's book as an appeal to spiritual experience. It is personal in its approach, and its title links it to the *Hound of Heaven.* 'Down the roadways of our restless time come the feet of the inescapable Christ. In mind and will we may flee Him down many by-ways; but the reality that is in Him cannot be outdistanced nor denied.' Our age is seeking for reality, and the reality it must reckon with is that spiritual force of goodness which brings us face to face with God.

The age is also bent on self-expression, but cannot find it till men feel the life of Christ within us and let it go forth through them. Dr. Bowie brings out forcibly the Inclusiveness, the Simplicities, the Formidableness, and the Gladness of Christ, and leads up to the conclusion that the only force great enough to create a new heart in the peoples is the Spirit of Jesus Christ. The wisest and best in our generation are turning back to Him. He is, indeed, 'the Inescapable Christ.'

Christian Education in the Church, by P. T. Thomson, M.A. (Student Christian Movement, 1*s.* net), insists on the fact that education and religion must always be closely allied. The child holds the field in this discussion, for 'the issue of the antagonism between God and self is determined, in a vast majority of cases, by something that takes place in childhood; before fourteen the struggle is virtually over.' The various phases of the subject are considered in eight chapters, and stress is laid on the task of rebuilding the Christian home. The whole study is timely and intensely practical.

Mysticism and the Eastern Church. By Nicholas Arseniew. (Student Christian Movement. 5*s.* net.) In an Introductory Note Evelyn Underhill says English students of religion have long been waiting for this 'profound and beautiful study of the spirituality of the Orthodox Church.' Professor Arseniew was driven out of Russia by the Soviets, and became Lecturer on Russian in the University of Heidelberg in 1920. He says the joy of the Resurrection is the key-note of the Eastern Church's whole outlook upon the world. That joy comes to those who are crucified with Christ, and can challenge through Him the power of death and hell. The second section deals with 'The transfiguration of the world and of life in mysticism.' The soul of the mystic already thrills with anticipation of the time when God shall be all in all. For him man and nature are glorified in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which is a living pledge of the coming revelation of eternal life.

Science and Ultimate Truth. By W. R. Inge, C.V.O., D.D. (Longmans & Co. 1*s.* and 2*s.* net.) This is the Fison Memorial Lecture, delivered last March at Guy's Hospital Medical School. The dean describes the brilliant pageant opened up by modern astronomy, and shows that the faith in Order which makes natural science possible is only one example of a wider faith. The philosopher tries to relate his three ultimate values—the Good, the Beautiful, and the True—to one suprasensuous reality. The chief solutions, other than the theistic, advocated in the last century, in the attempt to determine the relations of the mental and material, of value and fact, and some statements of Professor Pringle-Pattison are stated and criticized by one who is master of the whole subject. The eternal values are a 'triple star, the attributes under which the one Supreme Being has revealed to us His nature and His will;

and we shall be harmoniously developed men in proportion as we can make our own something of what the saint, the scientist, and the artist respectively find in their experience of life.' It is a suggestive and reassuring lecture.

Everyman and Christianity. By Eric S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) There are twelve articles in this Working Creed for average folk. 'I believe in Goodness, and therefore in God.'; 'I believe in Love, and therefore in Christ.' Those are the two first articles, and the two last are 'I believe in the Value of Life, and therefore in Immortality,' and 'I believe in my Creed, and therefore in Christianity.' Professor Waterhouse takes us with him step by step. His appeal is to reasonable men and women, and he wins their confidence as he opens up his subject and shows how closely the simple essentials of Christian belief and practice are linked to what we do really believe.—*First Steps in Preaching.* By J. A. Clapperton, M.A. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This is just the book a young preacher needs. It shows how to collect material; how to get new thoughts; how to map out a subject, find illustrations, and deliver the sermon in the best way. It is intended for beginners, and they will get real help from it. Mr. Clapperton is in constant and close touch with young preachers, and knows exactly what their difficulties are.—*The Early Days of Christianity,* by F. C. Grant (Abingdon Press $1.25), is a teacher's manual, with suggestions as to the aim, procedure, application, &c., of each lesson. It brings the story from Pentecost to the conversion of Constantine, and does it in a way that will greatly help both teachers and scholars.—*Picturesque Interviews with Jesus,* by Rollin H. Walker (Abingdon Press, 75 cents), are drawn from the Gospel of St. John, and each exposition is followed by a talk over it by the young people, and a set of questions for discussion. It is an arresting method.—*Sukkah, Mishna, and Tosefta.* By A. W. Greenup. (S.P.C.K. 5*s.* net.) The Sukkah is a tractate of the Mishna which deals with the regulations regarding the Feast of Tabernacles. It lays down minute instructions as to the material of the booths, their structure, and the mode of habitation. Mr. Greenup's Introduction gives the references to the feast in the Old and New Testament and in various writers, and useful notes are added to the translation. It is an interesting addition to the series of *Translations of Early Documents.*—*Meditations on Various Aspects of the Spiritual Life.* By Sadhu Sundar Singh. (Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) The Bishop of London says in a Foreword how greatly he was impressed by the supernatural power of an address which he heard the Sadhu deliver. He feels that only when Christianity is represented in its Eastern dress is it likely to win our Indian fellow subjects for Christ. The Sadhu's twelve chapters are rich in spiritual thought. 'When a man repents of his sin and turns to God, then the Spirit of God works in him, and he is born anew and becomes a new creature, and then and there the Kingdom of God, or Paradise, begins in him.' It is a refreshing and

invigorating study of the deep things of religion.—*The Creative Life.* By Fanny Street, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 2*s.* net.) These suggestions as to the early beginnings of the life of power dwell first on our attitude to God, the divine Source of Power, the Creative Spirit, and to our fellow men and women. Complete devotion to the ends of God makes a human life creative, as it made that of Jesus. Some form of communion with God is vital to the creative life. The ways of asking, seeking, knocking, and meeting or fellowship are described and illustrated with real spiritual insight in this impressive study.—*The Study of the English Prayer-book.* By Dyson Hague. (Longmans & Co. 5*s.* net.) The origin, developments, and compilation of the Prayer-book are given in the most helpful way, with 'points for discussion' at the end of each chapter. Though it was the product of many ages, the book took its form in about three crowded years of English ecclesiastical history. Chapters are given to the American, Scottish, Irish, and Canadian Prayer-books. It is a very valuable and instructive survey.—*Men of Destiny.* By J. R. Coates, B.A. (S.C.M. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.) These brief studies of Bible characters are vivid and impressive. That on Joseph's appeal to Pilate is powerful and dramatic, and the others make one think and understand many things more clearly.—*Personality and Religion.* By Dr. Morgan-Smith. (Skeffington & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) This thoughtful little book shows how conscience, temptation, and suffering may develop human personality after the pattern of Jesus Christ. The spirit of Christianity is superseding the letter and leading to a unity which embraces all who are in active sympathy with the Spirit of Christ. There is a high tone in these suggestive pages.—Professor W. N. Rice's valuable little book on *Science and Religion* (Abingdon Press, 50 cents) fastens on five supposed conflicts between science and Christianity, which were essentially conflicts between scientific beliefs and a Bible supposed to be inerrant. The scientific questions of our age do not touch the central truth of Christianity. The modern view of the Bible as the record of an age-long process in the divine education of humanity Professor Rice regards as far more interesting and inspiring than the view of mediæval theology. The book will be of real service.—*Worship: Its Necessity, Nature, and Expression.* By A. L. Lilley, M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 2*s.* net.) Archdeacon Lilley regards worship as an ascent of the Spirit to God and His response to our human aspiration. It fosters the meditative temper; it induces a concentration of the spirit for the purpose of action, and has been the nurse of civility, of politeness, which allows no contemptuous superiority of the higher over the lower. The rôle of the intellect in religious faith is clearly set forth.

A Guide to the Epistles of St. Paul. By H. N. Bate, M.A., Canon of Carlisle. (Longmans. 3*s.* 6*d.* paper; 5*s.* cloth.) Canon Bate writes for those who are prepared to read an Epistle through in Greek or English. We feel that we really know St. Paul from his

own writings and from St. Luke's record, though the Acts is 'as far from being complete as he himself was from entirely understanding his friend.' Two chapters on 'St. Paul, Hebrew and Hellene' and 'St. Paul the Rabbi' prepare the way for studies of the letters. Canon Bate puts Galatians first, and dates it 48–9. The circumstances which led to the writing of each Epistle are clearly stated, and their teaching is set forth in a way that may guide personal study. The authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is not discussed, as it is 'one which only expert students can profitably consider,' but there is no doubt that the personal information given in them is accurate. It is a little book of real value for students.—*A Philosophy from Prison.* By F. R. Barry, D.S.O., M.A. (Student Christian Movement. 4*s.* net.) Professor Barry, of King's College, wrote a short study of *St. Paul and Social Philosophy*, which has led to this closer exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians. After a full Introduction on authorship, date, &c., he groups the teaching of the letter under three heads: God in History; Christ the Meaning of History; Self-Expression and Social Life. The love of Christ which passeth knowledge needs all the world to interpret it. We know enough about the power that worketh in us to understand that to Him nothing is impossible. 'What He can make out of human nature transcends our most inspired prayers, overpasses our imaginations.' We get to the heart of St. Paul's teaching in this illuminating study.—The Religious Tract Society have added to their 'Devotional Commentaries' (3*s.* 6*d.* net) two volumes on *I. and II. Samuel*, by Dr. W. H. Rigg, Vicar of Beverley Minster, and *Colossians and Titus*, by Dr. Dawson-Walker, Professor of Divinity at Durham University. The general trend of the writings is clearly brought out, and much food is supplied for quiet meditation. Such volumes certainly make Bible reading a sacrament. They have been prepared with skill and sound judgement, and give the devout reader help drawn from the foremost scholars, and do it in a way that is really instructive and stimulating. The way in which the authorship of the Pastoral Epistles is treated is admirable.—A capital reprint of Dr. Edersheim's standard work on *The Temple* (6*s.*) is very welcome. He was a recognized master of the subject, and the volume can scarcely be said to have a rival. It portrays the Temple, its sacrifices, services, priests, and worshippers, so as to light up every part of the gospel story.—Some smaller volumes are very attractively got up. *Forgiving and Forgiven*, by Margaret M. Roseman (2*s.*), sets forth and illustrates the teaching of Christ in a way that makes one ashamed of harsh and unloving thoughts and tempers.—*The Cross*, by W. C. Procter (1*s.* 6*d.*), shows what blessings it brings to the world, and what an example it sets to all true disciples.—Three sixpenny booklets are Sir G. A. King's impressive address on *The Witness of Scripture to the Existence of God; The Reconciliation*, by Canon Barnes-Lawrence, a careful study of the Atonement; and *Motherhood*, by Laura A. B. Snow, a beautiful message to mothers, which will give them new heart for their lovely service.—*The Epistle to the Hebrews.*

Translation by F. H. Wales, B.D. (H. Milford. 1*s.*) The Preface and Notes deal with the questions of date, authorship, &c.; the translation stirs one's thought and gives new point to many familiar passages. The printing of quotations in italics is an aid to thought. It is a little pamphlet which may brighten a journey or a leisure hour and 'hearten with the heartening of the New Covenant, perfected, and making perfect the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, unto patience for the fullness of hope and for the fortitude of faith, as seeing Him who is unseen.'—Mr. Allenson sends us three volumes of real interest. *Portraits of Men of the New Testament*, by T. E. Miller, M.A. (5*s.*), completes his series of Bible portraits. He delivered them to his congregation in Dunfermline, but died before his MS. was corrected for the press. The portraits seem alive, and all show careful study and a keen eye to the needs of the men and women of to-day.—*The Enchanted Highway*, by George H. Charnley (5*s.*), is a new pilgrim's progress which leads a happy set of youths along the road of adventure. Every stage of the way has its thrilling experiences and its happy lessons in the art of living. It is a book that will delight young folk.—*Ever*, by Alice M. Pullen (2*s.* 6*d.*), is a child's book of joy. The girl sprite gets hold of the secret that the body is just a frock for the soul, and she carries sunshine into many sorrowing lives.—The third volume of *The Clarendon Bible* is *The Decline and Fall of the Hebrew Kingdoms* (Milford, 4*s.* 6*d.* net), by Dr. T. H. Robinson. The passages selected present a general picture of the social, moral, and religious condition of Israel during the period, with an Introduction on the historical background of the Nearer East and the social, economic, and religious conditions in Israel. Extended notes light up the passages selected, and additional notes deal with the text, the chronology, eschatology, &c.

Les Points Fondamentaux de la Philosophie Thomiste. Par R. P. Guido Mattinssi, S.J. (Turin : Marietti.)

This Commentary on the twenty-four theses was approved by the Congregation of Studies in 1914 as an exact and substantial *résumé* of the philosophic doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas. It has now been translated from the Italian into French and adapted by the Abbé Jean Levillain. The author, who died in 1925, had a profound knowledge of the works of St. Thomas, and deals with the general or special metaphysic, the ontology, cosmology, psychology, and theodicy, the sciences which treat of real being. The table of contents gives a full outline of each of the fourteen chapters, most of which serve as commentaries for several theses, but the theses on the will and the three on the existence of God, the divine essence, and the Supreme Being have long chapters to themselves. The work is a synthesis of the theory of the act and the power. After analysing these two notions, we see the principles founded on them, their application to the universal order of being, and their fecundity in different orders. Then we see how the sublime theory of act and power finds its full achievement and entire justification in the Supreme Being.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

George Meredith. By J. B. Priestly. *Swinburne.* By Harold Nicolson. (Macmillan & Co. 5*s.* each.)

Lovers of our literature have long wished for a continuance of the famous series of 'English Men of Letters,' and they will feel that in Mr. J. C. Squire a worthy successor has been found to Lord Morley as general editor. The get-up of the volumes and the clear type make it a pleasure to handle and to read them, and the names chosen to open the series have a wide appeal. *George Meredith* is a masterpiece of appreciation and insight. Two chapters are given to his biography and five to a criticism of his poetry and fiction. Meredith was 'tremendously alive, both physically and mentally.' 'In his life, though not in his work, he was proud and egoistical.' The reception of his early work made him morbidly sensitive. 'A highly-strung, taut, amazingly-impressionable, lightning-witted creature, for ever wincing at the lightest word, felled by the lifting of an eyebrow.' He deliberately hardened his heart against hostile criticism, and, instead of modifying his mannerisms, flung them in the critics' faces. He held that Nature is very kind to all her offspring. Man must not be her slave. It is our business to tame and ride the bounding animal in us, rejoicing in his swiftness and strength. His attitude to prayer as a mere psychological safety-valve would debar most of us from it. Mr. Priestly finds much in his poetry that is brackish, and cloudy with dregs, but he does not overlook 'The Lark Ascending,' and other pieces, which are the 'wine of song, ready to restore us back to health and sanity and then to renew old enchantments.' The study of the novels is illuminating. He has given us creatures of straw and 'heroines inferior to none but Shakespeare's.' The more we read his fiction the more we are astonished at its richness and virility. He enlarged the scope of fiction, gave it new matter and new manner, and added a new octave to the instrument of prose fiction. He sometimes did his journeyman's work badly, but when he had a difficult task he scaled heights that have yet to be overtopped. Meredith regarded Swinburne as devoid of 'an internal centre,' and Mr. Nicolson feels that 'the side-tracks and the blind-alleys' in his life and character are many and various, and the main thoroughfare is sadly encumbered. 'The exaggerated enthusiasm which he inspired from 1867 to 1900 was due largely to the novelty of his music; to-day the tunes which he either invented or perfected have lost their glamour and their surprise.' His emotional receptivity began to ossify in 1857, in his twenty-first year. 'The sea, the sun, and wind had been absorbed in childhood; with Eton came Sophocles, Sappho, the *Birds* of Aristophanes, Catullus, the Elizabethans, Landor, Hugo, Mary Queen of Scots; during his first year at Balliol

there flamed for him Mazzini and the detestation of Napoleon III. This strange assortment remained throughout his life the essential stimulus; there was no stimulus after 1857 that became really essential.' With his second year at Balliol the ores which he had for so long been extracting were thrown suddenly into the crucible, mixed with baser metals. Mr. Nicolson does not cloak over the intemperance of the Oxford days and the period that followed in London. With the appearance of *Atalanta in Calydon* in 1865 he 'shot like a rocket into celebrity.' 'He was lionized, and he liked being lionized; he would go to dinner-parties, and get drunk and arrogant, and his voice would shrill up to a note of self-assertiveness which rendered him offensive to strangers, and which filled his friends with anguish, anxiety, and dismay.' His *Poems and Ballads* made a 'reverberating sensation' in 1866. John Morley spoke of him as 'an unclean, fiery imp from the pit.' Mr. Nicolson is rather severe on Watts-Dunton's rôle as redeemer, his caging of the 'light white seamew.' But when he took charge the poet had lost 'his health, his self-control, his dignity almost, certainly his zest in life; he was losing even, a more pitiable De Musset, the pride in his own genius. Watts rescued and redeemed. There were thirty years of useful suburban study.' At Putney, Swinburne's health was quickly restored, and Watts saw to it that there should be no further relapse. If ever a wayward genius needed a guardian, it was Swinburne, and in Watts-Dunton he found one who never failed him. Mr. Nicolson's chapters on the poems and the prose will be read with much appreciation. Dr. Mackail called his *Study of Shakespeare* 'one of those works of illuminating and creative criticism which take rank as classics,' and Edward Thomas thinks his *William Blake* must remain 'his one wholly necessary and perhaps unfading book of prose.'

The Abbey of St. Gall as a Centre of Literature and Art. By J. M. Clark, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 18*s.* net.)

About 610, St. Columban arrived at Brigantia, the old Roman town at the eastern extremity of Lake Constance. St. Gall, one of his companions, was an eloquent preacher and understood the language of the people. He preached to them and they broke their idols and cast them into the lake. After three years the Irish monks were ordered to leave the country, but St. Gall was ill with a fever, and, when he recovered, found a retreat in a vast uninhabited forest infested by bears, boars, and wolves. He went from village to village preaching the pure gospel and condemning the heathen practices which polluted it. From this hermitage, founded about 613, an abbey arose which existed for over a thousand years and became one of the most renowned centres of scholarship in Europe. As the abbey increased in wealth, its intellectual life progressed rapidly. It had a series of very energetic and cultured abbots. Gozbert (816–36) rebuilt the monastery on a much larger scale, increased the library, and put the school under the care of one of the finest scholars of the day. The abbacy of Salomo (890–920) was

the golden age of St. Gall. He added four rich abbeys to its property and secured Notker and Tuotilo as teachers, who added new lustre to the school. The long history of St. Gall came to a close in 1805 when Napoleon ordered its dissolution. The property was divided between the Canton of St. Gall and the Catholic community. A continual stream of Irish pilgrims passed through St. Gall on their way to and from Rome, and there were three successive waves of Irish immigration. Mr. Clark gives detailed information as to Irish and Anglo-Saxon influence, describes the plan of the abbey, and the range of education in its school. The influence on art, music, the drama, and other literature are fully discussed, and the library is shown to be in some respects unrivalled and unique. Notker, the greatest of the St. Gall musicians, is still known by his famous sequences, and, besides being the most gifted musician Switzerland ever produced, he was also a distinguished man of letters. The introduction of miniature-painting at St. Gall was the work of the Irish, who were specially skilled in ornamenting capital letters with serpents, spirits, &c. The book is one of the greatest interest, and there are some excellent illustrations of buildings and MSS. The interior of the abbey church in the sixteenth century gives a vivid impression of the wealth and artistic taste of the community.

Select Treatises of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. De Diligendo Deo, edited by Watkin W. Williams, M.A.; *De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae*, edited by Barton R. V. Mills, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 10*s*. net.)

This is a piece of fine revision and reconstruction of the Latin text for which Mr. Mills has been chiefly responsible. The editors have had to face many problems, in the solution of which they have been helped by various experts. The purpose of the volume is to make some of St. Bernard's treatises more easily accessible to students and to give help in their interpretation. For his last thirty years Bernard was the virtual ruler of Western Christendom. 'His is the most picturesque and powerful personality of the twelfth century, and, with the possible exception of St. Francis of Assisi, of the Middle Ages.' None of his writings have attained such popularity as *De Imitatione Christi*, though Thomas à Kempis drew much of his inspiration from St. Bernard. His power of delineating character is seen in the last part of the *De Gradibus*, which is the earliest of his treatises. It is addressed to his kinsman Godfrey, who went with him to Citeaux and afterwards to the new monastery of Clairvaux. The second part describes the twelve stages of pride. The first six, curiosity, levity, foolish jocularity, ostentation, oddity, and self-assertion, show contempt for the brethren; the next four, presumption, self-excuse, dishonest confession, and rebellion, exhibit contempt for authority; the two last, the licence to sin and habitual sinning, exhibit contempt for God. The treatise throws a flood of light upon the advantages and dangers of monastic life. He appears as a thinker and theologian and 'shows a power of observing and

a skill in describing human nature on its least attractive side.' Mr. Mills regards it as, in many respects, the most characteristic and comprehensive of his works.

English Monastic Finances in the later Middle Ages. By R. H. Snape, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is an important addition to the *Cambridge Studies in Mediaeval Life and Thought.* It seeks to examine the actual course of monastic life from the twelfth to the sixteenth century from the point of view of finance. It deals with the monasteries as holders of property, and tries to see something of the daily business in which the monks were involved, and the effect on the secular world with which they were thus brought into direct contact. The lay brethren of 'converse' were chiefly of importance among the Cistercians. For the most part they were of the lower orders—artisans, husbandmen, or labourers. They seem to have been turbulent and unruly, and, when placed in charge of the monastic property, were 'liable to fall into the sin of owning private property, or becoming "propritaries," as it was technically called.' The elaborate organization of the monastic household is clearly brought out. The abbot had his own revenues, for as one of the magnates of the land he had to bear many heavy expenses. The arrangement set some barrier to personal extravagance and prevented undue claims for the maintenance of his household. There was a traffic in patronage in which various monasteries were implicated, and Archbishop Peckham had to warn the Abbot of Cluny about the management of the Priory of Lewes: 'We have passed the flower of youth, and already are attaining to old age, and on careful retrospection we can hardly remember that, to the present day, we ever saw a man presented by the Prior and College of Lewes to the cure of souls in the sincerity which is needful.' The farming out estates and tithes was disastrous. The monks ceased to have that close contact with the world which had given them the chance of doing something for its regeneration, and the monastic horizon was narrowed in a way which proved injurious to the whole tone of their lives. Papal charges were a heavy burden. One abbot-elect of St. Albans had to spend over £1,000 in getting his election confirmed, exclusive of the sum paid to the Pope and cardinals as firstfruits. Hospitality was also a serious drain. The great lord would appear with his train, and demand it or take it by force. The alms distributed by the monasteries is probably much exaggerated. Any increase of pauperism after the Dissolution was probably due more to the sudden dispersal of the large companies of servants than to the withdrawal of the monastic alms. The monks did not fare amiss. 'The husbandman's dinner was less plentiful, less choice, and less varied than theirs.' At the Dissolution the old days when 'monasticism had stood almost alone for spiritual life, learning, peace, and lawfulness were over.' The monks were 'doing little which could not be less

extravagantly done by men unhampered in their social work by an obligatory rejection of social ties.' The book throws much light on the real conditions of monastic life in the later Middle Ages.

Classical Studies. By J. W. Mackail. (John Murray. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The first of these studies and addresses was delivered at the first general meeting of the Classical Association in 1904 and deals with the place of Greek and Latin in human life. Those languages are unequalled for organic structure and exquisite precision, and their literature cannot become obsolete because it reached perfection. Other addresses deal with kindred subjects. 'What is the good of Greek?' was a lecture given at Melbourne in 1923. It is followed by a delightful study of 'Penelope in the Odyssey'; another on 'Virgil's Italy,' and a fascinating account of 'The Virgilian Underworld' set in the framework of the excavations of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos. The paper on the last great Roman historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, a native of Antioch who served in the Roman army, is of great interest. He brings the history down to 378 and, though himself a pagan, censures the edict closing the schools of grammar and rhetoric to Christian teachers. He praises the simple life of the provincial bishops, and in one noble phrase includes both the old and the new faiths. The book is a plea for classical study which captures the imagination and brings forward solid reasons why Latin and Greek should not be allowed to drop out of the curriculum.

Modern Thinkers and Present Problems. By Edward A. Singer, Ph.D. (Harrap & Co. 5*s.* net.)

Seven studies of Bruno, Spinoza, A Disciple of Spinoza, Hume, Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, are followed by chapters on 'Pragmatism,' 'Progress,' 'Royce on Love and Loyalty,' and some final pages headed 'Retrospect and Prospect.' The papers bring before the reader certain problems that have engaged the minds of philosophers, and represent moments in each man's history. Bruno's trial before the Inquisition and his martyrdom are described, and we see in him the unacknowledged inspirer of much that is recognized as great in Spinoza and Leibnitz, as well as the forerunner of much that is greatest in the German idealism that centres about A.D. 1800. The sketches are eminently readable, and get to the heart of each thinker's philosophical position. Their common assumption was that religious truth must be reached by reason or experience, not by what is commonly called 'revelation.' 'Empiricism has taught us to accept the postulate that, whatever the nature of our beliefs, their meaning must be communicable, their evidence must be demonstrable, by one to another.' Dr. Singer's studies light up a long stretch of philosophical inquiry, and do it in a way that will be of real service to young thinkers. Here is a striking estimate. 'Just as the facts of life as he observed it left Hume unable to point to anything in experience that could guide life religiously, so these facts, as Schopenhauer more fully took them in, left life irreligious and blind. Again,

it was but what he took to be a broader experience that led Nietzsche to conceive the destiny and perfectability of life to lie within the control of life itself, and it is only a still broader view of experience that robs this philosophy for us of what inspiration it had, and leaves it but a gospel of gritting the teeth.'

Movements in European History. By D. H. Lawrence. (Milford. 4*s.* 6*d.*)

To this little volume we give a most cordial welcome; it is one of the best of its kind that we have seen. The author has not attempted to write a continuous history; within his limits it was impossible to have done that and to have preserved the interest of the narrative. His plan may perhaps best be stated in his own words. 'It is an attempt to give an impression of the great, surging movements which rose in the hearts of men in Europe, sweeping human beings together into one great concerted action, or sweeping them apart for ever on the tides of opposition.' This is the plan, and the way in which it has been carried out is beyond all praise. Mr. Lawrence has a competent knowledge of the facts of European history, and, what is by no means the same thing, the historic sense which enables him to select his subject-matter, and the plan upon which he has wrought renders such selection inevitable, with the happiest results. He knows, not only what to insert, but also what to leave out—not infrequently a much more difficult thing. This does not, of course, mean that we see eye to eye with him at every point—a thing hardly to be wondered at, for it would be wellnigh impossible to find two students entirely at one in selective work of this kind. To give a single example, it would, in our opinion, have been better to have passed Licinius by without any mention at all than to have referred to him in a very cursory fashion which gives an altogether misleading impression of his actual relations with Constantine. Still, it is only fair to say that Mr. Lawrence has done what he set out to do, and in a series of nineteen chapters, and in one small volume, has succeeded in presenting a remarkably interesting and vivid account of the course of European history from the time of the Caesars to the close of the nineteenth century. Mr. Lawrence is no mere compiler; he is a philosophic historian, from whom not only the adolescents, for whom in particular he professes to write, but students of maturer years and some reading, may glean much that will be of advantage to them. In matter of fact, the more the reader of this little volume already knows about the general course of European history, the more he will enjoy reading it, and the greater the stimulus he will derive from its perusal. Mr. Lawrence writes in a charming style; there is not a dull page from first to last; and, as already intimated, his presentation of the facts challenges thought on the part of the reader. By way of illustration of the manner in which this most engaging writer opens up vistas of thought we may quote what are almost his concluding sentences, and leave them to speak for themselves: 'So the cycle of European history completes itself, phase

by phase, from imperial Rome, through the mediaeval empire and papacy to the kings of the Renaissance period, on to the great commercial nations, the government by the industrial and commercial middle classes, and so to that last rule, that last oneness of the labouring people. So Europe moves from oneness to oneness, from the imperial unity to the unity of the labouring classes, from the beginning to the end.' For a book of its size and class it is not too much to say that *Movements in European History* is superbly illustrated, with wisely-chosen illustrations which really help the reader, who will further find no little assistance from a series of fourteen clear and admirable maps.

The Relations of Geography and History. By the late H. B. George, M.A. Edited by O. J. R. Howarth, O.B.E., M.A. (Clarendon Press. 5*s*.)

That this little volume has reached a fifth edition is itself a sufficient indication that it meets a real need. Though it is the merest truism to say that geographical facts have contributed not a little to determine the course of historical events, it is none the less true that, by many of those interested in the subject, the geographical factor in history is less appreciated than it ought to be. Mr. George's useful little volume will serve as a pleasant antidote to any tendency in this direction. The geographical factor, of course, emerges into special prominence in relation to military movements, but it is not by any means confined thereto. If we have any criticism to offer, it is that Mr. George devotes too large a proportion of the space at his disposal to military operations, and too little to certain other topics of some interest and importance. To the student of military history, however, his book will be simply invaluable, so far as it goes. The leading countries of the world are dealt with in a series of chapters in which the nature of their frontiers, the campaigns they have witnessed on their several soils, and the importance of sea power, where relevant, are admirably dealt with. Some necessary additions to the earlier chapters by editorial hands have been rendered necessary by recent events, and the changes witnessed during the world crisis of the last decade and a half, form the subject of a new concluding chapter from the pen of Mr. C. B. Fawcett, B.Litt. A series of sketch-maps to illustrate the text would be a real gain, even though their provision should involve some increase in bulk and price.

The Golden Stool: Some Aspects of the Conflict of Cultures in Modern Africa. By Edwin W. Smith. (Holborn Publishing House. 5*s*. net.)

The twenty-sixth Hartley Lecture has peculiar interest. The lecturer was born in Africa, and laboured there as a missionary before he became Literary Superintendent at the Bible House. He knows his subject intimately and David Livingstone has been his hero as long as he can remember. The opening chapter, on 'The Golden

Stool of Ashanti,' reads like a romance, and the sketch of conditions in the New Africa shows that European activities have created a new environment for the Africans in the last fifty years. The white man has dug himself in, and if we do our duty in a Christian way the native will be the ultimate gainer from the invasion. He possesses aptitudes and traditions which are worth conserving, and the more we know him the more we respect them. While in Africa Mr. Smith preached the gospel of labour by precept and example. He says the only legitimate method of inducing the African to work harder is to raise his standard of living, creating new ambitions and needs by a rational system of education. 'The African is being hurried out of his old collectivistic society into individualism,' and the danger is that in the process of social revolution he should lose his old moral restraints and gain no others. The chapter on Islam in Africa is justly described by Sir F. D. Lugard in his Foreword as 'particularly liberal and illuminating.' Mr. Smith lays great stress on the education of children and women. The greatest need of Africa is a corps of intelligent, God-fearing men and women, with eyes upon the future of their race and with reverence for the past, who shall go to uplift their fellows. The lecture is one of extraordinary interest and practical importance.

Messrs. Macmillan have just issued an abridged edition of Harold Begbie's *Life of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army.* It is in two neat volumes, with illustrations, and is published at 12*s.* 6*d.* net. The work was originally issued at two guineas. The abridgement has been done in a way that really adds to the popular appeal of the *Life*, and the price will make it reach a much wider circle. The book needs no other recommendation than Mr. Begbie's first sentence in his Preface: 'William Booth is likely to remain for many centuries one of the most signal figures in human history.' It is a memorable story, and is told with much skill and warm appreciation. —*The Negro in American Life*, by Willis J. King (Abingdon Press, 75 cents), supplies an important course for young readers. The negro forms nearly ten per cent. of the population of the United States, seventy per cent. of that of the West Indies, thirty-three per cent. of Brazil. The race problem 'offers America a big opportunity for world leadership,' and this well-informed and judicious study will greatly further that end.—*The Call and the Answer.* By Phyllis M. Garlick. (Church Missionary Society. 1*s.* net.) This is the story of the C.M.S. for 1926, and its 50,000 supporters will see how the world call has been answered in Africa, in the Moslem world, in India, China, and Japan. Each section has its map, its survey of the field, and its list of recruits needed to embrace the God-given opportunity for adventure and sacrifice. It is a unique report, and impressive from first to last.—*A Tribute to the Triumphant*, by Bishop Warne (Abingdon Press), describes the sixty-six years which Mrs. Parker gave to Methodist work in India. Her husband owed much of his success as bishop to her devotion to the work which was so dear to them both. It is a beautiful record of never-failing zeal and love.

The Spiritual Unfolding of Bishop H. C. G. Moule, D.D. By John Baird. (Oliphants. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Bishop Moule had unique qualities of sweetness, nobility, and refined sensibility, which seemed to awaken the spiritual sense in any company that he entered. He was Principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, for nineteen years, and Bishop of Durham for nineteen. His conversion recalls the case of John Wesley. Six years passed between his entrance at Cambridge and his avowed decision, but all the time he was on his way to Christ. His mother was the chief means of leading him to peace, and he emerged as 'the saint of richer spirituality.' It was not until seventeen years after his conversion that he discerned that Christ is all in all for our sanctification. 'Fear was then swallowed up in a rejoicing Hallelujah.' Self was changed from an obstacle of Christ to His instrument. There would be limits, very humbling limits, very real fallings short to the last. In a sense he was always on his knees. He became one of the chief theologians, and the pre-eminent scholar of the Keswick Movement. Among the bishops he was one of the great, purely religious forces, who combined highly cultivated mental powers, literary celebrity, evangelical fervour. 'Jesus in the heart—Jesus showing in the life—religion radiating beyond itself—were the main themes on which he delighted to dwell. The spiritual power which clothed him softened those who heard him into adoration and trust.' Mr. Baird has done good service by this portrait of a true saint.—Dr. Guppy's valuable sketch of the *History of the Transmission of the Bible down to the Revised English Version of* 1881-95 is published by the Manchester University Press at eighteenpence. It has twenty beautiful facsimiles, and is intensely interesting from first to last.—*Richard Baxter's Last Treatise* (2*s.* net) is copied from the MS. in Dr. Williams's Library and edited by Dr. Powicke, with an Introduction which was Professor Unwin's last piece of literary work. Baxter says that the poor of his day usually lacked time to read a chapter in the Bible or to pray in their families, and he cannot but pity those who sleep at sermon or prayer. Abundance of them could not read nor have their children taught to read; nor could they spare money to buy a Bible or a smaller book.—*Chinese Communists and Mission Properties* describes the confiscation of the Anglo-Chinese College at Swatow, the strike last March at Canton Hospital, the story of the strike and boycott at the Stout Memorial Hospital at Wuchow, and the trouble at Canton Christian College. Mr. Harmon, of Shantung Christian University, protests 'against the urging by missionaries of the abolition of "extra-territoriality," on the ground that this affects others much more than themselves,' and gives 'two definite, true examples of how Christian law operates in relation to any who do not now enjoy the protection of "extra-territoriality."'

The Cambridge University Press has just published a reprint of Dean Hutton's *Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* (8*s.* 6*d.* net). It first appeared in Pitman's *Makers of National History*, of

which Dr. Hutton was editor. He has made use of recent investigation at various points, and has added an Appendix on 'Becket's bones,' which were said to be burnt in the time of Henry VIII. Dean Hutton does not think the bones discovered in Canterbury Cathedral in 1888 were those of Becket. Another Appendix embodies the research of the Rev. George Herbert as to memorials of St. Thomas. A long list is given of these wall-paintings. Four beautifully-executed plates and a plan of the cathedral in the time of Becket add much to the interest of a standard work which has too long been out of print. It is a careful study of the early authorities, and represents Becket as a strong and genuine man. 'What his mind saw to do he did with all his might, and wherever what seemed to be the voice of duty called him there unflinchingly he went. Though he had a personal charm of manner, of brightness, and affectionateness, which attracted men to him and fixed their friendships, as years went on, into a real devotion, he never conquered an abruptness an impetuosity, a passionate assertiveness which made him bitter enemies. He had a warm and true heart: pity that he wore it on his sleeve.' Hours of horror and dismay followed his martyrdom. 'When terror had at length subsided, the monks took the body of their archbishop, marvelling at the sign of his asceticism which they discovered, and at the calm beauty of the face, as it were asleep with a calm smile on the lips. They collected some of the blood in little vessels: already a citizen had dipped a cloth in it, as the holy relic of a saint. A red glow from heaven, the Northern Light, hung over the great church and lighted up the choir where the body had been laid, and men thought they saw the right hand of the martyr raised in blessing of those whom he had left to be witnesses of his fate. The next day, December 30, 1170, the body was buried in the crypt, in a new marble tomb, behind the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and not far, it seems, from the tomb of St. Dunstan. No mass was said: the altars were stripped, and for a year no voice of public prayer was heard in the great cathedral where the blood of its archbishop had been shed.'

GENERAL

The Christian Ethic as an Economic Factor. By Sir Josiah Stamp, G.B.E., D.Sc. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* net.)

THIS is the first lecture of a new series, long discussed and now made possible by the generosity of Mr. Beckly of Plymouth. The trustees have been fortunate in securing Sir Josiah Stamp as the first lecturer, and his work will be of great service to students of Christian sociology. The Christian ethic 'covers not only the scope of Christian ideas as ideas worthy of pursuit if human nature could only be raised to the required standard of effort. It also touches the possibility itself,' and is a force or motive power which possesses regenerative and redemptive qualities and sustaining force. The difficult problems cry not so much for warm hearts as for cool heads. Many enthusiasts cherish the most hopeless fallacies and wrong ideas on economic subjects, and their exaggeration of the moral element causes much harm. 'There is a considerable field of economic principle in which, for more successful working, a higher ethical standard is an essential factor, but there are other non-ethical factors involved which limit the extent of change or betterment.' A Classification of Economic Factors is given, and the influence of each is discussed. Without the proper intellectual solutions, no ethical factors will in themselves avert the evils that arise when the monetary unit changes its power. Redistribution would be disappointing in the extreme, so far as providing an improved standard of life to the masses is concerned. Underlying economic principles must be more closely studied. The penetrative power of new ideas and the illumination of fresh facets of thought are the most potent forces in economic advance. Sir Josiah holds that, 'only by a general rising of human sentiment to deepen spiritual quality and to carry it over a wider field, can the factor of human motives and mutual trust be sufficiently changed to have an economic result.' The lecture will make many think more deeply, for 'the world wants a new sense of ultimate values, and a new moral patience in pursuing them.'

Methodism and Modern World Problems. By R. Wilberforce Allen. (Methuen & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Sir Josiah Stamp, in his Introduction, lays stress on the fact that in his record and in this book Mr. Allen 'combines a reverence for tradition and authority, and a sense of the utility of the tried methods of the past, with a searching and forward-looking mind and a progressive spirit.' That opinion will be endorsed by those who follow him into the realms where he studies the attitude of Methodism to such world problems as Democratic Movements, Women and

the Church, The Christian Sunday, &c. The opening chapter shows how Wesley faced the problems of his century, and brings out the parallel with our own times. The problem of democratic movements is wisely treated, and its spiritual character is clearly brought out. As to Sunday observance, men have temporarily lost faith in the value of leisure to be quiet, time to think, and to cultivate 'that restfulness of spirit through which alone unceasing contact with the Highest and the Best may be maintained.' On Alcoholism, and Betting and Gambling, Mr. Allen insists on the need for a race endowed with such strength of character and such knowledge of the essential evils as to be capable of resisting the temptations to these vices. Mr. Allen has much to say about Christian Reunion and International Relations, and he says it in a way to stir the thought and win the sympathy of earnest men and women.

A Bipolar Theory of Living Processes. By George W. Crille. Edited by Amy F. Rowland. (Macmillan Company.)

This volume represents researches which have been in progress since 1895 in University College, London, in Cleveland, in war hospitals in France, and in other hospitals. It was undertaken to search for the underlying causes of fatigue, exhaustion, and death, and turned from this study of death to a study of the nature of life in four stages: circulation and respiration; blood chemistry; cytological and biophysical studies. Dr. Crille's research has been directed to establishing a premise which would bridge the gap between the living and the non-living, and suggest a physical line of ascent from the atom to man. A full account of the investigations is given, with a wealth of illustrations which light them up. Man and animals are regarded as bipolar mechanisms, and the organism is not only driven by electricity, but was originally created and constructed by electrical forces. Life is a dynamic, not a static, phenomenon. Living matter is structurally equipped for a universal circulation of energy; its tissues have electric capacity, and electric phenomena are always present in living matter. Dr. Crille says 'the living and the non-living are chemically identical, the living differing from the non-living, not in substance, but in the utilization of non-living material for the construction of mechanical devices that have the power of transforming energy and reproducing themselves.' He holds that the processes which distinguish the living from the non-living are due to electrical forces within the protoplasm, which endow it with the essential qualities of irritation, assimilation, and reproduction. It is a theory which experts will have to consider, but every reader will see its interest and realize something of the long and patient investigation which lies behind it.

Wealth, Virtual Wealth, and Debt. By Frederick Soddy, M.A., F.R.S. (Allen & Unwin. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.) Professor Soddy here attempts no less a task than 'the solution of the Economic Problem.' He is a specialist in chemistry, but sets himself 'to obtain a physical

conception of wealth that would obey the physical laws of conservation and be incapable of imitating the capricious behaviour of the subject-matter of psychical research.' The conclusion he has reached is that every accession to the wealth immobilized in a productive system must be paid for by abstinence from consumption. 'It is because the *genuine* initial abstinence is burked that the existing system is what it is. This, in brief, is the solution of the economic paradox.' Professor Soddy says that not an iota of the fundamental economic causes which produced the last war has been altered, and holds that the vast potential productivity of the industrialized world, particularly in the engineering and chemical industries, must find an outlet. The phenomenon of unemployment and destitution is 'solely due to ignorance of the nature of wealth and the principles of economics, and to the confusion between wealth and debt.' His list of suggested reforms is of great importance.—*The Facts of Industry* (Macmillan & Co., 1*s*. net) seeks to state the case for publicity in regard to industrial relations, industrial fluctuations, and the investor. It has been prepared by an unofficial committee of employers, trade union leaders, and experts in economics, accountancy, and law. Both workmen and the public have much to gain by clear information as to the costs of production and the profits or losses of industry; and various recommendations are made which might promote more smooth and efficient working. The account of American methods will be helpful to those who are weighing this important problem.

The Appreciation of Literature. By E. E. Kellett, M.A. (Epworth Press. 2*s*. 6*d*. net.) A lifetime of study and of work as a professor of literature lies behind this masterpiece. It is meant to increase the pleasure of those who read for pleasure's sake, and to show that 'the best books, if read in the right way, can and will yield to almost every one a keener pleasure than the second-rate.' The art of reading and the choice of books are first dealt with; then follow chapters on poetry, history, the essay, the novel, the Bible as literature, translations, and light verse. It is a real delight to read Mr. Kellett's estimates, and to master his little book will be quite an education in the art of reading.—*Adam* (University of Washington Press) is a Religious Play of the twelfth century translated into English verse, from the Norman-French and Latin, by Edward Noble Stone. The author is unknown, but it is the first of the religious dramas in France enacted outside the church, and the first to employ the vernacular exclusively in its dialogue. The scene opens with the appearance of Adam in Paradise, and moves on to what is represented as the murder of Abel, but is not so in reality. The prophets are then summoned by name, and utter their predictions, ending with Nebuchadnezzar, and the Hebrew children walking loose in the fire. The translation is clear and melodious, and Mr. Stone's notes bring out the chief features in an interesting way.

Riders of the Wind. By Elswyth Thane. (John Murray. 7*s.* 6*d.*) Clement Marley was no husband for Alexandra. He was an authority on Oriental art; his wife came of a race of desert travellers, and, girl though she was, she was one of them. No one in the house understood her, save the little Cockney maid, who adored her mistress. Alexandra left her home, and found rare delight and unending adventure in a wild expedition, with Blaise Dorin, into the heart of Asia. She proved herself as plucky and resourceful even as Dorin, and before the curtain drops they have learnt to love each other, and are on the verge of the happiest of marriages. They are a pair of heroes, and their woes and adventures in quest of the sacrifical robe keep one in a fever of suspense from first to last.—*Cotswold Saints and Heroes.* By Sir R. W. Essex. (Epworth Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) There is a Cotswold flavour about this story. Ezra Strong is a splendid country type; the clerics, with one striking exception, are a fine set; and there are love-stories and adventures which keep one amused aud interested throughout.

Wheat and Some Chaff. By Percy C. Pegler. (Epworth Press. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.) The art of essay-writing is a mystery to many, but Mr. Pegler has mastered it. He sets us wondering, when he proposes to consider 'The Theology of Mr. Punch,' and every essay stimulates and amuses, or sends us into a meditative mood. There is humour and philosophy in the book; but, deep down, there is a sense of the seriousness of life. He loves the old ways, but conditions alter, and we must have the courage to adapt ourselves. If John Wesley, 'that arch-innovator, were here to-day, he would find new ways of meeting to-day's need, just as he found new ways of meeting the needs of the eighteenth century. He would bid us serve the present age, and not our grandmothers'.' It is well put, and it makes its due impression.—*Wesley's Chapel and Wesley's House.* By John Telford, B.A. (Epworth Press. 1*s.* net.) This is a new edition brought up to date with particulars of the latest memorials, the renovation and endowment scheme, and other matters of interest. Every one ought to see this famous chapel and house, and no one ought to go without this guide. It has 128 pages and four full-page illustrations.—*Teeny-Weeny's Fairy Tale Book.* Edited by Marjorie Wynne. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.) Little folk will find themselves in wonderland as they open this book. Its covers will prepare them to enjoy it, and the delightful pictures in colours and in black and white will please the eye as much as tales and verses will stir the fancy. It belongs to a series which it would be hard to rival.—The Tonic Sol-fa edition of *The New People's Hymnary* (Epworth Press, 4*s.*) has been called for by the remarkable success of this popular collection of hymns and tunes, and will be warmly welcomed. It is very clearly printed and neatly got up, and is sold at a price which puts it within the reach of all singers and musicians.—*Church Music*, by Sir W. H. Hadow (Longmans & Co., 2*s.* 6*d.* net), is a plea for the selection of music intrinsically

noble and beautiful for public worship. Great and elaborate services and anthems find their appropriate setting in abbey and collegiate church and cathedral, but other churches can do equally beautiful music. One of the most moving services the writer ever heard was in a village church in Berkshire, with ordinary chants and hymns. Every melody was of its kind perfect, and the singing, though to some degree rude and untutored, so fitted the service and the surroundings that it was completely satisfying to the worshipper.—*Towards a New Era in Healing*. By Sheldon Knapp. (C. W. Daniel. 1*s*. net.) We quite understand the effect which a bright spirit has on physical health, but we do not think that getting the idea of rheumatism out of one's deep inner mind can work a cure. Mr. Knapp puts his case clearly, and he has a message which those who suffer from 'nervous debility' may find stimulating.—*A Handbook to the Drink Problem*, by Will Reason, M.A. (Student Christian Movement, 1*s*. 6*d*. net), has an important Preface by Viscount Astor, and deals with every side of the subject by way of question and answer. Much matter is packed into small compass, and every temperance advocate will find it an invaluable handbook.—*Principles and Technique in Religious Dramatics*, by Elizabeth Edland (Methodist Book Concern, 60 cents), regards drama as the most powerful of teaching mediums, outside of personal experience, reaching all ages and all classes. The Church has a bigger problem to-day than ever in the world's history, and it 'can best co-operate with professional drama, not merely by censoring its bad productions, but by recommending its good.' That is the motive of the book, and it gives full particulars as to the principles of playing, rehearsals, the use of colour, and other subjects. We think the Church may easily go too far by meddling with such matters.—*The Ego and Spiritual Truth*, by I. C. Isbyam (C. W. Daniel Co., 7*s*. 6*d*. net), seeks to bring philosophy and science into unison. He begins with the quest for spiritual truth in ancient Asia in Lao-tsze and Buddha, and shows how the Hindu doctrine migrated westward, losing its metaphysics *en route*. Plato, Kant, Leibniz, and Bergson form the corner-stones of the writer's philosophy. The actualities which are not amenable to physical measurement and description imbue the universe with spiritual, aesthetic, and moral values, which are thus fundamental in nature and its most significant constituents. Mr. Louis Zangwill's Introductory Essay is intended to help the reader to grasp an abstruse subject.—*Seven in Scripture*, by H. McCormack (Marshall Brothers, 2*s*. 6*d*.), finds in the Greek text of the seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel seven sections, each of which has seven sentences. He finds in such arrangement of the books of the Bible new proof that it is the Word of God, and even those who regard this view as artifical will not fail to recognize the labour lavished upon the investigation.—*Where Winds the Nidd* is a spirited tragedy by Douglas J. Boyle (Scarborough : 8 Westbourne Park). The scene is laid at Knaresborough Castle, and has a love scene and a tragic duel.—*A Second Round of Tales* (Milford, 2*s*. net),

selected by N. Henry and H. A. Treble, who edited *A Round of Tales*, gives nine tales from Washington Irving, R. H. Barham, Hawthorne, Poe, Bret Harte, E. C. Gaskell, Ambrose Bierce, Conan Doyle, Chesterton, Quiller-Couch, and Jacobs. It will be as popular as the earlier *Round*.—*A Peaceful Revolution* (C. W. Daniel Co., 6*d*.) is a vigorous set of papers by O. Wildridge, who wishes to see the British trade unionist saved from being a political tool, and raised again to the dignity of a true national entity.

The Jubilee at Home. (Turin: Marietti.) This booklet is an Appendix to *Precious Treasures of the Church's Indulgence*, by the Rev. John Lacau. It shows how the Jubilee Indulgence may be gained outside of Rome by confession and communion; prayers for the intention of the Sovereign Pontiff; visits at church or chapel. A full account is given of the opening of the Holy Door at Rome, with prayers on visiting the four basilicas. It is a booklet that will open Protestant eyes. 'Having gained the Jubilee for ourselves, let us gain it also, as we may repeatedly do, for the precious souls in Purgatory. Let us faithfully endeavour to shorten their captivity, their sufferings, their exile. Let us pour upon their purifying and expiatory flames the refreshing dew of our prayers, good works, and merits; for the Jubilee is a *golden hammer* in our hands, wherewith we can open, to our beloved dead, the *gates of Paradise*.'—*The Hundred Best Latin Hymns*. (Gowans & Gray. 1*s*. 2*d*.) Professor Phillimore has selected these hymns with care and skill, and his Preface shows the lines on which he has worked. The Latin of the Catholic Church is 'warm with a vitality of appeal and association that can match any of the national poesies—which, by the way, owe so much to it.' The editor's first endeavour was that no familiar masterpiece (unless disqualified by extreme length), no pious lyric canonized long since by the common sense, should here be missing. The Preface deserves careful attention, and the hymns bring us into touch with Abelard, Ambrose, Aquinas, Bede, à Kempis, and other masters of Latin verse. The little volume is beautifully printed.—*The Ship where Christ was Captain* (Epworth Press, 3*s*. 6*d*. net) is a set of stories of Cornish Methodism told by Mark Guy Pearse in delightful fashion. The coloured wrapper whets the appetite, and every scene in the volume is alive.—*A Book about Mechanical Marvels*, by Ernest Protheroe (Epworth Press, 2*s*. net), has chapters on steam-engines and steamers, aeroplanes, electric wonders, and machines which fill one with wonder at the skill and invention which are transforming the life of the world. The full-page illustrations are a feature of the book.—The six souvenir cards of Wesley's Chapel and House, reproduced from the original drawings by Robyn, the six photo-postcards, and the twelve photographs for a snap-shot album are some of Messrs. Raphael Tuck's artistic treasures. They are only one shilling per packet, and are finding their way all round the world as mementoes of the chief shrine of Methodism.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (July).—Professor Alison Phillips writes on 'The Declaration of Independence.' The whole attitude of George III may have been impolitic; blunders enough were doubtless made by him and his Ministers; but he was not a tyrant. The causes of the great disruption lay in the tendency of the colonies to independence. The Empire was 'a very loosely organized political structure, composed as it was of colonies differing in type, in their economic conditions, and in the measure of self-government they enjoyed.' The aim of British Ministers was to apply the lessons of the war in reorganizing the Imperial administrative system and establishing an effective system of Imperial defence. Their failure 'was primarily due to the aggressive individualism of the colonies and their all but total lack of Imperial sentiment.' Mr. Beresford writes on 'The Author of the "Elegy,"' and there are other articles of great interest and importance in this cosmopolitan number.

Hibbert Journal (April).—This number opens with an article by Mr. F. B. Sandford, containing thirteen new and interesting letters of Mr. Gladstone. They were written to Mr. R. R. Suffield, who, after being a Dominican friar, became a Unitarian minister, Mr. Gladstone's correspondence with him shows the great statesman in a fresh and attractive aspect. His sympathy with a storm-tossed unbeliever is as marked as his staunch and vigorous orthodoxy. 'Where the Shoe Pinches,' is the title of a paper by the Rev. J. S. Bezzant, who holds that the changed view of the Bible undermines the whole foundation of traditional Christian dogma. Dr. Strömholm, of Upsala, seeks to solve 'The Riddle of the New Testament,' as he styles the fact (?) that 'in the age of Peter there existed two main sects or congregations who acknowledged Jesus, not as a contemporary, but as one who had lived some time previously,' and these warring sects held 'fundamentally different conceptions of Jesus Himself.' Most readers do not acknowledge the existence of such a 'riddle,' and will not care much about its solution. Canon Knight's article on 'The Moral Rationale of Miracle' deals with a subject too large and important for adequate discussion in a few pages. One of the best articles that have appeared lately on the subject of thought and opinion in the United States is entitled 'The Best and Worst in America,' and is written by Principal C. F. Thwing, an able and impartial critic. We commend it to all who would understand better a complex and difficult topic. An 'unsolved religious problem, hidden at the very root of the life of Italy,' is discussed by

Romolo Murri in a paper on 'Ernesto Buonaiuti and his Recent Excommunication.' Muriel Kent's account of a modern saint and martyr called 'The Chaplain of the Sahara' should be read side by side with Signor Murri's suggestive paper. This excellent number of the *Hibbert*, packed with good things, contains also the following articles: 'Biology and Personality,' by Dr. Fraser Harris; 'The Kantian Ethic,' by Professor Baillie; 'Liberalism,' by Professor Henry Clay, and 'The Case against "Q,"' by Dr. E. W. Lummis. The last writer attacks the hypothetical document called 'Q' because, 'until fallacious guesses have been cleared away, we shall never be able to find our way through the Synoptic Problem.'

Journal of Theological Studies (April).—The opening article, by Dr. Armitage Robinson, on 'The Early Community at Christ Church, Canterbury,' pursues a scholarly investigation into an obscure subject, and at the same time furnishes an attractive glimpse into one phase of mediaeval monasticism. There follows a paper read by Professor Gressmann on 'Foreign Influences in Hebrew Prophecy.' His conclusion practically is that foreign influences were sparse and scanty, that they did not touch the eternal value of Israelite prophecy, 'the nobility and spiritual profundity of its ethical religion,' but that they do provide occasionally a background against which that religion stands boldly forth. Rev. P. Gardner-Smith, discussing afresh the Akhmin fragment of the 'Gospel of Peter,' admits that 'Peter's' account is immeasurably inferior to that of the canonical Gospels, but that, 'with all his faults, he is an independent witness to the traditions current in the early Church.' Rev. J. W. Hunkin contributes an interesting article on the Prohibitions of the Council at Jerusalem in Acts xv. 28. He believes that the decree was not merely ethical in character, but that it imposed on Gentile Christians a few elementary ceremonial rules. The editor of the Review, Dr. C. H. Turner, provides, in his paper entitled *Adversaria Critica*, notes bearing on the phrase 'bishops of the city of Rome.' The book reviews in this number of the Review are excellent.

Expository Times (June and July).—The 'Notes of Recent Exposition,' by the editors, always contain a valuable critical introduction to current theological literature. These numbers contain illuminating sketches of Mason's *Creative Freedom*, Macintosh's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, a new book by W. L. Walker on the Person of Christ, and the important subject of the proper observance of the Lord's Day by Christians of this generation. Professor A. Guillaume writes on 'The Midrash in the Gospels,' and Rev. T. C. Gordon on 'Theology and Archaeology.' Instalments of articles on 'Some Misunderstood Psalms,' by Professor A. Welch, and very suggestive interpretations of some of our Lord's parables, sustain the 'Expository' character of this magazine. Dr. Matthews describes 'Recent Thought on the Doctrine of Immortality,' but so short a paper on so large a subject is rather tantalizing. We are glad to

note an article in the June number, by Professor J. Hugh Michael of Toronto, on the arrangement of the text in John iii. and a review of literature on 'The History of Religions' by 'Emeritus Principal J. G. Tasker, D.D.'

Church Quarterly (April).—The Bishop of Winchester writes on 'The Vision of Unity and the Problems of Reunion.' The poteney of the Spirit is not confined within any limits narrower than the simple following of Christ. We have only to think of the multitudes of converted lives for which Wesleyanism has been responsible, or of the stern moral character which has been in the main the great output of Presbyterianism in Scotland, or of Carey and the Baptists, or of Livingstone and the London Missionary Society, or of the Friends and their philanthropy, or of the Salvation Army and its trophies. The bishop feels that the Anglican Church is called to be the peacemaker in Christendom.

The Holborn Review (July).—The first paper, by Mr. A. Victor Murray, contains an able sketch on the meaning and scope of Church 'Unity in the Middle Ages.' His account of 'one of the greatest books ever penned—St. Augustine's *City of God*'—and its influence on subsequent thought, is instructive in more directions than one. 'A Sacerdotal Spirit, or a Sane Sacerdotalism?' is the title of a paper by Rev. W. H. Holtby which shows that the best way of destroying a false priestliness is to show the meaning and value of true Christian priesthood. Dr. Powicke, whose volumes on Richard Baxter are well known, gives an account of his *Paraphrase of the New Testament*. Mr. Cowell's article on 'T. F. Oberlin' recalls the memory of a truly Christlike Protestant pastor. Rev. J. B. Hardy's account of the 'Education of the African Native' shows the growing importance of West Africa to-day—a time when letters can be sent by air-mail from Sierra Leone to London in four days. The editor of this Review, Dr. A. S. Peake, leaves his own mark on every number. His 'Editorial Notes' and 'Recent Biblical Literature' are of great value. Interesting matter is also provided under the headings 'Discussions and Notices' and 'The Study Circle.'

Congregational Quarterly (July).—'Religion in the City of Cells' dwells on the influence of unofficial visitation of the prisoner in his cell, and gives interesting details of the response made to such work. The recent introduction of evening classes is another experiment of great promise. Dr. Powicke says that the real driving force of Baxter's ministry 'was Baxter himself—breathing forth his heart to sinful, wavering, troubled men, in close, searching, brotherly contact.' There is much interest in this varied number.

The Pilgrim (July).—Dr. Temple's Notes are mainly concerned with the General Strike. Throughout the crisis the Prime Minister showed himself the true Christian statesman. 'Tested as few men

have been, he never once failed, either in firmness of purpose or in charity of spirit.' 'Money: The Foundation of the Church' dwells on the present dearth of clergy, and urges that 'the appeal should be to the best men, regardless of rank or means of livelihood, to the best men in the Church, from the Church, that is the Christian, the spiritual, point of view.' So long as the Church puts money and the stipendiary system first, she will be bound to the chariot-wheels of Mammon. In 'Christianity and the Empire' Dr. Temple shows the great opportunity and great responsibility which rest on British Christians.

Science Progress (July).—Professor Schwarz says his recent journey through the Northern Kalahari has enabled him to recognize ten separate types of Bushmen. That term is usually applied to the pigmy races that used to live in Cape Colony, and drew extensively on the walls of rock shelters. They called themselves People of the Qhuai, or apron of leather thongs. The men were about 4 feet 6 inches high; the women 8 inches shorter. The scientific articles, notes, and reviews make up a various and valuable number.

Cornhill Magazine.—Mr. Wren's 'Who Rideth Alone' keeps the reader wondering from first to last. Its book title, *Beau Sabreur*, links it to its wonderful predecessor, *Beau Geste*, of which a twentieth impression has been called for. It is a story of the French Legion, with adventures and perils at every turn, and not without its appeal to lovers also. 'Twenty Years at the B. M.,' with its incidents of strange research at the British Museum, has its amusing side, and 'Fifty Years of Cricket' comes well, in the midst of Test Matches.

British Journal of Inebriety (July).—The address by Sir William Willcox on 'The Prevention and Arrest of Drug Addiction' is included in this number. Addiction to drugs is a disease which needs careful medical treatment. Where the general health is good and the addiction of short duration, sudden withdrawal is advisable. The little paper on 'A Year in a Home for Inebriates,' by an ex-patient, should encourage and help those who are in danger of yielding to this temptation.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN

The Journal of Religion (Chicago) (May).—The important question 'What constitutes a Scientific Interpretation of Religion?' is raised in this number, and answers to it are given by Professors G. A. Coe, E. Faris, A. E. Haydon, and E. S. Brightman. The four papers are full of interest, and such a discussion of the subject is timely. But the wise man will not expect to find much agreement in the answers given to such a cardinal question for some time to come—at all events, until there is more general agreement as to what is meant by 'science,' and still more by 'religion.' But the able professors who take part in this symposium do help all their readers to understand better what are the limitations of scientific

'explanation' and to appreciate the difference between personal and social values in religion. The papers which have appeared lately in this Journal on the thought of 'The Last Quarter-Century,' are here continued, the subjects dealt with in this number being the Study of Early Christianity and the Archaeology of the Old Testament during that period.

Methodist Review (New York) (May—June).—This is an excellent number. It opens with a portrait of George Whitefield, and describes his work in America as an Educator and University Founder. Several papers discuss the important subject of Church Music and the ever-exciting question of the Revision of the Hymnal. Kindred topics dealt with by other writers are 'The Lyric in Religious Literature' and 'A Scientific Measurement of Poetry,' with special reference to the Methodist Hymnal. A daring question forms the heading of a subsequent article, 'What does a Bishop read?' He must be a bold man who would undertake to give an adequate answer to it, even if he were allowed to take it for granted that a bishop does read some literature outside the Bible, which the writer of the article, in his closing sentence, is original enough to describe as the 'Best Book in the World'! A thoughtful paper on 'The New Age' is by Professor A. C. Armstrong, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Dr. Peritz writes on 'The Jewish Controversy about Jesus,' and Dr. G. Eayrs, of London, England, on 'The Holy Spirit in Methodist History.'—(July—August).—This number contains a portrait and brief biography of Bishop G. H. Bickley, a man greatly beloved. Also an article by the President of Boston University on 'The Declaration of Independence'; a thoughtful paper on 'Certainty in Religion,' emphasizing the importance of 'living the life'; a description of 'How we got the old creed,' written chiefly for the benefit of people who seem very anxious to invent a new one; together with other excellent articles, on 'Asbury—Outbound Preacher,' 'The Pagan Millennium' and 'Fundamentalism and Modernism'—making up in all an excellent bill of fare.

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville) (April).—The first article, by Dr. O. E. Brown, of Vanderbilt University, is entitled 'The Religion of Christ,' and the writer reviews several important books on the subject recently published. 'The Individual and Society in Present-day Religion' is a subject which certainly claims attention, and it is thoughtfully discussed by Dr. E. D. Soper. Bishop Cannon, junior, has been investigating the present state of missionary work in Mexico, and he here writes an interesting and informing account of his inquiries. Two articles are concerned with the study of the Bible to-day—'Historical View of the Synoptic Gospels,' by Rev. J. M. Hawley, and 'The Study of the Old Testament,' by Joseph B. Matthews. A considerable portion of the number is taken up with instructive matter under the headings

'Department of Exegesis' and 'Editorial Departments,' the most interesting feature in the whole probably being the analysis given of 'The Vote on Unification,' i.e. the vote in the Annual Conferences on the plan of unification between the Methodist Episcopal Churches North and South, submitted by the special session of the General Conference. Unity is in the air, everywhere; let us hope not in the air alone!

Princeton Theological Review (April).—Four leading articles occupy 180 pages of this number—'The Reformed Faith in Modern Scotland,' by John Macleod; 'The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy,' by Geo. Johnson; 'The Genesis of Martin Bucer's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper,' by Hastings Eels; and 'The Crossing of the Red Sea,' by Oswald T. Allis. The last article is one of a series appearing under the title 'Old Testament Emphases and Modern Thought.' In addition, under 'Notes and Notices,' a paper appears, by R. Dick Wilson, on 'The Meaning of *Alma*' (A.V., 'virgin') in Isa. vii. 14. The writer claims that the evidence he adduces affords no support for the view that the word means a 'young married woman.' The Reviews of Recent Literature are thoughtfully written by experienced critics.

Christian Union Quarterly (July).—Dr. Speer asks 'How the Federal Council can best serve the Churches.' The denominations must discern more clearly what are their duties and problems, and discern 'how large is the measure of their unity in these things, how kindred and similar they already are in their character and work, and how fully prepared for, and desperately in need of, a collective agency through which to express the unity of spirit and purpose and activity and duty which already exist.' The Churches should also cultivate a sense of ownership over the Council. It was set up as a tool, to be directed by the Churches which created it. They should also utilize the Federal Council for their collective tasks and for the new common duties which arise, and should cultivate an increased spirit of trust inside every denomination and between denominations. Dr. Parkes Cadman reviews the growth of American Church Federation, and Dr. Guild shows how the movement toward Church unity is developing rapidly in the local community and in the Church as a whole. The dominant feature is the 'development of the city-wide, simultaneous, pastoral, evangelical campaign. This is coming to be the universally accepted method, having been tested year after year in a number of cities. By this means also the Churches are becoming trained to work together, under central leadership, in religious education and in campaigns for civic and social righteousness.'

Social Forces (March).—This quarterly comes from the University of North Carolina (Baillière, Tindall & Cox are the London agents). It gives a sketch of Dr. Adams, whom Woodrow Wilson regarded as a great captain of industry in the field of organized scholarship.

He was connected with Johns Hopkins University from 1876 to his death in 1901, and did much for the development of study and research in history and political science. There is an interesting article on 'The Social Philosophy of Ellen Glasgow,' who not only knows how to tell a story, but is one of the wisest thinkers of our time, more particularly in all that relates to Southern life, past and present. The study of Maryland dwells on the rich culture and the mob activity of Baltimore.

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (May—June).—Dr. Ritchie, Principal of Montreal Congregational College, writes on 'The Church and Public Life.' The cleansing, enlarging, and enriching of public life must come through 'a new mentality, a changed attitude, and a new order of ideals, through a new revelation of life's meaning and purpose; and surely to give men these chief of gifts is the high responsibility of the Christian Church.' Dr. Mick deals with 'The Ethical Message of Jesus and the World of To-day.' His 'way of life was based upon the supremacy of right, and He trusted to the motive of love and altruism for its dynamic.' There is also a sermon on 'The Missionary Obligation,' by Dr. Cameron.

The Calcutta Review (May—June) has an interesting comparison between 'Rabindranath and Bergson,' and an interesting paper by Lily S. Anderson on 'Some Significant Indian Animals.' There is an account of the arrival of Sir William Norris at Surat in 1700, as ambassador to the Mogul; and a sketch of Robert Knight, the father of Indian Journalism, who died in 1890. His mature counsel and penetrative judgement were eagerly sought by those who had to adjust difficult Indian matters.

China International Famine Relief Commission.—With the exception of the Shantung flood, there has been little distress in 1925 which could be traced to natural phenomena. Relief has been extended to a number of provinces where distress was due in part to political causes. On the whole, the policy has been to provide work for the able-bodied members of affected families by dyke-building and the reclaiming of flood-lands. Net- and mat-making provided for others. The engineering projects in Kiangsi cost about £40,000, and reclaimed land valued at £4,000,000. The dyke projects in Hupeh, for which less than £50,000 was loaned, ensures crops valued at £1,600,000 a year. It is a stimulating record.

Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques (July).—'The Royalty of Christ' is the subject of an impressive study. That royalty is universal. Christ's essential mission is to save men, to snatch them from sin and give them the life of grace, and to draw them to God that they may obtain eternal blessedness. An interesting article is based on a MS. at Oxford by John de Scales. The four bulletins are a valuable guide to current literature.