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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

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JOHN WESLEY IN TRAINING

JOHN THOROLD resigned his Fellowship at Lincoln College on May 3, 1725. As heir to a baronetcy he had neither wish nor legal right to retain the Fellowship granted to him on June 23, 1724, as 'eximia spe juvenis, genere clarus, politiore litteratura et suavissimis moribus clarior.' His ten months' tenure yielded him £13 0*s.* 6*d.*, which he gave to the college, and in 1772 he subscribed £10 to increase the salary of the Bible-Clerk.

His removal was a loss to the college, but it sent a man of high character out into Society, where he was sorely needed. The Hon. G. Granville wrote to his sister on November 1, 1738: 'According to your desire, I have inquired after our "new star of righteousness"; he does deserve in every particular the character you give of him. His name is Thorold, he has a very plentiful fortune—three thousand a year at present, and will have ten after his father's death, a married man and five children. He preaches twice a week, Monday and Fridays, reads a chapter out of the Bible, and then explains every word of it. He has got a young gentleman from Oxford to live with him, who follows his example: they leave this country very soon, and don't return hither till spring.'

Thorold wrote three theological treatises, which show how much he was interested in religious questions, as, indeed, became the great-grandfather of two English bishops—Dr. Thorold of Winchester and Dr. Trollope of Nottingham.

But, if Lincoln lost one star of righteousness, it gained

another, for John Wesley succeeded to the vacant Fellowship.

When Dr. Morley was approached on the subject, he replied, 'I will inquire into Mr. Wesley's character.' The result was that he gave him leave to stand, and used all his influence on his behalf. 'You are infinitely obliged,' wrote the Rector of Epworth, 'to that generous man.' Wesley's father had mentioned the Fellowship on January 26, before Thorold resigned. He reports in July, 'I waited on Dr. Morley, and found him more civil than ever. I will write to the Bishop of Lincoln again, and to your brother Samuel the next post. Study hard lest your opponents beat you.'

Wesley's letters from Christ Church now 'carried a savour of religion, which before they had wanted.' They greatly pleased his father, who told him, 'If you be what you write, you and I shall be happy, and you will much alleviate my misfortune.' Wesley's new seriousness had given his opponents opportunity for ridicule, but his father bids him take courage. 'As to the gentlemen candidates you mention, does anybody think the devil is dead, or asleep, or that he has no agents left? Surely virtue can bear being laughed at. The Captain and Master endured something more for us before He entered into glory, and unless we track His steps, in vain do we hope to share His glory with Him.'

His election on March 17, 1726, was unanimous. His father paid £12 into Dr. Morley's account at Gainsborough, near which lay the rector's living at Scotton. This left Samuel Wesley not much more than £5 to keep his family from the end of March till after harvest. 'What will be my own fate God knows. Sed passi graviora. Whatever I am, my Jack is Fellow of Lincoln.' John was now in smooth water, several of his debts were paid by this timely help, the expenses of his treat were defrayed, and he had above £10 left. It was a family triumph as well as a personal one. He tells his brother Samuel that he owes his success 'chiefly, not to say wholly, to your interest.'

Wesley was greatly impressed by his new colleagues. 'As

far as I have ever observed, I never knew a College besides ours, whereof the members were so perfectly satisfied with one another, and so inoffensive to the other part of the University. All I have yet seen of the Fellows are both well-natured and well-bred; men admirably disposed as well to preserve peace, and good neighbourhood among themselves, as to promote it wherever else they have any acquaintance.' That estimate was amply confirmed by a quarter of a century's experience.

We may now return to Dr. Morley's inquiry into Wesley's character. What manner of man was it who gained the unanimous approval of the Fellows? He had left his home at Epworth when ten years and seven months old, but he bore already the stamp of character. His mother had seen to that in her Thursday night talks. His escape from the fire in 1709 led her to resolve, 'I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child, that Thou hast so mercifully provided for, than ever I have been, that I may do my endeavour to instil into his mind the principles of Thy true religion and virtue. Lord, give me grace to do it sincerely and prudently, and bless my attempts with good success.' The effect of that training was seen when his father admitted him to the Lord's Supper at the age of eight. He was already a creature of reason as well as religion. His father bears witness: 'Our Jack would not attend to the most pressing necessities of nature unless he could give a reason for it.' He told him: 'Child, you think to carry everything by dint of argument; but you will find how very little is ever done in the world by close reason.'

Such was the gown-boy who entered Charterhouse on January 28, 1714, the year when the school reached its centenary. He had been nominated on May 12, 1711, by the Duke of Buckingham. His head master, Dr. Thomas Walker (1679–1728), was expert in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and had turned out such pupils as Steele; Addison;

Law, Bishop of Carlisle; Benson, Bishop of Gloucester; and Dr. Davies, President of Queens' College, Cambridge. Wesley's regularity and application won him special favour. Andrew Tooke, who was then usher, succeeded Walker as head master. He was Gresham Professor of Geometry and Fellow of the Royal Society. The Lincolnshire boy made good use of his opportunities, and, despite the fact that the elder scholars took their meat from the younger ones, leaving Wesley little but bread to eat for his first four years, he believed the privation 'laid the foundation of lasting health.' A glimpse of his high spirit appears in the interview with Dr. Sacheverell. Samuel Wesley had written the speech which the doctor delivered at the close of his trial, and thought he might give his son letters of recommendation to Christ Church, where he had strong influence. John 'found him alone, as tall as a maypole, and as fine as an archbishop.' Sacheverell looked at the little gown-boy disdainfully. 'You are too young to go to the University; you cannot know Greek and Latin yet. Go back to school.' Wesley told Alexander Knox: 'I looked at him as David looked at Goliath, and despised him in my heart. I thought, "If I do not know Greek and Latin better than you, I ought to go back to school indeed." I left him, and neither entreaties nor commands could have again brought me back to him.' That is Wesley to the life.

His religion did not fare so well at Charterhouse as his scholarship. He confesses that he was much more negligent of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, though they were not scandalous in the eyes of the world. He adds, however, that he still read his Bible and said his prayers morning and night.

Charterhouse had laid the foundations; Christ Church turned Wesley into a finished scholar. He entered in June 1720, a week after his seventeenth birthday. He had £40 a year as a Charterhouse scholar. Under Dr. Wigan and Mr. Sherman, who both made his tutorial fees as light as

possible, he gained ground steadily, till, at the age of twenty-one, he is described as 'the very sensible and acute collegian, baffling every man by the subtleties of logic, and laughing at them for being so easily routed; a young fellow of the finest classical taste, of the most liberal and manly sentiments.' He was gay and sprightly; a wit and a budding poet. He loved riding and walking, was an expert swimmer, and sometimes had two hours' play at tennis, or a game at chess, cards, or backgammon. At Wroot he also enjoyed some shooting.

The days of deeper seriousness were now dawning. The college porter at Christ Church set him thinking, in a confidential talk. 'You thank God,' said the gay student, 'when you have nothing to wear, nothing to eat, no bed to lie upon. What else do you thank Him for?' 'I thank Him,' was the reply, 'that He has given me my life and being, and a heart to love Him, and a desire to serve Him.' Wesley thus realized that there was more in religion than he had yet discovered. He began to think about taking Orders, and closely studied *The Imitation of Christ* and Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*. He won his first convert through some searching words at the funeral of a young lady, which he and a friend attended at St. Mary's Church one summer evening in 1725. On the following September 19 he was ordained deacon at Christ Church Cathedral by Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, who had himself been Fellow of Lincoln from 1694 to 1706 and was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1737 to 1747.

He was examined for Orders on a Thursday. The Oxford diary has an important entry on September 19, 1725: 'Morning: was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of Oxford. Afternoon, walked in Trinity Garden. Collected Dr. Bennet; heard Mr. Beer on the Holy Ghost teaching the Apostles. Collected Beer. Sat at Burman's; read Bp. Burnet of his own times. Disputed warmly of a trifle.' He preached his first sermon at South Leigh, three miles from Witney, on

the following Sunday. How busy he was kept as a young cleric is seen from various entries. On October 28, 'Rode to Shipton.' Next morning, 'Preached, read prayers, baptized a child, and married a couple. Afternoon: preached, read prayers twice.' Two successive days he is reading at the Bodleian. 'At Lincoln D. T.' Mr Curnock thought might mean 'Dined with Thorold.'

During his final six months at Christ Church he studied his classics carefully, read his Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament, and was busy with Clarendon and Burnet's Histories, Berkeley, and Locke. Books on physics, poetry, and theology are all noted in the diary. He made careful 'collections' or epitomes of his reading which were of service up to the end of his life. Wesley never lost his love for his first college. 'Having an hour to spare on October 14, 1778, I walked to Christ Church, for which I cannot but still retain a peculiar affection. What lovely mansions are these! What is wanting to make the inhabitants of them happy? That without which no rational creature can be happy—the experimental knowledge of God.'

The diary now contains another memorable entry: 'Thursday, March 17 [1726] was elected Fellow of Lincoln. V.F. Wrote an epistle to Dr. Morley, waited on the Fellows separately. Dined at Lincoln and sat there.' There was no doubt of his scholarship, his ability, his fine spirit, and his religious principle. The college received him with open arms. Up till now he had never known what it was to be free from financial embarrassment. His education had been a tax on his hard-pressed father. Now he was fairly launched. For six months a new Fellow enjoyed no emoluments. Wesley, however, obtained leave of absence, and on April 21 set out for Wroot. The first day he rode to Banbury; the next his quarters were at the Spread Eagle at Burhill. Saturday's note is 'Home: all well. V.F.' On Sunday he read prayers twice. He was now his father's curate. He returned to Oxford to preach the sermon in

St. Michael's Church on September 29, which was always delivered by one of the Fellows of Lincoln. He entered on possession of the spacious and pleasant room round whose wall crept the vine that came to be called by his name. It never looked so attractive as it does to-day, panelled with linenfold woodwork of the sixteenth century. That transformation is due to the generosity of American Methodists, under the untiring zeal of Bishop Hamilton, Chancellor of Washington University, and his artist brother, who not only fitted up the room in a way that delights all who see it, but painted a masterly replica of Romney's famous portrait—now in America—to hang upon the walls.

Wesley's first winter here was a busy one. On November 6 he was chosen Greek lecturer and Moderator of the classes. When he proceeded as Master of Arts on February 14, 1727, his three lectures in the disputation for his degree gained him considerable reputation. One was on natural philosophy—'De Anima Brutorum'—which evidently left him with a strong persuasion that 'the brute creation' was to be raised eventually to a higher state (Sermon 60); one on moral philosophy—'De Julio Cesare'; and a third on religion—'De Amore Dei.'

When he determined to become a real Christian he tried to influence his friends at Christ Church, but without success. 'I found, by sad experience, that even their harmless conversation, so called, damped all my good resolutions. I saw no possible way of getting rid of them, unless it should please God to remove me to another college. He did so, in a manner contrary to all expectation. I was elected Fellow of a college where I knew not one person.' He was now able to choose companions who were likely 'to help him on the way to heaven.' The conversation of one or two friends had first taken away his relish for most other pleasures. He regarded company as 'the most elegant entertainment next to books,' and that feeling, as Dr. Johnson bore witness long afterwards, he never lost. Now, however, he prized most highly the

company of those who had a religious turn of thought. He had begun to redeem the time by rising an hour earlier in the morning and going into company an hour later in the evening. Soon the alarum clock drew him out of his little bedroom at four every morning, and thus served the world by adding more than twenty years to his working life.

August 1727 found Wesley again in Lincolnshire as his father's curate. There the next two years were spent. In October he went up to Oxford on election business, at the request of the Rector, whose never-failing kindness made him say, 'I can refuse Dr. Morley nothing.' On December 12, 1727, he was one of the four stewards at the annual dinner of Old Carthusians on Founder's Day. There were eighty-four guests, and £92 11*s*. was spent on the banquet. On July 27, 1728, he was ordained priest by Dr. Potter in Christ Church Cathedral, and in June 1729 he spent two months at the University, where the little Society of Methodists had gathered under his brother Charles's wing at Christ Church. He was now needed at Lincoln College. Dr. Morley wrote on October 21, 1729, that discipline and good government made it necessary for the Junior Fellows who were chosen as Moderators to attend personally to the duties of their office unless they could get some other Fellow to preside for them. Richard Hutchins, who was Rector from 1755 to 1781, filled Mr. Fenton's place in order that he might not have to give up his perpetual curacy, but there was no one to relieve Wesley, so that he had to return. 'We hope,' wrote Dr. Morley, 'it may be as much for your advantage to reside at College as where you are, if you take pupils, or can get a curacy in the neighbourhood of Oxon. Your father may certainly have another curate, though not so much to his satisfaction; yet we are persuaded this will not move him to hinder your return to College, since the interest of college and obligation to statute require it.'

Wesley returned on November 22, 1729. The next six years were spent at Lincoln, until he sailed for Georgia on

October 21, 1735. Dr. Morley put eleven pupils under his care. They were resident throughout the year, and Wesley lectured to them every day save Sunday. He controlled all their conduct. His object was to make them both scholars and Christians. He himself had a superlative contempt for 'a college drone.' The late Rev. Andrew Clark, Fellow of Lincoln and afterwards Rector of Great Leighs, Essex, gave me many details of Wesley's Fellowship days. The buttery books show that he was charged from 2*s.* 8*d.* to 18*s.* 8*d.* a week for beer, bread, butter, and cheese, which were much the same as the charges for other resident Fellows. He was lecturer in Greek from 1729 to 1734, in philosophy from 1730 to 1735. The size of the college is shown in 1747, when, beside the Rector and twelve Fellows, there were nine scholars, twenty exhibitioners and about seventy other students. The Moderator had to preside and arbitrate at the public disputations, which in those days formed a chief part of University education. The Fellow learnt as much in this way as the students. Every day had its disputation. Wesley says, 'I could not avoid acquiring hereby some degree of experience in arguing, and especially in discerning and pointing out well-covered and plausible fallacies. I have since found abundant reason to bless God for giving me this honest art. By this, when men have wedged me in by what they call demonstrations, I have been many times able to dash them in pieces; in spite of all its covers, to touch the very point where the fallacy lay; and it flew open in a moment.' The Methodist leader had to face some redoubtable opponents in later years, but he never had to lower his flag. Lincoln had armed him for such encounters in his six years of tutorial life.

The college rendered a still greater service to the cause of religion. It made Wesley the Father of the Holy Club. Its first members were the two Wesleys, William Morgan of Christ Church, and Robert Kirkham of Merton. Others gradually joined it, and Marshall Clayton's picture shows

how well Wesley's room was fitted to be the head quarters of this first Methodist Society. Gambold draws a fine portrait of the presiding genius. 'Mr. John Wesley was always the chief manager, for which he was very fit; for he not only had more learning and experience than the rest, but he was blest with such activity as to be always gaining ground, and such steadiness that he lost none. What proposals he made to any were sure to charm them, because they saw him always the same. What supported this uniform vigour was the care he took to consider well of every affair before he engaged in it, making all his decisions in the fear of God, without passion, humour, or self-confidence; for, though he had naturally a very clear apprehension, yet his exact prudence depended more on humanity and singleness of heart.' There was something of authority in his countenance, but every one was free to speak his mind and he listened to them as carefully as they did to him. That description aptly represents Wesley to the end of his life.

The friends spent every evening together from six to nine. After prayer, they studied the Bible or the classics, reviewed the work of the day, and talked over their plans for to-morrow. On August 24, 1730, William Morgan told them he had visited a man in prison, and felt how much good might be done by teaching the prisoners. He spoke of this again and again, till at last John and Charles Wesley went with him to the Castle. They now resolved to go there once or twice a week. Then they began to visit the sick and to care for the children. John Wesley sent his father an account of these works of charity, which led the veteran to recall his own visits to the Castle as an undergraduate. 'And now, as to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probo*; and that I have the highest reason to bless God that He has given me two sons in Oxford, to whom He has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them.' The college authorities put no bar on this work, though

Oxford did not fail to invent satirical titles for the company: The Methodists, The Reforming Club, The Godly Club, The Holy Club, Sacramentarians, Bible Moths, Supererogation Men, and Enthusiasts. Their wise old counsellor at Epworth, the Archbishop of the Holy Club, bade them take courage: 'Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady.'

Oxford really made Wesley a master of popular religious address. He told Samuel Furly in 1764: 'When I talked to plain people in the Castle or the town, I observed they gaped and stared. This quickly obliged me to alter my style and adopt the language of those I spoke to.' He once preached a highly finished sermon to a country congregation, who listened with open mouths; he saw that they did not understand, and struck out some of the hard expressions. Their mouths were now only half open. Wesley then read his sermon to an intelligent servant, who was to tell him whenever she did not understand. Her 'Stop, sir,' came so often that he grew impatient, but he put a plain word over every hard one, and found, when he preached, that his congregation understood every word. Wesley was in full accord with John Richard Green, whose experience among the East End poor made him agree with Edward Denison that 'high thinking' put into plain English was more likely to tell on a dock labourer than all the gospel sermons in the world, though he would have added that the gospel itself was the highest thinking, and needed the plainest language fully to set it forth.

He tells his mother on August 17, 1733: 'The thing that gives offence here, is the being singular with regard to time, expense, and money. This is evident beyond exception, from the case of Mr. Smith, one of our Fellows, who no sooner began to husband his time, to retrench unnecessary expenses, and to avoid his irreligious acquaintance, but he was set upon, by not only all those acquaintance, but by many others too, as if he had entered into a conspiracy to cut all their throats; though to this day he has not advised any single

person, unless in a word or two and by accident, to act as he did in any of those instances.' Wesley reports to his father in 1734 that he has no such thing as a trifling visitant, except about an hour in a month, 'when I invite some of the Fellows to breakfast.'

Fifty-two of Wesley's letters written from Lincoln College, before he went to Georgia, will appear in the first volume of the forthcoming edition of his letters; seventeen were written from his room there in 1738, after his return from America. It is interesting to find the Father of the Holy Club engaged in his extraordinary correspondence with Mrs. Pendarves. That brings out another side of Wesley's nature, which made its appeal to cultivated women. He speaks of the soft emotion with which he glows while he considers himself as 'conversing with a kindred soul of my Varanese,' and, in view of meeting the Granville sisters, 'wonders when will Providence direct my feet to tread again that flowery path to virtue?' When that correspondence is at last published in full it will be seen that many strands went to the making up of John Wesley. His chivalry appears in the brave way that he championed his sister Hetty against their father, who was 'inconceivably exasperated against her.' John stood out for the brilliant and ill-used daughter when the whole family was in arms against her.

But the letter that cost him most pain to write was his refusal to take any steps towards becoming his father's successor at Epworth. He knows no other place under heaven save Oxford where he can enjoy the continual presence of half a dozen persons nearly of his own judgement and engaged in the same studies, and have uninterrupted freedom from trifling acquaintance. Whenever he spent a week away from Oxford these blessings were exceedingly endeared to him.

When at last he ventured to America he passed through sterner discipline. Disappointments there made him ready for the new light which came to him through Peter Böhler.

He landed at Deal on February 1, 1738; on the 11th he set out for Oxford with Böhler, and at Oxford on his second visit he was clearly convinced by Böhler of his want of saving faith. Next day he began to preach it to a prisoner under sentence of death. His first letter from Lincoln College after his return to England was written to Lady Cox on March 7, and, fittingly enough, was an apologia for Oxford Methodism. The great experience at Aldersgate Street came on May 24, and, after his visit to Hernhuth, Wesley spent some time at Lincoln College in October and November. His heart had been 'strangely warmed,' and his evangelical ministry had already begun to bear fruit.

The statutes of the college required the Fellows to take the degree of Bachelor of Divinity within seven years after they became M.A. If that proved inconvenient, the Fellow might be elected to a Fellowship which required its holder to study civil law. John Wesley was elected to this in July 1736, and held it till 1751. We find him inquiring on June 18, 1741, concerning the exercises for the B.D. After his work as evangelist began, he still kept touch with Oxford. On December 8, 1739, he is in his old room. 'Here, musing on the things that were past, and reflecting how many that came after me were preferred before me, I opened my Testament on those words (Oh, may I never let them slip!): "What shall we say then?"' (Rom. ix. 30–2). He spent January 4 and 5, 1740, at Oxford 'in looking over the letters which I had received for the sixteen or eighteen years last past. How few traces of inward religion are here! I found but one among all my correspondents who declared (what, I well remember, at that time I knew not how to understand) that God had "shed abroad His love in his heart," and given him the "peace that passeth all understanding." But who believed his report? Should I conceal a sad truth, or declare it for the profit of others? He was expelled out of his Society as a madman; and, being disowned by his friends, and despised and forsaken of all men,

lived obscure and unknown for a few months, and then went to Him whom his soul loved.'

On January 81, 1751, Wesley went, at the pressing invitation of Dr. Isham, who succeeded Dr. Morley in 1751 as Rector of Lincoln, to vote for a Member of Parliament, and, though his candidate was not elected, he says: 'Yet I did not repent of my coming; I owe much more than this to that generous, friendly man who now rests from his labours' (Dr. Morley). Wesley married Mrs. Vazeille on February 18, 1751, and on June 1, 1751, sent in his resignation: 'Ego, Johannes Wesley, Collegii Lincolniensis in Academia Oxoniensis Socius, quicquid mihi juris est in praedicta Societate, ejusdem Rectori et Sociis sponte ac libere resigno; illis universis et singulis perpetuam pacem ac omnimodum in Christo felicitatem exoptans.'

The links were thus severed, but his love of Oxford never wavered. On October 13, 1785, he writes: 'I once more surveyed many of the gardens and delightful walks. What is wanting but the love of God to make this place an earthly paradise?'

The two hundredth anniversary of Wesley's admission to his Fellowship was kept on March 27, 28, and 29, 1926, when a memorial bust of him was placed outside his room. It was the gift of Methodists, who felt the greatness of their Church's debt to Lincoln College, and is a replica of the bust in the National Portrait Gallery by Silvester, famous as a wax modeller of the time. Mrs. Esdaile—in announcing in *The Times* her discovery of the artist—says it has all the look of being taken from life, and the signs of advanced age, the lines in the forehead and the loose skin under the eyes, are marked as in no other portrait. The Bishop of Lincoln, who took part in the celebration, pointed out that Wesley instituted many things which had become the common practice of all Churches, such as lay preachers and open-air preaching. Lincoln and Christ Church joined in doing honour to the man to whose training they had both made

such memorable contributions. Bishop Johnson, who was at the celebration, suggested that American Methodists should make the bare and somewhat dingy room more worthy of its former owner. That led to the ceremony of September 10, 1928, when the Rector (Mr. Munro) and his colleagues showed how much they appreciated 'the tasteful magnificence' with which the memory of Lincoln's greatest Fellow had been honoured, and the notable addresses delivered by Bishop Hamilton and Dr. Sharp.

One debt to Lincoln College is manifest to the whole Methodist world. It gave Wesley an independent status and a steady income, which enabled him to pursue his career till Methodism was firmly rooted in England and Ireland. At the Leeds Conference of 1766 Wesley recalled that when some said to him, soon after November 1738, 'Sir, we will not sit under you for nothing; we will subscribe quarterly,' Wesley replied, 'I will have nothing; for I want nothing, My Fellowship supplies me with all, and more than I want.' Before Wesley resigned his Fellowship he had established his annual Conference, recruited the early Methodist preachers, faced and conquered many mobs, and sent forth *Appeals* and sermons which were making thoughtful men rejoice that a new force had risen to bring religion home to multitudes whom no other worker seemed able to reach. Richard Fleming founded Lincoln College as a nursery for champions of the Church, and, though he never dreamed of such service as Wesley was to render, he cannot be denied his share in the preparation of England's chief evangelist.

As we think of Wesley's text when he laid the foundation of City Road Chapel, 'What hath God wrought!' we cannot fail to wish still richer influence in training the world's workers to the three great institutions which helped to make John Wesley so mighty a blessing to the world. Long may Charterhouse, Christ Church, and Lincoln College flourish!

JOHN TELFORD.

'WHERE ARE THE DEAD?'

THE prolonged discussion under the above title in the *Daily News* a few months ago, doubtless achieved the purpose of the editor in increasing the circulation for a while, though most readers will by this time have forgotten it. The theme is, however, timeless, and similar feelings would be re-created now were the question to be reopened. For the selection of writers, the only principle seems to have been expert fame; and their expressions of opinion were necessarily limited and fragmentary. The last writer, the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson, well known as cleverest and most implacable of anti-Christian critics, was added in response to the insinuation of the *Freethinker* that 'no straightforward representative Freethinker had been given a hearing.' Seeing that Sir A. Keith and Professor Julian Huxley, together with Messrs. Arnold Bennett and other such, had had full opportunity to express themselves, we have a fair specimen of the blind animus which always characterizes the ebullitions of that journal. It would, indeed, be impossible to find keener, abler, more cultured, more fearless writers to state, in succinct and intelligible terms, the very utmost and worst that can be conceived on scientific lines against the general Christian belief in human survival after death.

Apart from the usual dogmatisms of such Romish apologists as Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Dr. Arendzen, the discussion did not turn upon Christian eschatology. 'Immortality,' as connoting eternal continuance, is a theological rather than a scientific matter. The debate was concerned with the simpler meaning of that word; and the question was only whether human survival after death is either credible or possible. That alone may well concern us here. For, if there be no sound reason for believing in such survival, the secondary question, as to its quantity or quality, can have

no significance. Whatever may be the developments, therefore, in Christian eschatology, it is only too plain in these days, that if there is to be any Christian doctrine of the future at all, the pressing need is to show valid cause for regarding that future as a coming reality, rather than a pious fiction rooted in age-long superstition.

It would be undoubtedly easier, with Mr. Chesterton and his friends, to be content with the impregnable assumption of an infallible Church's authority. But Mr. Haldane's objection is conclusive enough that the Romish Church, which most of all boasts of such authority, has made most demonstrable blunders. The common Protestant assumption is scarcely less easy—that is, reliance upon instinct, custom, feeling, ignorance. Such a procedure may have sufficed for the Middle Ages, and long after, but not for to-day. Nine-tenths of the population are not only outside the Churches, but are manifestly as content with the present as Mr. Haldane declares himself to be. And yet, part of that content, at least, is due to revolt, through increased knowledge, from the repellent doctrines concerning the *post mortem* future which have all too long been proclaimed in the Churches. Whilst, however, the former stress upon 'eternal punishment' is now conspicuously absent even from evangelical preaching, and is by the many dismissed from thought, there yet remains and is intensified, on the part of multitudes, a deeper desire than ever, not only for a real Gospel in this life, but for reliable assurance of a better life to come when death has done its worst. To such a yearning, Christianity is bound to respond; and to do so on lines as utterly true as the most rigorous science, so emphasized by these writers, can demand or desire. 'I am the way, the *truth*, and the life.' 'Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are *true*'—remain the watchwords of Christian faith.

The summary of the newspaper stunt is that, as regards the hereafter, Christians have nothing but hope; and now science has come to say that even that must be dismissed as baseless.

But the plain Christian answer is twofold, namely, first, that the hope is *not* shown to be baseless; and secondly, that it is more than hope; it is assurance. This latter, however, is not here our theme. It was stated clearly and firmly enough by the Apostle Paul—if his words had not so long been misrepresented for English readers, as so often,[1] by the 'Authorized Version.' He did not write to the Corinthians that 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ, we are of all men most pitiable,' but 'If we have only hoped.' The Christian need for something more than hope concerning the hereafter, in view of all the mysteries of human life, is more manifest than ever. Meanwhile, however, the agnostic attack even upon hope must be frankly faced. Vast numbers who are neither students nor church-goers, were undoubtedly reached by the newspaper articles. Can any helpful summary be given of the appeal thus made to so many minds and hearts? It is confessedly difficult, but there can be no harm in an honest attempt, for the truth's sake.

Let us therefore examine, as carefully as briefly, the main allegations of these leading protagonists of disbelief. After which, three other considerations will be as appropriate as valid.

Sir Arthur Keith's dictum at the British Association was undoubtedly the starting-point of the whole discussion. The 'candle-flame' simile attracted much attention. It was natural, therefore, to give him the first opportunity to express himself at length. Let us note his main avowals.

The biologist regards man as an immortal being; we survive, if we survive at all, only in the lives of our descendants.

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[1] 1 Cor. xv. 19. There is no critical question that both Drs. Moffatt and Weymouth are justified. Says the former, 'Ah, if in this life we have nothing but a mere hope in Christ——' and the latter, 'If in this present life we have a hope resting on Christ, and nothing more——' It is but one out of scores of cases in which the A.V. is misleading, but, for the sake of its 'Elizabethan English' and old association, is yet too often retained by preachers and people alike, who ought to put the truth before all else.

A fair specimen of the loose language of 'exact' science. How, one must ask, can I thinkably 'survive' in my children? A man is only a man by virtue of his self-conscious personality, which says 'I am I.' My children are only children through the conscious possession, by each, of a similar, but not identical, personality. But to say that one personality 'lives' in another, is sheer contradiction in terms. If I am no longer I, then it is mere meaningless verbosity to talk of *my* surviving at all, in any sense or degree.

No court of inquiry into the nature of man can be properly constituted which rejects the evidence of those best fitted to give it—medical men.

No Christian advocate proposes to reject the evidence of medical men. But to be an expert in physiology, or anatomy, or therapeutics, does not constitute any man the best judge in the realm which is beyond all three. Seeing that no medical man can tell us what life is, or how it functions with matter, he cannot tell what death either is or does.

If the living essence of man's body is an immaterial spirit, how comes it that it requires such material things as air, food, and water, for its maintenance?

It does not. It is the body which needs the food material, not the 'living essence.' To identify the body with that essence, is to beg the whole question at issue.

It is easier—more satisfying to reason—to explain the known facts of life as material processes, than to attribute them to the working of a mysterious and immaterial entity.

This 'mysterious entity' manifestly is life. Can Sir Arthur Keith 'explain' any one single 'material process' in the body without it? Has he any right to call any one of the 'miraculous changes,' continually taking place in a human

body, merely 'material'? He has not. To do so, is sheer begging of the whole question.

How are we to explain the elaborate and miraculous changes which transform a simple unit of living matter into an adult human body?

All science put together does not and cannot explain any such change. But two things are to be noted. There is no such thing as a 'simple' unit of living matter. And it is the potentiality of the life in protoplasm, not its chemical constituents, which does all the transforming.

For me life is a web, and is immortal. Who, then, is the weaver? As far as biologists can perceive, the loom works automatically; the threads spin themselves.

Verily a transcendent spider! But is this suggestion 'easier and more satisfying to our reason'? Does any loom, known to or conceivable by man, work automatically? It must, of course, start by making itself an automaton. Which is more than any Robot has been known to do. And such a 'loom'! Consider only one infinitesimal fraction of the whole 'web of life'—say a human brain, with its nearly ten thousand millions of living cells, compared with the intricate working of which the great Liverpool organ, with its five manuals, 222 stops, and 10,000 pipes, is but a clumsy trifle. Consult Mr. Goss Custard, as to whether it 'works automatically.' Yet more; even in a spider's web, the wonderful and beautiful threads do not 'spin themselves.' The spider spins them, because it is a living spider. But how? Assuredly science can no more explain that, than how a human personality can function without a brain.

For the honest biologist, spirit and body are one and indissoluble.

But 'indissoluble' implies that they are not 'one,' although we cannot separate them. Even as in regard to water, H_2O. Certainly water is as practically one as the man who drinks it; and is apparently as indissoluble. But the electric spark

reveals the duality of the unity; as death may do for the thinking man. Let the question be fairly faced. Does his *brain* think? Or does *he* think, by means of his brain? 'Psycho-physical parallelism'—T. H. Huxley's pictured 'epiphenomenon'—is the nearest approach that science can make—and, Tyndall added, ever will make—to answer that question. But does such parallelism fuse the material brain and the immaterial thought into 'one'? Assuredly it does not. To identify the thinker with the means of his thought, is as real and childish an error as to say that Heifetz, 'the supreme violinist, and his violin, are 'one and indissoluble.'

The man of science insists that his currency be struck in the mint of truth.

Amen! But more so than all other men? Why any more so than those whose opinions differ from his? Sir Arthur suggests, 'in all humility' (?), that those who do not agree with him, are repeating Aesop's fable of the dog crossing the stream. It is difficult to appreciate the 'humility' of this suggestion. At least many of them have long since pledged themselves to the only Apostolical Succession worth noticing —'Finally, brethren, *whatsoever things are true.*'

So we come to the contribution of Mr. J. M. Robertson, the special reason for which was noted above. An abler advocate of uttermost disbelief it would be difficult to find. Yet even he begins with the mistake of asserting that 'the strict Christian doctrine of immortality is Conditionalism'—which is simply untrue. He also stresses the fact that 'immortality is flatly negated in Ecclesiastes.' As if that had anything to do with true Christian doctrine! The main points of his response to the urge of the *Freethinker*, after the usual superficial, contemptuous, and uninformed dismissal of Spiritism, are as follows:

Multitudes of able and good men have lived and died without any belief in immortality.

So they have also without any knowledge of astronomy, or of modern medicine. Does that, then, show that the Ptolemaic scheme was correct, or that the best remedy for all diseases is bleeding? No one questions the intellect or the probity of John Morley, or T. H. Huxley. But the words of the latter to the former strike a note which, there is good reason to believe, find an echo in many an agnostic heart.[1]

I find my dislike to the thought of extinction increasing as I grow older. It flashes across me with a sort of horror that in 1900 I shall know no more of what is going on than I did in 1800. I had sooner be in hell.

At all events, there is nothing either in modern science, or in modern life, to invalidate the Apostolic affirmation that 'true religion is helpful in all respects, seeing that it brings the assurance of good, both for this present life and that which is to come.'[2]

Believers in immortality, as a rule, simply hope to go on living.

This simply shows how little even cultured sceptics know about Christian reality. It is just about as true as to say that men of science simply hope to verify the multiplication table.

The number of thinking men who disbelieve immortality, as a mere survival of childish savagery, is increasing.

So is the number of thinking men and women who intensely cherish the Christian hope.

How little reason there is for the sweeping assertion quoted, may well be seen in Mr. Tabrum's valuable little volume entitled *Religious Beliefs of Scientists*.[3] Even if it were true, it would prove nothing; for the truth often rests with a minority.

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[1] *Recollections*, Vol. I., pp. 145–7. [2] 1 Tim. iv. 8.

[3] Published by Hunter & Longhurst.

Mr. Robertson must indeed be hard put to it, to have recourse to Dean Inge against human immortality. One cannot but think that the Dean would desire to have the context of his remark also quoted. In any case it is simply untrue, whether he said it or not, that 'the Christian hope burns very dim among us.' So far as Christian believers are concerned, Mr. Robertson speaks from ignorance, and I speak from intimate knowledge when I say that the Christian hope burns as intensely as ever in their minds and hearts. The only difference, as compared with the past, is that their assurance is as much more thoughtful and reverent, as it is broader and more comprehensive.

The spiritual perpetuity of every one of the unnumbered sextillions of quasi-human and human beings who have existed on this planet—what need, or wish, or hope, is thereby satisfied?

With the quasi-human we are not here concerned. But the common objection in regard to numbers was sufficiently considered by Professor William James, in his little book on *Human Immortality*, to satisfy any candid inquirer. It is enough here to say that, in this connexion, numbers do not count. Though even if they did—as materially as this common objection assumes—we know now enough of the capacity of the universe to be sure that if every one of the human beings who have ever lived, or will live, on this planet, required, as spatial room for his *post mortem* development, a whole planet to himself, he could be easily accommodated.

Each one had, as such, a beginning; how is it to be argued that they cannot have an end?

This is evasion of the question at issue by confusing the two distinct senses in which the word immortality is employed. The matter under discussion is not whether human beings shall continue for ever—that is a question for theism to discuss—but whether death is their utter and final end.

For that conclusion there is no valid evidence. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that Mr. Arnold Bennett, a fellow protagonist of disbelief, insists that

> There are no dead. Nothing can be destroyed: no quality of mind, no beauty, no kindness; everything is from everlasting to everlasting;

—which realities surely connote the continuity of personality, being otherwise unthinkable.

Great importance was attached to the contribution of Professor Julian Huxley. But only space is required to show the invalidity of his main allegations.

> For the scientist, the only acceptable truth is laboriously built upon fact, tested by observation in experiment, and capable of verification by whoever will go to the trouble.

That is, in regard to human immortality, the only scientific way of experimental truth is to kill a man, and then see if he still lives. Which is sufficiently self-contradictory. When facts, 'laboriously' built up, are alleged as such, by modern Spiritism, they are dismissed as being 'ninety per cent. fraudulent, or childish, or both,' which the honest student knows is not true. Whilst the remaining ten per cent. are 'nothing more than telepathy, the subconscious mind, or clairvoyance.' And this, close students of more than thirty years, like Sir Oliver Lodge—and others—know to be equally untrue.

> All activities of mind depend upon matter.

This, again, is far too sweeping to be true. Beethoven's music was indeed dependent upon matter for its expression, whether on the written score or through a musician's fingers; but not for its origination. Whence came that which he materialized? Through his brain? Yes; but all science put together cannot show that it came *from* his brain. It

is well known that Helmholtz, one of the greatest men of science, had one of the smallest brains; whilst the heaviest brain ever known was that of a maniac—70 oz., as against Helmholtz's 45.

Body and mind are only two aspects of a single reality—the man himself.

This is but sheer assertion; cutting the Gordian knot, because it cannot be untied. There may be two 'aspects' of one reality when both aspects are of the same nature, as the two sides of a coin, or of a sheet of paper. But in 'man himself' the 'mind aspect' is certainly immaterial, whilst the 'body aspect' is as surely material. To say that these two are one; that there is no difference between them; so that the material *is* the immaterial; is to rob language of any meaning; which would make reasoning impossible, and science a delusion.

We cannot imagine a mind without a body.

No more can we imagine—that is, scientifically conceive—a mind with a body. But imagination is not the final test of reality. A few years ago, no one living could 'imagine' a man in Australia conversing plainly with a man in London; or a man flying across the Atlantic in a few hours.

The difficulty is to imagine a mind, a personality, surviving the destruction of the body.

True. But no more difficult than to imagine the interworking of a personality with a body. And no more difficult than to imagine a Kreisler surviving the destruction of his violin, through which alone he could produce his music.

If the human spirit survives death, why not also the souls of animals?

For a reply to this, the words of John Fiske, the well-known evolutionist, will well suffice[1]:

> It is not too much to say that the difference between man and all other living creatures, in respect of teachableness, progressiveness, and individuality of character, surpasses all other differences of kind that are known to exist in the universe.

Yet again, says Professor Huxley:

> Our personalities are so based on body that it is really impossible to think of survival which would be in any true sense personal, without a body of sorts.

2 Cor. v. 1 shows that the Christian believer is not called upon so to think. But that personality is 'based on body,' is more than any science has a right to affirm. 'Associated mysteriously with body,' is all that the truth permits. Whilst, as to the after-death future, 'a body of sorts' is a surprisingly loose suggestion from exact science; but, in default of anything better from that source, there is ample room to postulate the possibility of an 'ethereal body,' from the scientific standpoint[2]; or a 'spiritual body,'[3] from the Christian standpoint.

> I can think of our personalities being lost, blended, taken up into some general reservoir of mind and spirit, and becoming part and parcel of something universal and all-pervading.

The Professor says well that in such case our personalities will be 'lost.' For even a child will see that when a drop is 'merged' in an ocean, it is only the ocean that survives. The comfort of this suggestion has been truly estimated, as above, by the Professor's great namesake. It is difficult indeed to speak at all respectfully of such a pitiful conclusion. If this be the best that the latest science can offer to the

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[1] *Man's Destiny*, p. 57.
[2] See Sir Oliver Lodge's *Ether and Reality*, p. 162.
[3] 1 Cor. xv. 35–49.

anxious mind and yearning heart of humanity, one can but take refuge in the fact that it is certainly not proven to be the truest. Tennyson is nearer the truth; that we are

> Not merely cunning casts in clay;
> Let science prove we are, and then
> What matters science unto men?
> At least to me, I would not stay.

All the foregoing comments could, of course, be made more effective in fuller expression; but in any case there are at least three other considerations which must be definitely taken into account, if truth is to be attained. Each of these would well deserve an elaborate article to itself in this journal. It is hard to leave them with merely succinct mention.

(1) In the whole newspaper logomachy no question was raised as to the truth, or otherwise, of Christian theism. But Mr. Robertson truly remarked that human immortality is, after all, a theistic problem. The validity of Christian theism, with all its consequences, demands to be considered, as fairly and fully as biology, or chemistry, or anatomy. It is confessedly a great question; never as difficult as to-day; never before so frankly and carefully considered by Christian thinkers. As regards pure theism, the definite attitude of Mr. John Fiske, in his two valuable little books, *Man's Destiny* and *Life Everlasting*, published some years ago, remains unshaken. But they do not cover the whole case. Until the Christ of the Gospels is shown to have been either deceiver or deceived, His doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God, carries with it an unmistakable settlement, not merely as to human survival after death, but in regard to the quantity and quality of that survival. To such a query as '*Where* are the dead?' Christians may well be content to say, with Messrs. Huxley and Haldane, 'We do not know.' But we do know that they have not been drowned in an ocean of 'something,' or 'flung as rubbish

to the void.' To know that, is to lay the spectre of T. H. Huxley, and find this life both precious and hopeful in view of such a hereafter as Fatherhood connotes. God, the soul, and immortality, are verily, as a human and rational assurance, 'one and indissoluble.'

(2) Again; no reference, or only the very slightest, was made, in the *Daily News* discussion, to the resurrection of Christ, as narrated in our Gospels, and formulated in Christian belief. But its bearing upon the question of human survival and personal continuity after death, is too manifest to need emphasis. Then is such a complete ignoring, or dismissal, of so great an event, warranted? In full view of all the critical and historical difficulties which have been published abroad, one may yet say boldly, as a Christian rationalist,[1] it is not. Whatever may be believed or disbelieved concerning the 'Incarnation,' Jesus was at least so human as to be a true type of an individual man, whose personality passed through death unscathed, and so answered, by anticipation, all modern whisperings or shoutings as to the unthinkableness of human survival when the brain ceases to function. Modern science is perfectly warranted in probing to the uttermost the mysteries of psycho-physical parallelism; but it is not warranted in turning a deaf ear, or a blind eye, to all that is connoted by the actual resurrection of Jesus Christ from death.

(3) Lastly, and specially, because of the immense ignorance, prejudice, and scorn which yet prevail concerning it—as witness almost all newspaper correspondence—there is something to be learned from 'Spiritualism.' That name, as I have shown elsewhere,[2] covers really four grades of thought and conviction: (i.) Psychical Research, pure and simple,

[1] If the reader has an open mind, he will find as clear and full and conclusive a study of the whole case as reasoning can desire, in the volume by W. J. Sparrow Simpson, entitled *The Resurrection and Modern Thought* (Longmans).

[2] See *Christian Findings after Fifty Years*, pp. 151–68.

on scientific lines; (ii.) Spiritism—the avowal that discarnate human spirits have been definitely recognized as such; (iii.) Spiritualism—a form of religion, mostly Unitarian, based upon Spiritism; and (iv.) Christian Spiritualism, which welcomes all that Spiritism can demonstrate from the more general or 'orthodox' standpoint. Here, we are only concerned with (ii.); and all that there is room or need to say, is that if only scorners, whether scientific or religious, could but be induced to read and examine as fairly and patiently as such a matter deserves,[1] there could not but result a conviction that here are *facts*, too real to be crushed by words, which give the lie direct to human finality through death; and deserve to be taken into account as honestly as the other facts, not more real, of biology and physiology.

In spite, therefore, of the necessarily syncopated nature of all the foregoing comments, it is submitted that the plain rebuke administered by Christ Himself to the Sadducees of old, has not been nullified by modern science, but still admits of application, no less forceful for being respectful, to some high-placed ones in our midst: 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live unto Him. Ye do greatly err.'

FRANK BALLARD.

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[1] The literature of this subject is now too vast to permit of any list being here appended; but, if one work may be specified above the rest, as conclusive in itself, it is *The Great Problem*, by Dr. G. L. Johnson, M.A., B.C., M.D. (Cantab.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.P.S., F.R.S. (Italy), &c.

Let Science fair be teaching
How brain and mind react,
My faith and hope are reaching
Beyond such realm of fact;
And much it eases sorrow
That none, while Earth shall be,
Will prove there is no morrow,
No immortality.

A. T. SHEARMAN.

HASTINGS RASHDALL: SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

HASTINGS RASHDALL, Dean of Carlisle, held a remarkable place in the Anglican Church as a liberal divine and thinker of conspicuous ability, courage, and sincerity. He was a historian, a theologian, and a philosopher, and he combined with his wide learning a devout and brotherly spirit, a passionate love of truth, a fearlessness of utterance, and a sense of humour, that won the esteem of friend and opponent alike.

The recently published *Life*, by P. E. Matheson, Fellow of New College (Oxford University Press), presents a portrait, admirable in its firmness of outline, of the man and a clear account of his career, influence, and opinions. It is the work of a friend who knew Rashdall and can appraise his qualities of mind and spirit with insight and felicity, without concealing his defects, and such minor foibles as absent-mindedness and forgetfulness, which made him so human and so lovable to those who understood him. He had a certain gravity, and perhaps austerity, of outward demeanour, but a brief acquaintance sufficed to remove the impression of reserve and revealed a nature sympathetic and kindly, engagingly frank and approachable. At least the present writer, recalling the rather intermittent opportunities of intercourse with him, has happy recollections of these aspects of his personality. Slight in themselves, the following notes are to be regarded as a personal testimony which may make him more real to those who know him only by repute.

So far as I can remember, my interest in Rashdall arose through the reading of his earlier essays and sermons. It struck me as remarkable that the author of a recognized historical masterpiece like *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* should display a similar distinction and vigour of thought in the realms of theology and philosophy. Such

philosophy as I knew had been acquired at the feet of that notable and beloved professor, Robert Adamson of Owens College: he it was that expounded Plato and Aristotle to his admiring students and prepared them to absorb the teaching of the Cairds and T. H. Green of Oxford. Now Rashdall was pre-eminently a philosopher-theologian, and, as Professor C. C. J. Webb points out in his sympathetic, yet searching, critique of Rashdall as philosopher and theologian (see *Life*, pp. 240–9), while the latter was a follower of T. H. Green and shared his idealistic standpoint, he yet took an independent line of his own and adopted the view of the absolute reality of the individual personal consciousness, which was designated 'personal idealism'—the title of the volume of essays, edited by Henry Sturt, to which Rashdall had contributed his 'Personality, Human and Divine.'

Rashdall's theory of the finiteness of God, his plea for determinism, his distrust of the argument from experience, and his rejection of mysticism were aspects of his philosophy which were open to criticism and, however ably expounded, were not wholly convincing. Nevertheless, he inspired confidence from the first by his resolute and capable method of stating the truths of Christianity in terms intelligible to modern reason. He never left on one's mind the impression of a hard and frigid rationalism, however logical and clear-cut the statement of his views. Of his own reverent and devout belief in the Incarnation, the divinity of Christ, and the reality of the Holy Spirit there was no question whatever.

It was not till 1906 that I was first introduced to him. As minister in charge of the Wesley Memorial Church, Oxford, as well as of the Wesleyan undergraduates, I was able to draw on the talent of the University for the programme of the Musical and Literary Society—a Wesley Guild always *sui generis*—connected with the church. So I asked Rashdall to come and give us a lecture. His welcome at his hospitable home, 18 Longwall Street, when I called, was most cordial,

and his consent equally so. His subject was 'Mediaeval Odds and Ends,' and it was delivered without a note, in a free and easy conversational style. In thanking him, I referred to what he had said about the unhygienic conditions of city and domestic life in the Middle Ages, and quoted Wesley's maxim 'Cleanliness is next to godliness,' adding that many good Methodists imagined it came from the book of Proverbs—a remark that much amused him. Not long afterwards I had the pleasure of being his guest at the high table of New College, and there met some of the distinguished dons of whom I had heard so much from the alumni of the college. Among the latter was Arthur George Heath, that highminded and gifted pupil of Rashdall, and one of my own flock, whose promise as a philosopher of remarkable powers was never to be fulfilled, by reason of his untimely death in the fighting-line, in 1915, on the Loos salient.

When Rashdall was appointed Canon of Hereford, he wrote, in reply to a letter of congratulation:

> Sincere thanks for your kind congratulations. A 'Ministerial Club' open to all denominations has, I hear, just been started at Hereford by the last-appointed Canon: so I hope there, as here, I shall have Nonconformist friends. The Bishop and Dean and Chapter are a little liberal stronghold in (I hear) a very conservative country. I am glad to have Heath as my successor. I shall not be leaving Oxford altogether, but . . .

And here follows a sentence not quite easy to decipher—Rashdall's handwriting is difficult—but the gist of it is that at Oxford his work was to be greatly reduced. I question if any of his eminent contemporaries in the Anglican Church ever showed so much friendliness to Free Church ministers, or took such evident pleasure in cultivating friendly relations with them. The *Life* has some very interesting matter which illustrates this marked feature of his career. At Carlisle every Nonconformist minister signed a letter of protest against the injustice done to him by the misrepresentation in the public Press of his views on 'Christ as

Logos and Son of God,' as stated at the Modern Churchmen Conference in 1921 at Cambridge. It was freely announced that he had denied the divinity of our Lord—an imputation which Rashdall felt very keenly, and strongly repudiated. The controversy left marks on his already weakened constitution; yet the whole incident redounds to his credit. Though he felt deeply the treatment he had received, he cherished no bitterness towards those who had so grievously misunderstood him. He occasionally worshipped in Nonconformist churches, going, for example, to hear F. B. Meyer in Carlisle, and at Llandrindod Wells, in September 1914, to a service in 'the Wesleyan Chapel, where we heard a much better sermon than at the Parish Church in the morning, though the Vicar is thought a good deal of. The absence of the hard Anglican dogmatism was very refreshing.' One wonders if the preacher recognized his distinguished hearer.

In June 1917 he was instituted as Dean of Carlisle. I resided then at Keswick, and on one occasion proposed to call on him when visiting Carlisle; but he replied saying that he had to go up to London 'for a Committee of the (so-called) Representative Church Council.' The bracketed phrase is a characteristic touch. Not long after, he came to give a lecture at the Keswick Literary Society, of which I was at the time president. We met under the hospitable roof of his host, Mr. Robert Slack, at Portinscale, and had a walk together to Crosthwaite. Some months later I sent him a copy of my *Introduction to Early Church History*, which had just been published by Macmillan & Co. Among other things, he was good enough to say that

> it contains just what ought to be generally known about the subject and which is generally concealed by the usual text-books. I wish all the men in our theological colleges could be made to read it. I have got from it a good sprinkling of facts and ideas which were new to me, e.g. that the failure of Mithraism was due to its exclusion of woman.

In August 1918 I left for Salonika, and did not meet the Dean again till 1922, when he came to address the Society for Biblical Study at Sheffield University. As secretary, I suggested as a subject the influence of the mystery-religions on Christianity. He replied:

> My dissertation on the mystery-religions and their influence on St. Paul, at the end of my book on the Atonement, quite exhausts my knowledge of the subject, so that if I were to write again I could only repeat it. So I would rather choose something else. I suggest 'The Matthean Additions to the Gospel.' Do you think that will do? Please tell me what sort of audience I am to expect. Will they be simply a group of senior students who meet regularly for purposes of study or will there be others too? May one speak freely of the bearing of the questions discussed on religious belief or do you aim at being severely scientific like the Society for Historical Theology at Oxford?

Being assured that we were prepared for a perfectly frank utterance, he gave us an admirable paper on the debatable logia of the First Gospel, and an animated discussion followed, not wholly favourable to his views.

During this year the Church Congress was held at Sheffield. Rashdall's address on 'The Present Value of the Creeds' was keenly anticipated. He took the characteristic line that, while the Creeds were not to be scrapped, they were to be re-interpreted to Christian people in the light of modern knowledge, and this he considered to be the special mission of the trained intellects of the Church of England. He repeated his warning against the peril of tritheism which he considered to be implicit in the statements of some contemporary divines on the doctrine of the Trinity.

He spoke with his usual clearness, but he showed signs of the physical strain which the failure of his health had imposed on him. His death some two years later, at the age of sixty-five, brought sorrow to his friends, but it mercifully ended the suffering which had become increasingly painful.

The Greek quotation on his memorial tablet in Carlisle

Cathedral, to the effect that knowledge added to belief differs much from belief alone, happily indicates one of the deep convictions of his soul. More than once, thoughtful people, in whose hands I have placed his *Philosophy and Religion*—a series of lectures he gave to Cambridge undergraduates—have expressed their gratitude for his guidance to a reasonable basis for personal religion. *Christ and Conscience* may also be named as a book likely to prove useful to those who are puzzled by difficult aspects of the teaching of Christ in relation to common duty. He certainly served his generation by the will of God and taught the invaluable lesson that the cause of truth in theology and religion is served best by fearless candour, when allied, as it was in him, with a personal realization of the presence of God and a belief in the revelation of God in Christ.

R. MARTIN POPE.

PROFESSOR WINDISCH AND THE FOURTH GOSPEL

I

VERY important contributions to the Johannine problem have been made during the last few years by Professor Hans Windisch, of Leiden, in a series of articles[1] and in his book *Johannes und die Synoptiker* (1926). In the present article I propose to give some account of the main contentions of this book, and to attempt an estimate of their value for the understanding of the Gospel. The aim of Professor Windisch is not merely to discuss the extent to which the Fourth Evangelist has used the Synoptics, but also to examine the relationships which exist between these writings, with a view to the better understanding of the mind and methods of the Evangelist and the purpose for which his Gospel was written. It will be seen that this aim makes possible the objective treatment of a problem which too often has suffered from the perils of undue subjectivity. When we compare the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptics, we are comparing the less known with the relatively better known, and it will be strange indeed if no helpful conclusions are suggested by the comparison.

In the history of New Testament Criticism, four main hypotheses have been advanced to explain the relationship. (1) The oldest explanation, going back at least to the second century, is *the Supplementary theory*—the view that John wrote to complete the historical account given by his predecessors. (2) A second view is *the theory of Independence*, current from the end of the eighteenth century. The Evangelist writes in complete independence of the Synoptists,

[1] The articles include a very thorough discussion of the Johannine narrative style ('Der johanneische Erzählungsstil,' 1923), an examination of the Paraclete sayings in John xiv.-xvi. ('Die fünf johanneischen Parakletsprüche,' 1927), and an essay in the *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* on the absolute character of the Fourth Gospel ('Die Absolutheit des Johannesevangeliums,' 1927).

either because of his apostolic sovereignty and position as an eyewitness, or because, at the time of writing, the earlier Gospels were not widely known or were little esteemed. (3) The third hypothesis, *the Interpretation theory*, first emerged in the course of last century. It insists on the incompatibility of the Johannine and Synoptic narrative types, and claims that the Fourth Gospel was written to purify and elucidate the existing Synoptic tradition. (4) Finally, we have *the Substitution theory*, first advanced about the turn of the nineteenth century, according to which the Fourth Gospel was written because its author was profoundly dissatisfied with the work of his predecessors, and desired to crowd out their writings and to substitute a Gospel more suited to the intellectual and religious needs of the time. It is this 'crowding-out hypothesis' which Professor Windisch champions.

The theory of Independence is dismissed at the outset as the result of a detailed inquiry as to whether the Evangelist knew the Synoptic Gospels. Professor Windisch concludes that he knew, and occasionally used, Mark, and was probably acquainted with Matthew and Luke. He rejects the view that the Synoptic elements in John are later insertions, and proceeds on the presumption that, in its totality, the Fourth Gospel is the work of a single writer.[1]

[1] Professor Windisch is of the opinion that the convincing exposure of a *Grundschrift*, essentially different from the canonical text in form and character, has not succeeded. Fruitful results are to be expected only when we allow for (*a*) sources, and (*b*) possible smaller or greater interpolations which come either from the Evangelist himself or from an editor. Among the interpolations to be ascribed to a strange hand are i. 15, ii. 17, v. 28 f., vi. 39*b*, 40*b*, 44*b*, vii. 39 (?), xix. 35, xxi. 24. Professor Windisch holds that only the later insertion of single Synoptic episodes and expressions comes seriously into question, such as the Peter episode (xviii. 10 f.), the reference to the removal of Jesus to Caiaphas (xviii. 24, 28), and the appearance of Judas (xviii. 3, 5). Few of the greater Synoptic narratives (e.g. the Cleansing, the Anointing, and the Denial) can be removed from their present contexts as 'pericopes,' and even in these cases the connexion is not improved by the separation.

The investigation now turns to the actual contents of the Gospel and their bearing on the Supplementary theory. Professor Windisch argues at length that the passage iii. 24 ('For John was not yet cast into prison') is not a correction of the Synoptists, but merely serves to render the Johannine narrative intelligible. This opinion is supported by the claim that the instance stands completely isolated in the first part of the Gospel, and by the fact that elsewhere, where actual contradictions occur (e.g. the date of the Cleansing), the Evangelist is silent. The next point for consideration is the relation of the story of the Miraculous Feeding (vi.) to the Markan narrative. Is the opinion of Zahn tenable—that between v. 1 and vi. 4 there is a six months' interval for the mass of events which, according to Mark i. 14–vi. 30 (and parallels), occurred between the arrest and execution of the Baptist? The problem is not whether history permits of such a filling in of the Johannine outline, but whether the Evangelist has contemplated this; whether his wish has been to provide a framework in which the Synoptic narrative material could be inserted. This question leads to a literary and stylistic investigation of this part of the Fourth Gospel. The result is to show that the situation is very different from that disclosed by K. L. Schmidt in the case of the Synoptics.[1] Although the Johannine narratives are introduced by indeterminate phrases, as in the Synoptics, the characteristic of the representation is its continuity; and, where this is so, a conscious reference to the older historical account cannot be thought of. Where, for instance, can we find a place for the Temptation and Baptism of Jesus? If the reader asks at what point these stories should be inserted, the Evangelist leaves him in the lurch; the question, important for the reader and the supporter of the Synoptics, has left him cold. Again, the whole representation from vii.–xii. is based on the assumption that Jesus has

[1] Cf. *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu.*

left Galilee for the last time; any literary harmonizing is forbidden. John has completely ignored the Synoptic itinerarium and has inserted no 'correcting' observations for readers interested in the Synoptics. Where, moreover, in the Johannine account of the Supper can we find room for the institution of the Eucharist? From xiii. 4 onwards the narrative is self-contained, free from gaps, incapable of being supplemented. The Evangelist stands over against every tradition in such a sovereign manner that, even with regard to the Eucharist, he completely emancipates himself from the tradition of the older Gospels, and from the liturgical tradition already championed, authenticated, and disseminated by Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23 ff.).

Professor Windisch recognizes that many will not be satisfied with this explanation. 'What of the Footwashing?' they will ask. He replies that, if the Footwashing refers to an ecclesiastical rite at all, it can only be the Baptism, but that even this reference is not necessary, and that it is much more likely that the meal described in John xiii. reflects the ideal 'Agape' intentionally released from the Eucharist. He holds that, if the institution of the Eucharist is related anywhere, the narrative of the Miraculous Feeding alone can come into consideration. This narrative is the peculiar Johannine substitute for the Synoptic-Pauline-Eucharist tradition. The Evangelist has aimed at nothing less than the creation of a new type of Gospel story whereby the old form should be thrust aside.[1]

Turning to the Passion and Resurrection stories, Professor Windisch claims that throughout they present a homogeneous composition, essentially independent of the Synoptic tradition. There was no need, for example, for a Trial before

[1] Windisch points out that it is possible that John did not wish to attack the rite itself, but wanted to give a warning against all too strong pagan sacramentarian tendencies. He suggests that perhaps the close connexion of spiritual nourishing with the sacrament was repugnant to the Evangelist. Cf. *Johannes und die Synoptiker*, p. 75; also E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, pp. 128 ff.

the Priests in the Johannine scheme, since, long before, Jesus had proclaimed His Messianic claims. His guilt was known and formulated; the conclusion was taken, the sentence passed. Accordingly, the Synoptic account of the Trial before Caiaphas was superfluous. The silence about Simon of Cyrene may be polemical; on the other hand, the Evangelist's intention may be to represent the typical bearing of the Cross. As for the cry of affliction, the Johannine text has no room for this, and in its stead records the Thirst scene. Nowhere, it is claimed, does the harmonistic theory effect a combination more void of understanding than when it brings together the words of the Cross. In the Passion story, as elsewhere, the Fourth Gospel is intelligible in itself; it is autonomous and sufficient. The same argument is pressed home in the case of the Johannine narratives parallel to Synoptic stories, and as regards alleged allusions to Synoptic material.[1] The Evangelist's silence as to the Virgin Birth is a case in point. Professor Windisch holds that if i. 13 is not a gloss, the plural form is to be considered primary, and rejects Zahn's view that the passage takes the supernatural birth of Christ as a type of the origin of the children of God. Can a reference to the birth of Christ be intended, when, strictly speaking, the passage would in such a case point rather to a purely Docetic conception of the birth? As regards i. 45, vi. 42, and vii. 41 f., two possibilities are indicated: (*a*) the Evangelist may have held the view that Jesus was Joseph's son; or (*b*) he may have accepted the Virgin Birth tradition without regarding it as important. To him the Logos-nature was the essential thing; questions of manner and place were quite secondary.

What is the significance of the Synoptic traditions which are omitted in the Fourth Gospel? Are the omissions accidental, or do they tell us anything about the Evangelist's

[1] e.g. the Birth stories, the Baptism of John, the Arrest of the Baptist, the Appointment of the Twelve, the Lazarus story, the references to Signs and Wonders, &c.

attitude to his predecessors? The latter is the view of Professor Windisch. The grounds of omission, he believes, are various. In the first place, John has deliberately recast not a few Synoptic stories in order to adapt them to his higher Christ-conception, and has rejected others because they directly contradicted his own views.[1] Other traditions have been omitted because the Evangelist was not interested in them, and could assume no interest on the part of his readers.[2] Finally, the Evangelist has omitted Synoptic miracles[3] even where they belong to the same category as his own, because those related by himself excel them in greatness. Among these, the omission of the Transfiguration is the strangest case. Its absence may be due to the Johannine conviction that the disciples saw Christ's glory from the beginning to the end, and not once only on the mountain. The Evangelist may also have taken offence at the idea of a temporary transfiguration, during which Christ is visited by two men of the Old Covenant, especially if he had Gnostic-Marcionite tendencies. Instead of the Transfiguration, John records the resounding of the voice from heaven (xii. 28).

What, finally, is the explanation of the Evangelist's omission of the numerous Synoptic logia and parables? Must he not have assumed them as an integral part of the Jesus-tradition, and, in speaking of doing the will of God and of 'commands' of Jesus, does he not point us to collections of sayings like the Sermon on the Mount? Professor Windisch dissents from this view. The complete ethical teaching of Jesus is exhausted in the command to love one

[1] e.g. the Prayer-struggle in Gethsemane, the Cry of Desolation, the Temptation, the Exorcism of Demons, the story of the Imprisoned Baptist.

[2] e.g. Synoptic discussions about the keeping and interpretation of the Law, other than the Sabbath question, and the association of Jesus with sinners. Windisch points out that in John the work of Jesus takes place in a higher social *milieu*.

[3] e.g. the Leper stories, the Stilling of the Storm, and the Transfiguration.

another (xiii. 34 f., xv. 12, 17). In this one word John embraces the entire ethical teaching of Jesus, and thereby supersedes all further collections. To speak after the manner of Hillel, this one commandment ' is ' the teaching of Jesus; all else is ' application.' The ' commands ' mentioned in xiv. 15, 21 and xv. 10 require a specifically Johannine interpretation. This is supported by 1 John v. 3 (' And His commandments are not grievous '), a passage which cannot contemplate words like Matt. v. 39 ff. (the other cheek, &c.), or Matt. v. 45 ff. (loving one's enemies), or Matt. xix. 21 (selling all one has). John, moreover, knows only the command of *brotherly* love. This, and not loving one's enemies, is the commandment Christ has given. Professor Windisch goes so far as to say that the Synoptic ethic is strange to John, for whom the commands of Christ are essentially embraced in faith on the Son and in brotherly love. Through his Christ-sayings and discourses the Evangelist has sought to crowd out the Synoptic ethical and eschatological logia and parables. Perhaps xx. 30 is true also of the logia : ' There are still many other words which Jesus spoke which are not recorded in this book, but these are recorded that you may have faith and life. . . .'

The words just cited recall the two concluding summaries to the Gospel—xx. 30 ff. and xxi. 25—which furnish Professor Windisch with his last and strongest argument. The meaning of xx. 30 f. is that the contents of ' this book ' are sufficient in themselves to confirm faith and to realize the life bound up therewith. The author does not designate his work as an appendix or supplement, as if he should say : ' For the rest compare Mark ' ; he stresses rather the sufficiency and autonomy of his writing. In xxi. 25 the examination of the older Gospels is as clearly as possible disavowed, and if this passage is from a strange hand, the redactor has correctly perceived the Evangelist's tendency, and underlines it. John has written the last and best ; according to xxi. 25, strictly taken, the only Gospel ; in any case, the only Gospel which is to

have value in the future. The Fourth Gospel tolerates no other witnesses beside itself; it is the absolute Gospel.

Professor Windisch recognizes the need for a psychological explanation of the Evangelist's alleged procedure, and offers this by pointing to the writer's consciousness of being the bearer of a Spirit-inspired, definitely ecclesiastical type of teaching, and by indicating the clamant need of the age for a liturgical book suitable for the worship of the community.[1] He further seeks to show that the Evangelist's desire to supersede the works of his predecessors is not so strange as it might appear to be. There are kindred literary processes in the Old Testament, in Judaism, and in early Christianity, in the attitude of Matthew and Luke to their sources, that of the later non-canonical writers to the Synoptics, and in Tatian's use of all four Gospels. In all these cases the literary aim is not that of supplementing, but of replacing; it is almost the rule that he who writes a new Gospel seeks to crowd out the older writings. The later example of Marcion is especially instructive. While the Fourth Gospel did not originate in Gnostic-heretical circles, it did take its rise in a circle which used Gnostic ideas and tendencies in order to ward off Judaism and to be able to surpass competing Hellenistic cults. For such a purpose the Synoptic Gospels offered too many weak points, and a new Gospel, alive to the needs of the time, was essential. Like Paul, however, John fought against a Gnosticism more radical than himself, and it was this antithesis which made it possible for the Church ultimately to range his Gospel, and the Epistles of Paul, along with the older Gospels in one Canon.

The objection that the Evangelist nowhere expressly rejects the Synoptics is countered by the plea that it is simply a question of how high we estimate the power of his silence and the ignoring of his predecessors. So far as the

[1] This contention is treated in my article in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1928, on 'The Psychology of the Johannine Christ-testimonies.'

time of composition is concerned, Professor Windisch points out how well his theory stands in agreement with the contemporary attitude towards the use of Gospel writings. About A.D. 100 the Gospels still lacked canonical authority, and the One Gospel System as yet will often have been dominant. The possession of a second or a third Gospel was at first a great inconvenience, since it compelled the reader—in any case the public reader—to undertake a continuous comparison and assimilation. If John had wanted to set his Gospel alongside the other writings, he must have known that he was preparing the way for great embarrassments for the Church. Under these circumstances the Fourth Gospel must have been quite differently planned, and would have had to include continual references to the other Gospels. On this ground again, Professor Windisch claims that the 'crowding-out hypothesis' offers the most probable explanation of the facts of the case: John subscribed to the One Gospel Principle, and his Gospel was to be *the* Gospel.

II

In seeking to pass a judgement on the main thesis of Professor Windisch, I think we may justly say that he effectively exposes the inadequacy of all existing theories, including in part his own. This verdict applies most of all to the *Independence theory*, for it seems tolerably clear that the Evangelist not only at least uses Mark, but also frequently has the Synoptic tradition in mind. The *Interpretation theory* is a half-way house. Professor Windisch is justified in claiming that a Gospel so autonomous and sufficient is not to be understood as a mere interpreter of older writings. Even the suggestion that the Gospel was written for advanced or mature Christian believers is not tenable. The book itself draws no distinction between beginners and the more advanced in the faith; it is written not only for the elect, but for all. But what of *the Supplementary theory*, so long

dominant and championed in recent times by G. Salmon, Th. Zahn, and A. Resch? Here I think we must say that, if this theory is to be regarded as a *complete* account of the Evangelist's relation to his predecessors, Professor Windisch riddles it with shot and shell from stem to stern. He claims with justice that the Fourth Gospel is intelligible in itself, not only in its single sections, but also in its entirety; that in his narratives the Evangelist does not suggest that he is merely giving a sketch which assumes the more detailed records of the older writers; that the omissions and silences are deliberate, conditioned by the Evangelist's aims and outlook; that the latter really does regard what he has written as sufficient in itself for 'faith' and 'life.' But, having said this, we have not said all. Even an inadequate theory is not likely to have persisted for seventeen centuries unless it took account of some facts in the situation, and this opinion is supported by the fact that one sometimes feels a sense of strain in Professor Windisch's argument, as if he were trying to slay an adversary who refuses to die. Granted that the Fourth Evangelist's purpose is something more than that of filling out the work of his predecessors, it is not at all inconsistent with this view to suppose that he sometimes looks back at their work and pauses to elucidate, or even correct, a point in passing. This is probably the true explanation of passages like iii. 24 and xviii. 13—a possibility which even Professor Windisch himself allows, though he prefers to regard these passages either as glosses or as points which can be adequately explained within the Johannine context. There is even more to be said for the Supplementary theory than this, but the facts of the situation will be clearer if we discuss the Substitution theory, since any modification we propose for the latter will react on our estimate of the former.

The supreme value of the *Substitution hypothesis* is the extent to which it throws into relief the Evangelist's intention to write a new and better Gospel, adequate to the needs

of a new day. As portrayed by Professor Windisch, the Fourth Evangelist is anything but a lay figure; he is a virile, masterful personality, who views the writings of his predecessors in a critical spirit, conscious, as he is, of possessing a special tradition of his own, and still more of standing in living contact with the exalted Christ through the Spirit. With little, if any, qualification, we may accept this portraiture of the Evangelist and his aims; indeed, in the light of the sovereign manner in which he treats the Synoptic tradition, recasting, cancelling, and replacing its outstanding elements, no other view is really adequate. The Evangelist writes with the intention of putting into his readers' hands something better than anything they had possessed hitherto; and, in this sense, of superseding the earlier writings. But is his purpose that of driving his rivals off the field, so that henceforth his book, and his alone, should be the normative, not to say the canonical Gospel? The objections seem decisive: neither the Fourth Gospel itself, nor the stage of development in the attitude of the Church towards Gospel writings, necessitates this view.

(1) In the first place, the Evangelist presupposes his readers' acquaintance with the common Synoptic tradition as recorded, for example, in Mark, and, indeed, depends on this for the carrying out of his special purpose. The fact that many of his omissions are determined by doctrinal and apologetic interests does not in the least preclude this view. The clearest case is the institution of the Eucharist. The best explanation of the fact that the Evangelist connects his sacramental teaching with the Miraculous Feeding rather than with the Last Supper is that by so doing he silently but pointedly condemns current sacramentarian tendencies. But there is not the slightest reason to suppose that he is denying the historical connexion of the Eucharist with the Supper: he knows, and his readers know, where that tradition is recorded. The same is true of the story of the Baptism of Jesus by John. This story is omitted probably

because of the existence in Asia Minor of a Cult of the Baptist which tended to exalt the Baptist over against Jesus. It is probably this fact in the contemporary situation which explains the care with which the Evangelist presents John as a witness and forerunner who is to 'decrease' while Jesus is to 'increase' (iii. 30). It does not at all follow that He denies the Markan story of the Baptism. This narrative may not lie in the line of his sympathies, but it is passed by mainly because it is alien to his apologetic aim. For the special purpose of his writings his narrative is complete, and does not need to be supplemented by other writings; but *it is just because the facts are otherwise presented, as in Mark, that the Fourth Evangelist can take his own line.* Similarly, he can omit, as he plainly wishes to do, the Genealogy, the Virgin Birth, the Transfiguration, the Agony, and the Ascension, just because they are already recorded. He is not essaying the task of a complete account of the Gospel story; he writes that his readers may have faith in Christ as God's Son, and life in His name. He never needs to suggest the thought 'for the rest compare Mark,' since a mere filling out of the Synoptic outline is not his aim. Nor does he need to explain his selections, deviations, and omissions to readers familiar with the Synoptics. Living in the same intellectual and religious atmosphere as himself, they can be trusted to divine his purpose, to perceive the apologetic value of his treatment, and to rejoice in the religious value of his total presentation. The Synoptics are not rivals; they are the necessary presupposition of his task.

Again, the Fourth Evangelist could not well be blind to the fact that his Gospel would appeal to some more than to others. The Interpretation theory is at fault if it supposes that the Gospel was written for 'mature' Christians, as distinguished from 'beginners' in the faith who might rest content with the Synoptics; but it is correct in so far as it implies that there would be those who, having drunk the old wine, would decline the new, saying, 'The old is good.'

Can the Fourth Evangelist have been ignorant of this, and will he have wanted to drive out the writings he seeks to surpass? 'The consciousness of sufficiency signifies at the same time intolerance,' writes Professor Windisch. We must dissent. The sufficiency is sufficiency for a purpose, not for every purpose.

(2) In the second place, the historical reconstruction of Professor Windisch, and especially what he has to say about the One Gospel System, is open to serious objections. At the turn of the first century the One Gospel System can hardly have been more than a matter of geographical distribution. Preference will no doubt have been felt by a particular community for the Gospel compiled for its own use, but it may be seriously asked if at that time other Gospel writings will not have aroused interest rather than embarrassment and rivalry. The period when difficulties were felt must have been later, when something like a normative or canonical authority came to be ascribed to the Gospels. We are antedating a stage in the evolution of early Christian thought regarding the Canon if we suppose that what applies to the age of Marcion and Tatian applies also to the time of the Fourth Evangelist. And still more is this the case if, with Professor Windisch, we discover a parallel in the attitude of Matthew and Luke to Mark and Q. In using earlier writings the objective of Matthew and Luke is fresh material, not a desire to escape the embarrassments of multifarious accounts. Luke, indeed, in his preface ranges himself along with the 'many' who 'have taken in hand to draw up a narrative,' even if he is not satisfied with their results.[1] The conflict stage in the story of the One Gospel System has not yet come, and it has not yet come at the turn of the century. Thus the historical situation does not favour a rigid Substitution theory. Desiring his work to be

[1] Cf. H. J. Cadbury in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Part I., App. C, p. 498: 'The other writers are mentioned as precedents rather than as failures.'

the Gospel for the Ephesian community, the Fourth Evangelist need not have felt embarrassed by the existence of the Synoptics or have wanted to crowd these 'rivals' out of the field.

The upshot of the present discussion appears to be that none of the four theories is sufficient in itself to explain the aims of the Fourth Evangelist and his relation to the older Gospels, although each hypothesis emphasizes elements of interest and importance. Professor Windisch has succeeded in providing a final demonstration of the inadequacy of the famous Supplementary theory. His attack, however, is pressed too far, and his theory outruns the evidence. But his work is invaluable as an exposition of the greatness of the Evangelist's task, the splendour of his inspired conceptions, the virility of his mind and character, and the depth and earnestness of his religion.

VINCENT TAYLOR.

THE QUARREL SCENE IN 'JULIUS CAESAR'

Let me tell you, Cassius, you, yourself,
Are much condemned to have an itching palm;
To sell and mart your offices for gold,
To undeservers.

HIGH principle, righteousness, has ever been one of the inspiring ideals of humanity. By many names have men called it, in many lands has it dwelt; but everywhere has it been a power, a rallying-standard against wrong, an angel of justice and of mercy. The clear-eyed insight of the Greek saw in it the link between the human and the divine, and, as by a flash of divination, proclaimed it man's attainable ideal, by naming it '*areté*,' manhood. The Roman, no seer himself to pierce the Isis-veil of Nature, but prompt to catch each Elijah's mantle as it fell, shrewd to estimate sterling coin wherever minted, laid his masterful hand on the thought of the Greek, and, lifted by the splendour of it for a moment from the earth, testified that for him also '*virtus*' was the fullness of manhood. For Greek and Roman alike this faith in virtue was the one rock on which their feet found a sure resting-place amid the shifting sands of dying creeds, the abiding firmament which their eyes discerned beyond the fleeting clouds and vanishing mists of superstition. Their philosophers looked upon temples from which the gods of the world's childhood had fled, upon altars whose incense should nevermore be wafted through the gates celestial; yet they did not feel themselves quite orphaned of the heavenly love, so long as, 'falling with their weight of cares upon the great world's altar-stairs, that slope through darkness up,' they saw the gleam of many golden chains, whose nethermost links were fast riveted in human hearts, go shimmering up through heights of mystery, through unimaginable spaces of starless night, up to an 'awful rose of dawn,' to the vision of a throne, and the likeness of one that sat thereon, about whose feet were bound

those golden chains that stayed up the world from gulfs of death, from abysses of despair.

By their faith in man they reached upward to a faith in God. Lame hands of faith they stretched, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him; and those among their fellows who seemed to have most of that divine principle of virtue were in their eyes as the prophets of duty, the high priests of humanity, clinging to whose skirts they too might be drawn nearer to the sacred presence, nearer to the peace of the vision of God. There did seem to move among them some who had not defiled their garments with the mire of earthly lusts, who had set their affections on things above, men whom the world's temptations could not allure, whom its threatenings could not dismay, whom it could neither make rich nor poor, happy nor unhappy. It would seem as if common men regarded this height of virtue, not as a thing which they might themselves by upward striving and by self-discipline attain, but as the birthright of a chosen few, who could not, indeed, impart the incommunicable thing that made them half divine, but who could give to others to partake of its blessings, having power to strengthen, to exalt, to inspire. To be near them was to grasp a guiding hand in the darkness; their countenance was more to a cause than the favour of kings; their friendship was as a haven in the storm. They might be unpractical theorists, yet world-worn politicians would seek to them for counsel; visionary dreamers, yet hard-headed men of action would reverence their words as oracles; if the facts of social life and of national history were against them, so much the worse for the facts, for the world passeth away and the fashion thereof, but righteousness hath an everlasting foundation. They might not even be sure of themselves; in their inmost hearts they might feel that they were but dimly groping for the truth; it mattered not; the love and worship given to them was rendered, not to their wisdom, but to their virtue; and virtue was proclaimed the highest wisdom.

The names of a few such witnesses for righteousness through the weary ages of wrong, heralds of the dawn that long lingered, remain to us, rescued from the dark backward and abysm of time. The scroll on which shine such names as those of Socrates, Brutus, Aurelius, is sadly brief; yet we need not conclude that those whose memories abide with us were all that peopled the hollow dark like burning stars. Rather let us regard them as evidence that God left not Himself at any time without witness, and take them as types of many, idealized for us in the loving records of disciples and friends, clothed with the glamour and the glory that invested them in the eyes of their fellows; so shall we be able to discern something of the secret of their power, the spell that they cast over men. It is in this way that Shakespeare sets before us Brutus. He is not careful to reproduce for us all the incongruous details transmitted by ancient chroniclers, nor yet to dwell upon those 'pangs of nature, defects of doubt, and taints of blood,' whereby a Merivale or a Froude can portray him as a moral leper. Shakespeare shows us the ideal Brutus, who was Caesar's 'angel,' as he seemed to the men of his day, friends or foes alike, as he felt himself to be, his glory not extenuated, wherein he was worthy, nor his offences enforced, for which he too, no less than Caesar, suffered death. He sets by his side, that we may see in what relation he stood to his contemporaries, Cassius, a typical Roman of the time, a keen politician, jealous of all higher powers, a statesman and a soldier, and withal a man with an average Roman conscience, yet still retaining that noble trait of the Roman character, that he can admire and love moral excellence to which he cannot aspire. And in this Quarrel Scene he sets these two men face to face, as at the crisis of their fate, and through the storm of wild and whirling words, through the broken accents of pleading, the measured note of scorn, we behold hearts laid bare, springs of action revealed, and the inevitable issue of their conduct is shown to be as in all men it ever is, the

outcome of their character and their principles. Observe that it is no part of Shakespeare's design to show them here at their best. They are taken off their guard, and under the influence of overmastering emotion the habitual reticence of self-control is swept away, and they fall into the besetting perils of their characters. Cassius betrays the unscrupulousness of selfishness which regards all things as permissible if expedient, and a certain moral obliquity which refuses to look wrongdoing straight in the face. Brutus, when once his indignation is aroused, displays a hardness and lack of consideration, verging on supercilious egotism, into which philosophers were but too prone to fall. It is for this reason that our sympathies tend to take the side of Cassius. The writhings of his wounded self-esteem and outraged affection touch us into something like abhorrence of the merciless integrity of Brutus, in which there seems a lack of magnanimity. Yet we must remember that Brutus is here taken at a grievous disadvantage. This is not the self-contained philosopher of the earlier scenes of the play, with his measured, weighty utterances, his Spartan-like sententious brevity of speech, his calm, strong control over his emotions and their expression, but a sorely stricken man, who has but just learnt that the desire of his eyes has been taken from him at a stroke. The one person in all the world who understood him, who could rise to the height of his noblest aspirations, whose love was not, like that of his friends, a clog to drag him earthward, but rather as wings to his spirit—she is dead; dead by a death which his thoughts dare not dwell upon, from which imagination shrinks shuddering back. As he faces Cassius in the tent, between him and those lowering eyes, that passion-writhen face, comes the vision of a darkened chamber far away, dim with a deadly mist of stifling fume, of a couch whereon a dear form lies stretched in awful stillness, of sightless eyes overdrooped by weary lids, of piteous lips pressed tightly, as when on the dizzy verge of unconsciousness they battled against the distortion of the

death-agony. And how petty, how insufferable, might seem the man before him, complaining of wounded self-love, and prating of his rights and his wrongs, when Portia lay dead.

Well might he think, 'No man bears sorrow better,' since he could command himself to reason with Cassius at all; and when, at a menace from the latter, his indignation towers up into scathing contempt, he might say to his soul, 'I do well to be angry.' So he faces Cassius, waiting to hear how he whose whole life has been a following after righteousness, who fears not to call heaven to witness that he has wronged no enemy, can have wronged a friend. And when the long-nursed irritation of that friend finds vent, and Brutus knows that this is a duel for that principle of righteousness which is in danger of being trampled beneath the feet of expediency, calmly and sternly he draws a blade of cruel keenness, he casts away the scabbard, resolved that the man who has misconceived him shall never misconceive him any more. A Roman governor has disgraced the name of Roman; cannot Cassius see that, if he would stand between the culprit and his punishment, if he pledges his credit to save him, he must become partaker in his infamy? —and so must Brutus if he shall yield to Cassius now. 'You wronged yourself to write in such a case'—an answer decisive as an inexorable oracle of Fate. As well may Cassius dash himself against the brazen gates of Olympus, and think to rive their adamantine strength asunder, as hope to move this Brutus. It is the voice of an accusing angel; yet there breathes through it also the compassionate kindness of an angel. For it means, 'Bethink yourself; you are at heart too noble for such things; I have too much faith in you to believe that you would deliberately defile your honour—you wronged yourself.' We have here a clue to the fascination by which Brutus held in thrall so many hearts. The man whose goodness is as a magnet to draw his fellow men away from their baser selves, whose word, whose look,

can break the heart of stone, whose touch can thrill with hope and energy the wretch sunk in self-despair; the man by whom men enter into life, and for whom they are ready to die, is not he who is exalted high on a pedestal of self-sufficient sanctity, inscribed, 'Stand aside, for I am holier than thou,' but he whose sympathizing faith discerns the noblest possibilities in every man, who reaches down a helping hand and says, 'Come up higher.' He can say not in vain to the moral paralytic, 'Take up thy bed and walk'; he may dare to stand at the gate of the tomb of him whose better self has died, and to cry, 'Come forth.'

But Cassius is not yet prepared to cross the border between expediency and right. He sees quite clearly that, if this point be yielded, their cause is ruined. He knows that of those thousands that are waiting without there is not one who would not side with him in this sore strait, this crisis of their fortunes. They are not in an ideal world, but in one where, if anything is to be achieved, they must work with the only instruments that are to hand. And with the mighty prize, with the pressing need, he contrasts the trifling deviation from rectitude, the 'nice offence.' But Brutus is determined that Cassius shall see the *dishonour* as he sees it. He calls evil things by their ugliest names, he loads the shame of them on Cassius, if perchance he may yet be saved, if not by high principle, then at least by noble indignation. Swept on by the tide of his impassioned vehemence, he takes no heed of Cassius's furious interruptions, till the latter lays claim to superior practical statesmanship and military experience. For Brutus, such a claim is based wholly upon false grounds, and he contemptuously repudiates it; then, as Cassius, almost beside himself to be so scorned, hints a threat, he springs to the unapproachable height of his moral superiority, takes the uttermost advantage of his own power of at least outward self-control—though inwardly he is almost as much overmastered by anger as Cassius—and from this vantage-ground hurls down the most withering, the most

merciless, contempt on the frenzied excitement of the unhappy friend whom he himself is goading beyond his power of self-command. For Cassius, to be wroth with one he loves doth work like madness in the brain; but the spectacle of his writhing anguish, of the flushed forehead, the staring eyeballs, the white lips, only stimulates Brutus to press his advantage. And now Cassius begins to break down. He cannot maintain his dignity as a soldier, his self-respect as a man, beneath the scorn and hate of Brutus. For he knows that Brutus, though in calmer moments he might otherwise express it, really means what he says, and that his bitter, pitiless words do verily convey what may yet harden into his fixed opinion, if Cassius yields not. And the worst is that his heart tells him that he deserves it all; it may be unkind, but it is not unjust: and this hour must decide whether or no he shall be for ever base in Brutus's sight; for he may no longer claim his love on false pretences. He ceases to resist. Brutus challenges him to prove himself the 'better soldier.' Cassius might indeed have done so; his record had been far the longer and more brilliant; his plans for this very campaign were superior throughout; he had maintained the *moral* and efficiency of his legions, while Brutus's were on the verge of mutiny, through his neglect to provide them pay. But he has no heart to take this stand. The power of Brutus is upon him, of the man whom he worships; and he can only plead for a little verbal concession, for one relenting word.

But Brutus is too angry to be reasonable now; he reproaches Cassius for not sharing with him the very treasure which he has just denounced as so ill-gotten. He holds forth one hand for the supplies which he would not stoop to procure for himself, and, with the other, bars his friend and ally from obtaining any more by similar means. And so they are to maintain this gigantic struggle against unscrupulous foes, in a disaffected country, on *a priori* principles of abstract justice. For Brutus, who cares for justice more than

for success, or, rather, who vaguely imagines—with that inability to realize the facts of life which is part of his character—that success *must* somehow attend justice, for him this may suffice. 'It is magnificent, but it is not war.' Cassius is blinded by no such delusions, but he has no retort to offer. He knows now that he must choose between success and Brutus, and for him the die is cast. By the quivering fibres of his inmost being, by the aching agony of his broken heart, he knows that he cannot live without Brutus, but that he can die with him. Lower and lower he bows at Brutus's feet, in utter self-abasement and in piteous pleading. Slowly and proudly Brutus bends; his first concession is wellnigh as galling as his previous invective, till Cassius reminds him of the barbed arrow he had shot at a friend's physical infirmity. Then Brutus, with a touch of shame, remembers that to-day he too is not himself. With pathetic gratitude, Cassius leaps at the admission. He cares not now what he may accuse himself of, so he may but be assured that he shall not again fall from Brutus's heart.

Is the egotism of superior virtue too strong in Brutus to permit him to meet Cassius half-way? He does but condescend, as a father might to the weakness of a fretful child; and so his conquest is all the more assured. We might quote to him, 'Sir, you have wrestled well, and overthrown more than your friend.' For henceforth the doom of their cause, as a political struggle, is sealed. Brutus is, and ever has been, out of touch with the real course of things, with the hard facts of the world round about him. Cassius has, in the self-abnegation of faith and love, surrendered all. Brutus has saved him from himself, and in the breast of the eager, pushing statesman and soldier is born the spirit of a martyr. He will nevermore stand up for expediency; nay, he will in all things submit his opinion to Brutus. In the council of war which follows, he yields, against his better judgement. Possibly he thought that an immediate tactical blunder was of the less moment, since in the long run success was unattainable.

Even if they could snatch a victory, and grasp the substance of their dreams of liberty, they could never retain it amidst a world of intrigue and selfishness, where each man had his price, and patriotism must be paid for. Better that the end should come quickly. On the eve of the battle he anticipates, with calm despair, 'the end of this day's business ere it come.' In the moment of defeat he will not by one word endorse Titinius's strictures on Brutus's strategy. They have become one in life, and therefore in death they are not divided.

It may be asked, Why does Shakespeare make this conversion of Cassius, this deliverance from his baser self, the outcome of such a scene as this? We may imagine two reasons. First, because an argument cannot be carried to a successful issue unless the disputants have some common ground, some first principles which both accept. But a man whose chief good is worldly success and one whose chief good is righteousness lack this common ground. It is vain for the latter to appeal to motives which have no force for the former, to press arguments which are for him beside the mark. A victory is possible, but not a conquest. Secondly, human hearts are to be redeemed from moral and spiritual bondage, not by reason, but by love; not by a demonstration of the extent of error, but by a revelation of its terrible cost. Cassius had read many a noble treatise, had listened to many a stately discourse, on virtue, yet these had not touched the man within him; but, when he saw that the love of Brutus hung upon his decision, that he must choose between alienating for ever or grappling to his soul with hooks of steel him whose friendship was a kindling inspiration, a crown of glory, whose hate must for him be shame and everlasting contempt, then, how hard soever might be the struggle, Cassius was won, for he could not break that noble heart; he could not be traitor to Brutus's love.

ARTHUR S. WAY.

PRIMITIVE AND HIGHER IDEALS IN RELIGION

ALL religions, whether primitive or modern, old or new, monotheistic or pagan, reflect two different currents of desires and ambitions held by believers and worshippers, laymen and priests alike. Neither one form of religion nor another can be thought of without them. The two Testaments and the Prayer-books of Christians and Jews, the Koran and Traditions of the Muslims, are just as full of them as the prayers of the primitive people, the piety of religions, which died out long ago, and religious experience of great thinkers and poets. The necessities of human existence—yea, very life itself—with joy and danger, the continuation of that life in a blessed hereafter, or in the life of successors, play a double part, a positive and a negative, in religious thought to-day as well as in the earliest childhood of the human race. Many rites and prayers among believers in One God convey the worshippers' cries and desires to the heavens, for health, wealth, and offspring. In these entreaties there is, on the surface, no difference between creeds and denominations, one form of worship and another. Magical utterances and sublime prayers, myths, and legends reflect in scores of cases the attitude of religion, and also its influence on economic and social life. Religion dominates and rules in all realms of human activity and suffering. As long as the belief and trust in the hope and help of the Godhead lives in mankind, as long as God is thought of as the giver of life and sustainer of the world, people will crowd temples, churches, synagogues, and mosques. When and where this living faith is lost—either by advancement of knowledge or spread of comfort, either by adverse experiences or application of new thoughts—believers drift away, places of divine worship are closed, and voices of prayers silenced. The rationalistic mind, ruled by daily experience and visible results of success, does not rest satisfied with the

alleged or proclaimed blessings of poverty; is not comforted by clever epigrams of life being a slow or quick process of death, and of death opening the real gates of life; cannot forgo the help of children, so much needed in agricultural as well as industrial communities. Reliable guides to wealth, advice for health, and support are sought. God, the ancients taught, can provide all these. There is one of the greatest changes between the force of religion of the past and the present time. There is the real reason for the apparently insurmountable obstacle in the way of religious teaching and training. There is the source of the undeniable estrangement from the ways of old without leading to new paths of religious uplifting and progress. Yet, there must be somewhere a guide for the perplexed, and a path for those who seek God!

Jewish religious experience could be epitomized in this way. The earth and its fullness belong to God, as creator and owner of this world. He makes rich and poor, He divides the land unto those whom He finds good, He gives and witholds rain, by which sustenance is granted to children of man. The Psalmist, as well as the earliest Christians, expect in their daily or occasional prayers their daily bread from God. The Liturgy of the Synagogue knows a special paragraph, since the earliest time up to this day, called the Blessing of the Years, which immediately follows the Prayer for Good Health. The Grace after Meal, just as that before eating, acknowledges God as the giver of food. Innumerable pious legends bear out the Psalmist's doctrine that the righteous is never forsaken and his seed in want of food, seeking bread. God's goodness and providence extends from the mightiest unicorn to the smallest worms. He feeds and sustains all—the animal world and humanity, good and bad, saints and sinners alike. Yet who can deny that there is dire poverty and appalling need? The cause of poverty is unanimously attributed to serious or lighter sins and transgressions, moral failure or ethical defects. Late Jewish

and early Christian preachers and teachers agree on these doctrines as to the sources of wealth and reasons for poverty. This is the positive aspect. We turn to the negative one! Rich and poor are equal before God. Both give up their wealth, either entirely or a part of it, in various ways to manifest their love, reverence, fear of, and devotion to, the deity. Sacrifices of animals, building of churches and sanctuaries, monasteries or tabernacles, rich endowments of palaces and vast lands for religious purposes, charity and alms, are all well-known instances of this practice. In primitive communities these acts have been performed in order to safeguard once acquired property, or to be granted an increase of worldly goods. There still may be alive a belief that charity, tithes, almsgiving, protect against loss of money—a kind of mutual insurance. Surely, there must be a prevalent idea among the rich of to-day, as two thousand years ago among the Jews, that the owner of wealth is merely a trustee of his accumulated fortunes, appointed by Him to whom is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty. All that is in heaven and earth is His, both '*riches and honour belong to him.*' The rich has inherited or acquired a duty with his wealth—to help the needy, to protect widow and orphan, to alleviate distress, and to clothe the naked. It is needless to point out how much social evil, human restlessness, and national jealousy could be banished from the earth if the rich would only live up to this religious aspect of economic conditions, and the poor take upon themselves their hard lot as God's will. Then poverty might turn into a blessing, and wealth open the gates of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Health, vigour of body, life—long life—is the second of primitive ideals, found in all religions. Many gods and goddesses are thought of as the protectors of life, as bringing healing and strength. The Jew has a prayer for healing in his prayers, recited thrice daily since thousands of years. Illness and death, just like poverty, are the results of sin

and disobedience. The Decalogue and the Deuteronomist promise long life for certain observances properly kept—e.g. for honouring parents and care for the bird's nest. Religious history and liturgies of all religious systems leave no shadow of a doubt that primitive, as well as more advanced, believers turn in their physical pain and agony to their God with their supplications and entreaties for help. Magical performances and exorcism play a great part with the ancients; traces of these old practices are still alive in wide circles of human society. They do not die away. Jewish religion teaches that God gives life, and holds the souls of men in the palm of His hand. He killeth and maketh alive, He bringeth low and lifteth up. The sacredness of human life, the crime of bloodshed, the prohibition of physical injury, the abhorring of cruelty, all are living and eloquent signs of the protection extended by religion and divine legislation to human life. Civil legislation followed in the footsteps of ancient religious codes in defence of humanity. Life was, and is, regarded as of greater value than wealth. In spite of this cleaving unto life, marvellously enough, men and women, young and old, are capable of suffering death in fire or water, losing life on the stake built by other fanatics, and in the arena crowded with wild, hungry beasts. History tells of cruel tortures and indescribable martyrdom endured by men and women for their belief in, and attachment to, God. Moreover, whole nations were ready to wage wars, fight battles, exterminate cities and peoples, for the glory and the defence of their deities.

The same phenomenal discrepancy has to be observed in the third primitive ideal. Like wealth and health, children are the gift of the gods. Joseph is mindful to add, when speaking of his sons, 'They are my sons, whom God has given me here.' God is partner with the parents in the creation of the child. God is the Heavenly Father. Barrenness, or lack of children, is a divine punishment, just as poverty and sickness. Rachel, who envied her sister, said to

Jacob: 'Give me children, or else I die.' Jacob replied: 'Am I in God's place?' Isaac and Rebecca went to seek God. The same was done by other barren women, and not only by Israelites and Hebrews, but also among Assyrians and Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. The matriarchs were made barren, according to a characteristic explanation advanced by an early preacher, because God desires the prayers of the pious, not because they were sinners or worthless women. All ages of civilization saw men and women, poor and fortune-hunting, blind and lame, barren and childless, repairing to sanctuaries, sham and real, on their pilgrimage through deserts and on the seas to shrines and temples, where saints or charlatans profess to offer help and cure. The ancient Sumerians did not differ in these things from some people of the twentieth century. There, again, magical rites and superstitious usages prevail and were practised in the past. Many marriage customs and ceremonies connected with birth point to them as survivals of hoary antiquity. Bride and mother are guarded against evil spirits and demoniac powers. Children, like money and life, are considered among the greatest blessings! Why? In primitive society, among farmers and shepherds up to this very day, children are of great use and help, from their early childhood, in the field, on the pastureland, or in the home. The feeling is ruled by mere materialistic motives. In civic life, especially in militaristic countries, parents of many sons are honoured with titles or money. Yet there are higher conceptions which play a part in people's longing for children. Children, it was held, preserve the name or the fame of their parents. A man is not dead in Sheol who leaves behind sons, who keep his estate, who continue his work, who inherit his office, who step into his rulership or kingship. Sons and daughters care for the souls of their departed parents by gifts or prayers to the deity. The merits of children can save their father or mother from hell's cruelties. A glimmering of a hope in future life, and a

warding off of the gloomy fear of unheard sufferings in the great world beyond this aeon, filled a man on the threshold of death with consolation at the sight of his children surrounding him. He who leaves behind him children is saved, even when his body is laid to rest in his grave. These conceptions are not confined to one or another religious system, but are common to all popular theological teachings and folk-loristic theories. They are emphasized or developed in one religion more than in another, but the fundamentals are the same. Here, again, we come across a negative picture. People heard dreadful voices or saw dreary visions enjoining on them incredible, awful commands to slaughter their sons, or their daughters, pass them through fire, sacrifice babes and youngsters to real or alleged divine powers. Later, these cruel human sacrifices are calling for sharp protest and abhorrence on the part of teachers and reformers. Consequently, with advancing ideas about religion, this aberration was partly mitigated, and partly abolished. In fact, the practice remains in altered forms. Parents devote their children, like Hannah her son Samuel, to the deity, to sanctuaries or monasteries. They select for them professions which imply the turning away from the world, from joys and pleasures, quite permissible by religion.

We saw that the longings for wealth, life, and children are closely connected with religion. A few instances from primitive religions shall illustrate this case before we turn to the Old Testament and other Jewish sources. A believer in the Crow religion actually expresses his ideals and desires, his hopes and needs, in the following terms :

> Hallo, old man ! I am poor. You see me !
> Give me something good,
> Give me life.
> Grant me that I may own a horse,
> That I capture a gun,
> That I strike a blow against the enemy ;
> Let me become a chief ;
> Let me own plenty of property.

This, by no means too modest, devotee of the old man wishes a good many things, some of which are the aim of many a more civilized man and woman. The breasts of the latter are also longing for '*something good*'—e.g. life, to become a chief, and to acquire property. Instead of horses and guns, we would substitute other just as useful articles. A blow against the enemy does not seem so incompatible, in spite of higher education and religious training. Even in sacred hymns and psalms the downfall of sinners and the wicked, who are naturally the enemies of the good, is asked and prayed for. It took a whole row of generations till the personal key-note disappeared, and sins and wickedness were put in the place of sinners and wicked.

A similar prayer is uttered by the worshippers of Wohkonda, the Master of Life, and the Osages pray to him :

> O Wohkonda, pity me ; I am very poor.
> Give me what I need :
> Give me success against my enemies
> That I may avenge the death of my friends.
> May I be able to take scalps, to take horses !

This pious man is surely not satisfied till he can get hold of his enemies' scalps. Such a barbarism is outrageous, but unfortunately not rare.

The Hebrew Scriptures record primitive ideals on higher and highest stages of religious inspiration. The servant of the Lord, who suffers for the whole community, is promised children, long life, and earthly success. He will see seed, he will live long, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. One of the psalmists asks for the very same good things, which are promised to the servant of the Lord. 'Arise, O Lord, anticipate him (i.e. my enemy), out-balance him ; deliver my soul from the wicked sword, from death of Thy hand, O Lord, from death of the world. Give my share with those whose share is in *life*, whose inside is filled with thy hidden *goods*, and who are full of *children*.' God shall avert from him three kinds of death, by sword, plague,

or untimely death, but shall bestow on him long life, wealth, and children. Another psalmist tells to those who fear the Lord, who walk in his ways, that they will eat the labour of their hands, will see the good of Jerusalem all the days of their life, and behold children of their children. It is futile to speculate how many centuries may, or may not, have elapsed between the age when the prophet uttered his words, and the time when the psalmist's words were first sung. The ideals remained the same. In the interval between these ages, or even prior to them, there may have been people whose aspirations went somewhat higher. They have had a threefold scheme of ideals: wisdom, health, and wealth. The latter two occur also in the previous scheme. Here wisdom is added. The omniscient God is naturally the Father of Wisdom. He is the fount of wisdom. He maketh wise, and from Him originates understanding. He gives wisdom to the wise—a well-known topic of the Wisdom literature in the Bible.

Knowledge, real and good, was highly appreciated by the ancient sages of Israel. It is of heavenly origin. Jeremiah utters warnings against three classes who misuse or boast of their privileges and gifts: the *wise* man shall not glory in his *wisdom*; the *mighty* man shall not glory in his *might*; the *rich* man shall not glory in his *riches*. King Solomon is granted the gift of wisdom, and is told: 'Because thou hast asked this thing [i.e. wisdom], and hast not asked for thyself *long life*, neither hast thou asked *riches* for thyself, nor hast asked the *life of thine enemies*.' The old Hebrew sage, Sirach, very often repeats the first as well as the second scheme of ideals. Some portions of his sayings are especially modelled after these two schemes. For honouring parents he promises joy and happiness through children, long life, and worldly blessings. Chapters xiii. to xvi. are built up on this threefold scheme. Sirach depicts the blessings of wealth and their drawbacks, and the curse of poverty. Secondly, the blessing of wisdom. Thirdly, the curse of

wicked children is dealt with. The three parts belong together. Sirach knew both, the more primitive and the more advanced ideals, both of which are to be found in the Bible. The doctors of the old rabbinic literature also knew and spoke of both sets of ideals. R. Joshua ben Hananya, a sage of the second half of the first century A.D., was asked by Alexandrinians several questions, among them : (*a*) what shall man do in order to acquire wisdom ? ; (*b*) to become rich ? and (*c*) to have male children ? The answer of the scribe recommended diligent attendance at colleges and lectures, industry, and a good wife, as remedies in all three cases. The questioners were disappointed with the rabbi's replies. Plenty of people did according to the scribe, and they remained without success. A perhaps contemporary, but anonymous, teacher dealt in a small treatise with the problems of the Divine Nature. He compares God with 'Flesh and Blood.' His observations are formulated in eight differences. One of them concerns us here. A hired labourer receives for many works—ploughing, sowing, hedging, &c.—*one* reward, a small, insignificant coin. God, however, grants many requests. Man desires children (Ps. cxxvii. 3), wisdom (Prov. ii. 6), and wealth (1 Chron. xxix. 11–12), and all his wishes become true and fulfilled. Children are the inheritance of the Lord, God gives wisdom, and wealth is before Him. This ancient belief was kept alive during all the ages, and remained up to this very day the pivot around which Jewish piety centred. A somewhat younger scribe, Simon ben Zoma, in the first half of the second century A.D., groups together the definitions of the 'wise,' 'strong,' and the 'rich.' Who is wise ?—he who learns from all (Ps. cxix. 99). Who is strong ?—he who subdues his passion (Prov. xvi. 32). Who is rich ?—he who is satisfied with his portion (Ps. cxxviii. 2).

Very interesting material can be drawn from a small Midrash, called after the first words with which the compilation begins : Tadsheh. This is one of the old rabbinic works,

which used the old book of Jubilees. The Midrash, not in its entirety, but in parts, is very old. The twelfth chapter is ascribed to a teacher of the second half of the second century, R. Phinehas ben Yair. His words are a veritable gem to all students of the history of religions. He describes man's relation to the Godhead. He divides them into three different sets. There are pious people who serve God out of LOVE, for His own sake, because He is unique, He sustains all without any outside help or assistance, He created the world by His word, without effort, in His goodness. They see in God a father, a king, a mighty one, His wisdom, His mercy. He bears all, fills the upper and lower worlds, feeds all His creatures, knows all the secrets of the world, does good to wicked and righteous alike, and is long suffering and forgiving. Yet this could not have been popular among the broad masses, as it has only a few adherents to-day. More widespread among Jews and Gentiles alike is the second view. Accordingly, God is worshipped by people for their requests. They entreat Him and ask of Him 'all good measures' for themselves. What are the good measures? WISDOM, *length of life*, healing, a good wife, *good children*, prosperity, *wealth*, and honour. Here the higher and lower requirements are all combined. The third group is reserved for those who worship God out of fear. They are overwhelmed by the threat of curses and punishments for sinners and transgressors. They are awed by illness, pain, poverty, subjugation, death, &c. These three attitudes—fear, request, and love—towards the Godhead clearly mark the whole long road leading from the darkest origins of religious consciousness, through magical devices and superstitious practices, *omina* and forebodings, to the climax of religious enlightenment. Fear and trembling of life and success in the world, wife, and children, the darkness of the grave and the fire of hell, demoniac power and evil spirits, which are lurking in all hiding-places and present in unseen movements, impelled man to crave for the protection of a higher power. Where

and when this fear and fright disappeared, either through results of science or advancement of knowledge, the chains of dark powers and ignorance were loosened, traces of childish feelings and unhealthy imaginations wiped off, there still remained enough of life's uncertainties and insecurities to inspire awe-inspired humility before the Godhead, to induce men and women to seek worldly and spiritual values at the source of life, wealth, and wisdom—God.

It is often overlooked, by scholars who deal with the theological problems of the Jewish scribes, that they, as teachers and preachers, have had to deal with all these three grades of piety. They must have been aware of the fact that the highest requirement of unselfish and altruistic love of God is very rare, almost unattainable. The two other grades, the middle and the lowest, the remainder of a primitive culture and religion, and the somewhat higher development, appealed to the people at large. Due regard had to be paid to these classes of worshippers. A man like R. Judah, the prince, the compiler of the code of laws called Mishnah, at the turn of the third century, preached once on 1 Chronicles iv. 10, and expounded the text as follows: 'And Jaabez called on the God of Israel, saying: 'Oh that Thou wouldst bless me indeed and enlarge my coast, i.e. *with sons and daughters*, and that Thine hand might be with me, i.e. *in business undertakings*, and that Thou wouldst keep me from evil, i.e. *my life Thou hast given me shall be free from pain of all kinds*, that it may not grieve me, i.e. *if God does not grant him all these requests he will descend, in his grief, to Sheol*; and God granted him that which he requested.' Here we have a typical sermon! A teacher of the end of the second century expounds the prayer of old in the light of the desires and wishes, according to the conceptions of good and desirable, of his own contemporaries. In the next generation, in the period of the Amoraic teachers, these groups still occur. The wise, the rich, and the strong appear many a time together in parables and sayings. Yet a change

of attitude is also to be noticed. The old belief that these ideals can be achieved by virtues and merits slowly disappears. With the spread of astrology from East to West, with the many disappointing and contradicting experiences behind them, the scribes began to teach that these ideals are left to, or depend on, chance, are chiefly in the hand of fate. Earlier religious teachers, with very few exceptions, would surely have protested against such a misconception. The third and fourth centuries did not raise a word against the new aspect. The belief in stars, and their influence on humanity, spread and survived.

In spite of primitive traces in these primitive and even higher ideals, there is a good teaching for more advanced religious thought. All religions associate with the deity the belief that the gods can satisfy the worshipper's daily needs and requirements. The religious idea grew, not *only* out of fear of the Great Unknown, the trembling before the Awful, the appeasement of the Supernatural, as modern religious thinkers are inclined to believe, but *also* out of the belief in the providence and goodness of the gods. The gods and goddesses of fertility and birth, of healing and life, of wisdom and art, of wealth and poverty, are eloquent witnesses for this fact. The ancient Hebrews and Israelites invested their God with all these and other powers. They contrasted all these faculties and functions in the hand of One, the only God, the unique, divine Power, the Creator of all things on heaven and earth. Moreover, they extended His providence from the highest to the lowest, from the earth to heaven, from this existence to the hereafter. Nothing happens without God. The smallest bird is not caught without His consent. His grace and love know no limits. The scribes did not stop here. Trust in God, unbounded and unswerving, is one of the corner-stones of Jewish theological conceptions and ethical maxims. He who trusts in God becomes like Him. The most wicked person, filled with trust in God, does not lack grace. Stoics, Gospels, and rabbis

concur in the teaching that those are of little faith who despair of to-morrow's food. Even with a sharp sword on one's neck, one must not lose hope and trust in God. Prayers, freed from all magical shackles—at the death-bed, in dire poverty, in humiliation—can do wonders. The belief and trust in God refined and purified the religious thoughts and teachings of the Jews; and this doctrine is one of the greatest contributions which Jewish religion has to offer to the world. Wherever God is a reality and not a shadowy illusion, a living force and not a dead sham, this trust in and dependence on Him, in all our desires and troubles, must be the firm foundation in advanced religion, just as in primitive religion.

A. MARMORSTEIN.

A BOOK OF POETRY

DR. A. T. SHEARMAN, who did much prized work at Tunbridge Wells and University College, London, has gathered his *Poetical Works* together in a volume published by Fowler Wright at ten shillings. The opening verses, 'The Life of the Wind,' waft us along to Peary's adventures at the Pole, and into a new Georgic with its praise of a garden. Virgil's Georgics appear as an English poem which captures not a little of the charm of the Latin poet. The miscellaneous sonnets specially appeal to us, and the Isle of Wight section is dedicated 'To the Memory of My Wife,' whom many hold in happy remembrance. There are poems in a lighter vein, and very beautiful they are. Nor is the ring of Christian hope lacking, as four lines bear witness:

> A fragment of a second doth it take
> Th' Antipodes to catch the London-word!
> Thy prayer to Him a readier flight doth make:
> No time elapses ere thy voice is heard.

BROWNING AND MAN'S FINAL DESTINY

BROWNING'S Christology is as sound and orthodox as it could possibly be. He believed that Christ was the unique and divine Son of God, differing from all other men, not only in degree, but in kind ; that God was in Christ in this sense. He does not hesitate to call Christ God. We recall the last two lines of 'A Death in the Desert,' where, concerning the decease of St. John, he says :

> Now the man
> Lies as he lay once, breast to breast with God.

This Christology is the central thing in Browning's religious faith, and for him it is the clue to the riddle of the universe. In the same poem he tells us :

> I say, the acknowledgement of God in Christ,
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it.

Moreover, 'Christmas Eve' and 'Easter Day' force us to conclude that he believed the theme there expressed—that wherever love is manifested Christ is present, not in a merely metaphorical sense, but actually there in the presence of the Risen Lord, very man and very God. Christ, for Browning, is the personification of that principle of divine love which is ever at work in human lives, and in the light of which all the happenings of human life alone make sense.

> For life, with all it yields of joy or woe
> And hope and fear—believe the aged friend—
> Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,
> How love might be, hath been indeed, and is.

'Literary criticism,' says Professor Dowden,[1] 'which would interpret Browning's meaning in any other sense may be

[1] *Life of Robert Browning*, p. 127.

ingenious, but it is not disinterested, and some side-wind blows it far from the mark.'

Yet with this orthodox Christology Browning seems to hold a view of man's ultimate destiny which would suggest that man's nature is different from that of Christ in degree rather than in kind. Whether Browning realized this implication or not, whether there *is* an inconsistency, must be left to the reader to decide. Let me put before him evidence of the poet's conviction that man's progress can only have one ultimate end, namely, the attainment of what, for lack of a better word, we must call divinity. In none of the many books on Browning's philosophy—as far as I am aware—has this evidence been put together and its conclusion stated. Yet I think that the cumulative effect of the evidence warrants the conclusion.

Let us ask, then, what Browning conceived to be the aim and purpose and goal of man's striving. Did his mind really rest in the idea of an eternity of effort? Many would answer this question in the affirmative, and, without doubt, it is a justifiable position to take up. Browning, we agree, was not *concerned* about the goal of human effort. To him an eternal striving was goal enough. So high a value does he place on conflict and its resulting progress that, as Professor Herford says, 'Progress was too deeply ingrained in Browning's conception of what was ultimately good, and therefore ultimately real, not to find entrance into his heaven, were it only by some casual back door of involuntary intuition.'[1] Conflict, in his view, certainly does persist in the next life to some extent and for some period. In 'Prospice' he says that though at death

> the journey is done and the summit attained,
> And the barriers fall

yet still

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[1] *Robert Browning*, p. 293.

> a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
> The reward of it all.

But he hesitates to tell us what the reward of it all is. He shrinks from triumph because he feels it would be marred by memories of a struggle more precious and valuable than victory. He shrinks from the contemplation of the accomplished deed, because it is less in his eyes than the doing. The tang of striving is absent in the achievement.

> Thus old memories mar the actual triumph;
> Thus the doing savours of disrelish;
> Thus achievement lacks a gracious somewhat.
> ('One Word More,' ix.)

What is the goal for Browning? Tennyson spoke of

> one far-off divine event,
> To which the whole creation moves,

and we surmise that for him this was the gathering in of all souls into a state of harmony with the Divine Mind and Will. It is worth our while, and relevant to our subject, to note that Browning also accepts this position, though we think, as we shall show later, his mind did not rest there. But, in theological language, Browning is an undoubted universalist. He will never allow that a soul created by God ever passes out into the darkness, whether we regard that darkness as the extinction or annihilation of the soul, or whether we regard it as the endless punishment of the wicked.

Here again, very characteristically, Browning will allow a soul to be all but annihilated. Annihilation is the last word but one. We note the 'wellnigh' in the words of Paracelsus:

> No mean trick
> He left untried, and truly wellnigh wormed
> All traces of God's finger out of him,
> Then died, grown old.

In 'The Ring and the Book,' Caponsacchi sees Guido sinking lower and lower.

Not to die so much as slide out of life,
Pushed by the general horror and common hate
Low, lower—left o' the very ledge of things
I seem to see him catch convulsively,
One by one, at all honest forms of life,
At reason, order, decency, and use
To cramp him and get foothold by at least;
And still they disengage him from his clutch.
. . . . . .
And thus I see him slowly and surely edged
Off all the tableland where life upsprings,
Aspiring to be immortality,

until poor Guido is left

At the horizontal line, creation's verge,
From what just is, to absolute nothingness.
(Caponsacchi, 1911 ff.)

Guido himself is pathetically willing to be annihilated. He says:

What shall I say to God?
This, if I find the tongue and keep the mind—
'Do Thou wipe out the being of me, and smear
This soul from off Thy white of things I blot!
I am one huge and sheer mistake';
(Guido, 935–9.)

but Guido does not pass over 'the horizontal line.' One may, perhaps, hear Browning himself in the Pope's 'which must not be.' For if Guido has to be annihilated, or even perpetually damned, then God has failed, and that 'must not be.' In a wonderful passage the Pope says:

So may the truth be flashed out by one blow,
And Guido see one instant, and be saved.
Else I avert my face, nor follow him
Into that sad, obscure, sequestered state
Where God unmakes but to remake the soul
He else made first in vain; which must not be.

Here we see further evidence of that characteristic idea that nothing good can ever be lost, and Browning would add that when, in human judgement, the fires of the soul

have been utterly quenched, God may see a spark which, fanned into a blaze, may kindle the whole being once again.

> Beneath the veriest ash there hides a spark of soul
> Which, quickened by love's breath, may yet pervade the whole
> O' the grey, and free again be fire.
> ('Fifine at the Fair.')

'What began best can't end worst' he tells us in a passage already quoted, and the multitudinous ways open to the infinite Love—always in Browning a synonym for God—mean for the poet that *some* way will always be found to win back the soul to harmony with the divine.

> I exult
> That God, by God's ways occult,
> May—doth, I will believe—bring back
> All wanderers to a single track.
> ('Christmas Eve,' xx.)

As the poet rejects annihilation and absorption as the ultimate goal for any soul, so he rejects also the idea of an endless hell. The idea of suffering viewed as retribution he rejected, as we shall see. The idea of a punishment indefinitely prolonged he saw to be a contradiction in terms, for every form of punishment points to its own negation. It only exists in order to prepare for the time when it shall not be needed. As he says in another connexion:

> Why, the child grown man, you burn the rod.
> ('Old Pictures in Florence.')

And, since we shall always be rational, it is relevant to argue from our idea of punishment here. There can be no value or relevance in a punishment which our own highest judgement deems unjust and absurd. The only value of post-death suffering is its purifying nature.

Browning's idea of hell is, I think, found in his lines about

> that sad, obscure, sequestered state,
> Where God unmakes but to remake the soul.

He thus conserves the only valuable element in the idea of purgatory. Let the figure of fire be preserved! But let us understand by it a fire which is not useless torture or endless retribution, but the burning away of the 'wood, hay, and stubble' so that the hidden gold may be revealed, and all that fire can consume be burnt away as unnecessary accretion.[1] So Guido thinks he will be

> Unmanned, remanned: I hold it probable—
> With something changeless at the heart of me
> To know me by, some nucleus that's myself:
> Accretions did it wrong? Away with them!
> You soon shall see the use of fire!
>
> (Guido, 2393–7.)

In 'The Inn Album' there is a very bitter and passionate exposure of the vulgar and superstitious doctrine of hell which a narrow-minded clergyman 'dosed his flock withal':

> Hell he made explicit. After death
> Life: man created new, ingeniously
> Perfect for a vindictive purpose now
> That man, first fashioned in beneficence,
> Was proved a failure; intellect at length
> Replacing old obtuseness, memory
> Made mindful of delinquent's bygone deeds
> Now that remorse was vain, which life-long lay
> Dormant when lesson might be laid to heart;
> New gift of observation up and down
> And round Man's self, new power to apprehend
> Each necessary consequence of act
> In man for well or ill things obsolete—
> Just granted to supplant the idiocy,
> Man's only guide while act was yet to choose,
> With ill or well momentously its fruit;
> A faculty of immense suffering
> Conferred on mind and body—mind erewhile
> Unvisited by one compunctious dream
> During sin's drunken slumber, startled up,
> Stung through and through by sin's significance
> Now that the holy was abolished—just
> As body, which, alive, broke down beneath
> Knowledge, lay helpless in the path to good,
> Failed to accomplish aught legitimate,

[1] cf. 1 Cor. iii. 11–15.

> Achieve aught worthy—which grew old in youth,
> And at its longest fell, a cut-down flower—
> Dying, this too revived by miracle
> To bear no end of burthen, now that back
> Supported torture to no use at all,
> And live imperishably potent—since
> Life's potency was impotent to ward
> One plague off which made earth a hell before.

We fancy that it is Browning's own voice which we hear in the comment which follows, and which says that such a doctrine was one

> which one healthy view of things,
> One sane sight of the general ordinance—
> Nature—and its particular object—man—
> Which one mere eye-cast at the character
> Of Who made these and gave man sense to boot,
> Had dissipated once and evermore.

Browning can make sense of pain regarded as an educative factor of the soul's experience, but not as a retributive factor. Apart from being horrible and useless, the idea of such retribution is unintelligent and senseless, and Browning points out that to imagine that God is the kind of person who acts in a way the worst man ever made would scorn—or run the risk of jail or the lunatic asylum—is absurd.

> A camel-driver, when his beast will bite,
> Thumps her athwart the muzzle: why?

His purpose is to teach the camel that mouths are for munching, not biting. But suppose

> He saw into the biter's very soul,
> And knew the fault was so repented of
> It could not happen twice?

Even then a blow is justified. The nature of the blow is changed. It is not retribution, but a friendly discipline; moreover, it has a use in teaching other camels.

> Those long-necked sisters, see,
> Lean all a-stretch to know if biting meets
> Punishment or enjoys impunity.

But what of the camel-driver who, when the journey is ended and the camel safe stabled, burns to

> avenge a wrong
> Suffered from six months since,

which at the time was treated with indifference, possibly with approval? What if the driver thrust red-hot prongs into the soft parts of the camel's body, and left them there to hiss? This would be an outrage in man. And God cannot act less worthily than man.

Hell is not so much, Browning argues, that punishment is inflicted from without. It is remorse from within. As a child the poet threw into the fire a valuable book which belonged to his parents. He says:

> I grieve now at my loss by witlessness,
> But guilt was none to punish.

That which hurts is that later he deliberately, of his own will, turned from what he knew to be his father's wishes. The memories of these deeds

> Rankle like fire. Forgiveness? Rather grant
> Forgetfulness! The past is past and lost.
> However near I stand in his regard,
> So much the nearer had I stood by steps
> Offered the feet which rashly spurned their help.
> That I call hell; why further punishment?
> ('A Camel Driver.')

To have grieved the Infinite Love on the one hand, and to have done injury to one's soul on the other, are the elements which make an inward remorse more galling and scorching than any outward flame. In this sense

> heaven or hell depend upon man's earthly deed.
> ('La Saisiaz.')

Though Browning will not allow either annihilation or endless torment to be the last word for any human soul, we

do not think that this universalism is the ultimate goal in his mind for humanity. We have seen that he believes that all souls will be gathered in so as to complete God's family at long last. But we believe that his thought is that even this climax is but another penultimate word; that that state itself is a kind of second infancy of the race, leading to yet higher realms of being. In this way he can prolong the period of struggle yet again. We believe—though in all the books on Browning with one possible exception, to be mentioned later, the present writer has not seen this view stated—that the poet's ultimate conception of the destiny of the human race was that man should become divine. Not that man should become God, either equal with God or absorbed into God, but that manhood should be so raised to its highest power that it could only be called godhood; humanity so lifted up by aeons of struggle and growth to become something only to be described as divinity; just as man at present has so developed physically from his simian ancestors that the adjective can scarcely be used.

All through his works Browning emphasizes the divine *element* in man. The germ of a divine life within humanity is one of his favourite themes. We believe—and we shall quote evidence later—that, scarcely daring to make the thought articulate, Browning's speculative mind saw that there is something dissatisfying in the idea of endless struggle, and that the only other satisfactory ultimate was godhood. Men shall be as gods.

This thought, though daring, is not, of course, new. It was Athanasius who said, 'Filius Dei efficitur filius homini, ut filios hominum faceret filios Dei.' Moreover, if Pantheistic absorption be avoided on the one hand—and a Western mind like Browning's would eschew this, though an Eastern mind can view with complacency the loss of personality—and the disruption of the eternal unity be avoided on the other, then it is hard to imagine the ultimate destiny of man as other than a species of god; that is, a being so developed

above what man is now that it would be as inadequate to call that lofty being man, as it would be now to call man a brute, even though the difference be achieved in both cases by gradual growth and development, not by a miraculous change of nature.

Such a conception is no kind of return to the polytheism from which we have progressed; firstly, because no claim is being made that man becomes equal with God or worthy of worship, but secondly, and more cogently, because the suggestion made concerns the ultimate life in some consummation of the ages when all life which is human shall have passed beyond the limitations of the flesh (as definitely as all man-becoming apes have now passed from the simian stage), and not only *entered* a spirit world, but passed through a further period of struggle and growth on the other side.

We have called this latter period a kind of second infancy of the race and we think Browning deals with this view in 'Paracelsus':

> progress is
> The law of life, man is not Man as yet.
> Nor shall I deem his object served, his end
> Attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth,
> While only here and there a star dispels
> The darkness, here and there a towering mind
> O'erlooks its prostrate fellows: when the host
> Is out at once to the despair of night,
> When all mankind alone is perfected,
> Equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then,
> I say, *begins man's general infancy.* [Italics ours.]

That is to say, when man has reached perfection—which he will do, not as an individual, but as a race—then he will begin a further stage, and reach his second objective after his second infancy in the same way.

One may be forgiven for pointing out how old this idea is! The editor of the parable of the Garden of Eden puts into the mouth of the serpent this very idea as the most attractive offer that could be made to man: 'Ye shall be

as gods.'[1] And the legend of the fall was imaginatively created to teach the folly of thinking to snatch at a prize which could only come through centuries of toil and achievement.

Man will certainly never be content to set limits to his ambition. Browning's emphasis on struggle evidences this point, and unless we have to say there is no limit, then the only rational limit is unlimited knowledge and power.

Such a position is not out of harmony with the religious approach to philosophy. We may note that in Greek, Roman, and Norse mythology, men and women are always being rewarded by being made gods and goddesses by Zeus, Jupiter, or Odin. In Hinduism, man's highest goal is the avoidance of future reincarnations, and absorption into the deity. In Buddhism, Nirvana is the goal of all existence. In Confucianism, the mortal attains to such a heavenly condition that he is regarded as worthy of the worship of his descendants. In Christianity the idea is not absent. Paul speaks of men as joint heirs with Christ.[2] The author of the second epistle of Peter speaks of men as 'partakers of the divine nature.'[3] The seer of Patmos makes our Lord say that to him that overcometh shall be given to sit down on His throne, 'even as I overcame and sat down with My Father on His throne'[4]; and the author of the Fourth Gospel makes Christ speak of the glory that He had with God before the world was, and then pray that His followers 'may be one, as we are.'[5] Doubtful as these evidences are for the Christian position, they are cumulatively forceful. We may ask whether the whole purpose of the Incarnation was not to show the possibility of the godhood—as yet potential—of man.

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[1] Gen. iii. 5. The Hebrew אֱלֹהִים ('Elohim') may be translated either as God or gods. The ambiguity arises from the fact that the word 'Elohim' is never used in the singular.

[2] Rom. viii. 17. [3] 2 Pet. i. 4. [4] Rev. iii. 21. [5] John xvii. 11.

We must now turn and ask if this can be regarded as Browning's view. We are aware of the difficulty of supposing that Browning speaks through his dramatic characters. Therefore we must collect a number of instances of his view before we can posit it as his. We believe, however, that he does often speak through the Pope in 'The Ring and the Book.' Then consider the following lines (1878–84):

> I reach unto the dark,
> Feel what I cannot see, and still faith stands:
> I can believe this dread machinery
> Of sin and sorrow would confound me else,
> Devised—all pain, at most expenditure
> Of pain by Who devised pain—to evolve,
> By new machinery in counterpart,
> The moral qualities of man—how else?—
> To make him love in turn and be beloved,
> Creative and self-sacrificing too,
> *And thus eventually God-like (ay,*
> *'I have said ye are Gods,'—shall it be said for naught?)*
> [Italics ours.]

Then, turning to 'Paracelsus,' we find these lines: God

> dwells in all,
> From life's minute beginnings, up at last
> To man—the consummation of this scheme
> Of being, the completion of this sphere
> Of life . . .
> . . . . . .
> And, man produced, all has its end thus far:
> *But in completed man begins anew*
> *A tendency to God.* [Italics ours.]

If we turn to 'Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau' we find the lines:

> God, perchance,
> Grants each new man, by some as new a mode,
> Intercommunication with Himself,
> Wreaking on finiteness infinitude.

Support of our point occurs in a passage later on in the same poem, which, though we have to present it torn from its

context, and though it is an example of poetic mysticism, is not unfairly presented as strengthening the case which is being made out.

> I suppose Heaven is, through Eternity,
> The equalizing ever and anon,
> In momentary rapture, great with small,
> Omniscience with intelligency, God
> With man,—the thunder—glow from pole to pole,
> Abolishing, a blissful moment-space,
> Great cloud alike and small cloud, in one fire—
> As sure to ebb as sure again to flow
> When the new receptivity deserves
> The new completion. There's the heaven for me.

The trend of the argument in 'A Death in the Desert' does not seem far removed from this. Man is at present

> Lower than God who knows all and can all,
> Higher than beasts which know and can so far.
> As each beast's limit, perfect to an end,
> Nor conscious that they know, nor craving more;
> While man knows partly but conceives beside,
> Creeps ever on from fancies to the fact.
> And in this striving, this converting air
> Into a solid he may grasp and use,
> Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
> Not God's and not the beasts': God is, they are,
> Man partly is and wholly hopes to be.

What is the answer to the question, 'What does man wholly hope to be?' If the answer be 'perfect man,' then have we not to find a new name for such a being; or, at least, does not some other process begin there, in the same way as the stage of 'perfect brute' is the beginning of a phase of life when the word brute will have to be abandoned? One is tempted to understand Browning's belief to be that perfect humanity is divinity manifested as fully as human conditions will allow; that humanity is not different from divinity in kind, but in degree; or, if we may venture so to express it, as humanity has developed from animal nature, so a new nature will develop from human nature

which, for want of a better term, we must call divine. So in 'Rabbi Ben Ezra' (v.):

> Rejoice we are allied
> To That which doth provide
> And not partake, effect and not receive!
> A spark disturbs our clod;
> Nearer we hold of God
> Who gives, than of His tribes that take, I must believe;

but how much nearer is seen in a following stanza (xiii.):

> I summon age
> To grant youth's heritage,
> Life's struggle having so far reached its term:
> Thence shall I pass, approved
> A man, for aye removed
> *From the* developed brute; *a god though in the germ.*
> [Italics ours.]

Nor does our poet in thought climb up only from man to God; he climbs down from God to man. He sees not only the divinity of humanity, but the humanity of divinity. God may be a million things, and have a million activities of which man can know nothing. All we can truly perceive of God is what we see through our human eyes, and, though this is only part of the whole, yet we are not deceived as to its veracity. What we know of God is true, though it be not the whole truth, nor can any part of that greater whole deny the already known. Browning revels in the likeness of God and man.

> Why ever make man's good distinct from God's,
> Or, finding they are one, why dare mistrust?
> ('Paracelsus.')

Humanity is never a negation of divinity, but rather an incomplete form of divinity. The virtues which one posits as true of the perfect human do not have to be subtracted before that human can become divine, nor is the reverse true save in measure or quantity, never in quality. Man,

we repeat, does not for Browning become the equal with God. He must always be the product of that personality towards whose nature he is permitted to strive, but he may rise to a state so far removed from manhood as brutehood is from manhood, call his ultimate—if it be this—what we will. This is a conclusion at which the mind can rest, and we think Browning's mind rested there. And, though no single passage warrants this conclusion, we think the cumulative effect of the passages quoted brings us there. This is an intelligible end to the aeonian growth of the human soul. We do not need to follow it farther, for we are no longer following manhood. As Professor Herford says in concluding his excellent book on Browning—the exception mentioned on p. 4—we see in his poetry 'man lifted by the law of love into a service which is perfect freedom, into *an approximation to God which is only the fullest realization of humanity.*'[1]

> What is left for us, save, in growth
> Of soul to rise up, far past both,
> From the gift looking to the giver,
> And from the cistern to the river,
> And from the finite to infinity,
> And from man's dust to God's divinity?
> ('Christmas Eve.')

As we have read Browning, there is no inconsistency in the two conceptions of the life after death which contend together in his mind. One sees it as a gradual continuation of slow, progressive methods, and the other sees it as a state of complete transformation. May not the latter be the completion of the former?

Nor is there any inconsistency of thought in the conception of the destiny of man as just described on the one hand, and the nature of Christ on the other, for Christ is always, for Browning, the miracle of God made man—not man so

[1] Italics are ours. We do not wish to go farther than the connotation of these words, but we would wish them to bear every ounce of meaning which they can be made to carry.

filled with God as to have become divine, but God made man, different in kind, not merely in degree.

There is an apparent inconsistency in the passionate earnestness of the poet in assuring us that the earth life is a moral probation, with his certainty of the ultimate triumph of good. Men say glibly enough that, if everything is going to come right in the end, why strive? This inconsistency is apparent rather than real. Two men can both be fully happy without being equally happy. The capacity for happiness is the decisive factor. It is that capacity which is determinable in the earth life; which is made or not made here.

Browning takes us farther than any other poet in speculation concerning the ultimate destiny of man. He does not attempt to give us a speculative map of the country beyond. Rather, from the heights of vision he tells us what he sees. And no poet of the century, we think, saw so clearly or so far. He sees men struggling still, but struggle is assured of victory. Jungle on earth has become woodland in heaven. Storm-tossed oceans have become quiet seas that mirror cloudless skies. Friends, united, lift their eyes to yet greater heights. With almost bated breath we ask our prophet what these heights may be. But concerning them even he can tell us little. He lifts his hand and points, almost in silence. Our gaze follows his finger. There, in the far, far distance, are lonely peaks of snow-clad purity standing out against the blue. They are the 'other heights'; the goal of a humanity which has become at last divine; an abode where God can be known in yet greater fullness; where joy and fellowship, love and harmony, truth and beauty, reign eternally, and where, beyond all human voices, there is peace.

LESLIE D. WEATHERHEAD.

A SCOTTISH DIARY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE Diary of John Forbes of Corse well deserves to be noticed in these days when attention is more than ever being called to such works. Recent extracts from, and descriptions of, diaries have all omitted it, no doubt because it has never been published, save in an unsuitable Latin dress, and comparatively few people are perhaps aware of its existence and interest. It is fairly typical of its period, reminding one of such diaries as that of Alexander Jaffray or Johnston of Warristoun, the religious element predominating, and the historical appearing only incidentally.

The original of the Diary has been lost, the usual statement that it is to be found at Fintray House being mistaken. There seem to be three manuscript copies extant. One, dating from 1687, is in the library of Coates Hall, Edinburgh, while the other two (dated 1687 and 1690 respectively) are both in the library of King's College, Aberdeen. The 1690 copy is neither so accurate nor so complete as the others. The 1687 Aberdeen copy bears on the fly-leaf this entry, taken from the original: 'Kelly, 6 Jan., 1666. This book pertains to me and I am to lend it to the Countess of Marschall in Aberdeen being commanded to bring it to her, for I would have parted with it to none other and I am to have a receipt for it to redeliver it to me again. J. Gordoun.' The Diary had evidently passed into the hands of Sir John Gordon, elder brother of the first Earl of Aberdeen, and was much treasured by him. It may be noted that, in spite of the receipt, the Diary was *not* returned to him.

The entries begin on February 8, 1624, and stop on July 22, 1647, covering thus an extremely interesting and important period in Scottish history, a period in which John Forbes himself played an eventful part. The Diary contains matter of different types, but especially what are called Spiritual

Exercises—meditations with collections of appropriate Scripture texts. There are also studies for sermons, prayers both private and as used in his family devotions, and in one case a Latin prayer employed in his class-room at King's College, where he was the first Professor of Divinity. Throughout the Diary, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew phrases abound, for there were few more learned men in Scotland than John Forbes. The entries are not regular, nor are they of similar length or character. At certain times of crisis there are daily studies or notes; but sometimes months go past without a word having been written, and occasionally we find even greater gaps. The section of the book which refers to his exile in Holland from 1644 to 1646 consists almost entirely of a narrative of his doings and travels, and this is the only part which is of the ordinary diary type.

We meet in this document a striking and interesting personality, who, though quiet and unassertive, was the trusted leader of a group of men who were themselves of no mean power. We sense in the pages of the Diary a calm dignity, an intellectual breadth, a sincere piety; and we are left in no doubt as to the erudition, or the strength of purpose, of John Forbes, while at the same time we see in him a shy man, modest, introspective, reticent, and of child-like simplicity.

John Forbes was the second son, and became the heir of Bishop Patrick Forbes of Corse, one of the best servants the Church ever had in Scotland. He was born in 1593, trained in Aberdeen, Heidelberg, Sedan, and elsewhere, and called to be Professor of Divinity at King's College in 1620. King James VI and I was then in process of forcing Episcopacy upon the Scottish people, and his measures had been greatly assisted in the north by the support they received from one so much respected as the father of our diarist. John Forbes took his part in the wordy strife, publishing his *Irenicum* in justification of the Five Articles of Perth, a work part of which has recently been well translated and edited by

Dr. E. G. Selwyn. When the National Covenant was signed in 1638, after Laud's unfortunate attempt to thrust upon the Scottish people what they regarded as a foreign liturgy, John Forbes was one of a famous band, known as the Aberdeen Doctors, who offered passive resistance to the Covenant, and were successful, at least in their own district, in making it exceedingly unpopular. The leading Covenanters visited Aberdeen, and were unhappy in their contest of words against these learned and much respected churchmen, but the times were with them and force was employed. Forbes was in 1641 deposed from his professorship, and ultimately, in 1644, obliged to escape to Holland for safety. Two years later he was permitted to return to Scotland, where he lived quietly on his estate at Corse till his death in 1648.

The Diary in this exciting period reflects on many pages the anxieties of Forbes and his friends, his careful preparation of such documents as were necessary, his quiet, determined, conscientious resistance, whatever the cost, and, further, his very noticeable charity towards those who persecuted him. He was the soul of the opposition, but remained all the while patient and willing to discuss, and submissive to whatever fate his Church might assign him. When arrest seemed imminent, he escaped at times to his country home at Corse, but during most of the period he was preaching and teaching in Aberdeen, and letting his principles, but at the same time his moderation, be known unto all, seeking in persistent prayer strength to meet the 'daily threatenings whereby my colleagues and especially myself am threatened for driving us by human fear to subscribe the Covenant.' Forbes refused to sign the Covenant because it definitely condemned Episcopacy, his view being that Episcopacy, while not essential, was convenient.

Forbes was first and foremost a scholar. His University lectures formed the basis of important works. He published on History of Doctrine, on Christian Ethics, and on Pastoral

Theology. Of the professor there is not much in the Diary, beyond references to the beginning and end of sessions, to the dearth of students in the Covenanting crisis, to the religious difficulties of a student who has come for his advice, and to the books he has been reading, chiefly the Fathers, of whom he acquired a marvellous knowledge.

While Forbes was by calling a University professor, we hear more in the Diary of preaching than of teaching. We frequently find him conducting services in Aberdeen and elsewhere, and never oftener than when the Covenanters threatened Aberdeen. Later, when in exile in Holland, he records the occasions when he preached in the English or Scottish Churches at Amsterdam, Utrecht, Campvere, Delft, Middelburg. He did not always preach a new sermon. More than once his text was Isa. xii. 1, but above all he loved Matt. xi. 28–30, 'Come unto Me . . .' We can see that his sermons involved extremely careful work, laborious investigation of the original text and different translations, and frequent reference to the Fathers. He is not afraid to introduce the ancient languages into the pulpit; but his sermons are generally, in the end, very simple and straightforward practical expositions. He was of a scholastic type of mind, and we find him attempting no original thinking, but content to gather up from Bible incidents thoughts that may console or strengthen faith. His texts, after the invariable manner of the time, are deeply divided and subdivided. This method actually leads him on one occasion to treat separately the conjunction 'and.'

John Forbes was not always preaching, however; and when a hearer he was, unlike most preachers, very appreciative. He always learned something or received some comfort. Whether the sermon he mentions is by his friend, the learned Dr. Baron, or the Covenanting David Dickson, or an unnamed preacher in Amsterdam delivering 'a learned and pious and very comfortable' sermon, he has some thankful remark to make. One preacher gives 'a very edificative

sermon.' Another expounds 'learnedly and plainly, pertinently and powerfully.' A typical entry reads: 'Upon this text Dr. Scrogie observed many godly and pertinent observations, instructions and consolations, which he delivered plainly and powerfully, whereby I perceived the hearers much moved, and I was greatly moved so that in hearing him my eyes yielded tears and my heart cried to God for mercy and grace and I made vows.'

Forbes studied his Bible constantly and minutely, both in the original languages and in the Authorized Version, which he calls 'the late English translation.' His quotations are usually, though not invariably, exact, and were, no doubt, like St. Paul's, from memory.

His prayers reflect this intimate knowledge of scriptural expression, and especially of the Book of Psalms. They are not liturgical, except that he is extremely fond of elaborate and often somewhat confused doxologies. The biblical language tends to make his utterances stiff and formal, as when he calls his wife 'Thy handmaid Thou hast given Thy servant to wife.'

He was assiduous in his private religious exercises, Scripture reading, meditation, and communion with God. The typical entries are such as these: 'I fell into a meditation'; 'I was comforted in reading . . .'; 'the same day in the evening the Lord put into my heart a joyful song of praise'; 'in the morning as I prayed in my bed'; 'upon the 10 day of Oct. 1625 in my private morning prayer with my wife in our bed'; 'about the evening time as I was reading, meditating and praying in my chamber'; 'then did I prostrate myself upon my face'; 'upon the 11, 12 and 18 days of August 1640 I wept bitterly every day in my prayers'; 'I prayed unto the Lord in the words of Psalm cxix., section 10.'

He was fond of solitary walks, and often meditated in the open. Thus we find: 'I did insist with my God both in the house, and in the field'; 'in the field alone I fell upon my

face and humbly and plainly with groans and tears confessed my sins unto God'; and an entry perhaps more quaint, where he tells us that as he walked along he rehearsed unto God Psalm li. and Psalm ciii., 'both of them in Buchanan's Latin.'

Occasionally the entries strike one as a little grotesque. 'Upon March 7 in *anno* 1684 in the morning in my study being prostrate before God upon my belly and having before me on the floor the Psalms in Hebrew . . . I wept abundantly and did water both my face and my book with my tears.'

Forbes took himself very seriously, and was in constant agony over sin. There is much of this sort of thing: 'I had fearful wrestlings, and comfortable victories'; 'troubled in conscience for my sluggish neglect of public divine service that day'; 'Satan assaulted me with a wicked temptation'; after being at church, 'when I was returned to my house I went to my chamber and cabinet alone and examining myself by the ten commandments of God, I found myself guilty of manifold breaking of every one of them.' He was at times morbidly introspective, and sometimes one would imagine him melancholic for days. One sinful lapse into bad temper caused him great grief. He had been denouncing a minister who had committed the ecclesiastical sin of simony. In the course of the argument, at which others were present, Forbes says, 'I exceeded in human wrath.' The two parted as friends after the dispute, but Forbes had to take himself before the Throne of Judgement.

His troubles were sometimes serious, as in November 1638, when he was beset by the Covenanters and both his estate and his good name were in danger, when Highland raiders carried off a near relation and put him to ransom, when his wife became sick and 'parted with child,' when a daughter took loathsome boils and sores and was almost unable to walk even with a staff, and when he himself suffered from 'increase of unavoidable debts.' That is a catalogue that calls for sympathy.

It is a little more difficult, perhaps, to understand his great spiritual struggle over a minor lodging problem in Amsterdam. He found the room he had rented small and cold and unsuitable for his studies, and, deciding to move, secured a more expensive apartment; but, before the day on which he had arranged to leave, it was suggested to him that his departure might injure the reputation of his first landlord. On the other hand, he had promised the new landlord to come to him. 'The consideration of this difficulty did much trouble me,' he says, 'for I saw myself sore straited with an appearing necessity of sinning and giving of offence, whichever way of the two I should choose, which was unto me more bitter than death. Therefore, being in a grievous agony, I confessed my sins unto God, and this sinful precipitating myself into the fearful difficulty, I cried with tears unto my God to whom all things are possible.' Eventually it turned out that his first landlord felt in no way offended, and, indeed, had no great opinion of his house himself, and was looking for another!

One is sometimes astonished at the importance attached to what one would hardly now record in a diary. Thus in 1645 at Groningen: 'As I was stepping up to ane high bed, the stool tumbled and I did fall upon a hard floor, and was saved from hurt, praised be the Lord for ever.'

Forbes was in close mystical communion with God, and intensely convinced of God's immediate care and guiding and of the reality of the answers to his prayers. We find, for example, such expressions as these: 'the comfortable voice of Thee, our God, our Beloved'; 'God drew near to me and said unto me, My son, be not discomforted, . . . my heart answered, O my dear Father, happy am I to whom Thou vouchsafest Thy great mercy'; 'the Lord answered me with a comfortable answer, I will undertake for you and support you, for I care for you.'

His prayers are by no means only for himself. He talks little about his family, but his affection is obvious, and, after

he is left a widower with only one son surviving of a family of nine, this son is often in his prayers. His wife, with her strange Dutch name, Soete Roosboom (Sweet Rose-Tree), died in 1640, after a long illness patiently borne, and he often speaks of her suffering, and when she dies he recalls the death of Ezekiel's wife; while, some months later, we find him praying for comfort 'against the frequent pangs of sorrow and melancholy which afflict me when I remember my wife and children and my father and mother and brethren which are departed out of this mortal life unto a better life.' His relations with his father, the Bishop, seem to have been peculiarly tender and close, as is revealed by the touching account he gives of his father's death. Years afterwards he is still worried lest he may have been in some respects an undutiful son.

Among his prayers he has intercessions also for his colleagues, for the University, the Church of Scotland, the Synods and General Assemblies, the King, 'the enlightenment' of the Roman Catholic Queen. He prays even for his enemies; 'for those that persecute us I humbly besought the Lord to be merciful unto them, and not to lay their sins to their charge, but to give them repentance unto life, for Christ's sake who died for us all when we were yet sinners.' Once it is a sick servant who brings him to his knees. She had fallen down a stair in the dark and been badly injured.

Forbes seems to have had almost a passion for attending Holy Communion. It was celebrated oftener in Scotland in those days than is usual to-day; but it was hardly celebrated often enough for him. He never missed an opportunity. In Holland it was the same. There we find him communicating alike with French, Dutch, and English congregations, wherever he happened to be living.

His feelings at Communion come out clearly in such a passage as this: 'He led me to His holy table where He fed me and refreshed and strengthened my soul with His own

precious body which was broken for me and with His own precious blood which was shed for me to the remission of all my sins. . . . When the minister delivered unto me the bread repeating the words of the institution, as he came to speak those words of our Saviour, "Do this in remembrance of Me," I yet holding that Holy Sacrament in my hand found my heart lifted up to Christ unto heaven and saying to Him with all my heart, "Lord, I remember Thee; remember Thou me in mercy"; and so I eat the bread and drink of that blessed cup with so heavenly and abundant consolation through the mercy of my God upon me as neither can my mouth utter nor my pen express; yea, neither could my heart comprehend it, but it comprehended and filled my heart with peace.'

Not very much interest is revealed in affairs that are not directly related to his University work or to the Church, and, even in connexion with these, his activities are more entirely local than they ought to be. Something, however, may be learned of the life of the times. The uncivilized condition of the Scottish Highlands is forced on our attention by a raid of freebooters upon the houses of Forbes's tenants on the estate of Corse. Blackmail is demanded if the attack is not to be repeated, and advantage is taken of the laird being a 'schoolman' and not accustomed to such medleys. At another time a cousin was carried off by a similar band and held to ransom; but in this case the Marquis of Huntly came to the rescue, and the captive was released without payment. Later still we find his tenants restive because every one around them was joining up for the wars of the Covenant, while they sat idle at home because of their master's principles.

Other little incidents break the routine of the quiet Aberdeen life. Some guests drink too much at his house, and go home 'more overcome with wine than was seemly for me,' and his conscience is seriously troubled.

Illnesses are recorded, and occur somewhat frequently

owing to a sedentary life, for Forbes's only recreation was his morning and evening stroll and an occasional game of golf. Little things interest him and little things worry him, and he talks about it all in the pages of his Diary. There is always steady trust in God and the knowledge 'that the Lord would perform what was needful as well without me as by me, either belonging to my public profession of theology and ministry of the gospel or Christian duties or concerning the comfort of my friends or the provision of my family or the comfort of the godly or the stopping of the wicked mouths.'

It is a picture of a good man and an earnest scholar, grave and formal and a little pedantic, fonder of his study than of public notice, not wide in his interests but broad in his sympathies, meek yet resolute, 'persecuted but not forsaken,' playing an unforgettable part in one of the most exciting and momentous periods of Scottish history.

G. D. HENDERSON.

Notes and Discussions

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER'S WORK IN LAMBARENE

THE announcement that the Goethe Prize had been conferred upon Dr. Schweitzer was the first intimation to many that such a prize existed. From information kindly sent by my friend, Professor Sommer, tutor in our Frankfurt Theological College, it appears that the prize was instituted last year by the city of Frankfurt-a-M. Its value is 10,000 marks (£500), and it is to be awarded to one who has rendered some great service to humanity. In 1927 its first recipient was a modern German writer, who is especially noted for his lyrical poems, Dr. Stephan George. In awarding the prize the Commission is to be guided by Goethe's words : ' Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut.' Henceforth the distinction will have an added glory, for in 1928 it was conferred on Dr. Albert Schweitzer, who, as a medical missionary in Western Equatorial Africa, has proved his true nobility by a life chosen for its opportunities of doing good, and rich in helpful ministries to the afflicted in mind and body.

The editor of *Die Christliche Welt*, in congratulating Schweitzer on his well-deserved honour, calls attention to the simultaneous appearance of Part III.[1] of his ' Lambarene Experiences.' Readers of that fascinating book *On the Edge of the Primaeval Forest* will remember that it gives an account of the founding of the hospital in 1913, and of ' Experiences and Observations ' during the next four and a half years. The hospital was closed for six years, but was reopened in 1924. The story of its rebuilding and of the resumption of medical work is told in Parts I. and II. of the ' Lambarene Experiences,' which have not been translated into English. They bring the narrative down to 1925. Part III. continues it to the summer of 1927. Some account will be given in this article of the courageous overcoming of difficulties encountered in the urgently needed extension of the hospital and its ministries of healing.

The need for a hospital to accommodate 150 patients instead of 40 had long been felt, but it was the experience of famine accompanied by an epidemic of dysentery which rendered its removal and enlargement obligatory. The narrative begins by describing the arduous work of clearing the forest and preparing the new site, which was two miles farther up stream. As soon as possible, maize had to be planted, for rice was exceedingly scarce, especially rice in the husk, which alone contains the necessary vitamins. Great was the disappointment when a steamer arrived which had on board, not the promised rice, but tobacco, crockery, gramophones, &c.! In picturesque

[1] *Mitteilungen aus Lambarene*, von Albert Schweitzer. Drittes Heft. Herbst 1925 bis Sommer 1927. (München: Beck.)

language and with genial humour the interesting story is told. For example, this is how a day's work is described by this renowned interpreter of Bach: 'A day in the forest passes like a symphony. *Lento:* The natives reluctantly receive their axes and bush-knives, handed to them as they land from the canoes. At snail-tempo they proceed to the clearing. *Moderato:* Axes and knives move in quite moderate time, though the foreman endeavours in vain to accelerate it. *Adagio:* After the midday rest the men are with difficulty brought again to their task. No breeze stirs the leaves. Occasionally the stroke of an axe is heard. *Scherzo:* Jests, to which I resort in despair, have an enlivening effect. Some begin to sing. It is somewhat cooler as a wind from the river penetrates the thicket. *Finale:* Merriment now becomes general. It goes hard with the accursed forest; the attack upon it is accompanied with yells and screams; axes and knives vie with one another. But neither bird nor squirrel, neither question nor command, must cause a moment's diversion, or the axes will be thrown down, and the work will cease. Yet, if the labour proceeds at this speed for half an hour, the day is not lost. I call, "*Amani!*" (enough), and the day's work is ended.'

Much valuable information is given, as the relative advantages and disadvantages are discussed of planting alongside maize, bananas or sweet potatoes, yams or taro, earth-nuts or bread-fruit. Most profitable for cultivation are bananas and bread-fruit. But, inasmuch as the condition of holding land is that trees shall be planted whose fruit is profitable for export, coffee and cocoa must be grown between the bananas. Strange to say, the natives do not like cocoa. Much is said about enemies that abound: amongst them are the rodents who live in trees and devour the cocoa-pods; also elephants, whose favourite delicacy is the banana. The great height of the banana-tree is no protection, for, 'if the elephant scouts report that they have found a banana-plantation, the herd advances upon it during the night, enjoys the fruit, and destroys the plant by trampling on it.'

In the winter of 1925–6 the work of the hospital was exceptionally distressful. Owing to the continuance of the epidemic of dysentery, it frequently happened that the members of the hospital staff were all so fully engaged that they could not spare time to bury the dead. 'Then we had, perforce, ourselves to act as grave-diggers and bearers.' But, whenever light shines through the gloom, Schweitzer welcomes its radiance. A terrible operation for tumour (elephantiasis) lasted five and a half hours. When Dr. Lauterburg carried the patient to his bed, 'an old negro danced solemnly before him. He knew no better way of expressing his delight. It was so that David danced before the ark.' Practical wisdom is revealed in the regulation that, whenever possible, two relatives of the patient shall accompany him to wait upon him and to give other service in return for board and lodging. It is, however, shrewdly added that discrimination is needful, lest relatives, to avoid the work, should fail to bring the patient to the hospital.

The new hospital is compared to a lake-village, and Schweitzer calls

himself ' a prehistoric modern man ' engaged in the erection of pile-dwellings. The labour involved in the task he has undertaken may be estimated when it is remembered that in a day not more than twenty to thirty piles or stakes can be prepared by charring, and that the piles are so heavy that it takes six or eight men to carry one to the river bank. Early in 1927 it was possible to remove some of the patients to the new hospital, though it was not completed. To segregate the mentally afflicted had long been a cherished purpose, for their prospects, if left at home, were terrible to contemplate. At best they would be kept continually in fetters, and probably they would be left to die from starvation, or poisoned, or thrown fettered into the river. In 1926, Schweitzer was most reluctantly compelled to refuse admission to several dangerous lunatics. He writes: ' How it pained me to send them back to misery and perhaps to death.' But in the last chapter of this book he can say, after taking the last boatload of mental sufferers to their new abode: ' They were quite peaceful'; they had been told that in the new hospital they would have cells with floors of wood. They thought, therefore, that they were being transferred to a palace, for in their former cells they had the damp earth for their flooring.' Then this kindly physician—who is also philosopher, biblical critic, and musician—not accustomed to allow the personal note to be heard, gives expression to the joy of a greatheart: ' For the first time since I began my work in Africa my sick folk are housed in a fashion which is worthy of human beings. What have I suffered in the years when I was compelled to herd them together in damp, dark rooms! Full of gratitude, I look up to God, who has permitted me to experience such joy. Deeply moved, I think of the friends of the hospital in Europe. Trusting in their help, I ventured on the removal of the hospital, and on the substitution of corrugated-iron-roofed buildings for bamboo huts.' One chief cause for rejoicing is that now the hospital has a trio of doctors, which is held to be the ideal. ' There are so many who need us but cannot come to us, therefore we must go to them.' Hence, one doctor is needed for making journeys into the interior, with a travelling equipment. Another, available for research work, would be able to make valuable contributions to medical science, or might have surgical cases reserved for him. The third would be fully employed in the regular service of the hospital.

Schweitzer's Lambarene experiences, recorded with extreme modesty, show that his great influence on the natives is due, not only to his accomplishments and skill, but also to his winsome personality, and, above all, to his deep love for the African. As he embarks for Europe he writes: ' I feel humbled. I ask myself whether I deserve to be entrusted with this work and to have such success in it. Ever and again the grievous thought emerges that for a time I must give up this work, and tear myself away from Africa, which has become a home to me. It seems to me incomprehensible that I must part from the negroes, even for a few months. How dear they become, notwithstanding the trouble they give! How many fine traits one discovers

in them, when the manifold follies of the child of nature do not obscure the vision of the man in him! How they open out to us, if we have the love and the patience to enter into their thoughts!' These later Lambarene experiences deserve to be as widely known as the earlier. They reveal Dr. Albert Schweitzer as having all the qualities of 'nobility, helpfulness, and goodness' which Goethe held to be the insignia of true manhood, and they reveal him, as did his first volume, as a noble member of 'The Fellowship of those who bear the Mark of Pain,' who have 'themselves been saved from physical suffering,' and therefore 'respond to requests on behalf of those who are in similar need.'

J. G. Tasker.

CITIZENSHIP AND RELIGION

It has often been remarked that the Bible begins with a garden and ends with a city; and, as part of the record of man's evolution, it is natural that it should do so. From cave-dweller to citizen is the tale that human history unfolds. Citizenship is one of the supreme discoveries of mankind. For in these days many of us, appalled by the squalor and misery of industrialized towns, in some moods are inclined to wonder whether the whole process of urban civilization has not been a mistake. Rousseau talked of getting back to nature. We look wistfully at the simpler life of the country-side; we long for gardens; if we could we would shake the dust from off our feet and go back to the garden. In such a mood we feel that the process from peasant to townsman has been progress backwards, is Paradise Lost, and in such a mood citizenship may seem an empty boasting over a sordid and meretricious reality. When we hear of our towns and cities, of their industry, public buildings, and libraries, of their wealth and the devotion of their citizens, our reaction makes us point to their poverty, alleys, and unemployment. If citizenship meant just an effort to push trade, and flatter our pride, then we should be right in saying that much of our greatness is built upon insecure foundations.

I do not think, however, that the mood which impels us to cry 'back to nature' or 'back to Christ' or back to anything else is really healthy. The town, after all, is a natural social group. Citizenship stands first and foremost for the belief that civic life is a noble achievement; that God meant us to build towns and cities; that we are not here to decry or advertise them, but in all earnestness to face their glory and their shame, and consecrate ourselves to foster the one and remedy the other. Next to the family, the town would seem to be the natural grouping for human society, the environment in which we can best develop individual and corporate life, serving God, one another, and the world. We have a great heritage in all our towns and cities, and a noble opportunity. These centres of population have been blessed with men of integrity and vision, with world openings for commerce, and, on the whole, with industrious, thrifty,

and hard-working people. Living in such places, we ought to be able to discover and display to the world new lessons of how men and women can dwell together in unity, new visions of a community in which each member, small or great, makes his contribution to the life of the whole, a new fulfilment of the dream of a perfect city which has haunted men down the ages. Plato's *Republic*, Augustine's *City of God*, Thomas More's *Utopia*, the Book of Revelation, are all ideal depictments of that perfect city. It is this longing after a City of God which finds its expression in Abraham's quest, in Blake's 'Jerusalem,' and in a hundred other ways. Are such hopes just the device by which man's instinct for self-preservation guards him against the pain and futility of life, or are they the dope of a diseased imagination which conceals the meanness of our motives? Civic service and Christian duty go together. If selfishness is the supreme rule of human conduct, as Hobbes affirms, and if money is the ultimate goal and standard, if human nature, as some say, 'cannot be altered,' then Christ's dynamic personality dissolves into a meaningless farce, and the Churches are wasting their time perpetuating that visionary's unhelpful influence. But, if the aspirations which have raised man above the brutes, if the secret desire for friendliness, and the secret discontent with selfishness, are real, that is, if there is any value at all in human life except material satisfaction, then it is wholly appropriate that our citizenship should be interpreted in the light of the Christian Ideal, and that we should recognize definitely that civic service is an essential element in Christian duty.

Never has the need for a united effort to consecrate citizenship been more obvious or more crucial. The discoveries of recent years have made us members one of another in a sense unintelligible a hundred years ago. God using the industrial order has knit men into a community which is world wide. We cannot contract out of our dependence upon one another or of our mutual obligations. We must learn the way to live corporately as members of human society. Yes, we must learn it or our civilization will inevitably collapse. If we do not go to school in the fellowship of our common responsibilities, in our world citizenship, the world-wide commonwealth of Christ will not be established. No one can seriously contemplate the enormous and complicated issues of to-day without realizing that this problem of 'How can the nations live together?' is of dominant importance. Only, it would seem, by the development of a collective conscience, of a spirit of brotherhood in time to use for the common welfare, can the 'dogs of war' be slain and the catastrophic powers which science is placing at our disposal be controlled. Shall we reach world brotherhood or collapse into a world-wide disaster? Such is the problem, and the issue is clear that Christianity or barbarism are the alternatives before the human race. We used to talk of making the world fit for democracy; that is a false presentation of the issue. We have yet to attain unto democracy if we are to make the world safe for mankind. Christian citizenship can alone achieve that end.

Truth is larger than private opinion. Men acting together can

rise to heights or fall to depths of which individuals would be incapable. The determining factor is the spirit in which the members approach their task. If all are aware that truth is larger than private opinion, and if they approach their task trusting one another and seeking nothing less than the general good, they will each contribute to the collective judgement which is the truth forged in the white heat of fellowship. This truth is far larger than the mere total of what each individual has given for fellowship. It is synthesis, not compromise; synopsis, not sentiment. 'Truth is indeed worked out by many minds working freely together,' as Cardinal Newman said long ago. I emphasize the 'freely.'

What is needed, then, as citizens, is first a clear vision of our ideal as Christians, mutual trust so complete as to override selfishness and mere party feeling and so to make possible true co-operation. The Christian Church has a record of the story of such a group which rejuvenated the ancient world because that group was fired with a living example. The descendants of that little band, with all their differences, ecclesiastical and otherwise, do believe this much, that there is only one city which has foundations, only one pattern for our imitation. Its Magna Charta is the Sermon on the Mount, its Architect is Christ. Its message is that only in a common devotion to God, only by emphasis upon the eternal values, the good, the beautiful, and the true, only by loyalty to the living Christ, can there be grace, inspiration, and power sufficient to set us free from the thraldom of our selfish ambitions and fears. Religion is no mere adjunct to our citizenship, no lovely ornamentation to our life. It is the sparking-plug that sets the whole machinery of life and civilization in motion. It is the one indispensable element without which we cannot overcome our mutual distrust.

We live in a day when enormous issues hang in the balance. Great steps forward have to be taken. Hard thinking will have to be done. Traditions which do not inspire must be allowed to expire. We have enough burdens without carrying dead men on our backs. We must have the vision and then indulge in the venture. We must see and then do. As Christians, to see that perfect city means we must turn our serious attention to social salvation, to questions of housing, sanitation, education, industry, and other matters of equal importance. There is no room for boasting or recrimination, for scolding or childishness, in this holy calling of Christian citizenship. We know quite well, if we think rightly, that the faults of our town or city life are not due to any particular class or group, but to the whole body, and ourselves in it. The only penitence worth its salt is the effort to amend.

Aristotle pointed out that man is 'a political animal,' but he used greater words of man than this, in *Ethics Eud.*, when he described the individual's highest aim as to behold God and to serve Him. This ideal will only be possible in the civilized and well-ordered society which the Christian ideal presents, and the Christian dynamic supplies the strength to enable us to produce. ERNEST G. BRAHAM.

THE EARLIER LIFE OF WALTER H. PAGE

MR. HENDRICK'S three volumes of the *Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* showed how richly he deserved to be described as 'The Friend of Britain in her greatest need.' He has now given us *The Earlier Life and Letters* (Heinemann, 21*s*.), which form a vivid picture of the training of an American editor and Ambassador. The earlier volumes were so taken up by Mr. Page's life at the Court of St. James's that his previous history had to be compressed into a mere sketch. We now see the way in which he was prepared for his crowning achievement as Ambassador in the critical years of the Great War.

He came of a sturdy Methodist stock in North Carolina. His grandfather, Anderson Page, farmed 1,200 acres, had thirty to fifty slaves, and did an extensive business as carrier of tobacco and cotton to the great mart in Petersburg, Virginia. Walter's father was 6 ft. 5½ in. high. His Methodism was 'of the most authentic Wesleyan type. No negro could curse and remain in Frank Page's employ. Theatre-going, dancing, dicing, and card-playing were likewise forbidden. Strong drink was his most cherished abomination.' He was a genial man, who could laugh long and loudly, and had a vast native intelligence which made him a rich man as builder of railways and creator of new towns. He married Kate Raboteau, a descendant of Huguenot refugees, and Walter, their third child, was born on August 15, 1855. The boy had no love of physical labour. His father would point to him curled up with a book in his hand and say, 'There's my bookworm.' The family sawmills, cotton factories, blacksmith shops, and acres of maize and potatoes did not interest the boy so much as the books that he loved. His father and mother hoped to see him a Methodist preacher. He was sent to Mebane, where Major Robert Bingham taught school. The boys wore the grey Confederate uniform, and there he 'absorbed much information in the subjects preliminary to a college course.'

Walter spent much time with his grandfather, who seemed to him a whole epoch in American history. 'Old Place' was almost a feudal estate, producing the food, clothes, shoes, and other necessaries for the family. Walter said, 'Cool water and a grateful shade and gentle breezes all belonged there, and a peacock strutted on the lawn, indolent and proud.' His visits to 'Old Place' were the happiest times of his childhood. The mellowness of the place, the ripened wisdom of the old man, the cool quiet of the library, made memories which never ceased to be savoury and pleasing. His grandfather was sixty-five when Walter was born, and lived to be ninety-four. One of his eight sons was a Methodist preacher; another was famous for his mighty voice, and when he led the choir in 'All hail the power of Jesu's Name' the hymn could be heard a mile away. John, the country doctor, played the violin and was a famous reciter. He read Shakespeare to the Page children, changing voice and features as each character came on the stage.

In 1871, Walter entered Trinity College, in North Carolina, and

next year moved on to Randolph-Macon, where Wilbur F. Tillett, afterwards dean of the theological faculty at Vanderbilt University, was one of his intimate friends. He was greatly influenced by Thomas Price, Professor of Greek and English, who described his pupil as 'a young scholar of extraordinary promise.' Price taught him, not only to love English literature, but to love England itself. When Gildersleeve accepted the Greek chair at the new Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore, he looked out for four or five young men to hold fellowships. Price recommended Page, and 1876 found him sitting at the feet of America's profoundest Greek scholar. Yet, deeply as he plunged into Greek literature, Page felt that 'active work was worth tenfold more than book speculation.' In 1877 he spent four months in Germany. He found it no mean education to live a little in the Old World. When he got back to Johns Hopkins, he managed to steal much time to read 'fine literature. I can never lay Tennyson aside. Shelley, too, I am enjoying at intervals that I wish were not so far apart.'

He resigned his fellowship in March 1878, but kept in touch with Gildersleeve. Page was sitting at his desk as Ambassador in London when Gildersleeve, 'as gay, as shrewd, as debonair as ever, strolled in.' 'Every step of your distinguished career,' the old man said, 'I have followed with the deepest interest.' He was in his eighty-fourth year, and when Page asked what had brought him to England he evaded the question. 'Finally, warning Page not to laugh at him and to keep the matter secret, he confessed. It was that, before he died, he might visit the scenes of Scott's novels and Burns's poems! "I know them as well as I know my Latin grammar, but I want to see them. You know we used to talk about them forty years ago!"'

Page spent the winter of 1878 at Louisville, teaching English literature and rhetoric at the Male High School; then, in February 1880, he joined the staff of the St. Joseph, Missouri, *Gazette*, of which he soon became editor. On November 15, 1880, he married Alice Wilson. His salary was fifteen dollars a week, yet the idea that they were tempting fate never caused the young pair the slightest rift in their happiness, which, indeed, proved lifelong. In September 1881, he paid a delightful visit to Joel Chandler Harris. 'Uncle Remus' was a little man with nothing striking about him, yet with a fascination all his own. The humour and tenderness of 'Uncle Remus' are 'unmatched, unmatched beyond all doubt in any portraiture that Southern hands have made.'

In 1881, Page was invited to join the staff of the *New York World*, and when Mr. Pulitzer bought it, two years later, Page returned to North Carolina as editor of the *State Chronicle* in Raleigh. He was bent on bringing new life into his native State, but the effort was so discouraging that after two years he got back to New York. Success now began to pour in on him. He became director of *The Forum*, a new monthly magazine, and made it a great power. After six years he moved to Boston, as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. There he spent four of the most enjoyable years of his life.

The year 1899 found him back in New York as publisher. He joined forces in 1900 with Mr. Doubleday, and the rapid prosperity of the new publishing house 'is one of the great episodes in the modern history of the trade.' His ideals and methods, both as editor and publisher, make this volume a real education for all literary circles. He insisted that the relation between author and publisher was a partnership, and that the publisher's work was worthy of large men and of high-minded men. Every great publishing house, he saw, had been built on strong friendships between writers and publishers. His own fourteen years as a publisher, from 1899 to 1913, gave him many opportunities of promoting education in the South and of keeping in view of America the humanizing influence of country life. He wrote to a friend in 1907: 'Well, the world lies before us. It'll not be the same world when we get done with it that it was before.' He did not dream then of his part in the crisis from 1913 to 1918, which won him a place in Westminster Abbey, and for which 'his years in the United States had been a definite and an inspiring preparation.'

FOREIGN BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

In offering once more this annual survey of a few of the more important works that have come to hand during the year the writer must confine himself to those which he has himself read, though the notices which appear every fortnight in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* warn him how many gaps there are in this short catalogue.

Starting with lexicography, we hail the completion of the Bauer-Preuschen *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, which Töpelmann now publishes in a strong cover of bright crimson. Most students find Abbott-Smith's *Manual Lexicon of the New Testament* enough for their needs, but those who can make use of Bauer's lexicon will find it remarkably full. It covers the Apostolic Fathers as well as the New Testament, and illustrates words freely from the papyri and inscriptions. A most valuable introduction of eight pages describes the characteristics of the Koinē, with excellent lists of new formations given under the several headings.

Two new instalments of well-known papyrus collections have appeared during the year. The first volume of the famous *Papyrus de Lille*, of which the first part appeared so long ago, has now been completed, with the text and notes for thirty new papyri, together with indices and plates. Unfortunately, Professor Jean Lesquier, who did so much of the preparation, died before his work saw the light. This year has also brought us the first part of Vol. IX. of the *Papiri Greci e Latini*, published by the Società Italiana. It begins with a further batch of the famous correspondence of Zeno, an official at Philadelphia in the Fayum during the third century B.C. Some of the later documents in this fascicule are in Latin, and include a petition of A.D. 150 from veterans who had served for a quarter of a century in their legion, and were now returning to Alexandria. The

special point of interest for us is that their petition is addressed to the governor of Judaea.

During the year the first volume of the new edition of that useful encyclopaedia, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, has been completed, and the second volume has advanced as far as the word *Hilfschule*. New Testament students will turn with special interest to the New Testament sections of the articles on Christology, Marriage, Redeemer, Redemption, Eschatology, Eternal Life, *Formgeschichte*, Woman, Prayer, Spirit of God, Spirits, Righteousness, Judgement, Historical Writing, Law, Faith, Parable, Grace, Gentile Christianity, Saviour, Holy, Hellenism, Herods. The most important articles for the New Testament student have yet to come. So far as a comparison can now be made, the new edition lacks the brilliant qualities which gave such interest to the former work. Its range perhaps is wider, but, if the older encyclopaedia was too much dominated by the *religionsgeschichtliche methode*, such contributors as Johannes Weiss, Bousset, and Heitmüller, to name but three, are irreplaceable to-day. Of course, we are considering the work from the side of New Testament scholarship alone. Possibly a very different verdict would be passed by one who had carefully studied the articles in some other department.

In commentaries, we must refer to the new editions of Lagrange's thorough works on the Gospels. *S. Matthieu* is reprinted with nine and a half pages of 'Notanda et Addenda,' whilst *S. Jean* has four such additional pages. In each case note has been taken of the principal literature that has appeared since the earlier edition, and its bearing upon the contents of this commentary. But quite the most notable event in commentaries is the completion of the Strack-Billerbeck *Kommentar z. Neuen Testament aus Talmud u. Midrasch* (C. H. Beck, München). This fourth volume, in two parts, contains over 1,800 pages, all devoted to additional notes and indices. The whole range of rabbinic literature is ransacked to provide an excursus on some subject which could not be dealt with fully in the commentary on the text of the New Testament. Think of the flood of light thrown on many a passage in the Gospels by long and well-arranged additional notes on such subjects as the following: ancient Jewish fasts, the Passover meal, banquets, the Synagogue and its worship, the power of excommunication, the Shema' and the Shemoneh 'Esreh (the Eighteen Prayers), the attitude of the Synagogue to the non-Jewish world, the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard in the light of Synagogue teaching about rewards, private benevolences and charitable deeds, tithes and dues on the produce of the soil, slavery in Palestine, Pharisees and Sadducees in ancient Jewish literature, phylacteries and fringes, lepers and leprosy, various views held as to the day of the Messiah, demonology, partial or general resurrection of the dead, conceptions of the Day of Judgement in ancient Jewish literature. Of course, the English reader has the great advantage now of studying these questions—or some of them—in G. F. Moore's two splendid volumes on Judaism, but if he wants

to refer to the actual evidence in Jewish writings he will find it here ready to his hand.

A book of exceptional value comes from the pen of Professor E. von Dobschütz, in a series *Die evangelische Theologie*, in which 'Protestant Theology, its Present Position and Problems,' is the theme upon which expert scholars give us the benefit of their knowledge. Part II is devoted to the New Testament, and in some seventy pages this renowned authority surveys the whole field, which he divides into four sections—1. Questions of Introduction (*a*) Text, (*b*) Canon, (*c*) The Several Books; 2. Auxiliary Studies: (*a*) Philology, (*b*) Archaeology and Geography, (*c*) History; 3. Exegesis: (*a*) Commentaries, (*b*) Hermeneutics, (*c*) The Latest Investigations; 4. Biblical Theology. It is an amazingly comprehensive survey, and the reader is helped to keep abreast of the movement in every part of New Testament research, and at the same time to see every problem in its relation to the whole subject. Professor von Dobschütz displays a sanity of judgement which is not always shown by his learned compatriots, who are supreme in the skill with which they discover problems and the thoroughness with which they explore them, rather than in the sobriety of their conclusions. No better guide to the present field of New Testament investigation could be recommended than this pamphlet (Halle, Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1927, 8*s*. 6*d*.).

Of the fascinating subject of early Christianity in its relation with contemporary movements we have several small books that demand notice. First comes the address delivered a year ago by Dr. Martin Dibelius as Rector of Heidelberg University (English friends will be interested to know that he has just been called to a chair at Bonn University). The title, *Urchristentum und Kultur* (Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung), sufficiently indicates the subject treated, and the reader of this thirty-two-page pamphlet will find much food for thought, and, in the notes which follow, much guidance for more detailed study. The Mandaeans are very much with us at present, and those who want to see the present position of German thought about its relation to early Christianity stated with clearness and brevity should see a tract by Professor Johannes Behm, *Die mandäische Religion und das Christentum* (Leipzig, 1927, Deichert, 1*s*. 6*d*.). If they are in danger of taking this new subject too seriously, they will find a powerful antidote in Professor F. C. Burkitt's authoritative article in the *J. T. S.* for April 1928. It is, of course, in the Fourth Gospel that closest parallels have been found to the Mandaean writings, and two new books on that Gospel have just come out in the series edited by Professors Schlatter and Lütgert, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*. The Rostock professor, Dr. F. Büchsel, writes on *Johannes und der hellenistische Synkretismus*, and Professor Bornhäuser, of Marburg, on *Das Johannesevangelium eine Missionsschrift für Israel*. The former writes definitely against the theory of any dependence of the Johannine writings upon such Oriental sources. Both little treatises are useful for the exposition

of the leading ideas in the Gospel. We must next mention one of the last gifts of the late lamented Professor H. H. Wendt, of Jena, *Die Johannesbriefe und das johanneische Christentum* (Halle, 1925). The writer's views on the Fourth Gospel are well known from his book, translated into English more than a quarter of a century ago. Here he takes up his earlier theory that the identity of authorship is between the Epistles and the Prologue and the discourses of the Gospel, whilst the narrative portions are later, and present a different conception of the character and purpose of the ministry of our Lord. A most interesting treatment is offered of the situation that called forth the Second, Third, and First Epistles to the same Church, in that order. A posthumous pamphlet from the pen of that learned Basel theologian, Professor E. Riggenbach, deals at length with the famous insertion in the text of 1 John v. 7 (the three heavenly witnesses), and concludes that it first appears in Spain at the end of the fourth century, and may have arisen as early as the beginning, and has no claim to a place in the text of the New Testament.

Two contributions to biblical theology deserve very grateful mention. The veteran Julius Kaftan left a small book of 200 pages, which his former pupil and friend, Professor Titius, has seen through the press—*Neutestamentliche Theologie* (Warneck, Berlin, 1927). Kaftan declines to follow the method of those who regard the New Testament as providing us with sources of knowledge about a fragment of past history. The New Testament, as such, has become a factor of world-wide significance in the history of the spiritual life of mankind, and New Testament theology is therefore a legitimate subject for study—the development of thought within the covers of this Christian book. Similar to Kaftan in theological standpoint, in many ways, is Paul Feine, whose *Jesus Christus und Paulus* (1902) and *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (4th ed., 1922) are already well known. His latest book is to be regarded as the crown of thirty years' work devoted to the study of Paul and the relation of his thought to primitive Christian teaching. *Der Apostel Paulus* is a massive contribution to the Schlatter-Lütgert series mentioned above, and falls into two parts. The first reminds one of Schweitzer's survey of a century of Pauline studies. Feine divides those German theologians who have written upon Paul into four classes: the intellectually doctrinal, the religious-historical, the eschatological, and, finally, that which marks the transition from the theological to the religious. In the second part of the book he offers the outline of his own constructive treatment for the historical understanding of Paul. This is a book to be read with ease, but to be studied at leisure (Gütersloh, 1927, £1 4*s*.).

Just as we go to press the first number of the new series of that invaluable work *Theologische Rundschau* has come to hand. Under the editorship of Bousset and Heitmüller this journal ran its useful course from October 1897 to September 1917. It is now revived, with Bultmann and von Soden as editors, and the three articles in the current number will bring joy to those who have mourned the loss of this guide to theological study. W. F. Howard.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Philosophical Theology. Vol. I., *The Soul and its Faculties.* By F. R. Tennant. (Cambridge University Press. 21*s.* net.)

THIS is a prolegomena to theology of quite unusual character. It is a most timely and valuable provision for a pressing need. All serious students of theology, in its philosophical relations to modern scientific thought, quickly discover, often to their bewilderment, that there is a vast area of psychological and metaphysical discussion which any theological construction, adequate to present requirements, must take into account. Moreover, when they adventure themselves within these far-stretching fields of inquiry, without expert guidance, they find themselves at great disadvantage through inability to discern what is essential or relevant to their purpose, and what they may safely leave out. For, whilst there is much in the whole constituted by the facts of the natural sciences and the theories of epistemology that does not concern the theologian, these systems contain many scattered items of importance between which his riper learning will enable him to perceive illuminating and determining relations. Association with students of theology in his lecture-room has led this distinguished Cambridge teacher to offer in this volume precisely the expert guidance needed. Comparatively few theological scholars hold the many-sided qualifications for this task that are possessed by Dr. Tennant. We doubt whether any could have rendered this service to theological learning with more general acceptance and authority. Many more advanced students of theology than those he has specially in mind will be grateful for the privilege of possessing these succinct summaries and informing discussions of the place scientific teaching must hold to-day as a cognitive basis of religion and of its theological interpretation. Whilst Dr. Tennant does not claim originality for the material he has skilfully marshalled, we venture to suggest that a sure sign of originality is often revealed in a gift of judicious selection. His work, however, is not limited to a finely ordered presentation of the results of the work of psychological and philosophical experts, of whom the late Professor James Ward holds the foremost place. Dr. Tennant makes plain the conclusions, as to many controversial issues, to which the collected facts or data have led him. These critical and constructive efforts we have found arresting and at times provocative. Some of them, indeed, particularly in the chapter on 'Religious Experience,' might be regarded as disconcerting to those who maintain an objective reality immediately known in the religious consciousness as the basic authority for theistic belief. This, for example:

'The psychology of religion must be atheous, but can be theistically re-interpreted.' Such a misgiving will, however, be relieved by the consideration, which can never be absent from the reader's mind, that the present volume 'deals with the human self, and with the mental functions of the social individual that are involved in scientific and theological thought'; and by the further consideration that this volume will be followed by another, 'in which the theistic interpretation of the world will be discussed, in the light of the prolegomena here set forth and with the aid of the conclusions to which the propaedeutic studies, here pursued, are taken to point.' But, even when these considerations are taken into account, Dr. Tennant's resistance of 'the claim of religious experience to immediate cognition of reality, unique in kind,' and 'of the assertion that reality is immediately apprehended in numinous and religious experience,' will awaken strong reaction in the minds of those who confess that they find in mystical experience an assurance, indisputable and ineffable, of ultimate reality. Still, the challenge Dr. Tennant throws out as to the permanent value of positions maintained by Otto and William James is strongly sustained, and must constrain exponents of the psychology of religion to fresh and fearless analysis of the data available in the spiritual consciousness. In the important chapter on 'The Empirical Self and Personality,' Dr. Tennant states afresh, and as an integral element in a systematic interpretation of the soul and its faculties, the positions he has made familiar to us in his previous books on the doctrine of sin. We think the present setting of his views strengthens the force of their earlier appeal. In chap. vii., on 'The Theory of Ethical Value,' there is an admirable discussion on 'the transition from individual to social valuation and the birth of jural conscience and morality' as involved in the original 'oughtness.' The expositions, in the chapters Dr. Tennant devotes to the problems of epistemology, on the primary relations between probability, knowledge, belief, and faith are of direct assistance to evangelical theologians. Such careful thinking as the book reveals requires careful reading—and re-reading. It is a book to which a student of theology will constantly refer. We are impressed by the range and precision of the author's knowledge, by its relevancy for his purpose, and by the strict law of parsimony that controls its expression. In this, as in his previous books, Dr. Tennant exhibits a characteristic tendency to disturb the easeful complacency with which theologians are apt to regard certain fundamental postulates in theological construction as practically axiomatic. Some of these he compels us to re-think and to evaluate afresh—a wholesome exercise, for which this very able book affords both stimulus and strength.

Old Testament Essays. By R. H. Kennett, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

The Regius Professor of Hebrew gathers into this volume seven essays, written during the last seven years, which illustrate the

development of the religion of Israel. The first is concerned with 'The Early Narratives of the Jehovistic Document of the Pentateuch.' The welding together of the various racial elements took place, he thinks, in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and was scarcely complete at the time of the establishment of Saul's kingdom. The judges may have been to a great extent contemporaneous. The study of Ezekiel refers to his enormous influence on subsequent ages. That on 'The Altar Fire' attempts to explain the sacrifice on Mount Carmel by naphtha set on fire by reflecting the sun's rays. That would involve strange blindness on the part of Baal's prophets, whose lives were at stake, and is really inconceivable. The study of 'The Historical Background of the Psalms' will be keenly discussed. Dr. Kennett thinks the 'headings' have no historic value, and that 'To David' is a musical direction indicating the tune or mode. But it is not natural thus to rob a noted poet and a deeply religious man of a share in the world's greatest book of praise. There we cannot accept the critic's view. The division into five books he thinks was probably an imitation of that of the Pentateuch, and the earlier collections of Psalms were probably intended for the synagogue rather than for the Temple. Notes as to the various psalms are given. The collection into one book of those which represent the sentiments both of the Pharisees and also of the Sadducees can only have taken place when there was close friendships between the two parties. The compilation may well have taken place within a few years of 184 B.C.

The Second Isaiah: A New Interpretation. By Charles Cutler Torrey. (T. & T. Clark. 15*s*.)

The Professor of Semitic Languages at Yale begins by describing those theories as to Second Isaiah which involved the eclipse of a great prophet. 'If the "prophet of the Exile" were indeed the spineless and morally deficient sky-gazer which the prevailing critical view makes of him, he would deserve all the disparagement which has been put upon him.' Dr. Torrey's own view is that chaps. xxxiv.–lxvi. (with the exception of xxxvi.–xxxix., which have a different origin), form a homogeneous group, and are the work of a single hand. They were written in Palestine, presumably in Jerusalem, near the end of the fifth century B.C., in the order in which we now find them. The people are in their own land, not in Babylonia, and the second Temple has long been in existence, as chap. xliii. 28–4 plainly shows. The main theme of the twenty-seven poems is *The Hope of Israel, the People Chosen of God to Save the World.* 'The theme is old in Hebrew literature, it is true; but it is here conceived and elaborated with such breadth of view, profundity of thought, and logical grasp of the great problem in all its bearings, as to make it altogether new.' The situation had no immediate promise, but the prophet's confidence rested on Yahweh's omnipotence, the choice of Israel 'the Servant,' and his own vision of arousing the Jewish people, and through them all mankind, to a

living faith and a better life. The very hopelessness of the situation made him feel that God must intervene speedily and for His own sake. In xlii. 14 ff. God 'gasps for breath, utters a cry, then comes forth single-handed to the rescue: For a long time have I held My peace.' The great calamity was the scattering of Israel to the four winds of heaven. The homeland and the Temple had no longer any significance for the growing Jewish colonies. The prospect of a glorious 'Kingdom of Israel' was vanishing rapidly; had vanished already, as any thoughtful man could see. The prophet wrote with the spirit and aim of a true evangelist, who expected that his words would carry conviction to many, perhaps to the multitude. His idea of the One God, and the dawn of a new age centring in the person and work of the divinely anointed Righteous One, profoundly influenced the subsequent theology of his people. The pictures he had drawn were constantly before the eyes of Jewish teachers, as many passages in Psalms and Prophets attest. The New Testament treats his prophecies as truly Messianic from beginning to end. Dr. Torrey supplies a new translation with indication of metric form, and gives Introductions and Notes to the several poems which will be greatly valued by students of a work which makes the Second Isaiah stand out as a really great figure.

Catholicism and Christianity. A Vindication of Progressive Protestantism. By Dr. C. J. Cadoux. (Allen & Unwin. 21*s*.)

For once, at least, Dean Inge is neither gloomy nor rash, in his avowal that this is 'a very remarkable book.' These closely reasoned seven hundred pages do indeed constitute a marvellous book, in all respects. Every reader who is not already pledged to the Romish impregnability of Messrs. Chesterton or Hilaire Belloc must acknowledge its trenchant erudition and complete comprehensiveness. Its main purpose is a thorough-going scrutiny of the grounds upon which Romanism 'claims for its chief doctrines a unique and exclusive exemption from obscuring relativity and error; as also to be co-extensive with the one Church of Christ, denying to all outside itself, and particularly to Protestantism, any distinctive element of positive truth or value.' The unique scholarship, lucidity, candour, and thoroughness of this elaborate and timely volume speak for themselves. Dr. Vernon Bartlet in his Foreword compares it with the works of Paterson, Karl von Hase, and Möhler; but for ordinary English readers nothing like it has appeared since Elliott's *Delineation of Romanism* in 1841. The brief notice here permissible cannot give any idea of its importance; but the very least which can be said is that, in view of the modern recrudescence of Romanism with the corresponding vast development of Romish tendencies in the Anglican Church, this vivid and unanswerable demolition of Rome's obscurantist arrogance ought to be possessed and studied by every Protestant, whether clerical or lay, throughout the world. Such a deliberate estimate is not at all lessened by the fact that it is written

from the 'progressive' Congregational standpoint. For whilst ordinary readers may, as Dr. Cadoux himself suggests, 'skip the footnotes altogether,' the whole substance of the argument is 'so purposely adapted for continuous reading' that it becomes a veritable reference library, in which all the main divergencies between progressive Protestantism and Fundamentalist Romanism are as lucidly as frankly and thoroughly discussed. No such present-day justification of Protestantism exists in the English language.

The fact, however, that such a lofty estimate of the character and value of this work is abundantly justified makes all the more regrettable, as well as amazing, one definite and serious blemish; namely, the reiterated self-contradictory concession to Rome of the utterly unjustifiable monopoly of the names 'Catholic,' and 'Catholicism.'

The title of the volume is indeed valid and impressive; but it is prostituted on almost every page. Thus, the very first page speaks of 'the issue at stake between Romanism and non-Roman Christians,' and then, in almost the next line, refers to 'the total number of Catholics,' meaning, of course, Romanists, in the world; thus conceding entirely the absolutely unwarranted and un-Christian demand of Rome to be acknowledged as the one and only 'Holy Catholic Church,' to the exclusion and condemnation of all else. What, then, does 'Catholic' mean? Does it mean anything at all? Dr. Bartlet refers to 'Catholicism' as 'the kind of religion which makes Christianity dependent on a hierarchical and sacerdotal Church.' But he knows well that Father D'Arcy, S.J., writing avowedly as a Romish advocate (in Benn's 'Cheap Series'), definitely and emphatically claims that name for 'the religion which has its headship at Rome.' It is in exact accordance with that presumption that the common but false antithesis of 'Catholics and Protestants' is so thoughtlessly reiterated in the Press. But, that such a writer as Dr. Cadoux, in such a meticulously exact volume, should, times without number, consent to such a monstrous and un-Christian conceit, is as amazing as disappointing. The fact that in many cases the terms 'Romanism,' 'Roman Church,' are accurately employed is no more excuse than for a schoolboy caught lying to plead that he sometimes told the truth. It is *not* a question of verbal purism, but of solemn and emphatic Christian truth. Is there, or is there not, a 'genuinely Catholic Church,' such as Canon Rawlinson suggests? If there be, then, by its own avowal, Romanism cannot be that Church, seeing that it does not, will not, cannot, include any other section of Christendom than its own. But no Church can possibly be Catholic which does not embrace, not only all Protestants as well as Romanists, but also, in Paul's words, 'all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.'

Dr. Cadoux claims for Congregationalism that it 'rests on the basis of a more Catholic conception of the Church than any other,' and then remains content, in numberless cases, to characterize as 'Catholic' the Church which most of all flatly contradicts that basis. One cannot but lament this tragic loss of a splendid opportunity

to witness for Christ's own unmistakable (John x. 16, R.V.) attitude. In face of all that is happening around us to-day, it is to be greatly regretted that here once again—alas, how often—thanks to the sheer weight of custom, based on loose thought and careless speech, the false triumphs over the true; and it looks as if, to quote Dr. Cadoux's pathetic closing words, 'things will surely go on just as before.' Yet that is precisely what this most valuable and impressive volume ought, at least, to help to prevent. How far its 'progressive' suggestions, as compared with the closed systems of Fundamentalism and Romanism, will tend in the right direction is a matter for theological discussion which cannot here be undertaken.

Jeremiah: His Time and his Work. By Adam C. Welch, D.D. (H. Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Special attention is given in this volume to the political and social conditions under which Jeremiah prophesied. 'There is no more constant or fearless fighter in the roll of Israel's heroes of the faith.' He is saturated in the teaching of Hosea, 'the most spiritual of all the prophets and the fine flower of north Israelite piety.' It was his task to judge the reform of his time by the fundamental principles of the Jewish faith, and that led him to condemn the development of the reform under Josiah. When the fugitives in Egypt told him it was better with them when they served the queen of heaven as well as Yahweh, he replied that their religion meant the acknowledgement of the one true God. It was the leaven of his principles which preserved the nation under the shock of A.D. 70. The aspects of his prophecy are brought out in a striking way in this ripe and scholarly study.

Religion and the New Testament. By R. H. Malden. (H. Milford. 6*s.* 6*d.*)

This volume has grown out of a course of lectures which the Vicar of Headingley gave in the University of Leeds. He begins by asking whether Christianity can survive as a real power in our new and changing world. It is primarily a particular attitude towards life as a whole. The emphasis is laid upon historic fact, and its tradition is embodied in the actual practice of a society which has had an unbroken existence from the time at which the Christian events are believed to have taken place. Canon Malden then examines the documentary evidence for each book of the New Testament in the light of the latest research. After this study of the relation between the Christian religion and the facts of history we have chapters on 'Christian Ethics' and 'Institutional Religion.' Reasons are given why the Church of England is uniquely fitted 'to throw a bridge between the reformed communities and Rome and the Eastern Churches.' The book is a lucid and popular presentation of the subject which is both timely and carefully reasoned out.

The Shining Mystery of Jesus Christ. By Douglas Edwards, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.* net.)

The Bishop of Manchester, in a brief Introduction to this volume, says that Mr. Edwards 'helps us to look with the eyes and hear with the ears of the first disciples, so that we are led by our actual awareness of Christ's uniqueness from the realization that "never man spake as this man" to the conviction that as we watch Him "we behold His glory, glory as of the only begotten Son from a Father."' The appeal of the book is to the Gospels, which illuminate the Church, as the Church illuminates the Gospels. The division is threefold: 'The Unique Figure,' 'The Unique Act,' 'The Unique Dogma.' The first page arrests attention. 'The Gospels remain astonishingly fresh. There is no knowing when—annihilating centuries—they may not change a man's world to-day as they did for many when they were first uttered.' Our Lord does what no other prophet has done: He makes His own character the standard of the godly life. He is emphatically man, and no one who gazes sincerely at the Gospel picture can fail to find a revelation which he will never afterwards be able to escape. That is His impact on other lives. At last we reach 'The Divine Atonement,' to find in the Cross the supreme revelation of an incredible and moving love, and by faith we see it as an act of saving power. Mr. Edwards has a great message, and he makes us listen.

The Text of Revelation: A Revised Theory. By John Oman. (Cambridge University Press. 5*s.*)

Dr. Oman published a work in which he arranged the text of the Revelation in twenty-seven equal sections, corresponding to Gebhardt's edition of the New Testament. Further study has led him to see that many of the passages which he had treated as glosses were doublets, and that the correct test of all glosses might be that they are repetitions. The MS. had apparently been disarranged before it came into the hands of the editor who made the present confused arrangement. Dr. Oman shows how he thinks the editor was thus misled, and arranges the book in sections where such repetitions as 'he that hath an ear,' &c., are omitted. The text is arranged in seven approximately equal parts, beginning with 'The Messages to the Churches' and closing with 'The Holy Jerusalem and the Final State.' It is a scheme which has involved much patient and scholarly research, and one that will be eagerly studied.

A New Commentary on Holy Scripture including the Apocrypha. (S.P.C.K. 16*s.* 6*d.*)

This goodly volume gives 700 pages to the Old Testament, 748 to the New, 158 to the Apocrypha. That makes one regard it first as a marvel of cheapness, and it is well printed in double columns and easy to handle. The editors' names inspire confidence. Bishop Gore has had general charge, with Canon Goudge, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, responsible for the New Testament, and

Professor Guillaume of Durham University as editor of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. Fifty-six experts have contributed expositions and the introductory studies which are a special feature of the Commentary. Commendation of such workers is superfluous, but one cannot turn over these pages without feeling that we enter a school of divinity conducted by men of ripe scholarship and true Christian instinct. They do not hesitate 'to give their critical faculty, instructed by all the means within their power, its full and rightful freedom'; nor have they 'found the results of legitimate criticism to conflict with the Catholic faith, though, believing as they do that criticism is a progressive science, and in the main a new science, their conclusions do very often differ from those which have been traditional.' That attitude, which is maintained throughout, adds to the appeal of the Commentary. It is abreast of the ripest study, yet true to the great essentials. Of this, Bishop Gore's treatment of the Virgin Birth is a good illustration. The inclusion of the Apocrypha is a valuable feature of a volume which many will set beside their Peake and Dummelow Commentaries to the sensible enrichment of all their teaching.

The New Learning and the Old Faith. By Arthur W. Robinson, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Canon Robinson feels that depression is the result of short views and of failure to remember that movements supplement and complete one another. The last fifty years have brought a much more courageous interpretation of the bearings of the Christian message upon all the developments of our social and secular life. He feels that we need both modernism and traditionalism, and, though their combination is difficult, it is not impossible. The Bible is intended to furnish guidance for conduct, and to be a Christian is to think and act in all the relationships of life—Godward and manward—as a part of the living Christ. It is all gracious, hopeful, and impressive.

Catholic Preachers of To-day. (Longmans & Co. 6*s.*)

Many will welcome these seventeen sermons by prominent Roman Catholic preachers of England, America, Australia, Ireland, and South Africa. Cardinal Bourne's Easter sermon claims that the Catholic Church is the source whence the definite revelation of divine truth may be certainly ascertained. Pius Carolan sets forth the Mass as 'God's great means for the salvation of the world.' Eustace Boylan, S.J., contrasts the coldness of a non-Catholic church with the 'haven of peace and hope and companionship' found in a Catholic church. The sermon that pleases us best is by Ronald Knox, who makes Judas, Caiaphas, and Pilate plead extenuating circumstances for their share in the tragedy of Calvary, and closes with the words: 'You are no spectator, then, of the tragedy on Calvary. You are Judas, Caiaphas, and Pilate, all in one, if you have the heart to rewrite that tragedy in your own name.' The volume shows what Roman Catholics really think.

Prayer and Intelligence. By J. and R. Maritain. (Sheed and Ward. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a small book, but compact of spiritual wisdom and insight. Jacques Maritain is one of the most eminent of modern thinkers—a great philosopher and, according to a *Times* critic, 'the great lay-apologist for the neo-Catholics in France to-day.' Therefore the present admirable translation of his *La Vie d'Oraison* will be welcome to many readers. It consists of two chapters, headed 'Of Sacred Doctrine' and 'Of the Spiritual Life,' to which are appended notes chiefly concerned with the apparently opposing views of Thomas Aquinas and St. John of the Cross on contemplation. The author pleads for a knowledge of theology as an enrichment and deepening of faith, and yet acknowledges that it is better, here below, to love God than to know Him. In what he calls 'the intellectually vitiated atmosphere of the modern world,' he urges that 'the normal method for those who have the grace to lead these two lives together is to unite the life of the intelligence to that of charity on a basis of mutual inter-aid, on condition, however, that they thoroughly understand that the latter is infinitely more than the former, and that they always hold themselves ready to abandon all for the sake of divine love.' It is interesting further to find some timely counsels on mental prayer, which, as a complement to liturgical prayer, is claimed as a duty in an age of feverish activity; and worthy of notice are the three conditions of the life of prayer: purity of heart, detachment, abandonment to Providence.

The Curse and Cure of Christendom. By Thomas Ross. (Epworth Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The curse is that Christian 'life so often contradicts the belief.' Mr. Ross gives many instances of this failure, and all of us could supply more. There is no doubt that 'this curse, which is largely unrealized, gives to the Christianity of to-day its most gigantic task.' Mr. Ross writes powerfully as to false conceptions of God, about the duplicity of human nature, and faulty teaching respecting body, soul, and spirit; about conversion and 'a liveable Christian perfection.' He illustrates his argument by striking diagrams, and gives abundant matter for thought, though we do not think we are quite as black as he paints us, and to say that 'on the way to the cross all attempts to be good and do good are as useless as moving the clock when the works are stopped' overlooks the case of Cornelius. We accept this and some other statements with reserve, but that does not detract from our indebtedness to the man who has a message which the Church needs, and puts his soul into it.

The Varieties of Religious Experience, by William James (Longmans & Co., 6*s.*), is the thirty-sixth impression of the classic volume which first appeared in 1902. This is a cheap edition which ought to find its way into many new circles. A subject which appeals to all students of religion is treated with an insight and a sympathy which

have made a deep impression on all who have read these Gifford Lectures. Professor James has been a great influence in philosophy for thirty years, and his influence grows steadily. This book is really a fascinating study, and we envy those who will now read it for the first time.

Abingdon Press Publications.—*The Philosophy of Personalism* ($3.50), by Albert C. Knudson, Dean and Professor in Boston University School of Theology, is a study in the metaphysics of religion. Personalism is expounded in the light of its historical development and of contemporary philosophy. Special attention is given to the work of Borden P. Bowne. The historical aspects of the subject are carefully studied, but the main purpose is critical and constructive. It seeks to present in outline a type of philosophy that meets the needs of both the theoretical and the practical reason. A revival of metaphysical theology is greatly needed. Advanced theological thinking seems to be linking itself up with a crude realism, dualism, pragmatism, or positivism, and nothing will afford a more valuable guide through the labyrinth of speculation to a firm basis for faith than a mastery of the philosophy of personalism, which is 'the ripe fruit of more than two millenniums of intellectual toil, the apex of a pyramid whose base was laid by Plato and Aristotle.'—*Religion* ($1.75), by Professor G. W. Fiske, is 'a study of the aims and objectives of religious education, evolved through Christian history under stress of changing religious ideals and educational theories.' Ten chapters are given to purpose in historic aims; that on the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth gives new charm and reality to the records of the First and the Third Gospel, whilst the Atonement, Resurrection, and Ascension are explained and applied with rare insight into the needs of young disciples. It is really a golden book.

Through the Eyes of His Enemies. By Ernest G. Loosley, B.D. (Epworth Press. 3*s.* 6*d.*) These fresh and valuable studies in the interpretation of Jesus are confined to a single line of inquiry—the impression which He made on contemporaries who were in some sense hostile to Him. The words and incidents which form the basis of the thirteen studies are all taken from the Gospels, and notes on various points are added. 'The Testimony of Four Neutrals' in the Crucifixion is very impressive, and the comparison between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel shows some close correspondences which bear on the historical reliability of St. John.—*Sin, Suffering, and Sorrow.* By Walter Carey. (Longmans & Co. 1*s.*) The Bishop of Bloemfontein lays stress on the redemptive power of suffering, borne with courage and consecration. Christ turned His sufferings into the victorious cause of the world's redemption, and we have to tread in His steps.—*From Dawn to Sunset*, by Mrs. K. Freeman. (Pickering and Inglis, 1*s.* 6*d.*), has eleven chapters on Christ the Sin-bearer, Prayer, and other subjects, treated in a suggestive and helpful style. The plain words about doubtful things will do good.—*The*

Saints' Everlasting Rest. By Richard Baxter. (H. Walker. 5*s.*) Bishop Knox calls Baxter's work and *The Pilgrim's Progress* 'two great classics of Evangelical Churchmanship,' and this Reunion edition is well printed, attractively bound, and prefaced by Mr. Monckton, of Balliol College, with an account of the author and the book which adds to the interest with which one turns the pages.—*Busy People's Bible Course*, by the Rev. C. H. Morgan, Ph.D. (Oxford Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*), has seven courses, beginning with 'Eight Leading Bible Books' and tracing 'Christ in the Scriptures.' Prophecy, Main Bible Doctrines, and Personal Divine Life are other courses. No Bible class can be lacking in interest and profit with such a handbook as this. Questions are added to each programme.—The Dinglewood Scripture Manuals are intended for students preparing for examinations, and that on the *Acts of the Apostles* (1*s.* 6*d.*), and the Supplement of Questions and Notes by Stanley Wood, M.A. (Hill & Sons), are just what a young scholar needs. They are lucid, well arranged, and thoroughly reliable.

Parochial Missions To-day. By Peter Green, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 4*s.*) This is a handbook intended for the use of missioners and parochial clergy. Canon Green holds that the day for evangelistic missions is not passed, and makes suggestions as to the fitting time, the preparation, and the methods of conducting a mission. Much practical experience in England and in South Africa has gone to the making of this wise and helpful book. No one who is thinking of such a mission can afford to overlook it, and Nonconformists will prize it as much as the Church of England clergy, for whom it is specially prepared.—*Present Perils in Religion.* By Albert E. Day. (Abingdon Press. $1.25.) This is a book of sermons which deal with the search for reality in religion and the hindrances that lie in the path of discovery. The subjects chosen are Orthodoxy, Heresy, Institutionalism, Individualism, Intellectualism, Emotionalism, Ideals, Compromise, Symbols, The Lost Chord. The last sermon calls for recovery of faith in an imperative Christ. 'There is no hope of a recovered and sustained enthusiasm for Christ save by obedience to Him.' 'A revaluation of Christ in thought, a recovery of Him in mystical experience, a daring surrender to Him in practice,' and the Lost Chord will be heard again in the world.—*The Revision of the Liturgy.* By G. F. Pollard, M.A. (Stockwell. 2*s.* 6*d.*) The principles which governed the revision of the Eucharistic service in the Deposited Book are here clearly set forth. Mr. Pollard holds that the new form is primitive rather than mediaeval, evangelical rather than popish. The Sarum Canon, the canons of 1549 and 1552, are quoted, the changes then introduced are noted, and explanations are given which will be of service to students of the liturgy.—*Seeing Greater Things*, by Northcote Dark (Pickering and Inglis, 8*s.*), is a set of papers lit up by pictures of the South Sea Evangelical Mission, where Dr. Dark has sailed about on his mission ships for nineteen years. His chapters are full of spiritual insight, and will strengthen the faith of many.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Intimate Papers of Colonel House. Arranged as a narrative by Charles Seymour, Litt.D., LL.D. Vol. III.: Into the World War, April 1917—June 1918. Vol. IV.: The Ending of the War, June 1918—November 1919. (Ernest Benn. £2 2*s*. 0*d*.)

THE first two volumes of Colonel House's papers were studied with extraordinary interest, and the two volumes which complete the record will deepen the impression of the part which he played in bringing about the entrance of the United States into the Great War. He told President Wilson, on March 19, 1917, that he thought they ought to constitute themselves 'a huge reservoir to supply the Allies with the things they most need. No one looks with favour upon our raising a large army at the moment, believing it would be better if we would permit volunteers to enlist in the Allied armies.' America could no longer shut its eyes to the fact that it was already in the war, and, if it indicated its purpose to throw all its resources against Germany, it was 'bound to break their *moral* and bring the war to an earlier close.' A few weeks later, news from France convinced him that the United States must immediately send an important army to Europe. In mid-May he learned that 'the strong depression in Germany two months ago has been effaced by the U-boat successes as published in Germany. Not in a year has confidence been so rockbound as at present.' The European situation caused House extreme disquiet. His little study in New York drew to itself Paderewski and the ambassadors and special commissioners of all the Allied nations. Callers by hundreds, and letters by thousands, showed that he was the auditory nerve of the Administration. The President asked him to consult Hoover as to the conditions under which he would assume control of the food problem; and, when they met, House felt that Hoover knew the subject as no one else and had energy and driving force. House was intimately associated with the ambassadors Jusserand and Spring-Rice, who, 'with all his accomplishments, had a personal charm that made him a multitude of friends.' War brought on a serious illness, and 'he gave his life for his country as surely as though he had been slain on the field of battle.' The volumes show what eminent service was rendered to the Allied cause by the missions of Mr. Balfour, Lord Northcliffe, and Lord Reading. House liked Northcliffe the more he saw him, and found him 'a dominating man with boundless energy.' Many interesting sidelights are thrown on men and affairs. Wilson intended to write a book, but told House, 'I write with difficulty, and it takes everything out of me.' When Mr. Balfour dined at the White House, they talked about Lincoln. Wilson said Lincoln was 'not ready for

the Presidency when it came to him; that up to that time he was not sufficiently educated, and had not had adequate political experience. He spoke of the difficulty Lincoln had in acquiring an education and his manner of obtaining it. They both thought it little less than marvellous, with his antecedents and limited opportunities, that he should develop a distinct literary flavour.' The problem of war loans caused serious anxiety. The public mind in America was agitated at the immense sums required by the Allies, and especially by England. Lord Reading arrived with wide authority to deal with matters of finance and supply, and proved himself invaluable. Wilson and House both laid stress on moral forces. The President appealed to the liberal-minded people of all countries, who naturally recoiled from the horror of war. He made them feel that it was a necessary, though terrible, undertaking. He adopted 'the principle of undying hostility to the imperial régime and of friendship to the German people.' All the stages of the discussions at Paris and Versailles are lighted up by these papers. House enjoyed the confidence of all the statesmen and generals, and kept the President informed as to every movement. Even more important were the preparations for peace. House discussed with Wilson the American draft of the Covenant, and did not hesitate to tell him that he thought his answer to the last Austrian Note was a mistake. On October 14, 1918, they discussed the Armistice, and House got him to demand the immediate cessation of all atrocities, both on land and sea. He never saw the President more disturbed than at this crisis. It is wrong to charge Wilson with responsibility for a premature peace. General Pershing protested against any armistice, but Foch maintained that all the material benefits of victory would be conferred by his terms as completely as by a victorious but costly invasion. When the Armistice was arranged, House cabled to Wilson: 'Autocracy is dead. Long live democracy and its immortal leader. In this great hour my heart goes out to you in pride, admiration, and love.' Wilson's visit to Europe followed, and of that and the League of Nations full particulars are given. The President's brave fight for its adoption in America led to his physical collapse, and House also broke down under the long strain. When he recovered, he waited in vain for a call to the White House. It never came, and no explanation was sent. House writes: 'Until a shadow fell between us, I never had a more considerate friend, and my devotion to his memory remains, and will remain, unchanged.'

Five More Famous Living Poets. By Coulson Kernahan. (Thornton Butterworth. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS is a welcome supplement to the *Six Famous Living Poets*, which was devoted to Rudyard Kipling, Henry Newbolt, Alfred Noyes, John Drinkwater, Maurice Baring, and John Masefield. In the present volume we have W. H. Davies, Sir Owen Seaman, Walter de la Mare, Sir William Watson, and one lady, Sheila Kaye-Smith.

The volume is much enriched by five portraits, and rambles freely through the gardens of song which the five poets have given us. W. H. Davies was born in a public-house, and writes from experience of

> This curse of drink, in village and in town,
> This curse of nations, their decline and fall.

Davies is a nature poet who writes of the wind with strange and poignant power, and loves to sing of flowers and birds. Mr. de la Mare is the laureate of dreams and children, and some lovely snatches of his verse are here that will make readers eager to know more. Miss Kaye-Smith is best known as a novelist, but no one who turns these pages can doubt her gift as poetess. 'Willow's Forge' leaves an eerie feeling in one's mind, whilst 'Saints in Sussex' is both religious and ecclesiastical. The pages given to Sir Owen Seaman will please all lovers of *Punch*, from which his memorial verses on Dr. Barnardo, his parodies, and some humorous verses are taken. Not least interesting is the account of Sir William Watson, whose sonnet 'To America, concerning England' leavened public opinion across the Atlantic to good purpose during the Great War. The fact that poets and publishers have allowed Mr. Kernahan to quote freely lends special charm to this quintet of critical and loving appreciation. The two volumes are a delightful introduction to living masters of song.

Crime: The Autobiography of a Crook. By Eddie Guerin. (John Murray. 12*s.*)

This astonishing record is a warning to all who are tempted to tread the road which Eddie Guerin has followed with so much bitter experience for fifty years. He does not make crime attractive. It is a miserable story of wasted brain, of quick retribution, of brief seasons of dissipation, and of continual fear of discovery. The last words of the book sum it up in two weighty sentences: 'I have wasted fifty years doing things that have brought nothing but trouble in their train. If I had spent that time, aided by the courage and determination I am reputed to possess, in hard, old-fashioned work, I would have become a millionaire. And that is the lesson of this book.' The autobiography does good service in calling attention to the way in which young offenders in the French prison of Rion, and in Guerin's own case at Chicago, were put 'in the company of assassins, burglars, forgers, and about as fine a collection of cosmopolitan crookedness as you could see anywhere in the world. What could happen to these boys after release? It would be nothing short of a miracle if they did not take to crime.' Light is thrown on police methods in America and France; details are given of life in the Chicago of the 'seventies, which was 'a wild and woolly affair'; and, despite some notable instances of loyalty to comrades, the treachery of informers comes out in many dramatic incidents. Guerin's escape from the French convict settlement in Guiana was a world-wide wonder, and the true account of it here given makes us realize what

a perilous adventure it was. Even more thrilling is the way in which Guerin escaped being sent back to lifelong horrors though the French Government claimed his extradition. The book shows how hard it is for a criminal to get back to honourable life, though a few outstanding instances prove that even this miracle is possible. Guerin has trodden a rough road and realizes that his most notorious feats have brought him small profit and lasting misery.

Nestorian Missionary Enterprise. By John Stewart, M.A., Ph.D. (T. & T. Clark. 8*s.*)

This is the Story of a Church on Fire. The Nestorian missionaries had their headquarters in Edessa, where Thaddaeus is said to have been sent by Thomas. Long before the end of the first century it had become a strong centre from which Christianity was spread over all parts of the Persian Empire. Severe persecutions in the fourth and fifth centuries led to a marvellous expansion of Nestorian missions. The monastic system, combined with the educational work of the Church, greatly furthered the expansion. The monasteries were really Bible Training Schools. Persecution drove the Christians into Arabia and into central and eastern Asia, until, before the close of the eighth century, the gospel had been preached throughout the vast Persian Empire in Turkestan, Tibet, India, and a great part of China and Japan. Whole peoples, with their rulers, had become Christian. The scene changed with the spread of Mohammedanism and the ruthless persecution that followed and the glory vanished. Mohammed seems to have gained his Christian ideas from the Nestorian Church. In recent times the Syrian Church has gained much from the C.M.S. missionaries and the great annual Christian conventions attended by 20,000 to 25,000. The strength of the Reformed party has risen from 20,000 in 1893 to 114,000 in 1921, and they now have eight missionaries in the field. The spiritual awakening promises much for the whole of India.

The Life of the Servant of God, Pius X. By Benedetto Piesami. (Turin. 3*s.*)

This English translation of the biography by the Abbot of St. Praxede lays stress on the great simplicity and angelic kindness of Pius X. His father had a small cottage at Riese, with three plots of ground and one cow. He was messenger for the municipality, with a salary of fifty centesimi per day and the privilege of seeking a small gratuity on delivery. His wife was the village dressmaker. They had ten children, of whom the future Pope was the eldest. He was born on June 2, 1835, and from 1846 to 1850 attended as a day scholar at Castelfranca. He was then sent by the Patriarch of Venice as a free clerical student to the University of Padua. Their neighbours at Riese made a collection at each annual vacation to provide him with clothes and books. He had a distinguished course at the university and was ordained priest in 1858. He soon gained reputation as a

preacher and proved himself a model curate. After nine years he became Archpriest of Salzano. In 1875 he was made Canon of Treviso and Spiritual Director of the Seminary and Chancellor of the Diocese. He was evidently marked out for high office, and in 1884 was consecrated Bishop of Mantua. In 1892 he became Cardinal and Patriarch of Venice, and in 1903 was chosen successor to Leo XIII. The election was due to his devoted labours as priest and bishop. As Pontiff he showed the same zeal for all that concerned the work of the Church. A full account is given of his struggle with the French Government and his sweeping condemnation of Modernism. He died on August 20, 1914. The Life is brightly written and well illustrated. Protestant readers will get some idea from it of the inner workings of Catholicism, and will form their own judgement as to the policy of this much-discussed pontificate.

The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation. By Denis Gwynn. (Longmans & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

It is a hundred years since the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 was passed, but no general survey of that long struggle for liberation from the penal code has appeared till Mr. Gwynn issued this popular history. He gives a painful account of the disabilities which Roman Catholics suffered in Ireland, and traces the way in which they finally secured freedom from the penal code. It is, of course, a survey written from the Catholic point of view, and the statement of Bishop Milner that John Wesley was 'the chief author of the [Gordon] riots' is a slander, and a ridiculous one. What weight is to be placed on Milner's opinion may be judged from Mr. Gwynn's account of his devastating vehemence and personal animosities, which made the Abbé Carron declare that his elevation to the episcopate had been a calamity to the Church in England. Daniel O'Connell said that Wesley 'first roused the Protestant mob to burn the houses of the Catholics, and then accused the Catholics of having themselves burned their own houses.' The view is probably to be traced to Wesley's Irish antagonist, who ascribed to him a letter which he had never written. O'Leary quoted from this letter a promise 'to put out the fire which he has already kindled in England.' Wesley replied, 'I have kindled no fire in England, any more than in Jamaica. I have done, and will do, all that is in my power to put out that which others have kindled.' We hope Mr. Gwynn will withdraw that passage and his own charge that the 'fanatical Protestantism' was 'inspired by a great popular preacher.' Wesley was absent from London during the whole time of the riots.

The Mission of Greece. Edited by R. W. Livingstone. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

This is the third volume which we owe to the Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast. *The Legacy of Greece* had a number of contributors who brought out its contributions to knowledge; *The*

Pageant of Greece was an Introduction to its great writers; the third volume is devoted to Epicurus, the Cynics, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, Dion Chrysostom, Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Apollonius of Tyana, the Sophists, and Lucian. A sketch of each writer is followed by extracts from his works and a brief estimate of his influence on thought and morals. The Introduction helps us to see the world in which these men lived. The age was religious, and all the writers dealt with were theists save Lucian. The book is a sequel to the two earlier works, and any one that reads the three will gain a real insight into the literature of Greece and the thought of the Graeco-Roman world.

England in Shakespeare's Day. By G. B. Harrison, M.A. (Methuen & Co. 6*s*.)

This survey is grouped under nine sections—the Court, the Service of the State, Education and Youth, Travel and Trade, London Life, Country Life, Matters of Religion, Men and Letters, Moods and Manners. These subjects are described by passages selected from Elizabethan writers introduced by a brief account of the work from which the quotation is given. The book is therefore an anthology of both prose and verse, selected in a way that sets the whole English scene before our eyes as these writers looked upon it. It is done with the skill and wide knowledge which one would expect from a lecturer in English literature, and it makes a really interesting picture of the times.

The Quest for God in China. By F. W. S. O'Neill, M.A. (Allen & Unwin, 7*s*. 6*d*. net.) The writer is an Irish missionary who worked for twenty-eight years in China. His book is the outcome of lectures to students. Of the four non-Christian religions, Buddhism receives fuller treatment than Taoism, Confucianism, or Mohammedanism, and one chapter deals with Buddhism in Japan. He finds it hard to be enthusiastic about Confucius, but easy to respect him. The highest point in his system of morality is the golden rule in a negative form. Buddha is more attractive. 'Everything goes to show that he must have been a man of magnetic winsomeness, compassionate, upright, and wise.' Buddhism is almost dead among the Koreans, but very much alive among both the enlightened and the backward classes in Japan. The great faiths of the East have as common ground recognition of a Supreme Being, desire for salvation, belief in retribution and in a future life. But there is a darker side. These religions are seen at their worst in their attitude to women. Christianity must give them God in Christ. That is the conclusion of this sympathetic study.—*And the Villages Thereof.* By Maud E. Boaz. (Morgan & Scott. 8*s*. 6*d*. net.) This account of a woman's work in China is brightly written and well illustrated. Village evangelism had its disappointments, but an old lady who had been a temple devotee consigned all her idols to the flames, and turned wholly to

God. She said that Jesus 'comes to my bedside at night, and talks to me in my dreams, and He is always dressed in a snow-white gown.' She was baptized at the age of seventy-eight with the name 'Heavenly Happiness.'

Men and Movements in the Church, by the Rev. F. A. Iremonger, M.A. (Longmans & Co., 4*s*. 6*d*.), gives thirteen interviews which appeared in the *Guardian* during Mr. Iremonger's editorship. Each name whets one's interest. The Dean of St. Paul's, the Bishops of Manchester, St. Albans, Birmingham, and Chelmsford, H. R. L. Sheppard, G. Studdert-Kennedy, Lord Hugh Cecil, Dr. Cyril Norwood, P. T. B. Clayton, the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Joseph Wills, and Prebendary Carlile represent activities and interests of the most varied kind, and every interview seems to pierce to the centre of the man's work. It is a book that will be keenly appreciated, and one which will bear good fruit.

The Great Engineers. By Ivor B. Hart, O.B.E., Ph.D., B.Sc. (Methuen & Co. 3*s*. 6*d*.) Dr. Hart begins with a survey of engineering in Classical Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, then he focuses attention on the masters of the more recent past. Iron and steel as the raw materials, steam and the internal combustion engine as the sources of power, mark the limits of this study. The chapter on James Watt shows how his double-acting engine changed the whole outlook of industrial life and ushered in a new era. The use of gas- and oil-power, iron production and cheap steel, with which the names of Bessemer and Siemens are linked, are described in a way that all can understand, and with thirty-three diagrams which light up the various processes.

Captain Matthew Flinders, R.N., by Joseph Bryant (Epworth Press, 3*s*. 6*d*.), has a Foreword by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, who speaks of the compensation for compass errors and the use of the barometer by which his grandfather did so much for sailors. This short Life comes from Sydney, and will cast the spell of the adventurous seaman on boys who read it. The explorer was only thirty-nine when he died, but he had finished his great work, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, and had proved himself, not only an intrepid and insatiable explorer, and discoverer in nautical science, but a strong and beautiful character as well.—*Stories of Hymn Tunes*, by Frank J. Metcalf (Abingdon Press, $1.50), is based on seven American hymnals, and expresses obligation to Mr. Lightwood's *Hymn Tunes and their Story*. The tunes are treated in alphabetical order, with a page of notes on each giving the history of the composer. It makes a strong appeal to lovers of church music, and is well informed and brightly written.—*Stories of Methodist Music, Nineteenth Century*. By James T. Lightwood. (Epworth Press. 1*s*.) John Wesley's Hymn-Book of 1780 holds the first place in this unique little volume. Then the old anthems, the early psalmodists, the chapel orchestras, and other musical subjects are treated by an expert, who never loses

sight of a good thing or an amusing one.—*A Taoist Pearl*, by A. P. Quentin (S.P.C.K., 4*s.* 6*d.*), is the story of a Chinese convert who strayed as a boy into a Christian Hall, and, after a long search for peace as a Taoist monk and a famous ascetic, became a Christian saint and evangelist. His story is told in a way that throws light on Chinese life and worship, and Miss Breithaupt's art designs, based on those found on Chinese walls, porcelain, silks, and coins, are fully explained and are intensely interesting, as is the whole story.—Five reprints from the *Rylands Library Bulletin* are of outstanding interest. Dr. Rendel Harris, in 'Bunyan and the Higher Criticism,' deals with works ascribed to him and variations in certain editions; Professor Alexander, in 'The Art of Jane Austen,' records his lifelong devotion to her novels; Dr. Powicke brings out the strong autobiographical interest which inspired the best work of 'Gerald of Wales.' Dr. Fish draws material from the third Ur tablets which throws light on the cult of the moon-god; and Dr. Peake has a great subject in 'Paul the Apostle: His Personality and Achievement.' 'His greatness is shown pre-eminently in the fact that he largely created a Christian theology and apologetic and a philosophy of history.' 'He has also left us the heritage of his letters.'—The London Missionary Society is using the press with happy effect. *The Future of Christianity in China* and *A World Outlook from Jerusalem* (2*d.* each) are timely Programmes for discussion. Margaret Knott's *The Light Approaching* (1*s.*), with the pamphlet showing how to use it (4*d.*), is a history of the Society's work in China, with an Epilogue on the call of the Chinese Christians for support in the anxious time through which they are passing. The illustrations are arresting. Brief lives of the missionary heroes William Lockhart, John Macgowan, and R. K. Evans (2*d.* each) will be warmly welcomed. —*Sunday Devotions for Busy Homes.* By Adam Philip, D.D. (James Clarke & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*) This is a new and revised edition of a manual of brief Bible readings and prayers for fifty-two Sundays. It is a book that will prove a blessing in many homes. The prayers are simply phrased and full of devout feeling.—The Official Guides to Holborn, Lambeth, and Bermondsey are issued under the auspices of the Borough Councils, and gather together a multitude of interesting facts about persons and places. They are well illustrated and pleasantly written.

Values. A bird's eye Survey. By Robert Mackintosh, D.D. (Independent Press. 4*s.* 6*d.*) The conception of value has rooted itself in religious philosophy, and this survey of values in their distinct phases and their mutual relations will be of service to many. Economic values, pleasure values, health, knowledge, and aesthetic values are lucidly expounded and criticized. The morality of principle is the characteristic keynote of Butler, Kant, and T. H. Green; the other hemisphere of the moral ideal consists of the service of mankind. Dr. Mackintosh finds the perfection of life in communion with God. The supreme value is holiness.

GENERAL

A Book of Broadsheets. With an Introduction by Geoffrey Dawson, Editor of *The Times*. (Methuen & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*.)

The Times broadsheets brought rare delight to our men in the Great War, and this selection from them will not only give pleasure to every one who is fortunate enough to get it, but will wake up a host of lurid memories. The idea of such a means of refreshing to our men sprang from the brain of Mr. Lionel Curtis, and a large part of the burden was borne by Mr. Bruce Richmond, editor of *The Times Literary Supplement*, and by Sir Walter Raleigh, who laid stress on a variety which ranged from bits of the Book of Job to accounts of a prizefight. The first series of thirty-six broadsheets appeared on August 30, 1915, each set of six being sold in an envelope for a penny, and a week after publication a million copies had been sold. No anthology has such a history behind it, and this collection is incomparable. It begins and ends with Thomas Hardy; it draws gems from Dickens, Fielding, Sir Walter Scott, Jane Austen, Conrad, and such masters as Rudyard Kipling, W. H. Hudson, Lord Tennyson, and Browning. The three or four pages allowed make it easy to read one of the broadsheets in a few leisure minutes. It is a real refreshment to one's spirit in days of peace, and, as we read, our gratitude to those who carried out the scheme grows intense. Trenches, barracks, hospitals, travel by land and sea—all were lifted into serener air by these little messengers, and we cannot let them die.

Life Beyond Death, with Evidence. By the Rev. C. Drayton Thomas. (Collins. 21*s*.)

The least that can be truly said concerning this work of Mr. Thomas is that it is a remarkable book. All the objections generally brought, with such lofty scorn, by some scientists and preachers against Spiritism—as distinct from Spiritualism, which is the form of religion based upon its findings—are here fairly and fully met. As Viscountess Grey says in her introduction, 'Readers will find the subject dealt with in thoroughness and integrity.' All too often, public references to Spiritism are characterized by superficiality, ignorance, and prejudice. It is loftily declared that nine-tenths of the alleged phenomena are due to deliberate fraud, or pitiful self-delusion; the remaining one-tenth being 'fully explained' by telepathy, or the subliminal consciousness; whilst nothing but useless or contemptible trifles is said to be the outcome of all such investigations. To every one of these reiterated objections Mr. Thomas's book supplies a calm, courteous, careful, and definite reply, based on most rigorous scrutiny. One is driven to think of the record in Acts xvii. 11, for its application is unmistakable. If only those who listened to the apostles had treated their appeals as those who now

reverently and carefully allege the actuality of helpful communications from the departed are treated, Christianity would have been strangled in the birth. Illustrative illustration being here impossible, the author's aim may be best expressed in his own words: 'My purpose is to give numerous examples of the evidence which has satisfied me that I am in communication with my father, and with my sister Etta. The former was a Christian minister who passed on in 1908; my sister, who had shared my studies for three years, passed over in 1920. As they both have told me much about their experiences since leaving earth, I devote several chapters to their descriptions of life as they find it, in realms beyond death.' The book certainly deserves the earnest and critical study of every honest thinker. If, indeed, it were the only work of its kind, the inevitable inferences might seem too unconventional to be true. But when its findings are corroborated by many other such works as—to mention only two, just published—*The Great Problem*, by Dr. G. L. Johnson, and *Psychical Experiences of a Musician*, by Florizel von Reuter, the whole case assumes a different aspect. If these writers are not giving us realities, then they must be either fools or liars. Is either of these estimates credible concerning them, any more than concerning the first heralds of Christ's gospel, or the devoted workers in modern missionary fields? All that Mr. Thomas asks is that thoughtful readers should judge for themselves.

World Loyalty. By Maxwell Garnett. (Epworth Press. 2*s*. 6*d*.)

The third Beckly Lecture is 'A Study of the Spiritual Pilgrimage towards World Order.' General Smuts said that humanity has struck its tents and is once more upon the march. What road is it going to take? The Kingdom of God is the whole universe as it may be conceived when all truth has been discovered. The ideal individual and the perfect community are sketched, and the conditions of progress—discovery, education, production, and integration or government—are clearly set forth. The task of government is to get rid of disorders originating in human antagonism. Public opinion must be educated, and led to see that there is no room to-day for a self-contained commonwealth that is not world-wide. The welcome given to Mr. Kellogg's proposals indicates that the right education of world public opinion has really begun on lines which will link together religion and world loyalty ever more closely. The lecture is a lucid and practical treatment of a subject which is vital to the well-being of humanity.

The Fiery Crags. By F. W. Boreham. (Epworth Press. 5*s*.) Toronto University has conferred its Doctor of Divinity on this brilliant and unique essayist. He is a devoted book-lover, and has the gift of sharing his joys with his readers. His new volume is as full of riches as any that have gone before it. We begin with 'The Boy,' a problem and a delight to all who love him; then we are off to Scotland with Richard Luckhurst, whose life is transformed by

three sermons. Every essay has point and charm, and the book leaves us longing for another.—*The 'Pocket' Boreham.* (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* each.) Here are four of Dr. Boreham's finest volumes that will slip into a pocket, and brighten a journey or a leisure hour in the happiest fashion. Every page has some incident drawn from the writer's experience at home or in Australia, or is lit up with some treasure drawn from a bookman's never-failing stores. No one gets hold of a reader so quickly or knits him so closely to himself, and in Dr. Boreham's company everything that is lovely and of good report grows more attractive. The books are so neatly got up, and so well printed, that it is a pleasure to handle them, and they will have a warm welcome wherever they go. The titles speak for themselves: *Mushrooms on the Moor, Mountains in the Mist, The Silver Shadow, The Crystal Pointers.—Fiery Grains: Thought and Sayings for Some Occasions Put Together.* By H. R. L. Sheppard and H. P. Marshall. (Longmans & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* and 7*s.* 6*d.*) The title of this unique Anthology comes from John Masefield's 'Invocation': 'You sow the dusk with fiery grains'; its object is to help its readers when 'baffled, disappointed, or red-hot on the scent of what are known as eternal values.' It has drawn its quotations from a wide field, and arranged them in nine divisions, beginning with 'Morning Light' and ending 'Towards Evening.' A long list is given of special occasions for which a word in season is provided. The deeper moments are, of course, prominent, but 'On Your Tailor's Bill,' 'On Being on the Shelf,' 'On Losing your Stud,' and many minor irritations, here find a healing balm. It is a book that one wants to have at one's side continually, and it will be a tonic and a sedative for all who use it.

The Doctrine of Necessity in International Law. By Burleigh C. Rodick. (H. Milford. 20*s.*) This publication of the Columbia University Press seeks to 'discover the extent to which the doctrine of necessity in international law may be said to possess a certain amount of legal validity.' The brief account of the historical writers on the subject shows that they made no great advance beyond the theoretical writers in their analysis of necessity, though they helped to pave the way for a more rational and scientific consideration of the problem. Actual cases in which exceptional necessity has been claimed in connexion with the national jurisdiction are discussed in reference to the high seas, the non-amicable modes of redress short of war, and military and naval necessity. The limitations to which the doctrine of necessity should be subject are clearly stated, and important notes add to the value of the discussion.

The Theory of Morals: An Introduction to Ethical Philosophy. By E. F. Carritt. (Milford, 4*s.* 6*d.*) Problems about duty face us all, and moral philosophy is therefore the best approach to philosophy. Professor Carritt begins with the simplest or crudest theories, showing how each fails to satisfy, and is criticized and replaced by another, which itself in turn suffers the same fate. He begins with Hedonism, which involved a denial of all distinctions in moral worth since it denied any difference in the motives from which men act. When we

grant that we have duties, it is natural to inquire what their nature is. That leads to a discussion of evolutionary ethics, and to chapters on Utilitarianism, Perfectionism, the Common Good, Right and Good, Duty for Duty's Sake, and other subjects. Kant and Butler, the writer thinks, are the ethical writers who come nearest to the truth, though he has learned much from Lotze and Martineau. But his views have undergone a pretty constant development, and one that has not yet ceased. The most puzzling point in ethics is that, though we cannot suppose a man's duties to depend on his recognizing them, yet he would not have any duties unless he were a rational being capable of recognizing them, and, since he can have no duties which he cannot perform, it seems as if unavoidable ignorance should modify his duties as much as physical weakness. That is the most puzzling point in ethics to Professor Carritt, and most systems of ethics fail to help us in this difficulty. 'I think we must say that there are right acts for a rational being to perform, whether he knows what they all are or not, but that we cannot blame him for not doing them if he cannot know them.'—*Premiers Lineaments d'une Morale fondée sur l'Harmonie de la Vie.* In this pamphlet, Eugenio Rignano, of Milan, sets forth the chief moral postulates of the various schools of philosophy, and describes his own system, based on the harmony of life, which seeks to establish the feeling of union and the need of accord between one's own life and that of others, and acting so as to make it an active factor for good. He thinks that this new idealism may be as profound and irresistible as the purely religious sentiment, but that one gravely questions.—*Fitness for Work.* By T. H. Pear, M.A., B.Sc. (University of London Press. 5*s*.) Professor Pear discusses the various kinds of skill that industry wants, and shows that creative skill will be seen oftener in the world of play and art. In the world of industry it may increase if it is desired and deserved. Intelligence, intellect, and skill play a large part in promoting fitness for work; laziness and stupidity are its chief foes. The psychological aspects of work and the remedies for monotony make a valuable chapter. Great Britain is losing many of its skilled workers to America because of low rates of pay in skilled trades. The book is of special importance, and its points are very clearly brought out.

Mr. Blettsworthy of Rampole Island. By H. G. Wells. (Benn. 7*s*. 6*d*.) Arnold Blettsworthy owes much to his uncle, the broad-minded old Rector of Harrow Hoeward who stands in the place of father to him, and instils into the boy's mind his own faith in human nature, which had survived all his experiences as rector and magistrate. Arnold makes bad shipwreck at Oxford, and to recover tone goes on a voyage which ends in disaster and long mental collapse. How he rescues Rowena, who has thrown herself into the Hudson, and is brought back to sanity by a clever New York alienist, makes an unusually puzzling and exciting story. Rowena and the doctor win the day in the long fight with madness, and she proves a wife in a thousand. Blettsworthy serves as a soldier in the Great War, and loses a leg in a desperate sally. That gives room for a realistic

description of trench warfare, and the horrible captain who had fastened Blettsworthy in the pantry of a sinking ship meets him in a London restaurant and tells him things about submarine warfare that make one shudder. In hospital, Blettsworthy comes across the fellow student who had wrecked his life at Oxford, and, true to his uncle's belief, finds good in him and renews their friendship. It is a story of unique, unbelievable situations, and one that keeps us wondering from first to last. We feel that the old rector's optimism about human nature is justified, but with some very obvious qualifications and exceptions which readers will pick out for themselves.—*The Silver Thorn*. By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*.) The Silver Thorn was the Consolation Prize given to the one that had lost the race. Mr. Walpole bestows it freely in these fifteen stories, and we feel sometimes that we also like best those who fail in their loves and ambitions. Every story grips, and the climax is often quite unexpected, but the study of character is so subtle and so amusing that one enters into it with something like Mr. Walpole's own zest. There is rich variety in the volume, and Mr. Walpole has not given us a more subtle or entertaining set of studies.

Joshua's Vision, by William J. Locke (John Lane, 7*s*. 6*d*.), is an unusual study and an enthralling one. Joshua begins life as a shoemaker's son, and becomes head of the great firm of Swan & Co., which supplies boots for the army. When he retires from chief control his education begins, and Robina Dale, the sculptress, is a notable schoolmistress, but it is the shoulder of her model, Susan, that opens Joshua's eyes to beauty. The girl's life hid a tragedy, and, when she tells her story to Joshua, it changes both their histories. Susan is going to be a glorious singer; Joshua goes back from his sculpture to save Swan & Co. from shipwreck. The studies of Joshua and his son, of Robina and her drunken husband, and of Susan, are in a style that we did not expect from Mr. Locke, who flourishes on adventures, but the story is one that it is not easy to lay down.

Gone to Earth, by Mary Webb (Jonathan Cape, 5*s*.), is the first volume of her collected works, and has an Introduction by John Buchan, who says the style is impregnated with poetry rising sometimes to the tenuous delicacy of music. We find in the story a love of nature such as R. D. Blackmore had, and we understand it better when we know that Mrs. Webb was a working market gardener, who sold her own produce in Shrewsbury market. She has an elusive heroine in Hazel Woodus, and her marriage with the Nonconformist minister is a strange one, and comes to disaster through Squire Reddin. Hazel's eyes get opened at last, as do her husband's, and there is promise of better days, but Hazel's pet, Foxy, brings a cruel end to himself and his mistress. The parson's mother is no fit companion for such a bride, but Edward Marston himself, despite his foolish treatment of Hazel, wins her love and confidence before the great disaster. It is rare work, and, despite the Reddin scenes, is a book that one reads with keen appreciation.—*Precious Bane* has an

Introduction by Mr. Baldwin, who read the story when it first appeared in 1926 and was able to send a few words of appreciation before Mrs. Webb died. Its country scenes are equal to Blackmore's, and the characters stand out with extraordinary vividness. Gideon Sarn is terrific in will power, and, despite his amazing industry, he wrecks his own life and that of the girl whom he was to have married. His sister, spoiled as her appearance is by her hare-lip, is really heroic. In her the weaver finds his 'bit of Paradise,' and richly deserves it. The elemental passions of the book, the belief in witchcraft, the bull-baiting, which the weaver stops at peril of his life, these and many other scenes stand out in startling colours from this masterpiece.

The Story of Keth. By Blanche Girouard. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*) Lady Girouard wafts us into a world of fancy which keeps us wondering and delighted to the end. Keth is an Immortal, heartless and bent on her own pleasure till she meets the Saint and learns to love him better than herself. Their wanderings over Ireland bring them in touch with the pathos and the humour of peasant life, and Cleran shows rare bravery in rescuing the wrecked fishermen. Keth gradually learns that she is robbing the countryside of its Saint, and proves really noble when she sets him free for his ministries of mercy. It is a story that fascinates a reader, and it is told with rare literary grace and not without a message for the time.

Baby Hippo's Jungle Journey. By Frances Joyce Farrington. (Abingdon Press. $1.) These stories will give young people a very good idea of the appearance and habits of giraffes, hippos, whales, and birds. They are brightly told, beautifully illustrated, with end-papers that are themselves a menagerie. It is a book of real charm, and one that is instructive in the happiest way.—Children were never cared for as they are to-day, and *The Tip-Top Annual* and *Teeny-Weeny's Annual* (8*s.* 6*d.* each), from the Epworth Press, are ablaze with colour, and overflow with stories and rhymes which will delight little folk. The stories from *The Faerie Queene* are a notable feature of the *Tip-Top Annual*, and the black and white pictures both in it and *Teeny-Weeny's Annual* are quite as amusing as the prose and poetry. The two annuals have a growing reputation, and every new season adds to their popularity. The ninepenny series—*Benny Bunny's Story-Book*, *Punch and Toby Toy Book*, and *Bab's Birthday Book*—will make sunshine in every nursery.—*The Dream Hills of Happy Country*, by Ethel and Frank Owen (Abingdon Press, $1.50), is really charming, both in its stories and its pictures. It stirs the fancy, but it does not fail to get home some happy hints as to helpfulness and little deeds that bring sunshine for others.—*Pepper & Co.*, by Esther E. Enoch (Pickering & Inglis, 2*s.* 6*d.*), has reached a third impression, and well deserves it. The group of children, and the Auntie Frankie who mothers them, are very attractive, and it will do boys and girls good to get into their company.—*Stuart's Choice, or Castleton's 'Prep.'* By Charlotte Murray. (Pickering & Inglis. 2*s.*) Stuart is a future earl who studies life as a village stationer. It is a story with its mystery and its two happy marriages. There

could not be a finer fellow than Stuart or a more charming girl than the rector's little daughter.

Building the House of God. By Elbert M. Conover. (Methodist Book Concern. $2.50.) This beautiful volume, with its wealth of illustrations of churches in America and in Europe, makes a strong appeal to ministers, architects, builders, and all who are interested in providing fitting buildings for public worship. Mr. Conover traces the history of religious architecture in Egypt, Greece, and Rome down to our own time; describes the heritage of America from English churches and cathedrals, which embody the glory and triumph of the whole Church; shows the problems to be faced in worthy church architecture. Nothing seems to be overlooked, and everything is put in a way that makes the book a practical guide to the whole subject. The purpose to which church buildings are put, not only for worship, but for Sunday schools and work among young people and adults, are never lost sight of. The illustrations are well selected, and produced with much skill and care.—*Children on Wheels.* By Herbert J. Sugden. (Epworth Press. 8*s.* 6d.) The sub-title of this book whets one's curiosity. It is full of 'adventures with the Children of the National Children's Home and Orphanage on Tour,' and they are told with so much zest that we seem actually to share them. It is the story of eighteen years' travelling with the choirs of boys and girls who do so much to bring the Home into intimate touch with its friends in all parts of the country. Mr. Sugden has stories of hosts and chairmen, of performers and audiences, and does not forget his personal exploits in missing trains—he makes us laugh, he touches our tender sympathies, and he does it all in a way that makes his book a series of thrills. It will be welcomed everywhere, and will create music and mirth wherever it goes.

The Modern Cat. By Georgina S. Gates, Ph.D. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.*) This amusing and instructive volume deals exclusively with the mind of the cat. But that does not rob it of a host of good stories and many a pleasant glimpse of cats in history, and even in worship. Interesting experiments with cats and kittens are described. We turn to the cat as a barometer, and discover that she has no sense of colour or pitch in music. Dr. Gates shows how to train a cat, though she finds that there are very definite limits as to what a cat can learn. She receives impressions from her own body and from the external world, but probably only feels them. She does not think or reason from them. It is all very interesting, but even Dr. Gates has to confess that she knows little about our household pets.—*Modern Language Learning.* By J. J. Findlay, Ph.D. (Gregg Co. 5*s.*) The use of song and of playlets in teaching children any foreign language, and the value of the gramophone, are here emphasized and explained. When the teacher has adopted his phonetic code, and secured one or two records which utter some small piece of good material in speech and song, the class can hear and repeat the passage singly and in chorus. Methods of learning are suggested and advice given as to pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, reading,

and conversation. Professor Findlay describes the way in which he came to study Esperanto, and shows how it introduces the learner into the world of nations, and can repeat the experience for French, Russian, or any other language.—*Out of Focus*. By Clifford N. Button, M.A., M.D. (Epworth Press. 2*s*.) There are twenty-two short Talks to Boys and Girls which never fail to interest and uplift. Every address is fresh and arresting.—*Who Loves a Rainy Day?* By Mrs. Coulson Kernahan. (Epworth Press. 2*s*.) These are twelve talks to women by one who has travelled the road of life and shows what a wise woman can make of her home. Insight into human nature, strong sense, and gracious counsels make this book a treasure. It is steeped in the true religion which makes people pleasant to live with.—In *Prosperity for England*, Sir Charles Fielding, K.B.E., who was Director-General of the Food Production Department in the War, and farms 1,200 acres, draws up a programme for the future of England. He gives lists of imports and manufactures that we could ourselves produce, and describes some of them in detail, and shows how farmers could be helped with labour. It is a pamphlet which is full of practical wisdom, and one that ought to be read with close attention.—The Sheldon Press publish for African schools *A Primer of Simple Science*, Book II. (1*s*.), and *A Course of Physical Training*, by Richard Paterson (6*d*.). They are worth attention in this country, for their clearness and practical usefulness is beyond question.—The Methodist Diaries for 1929 range in price from 1*s*. 6*d*. to 2*s*. 9*d*. and include the popular Vest Pocket Diary, which gives the maximum of usefulness in the minimum of space, and the Minister's Pocket Diary, with schedules and other aids for circuit work and a diary that runs on to June 1930. The Layman's Pocket Book and Diary is very compact, and meets every need of business men. The diaries are neat and strongly bound. There is nothing better on the market, and, for Methodist use, nothing comparable to these Diaries.

The Children's Shakespeare. The Second Book. By Arthur Mee. (Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.) Shakespeare here uses his own words, and is illustrated by a series of famous pictures which form a splendid gallery of art. The six pictures by Gertrude Hammond are very fine, both in conception and execution, and Mr. Mee's 'The Marvellous Life of a Country Boy' will set young folk thinking and dreaming before they enter the magic circle of the plays. There are ten of them, selected and edited by one who loves children and glories in Shakespeare. He makes him live again in Stratford, and gives us glimpses of him in Warwick and Worcester, and dropping a tear by his brother's grave in Southwark Cathedral. Then well-earned peace and plenty crown his last days at Stratford. It is a book that no child's library can afford to be without.—*Looking at the World: Poems*. By Alexander Zimmerman. The dedicatory poems to America show that the writer has made his home in that country and wants it to welcome his work. The poems are very short, and cover a wide range of themes; the plaintive note is prominent, but there is both thought and feeling in the verses.—*Edward and Agnes*,

by T. W. Collett, is a ballad of Nithsdale. (Merton Press.) The lady's love for her page makes a grim story. Edward keeps his honour, but loses his life through the woman's false accusation.—*A Book about Football.* By Hayte Mayfield. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* net.) The origin of football, the story of the pioneers of the game, the formation of the Football League, and everything that lovers of the game want to know, is in this little book. It is the work of an enthusiast and an expert, and will have a hearty welcome wherever football is played.

Mr. Stockwell sends three volumes—*Chain of Psychic Experiences,* by J. Marples (2*s.*); *Inner Meaning of the Lord's Prayer* (1*s.* 6*d.*); *From the Church of England to God,* a poem in six parts, with a prologue (8*s.* 6*d.*). The title of the last is a sufficient indication of its spirit.—*Making Life Count.* By William W. Reid. (Methodist Book Concern. 75 cents.) A set of papers which will help young people to see how and where they may invest their lives. It shows the opportunities that preachers, teachers, doctors, and others have of doing service, and puts everything so brightly that it is sure to be popular as 'an elective course for students.'—*The Tragedy of 'La Tosca.'* Versed by Waller Howgrave, F.R.S.A. (Drane's, 7*s.* 6*d.* net.) This versification arose out of the great presentation of *La Tosca* by Forbes-Robertson and Mrs. Bernard Beere in 1889. Italy at the date of the tragedy (1800) was in an immoral condition, which filled every self-respecting woman with terror, and that explains the petulance and jealousy of the young and beautiful singer, Floria Tosca. Sardou's tragedy forms the subject of the opera, the music of which was written by Puccini. In the English version, which Mr. Howgrave follows, Floria is the wife of the painter Mario. Baron Scarpia is the villain of the piece, and his passion for Floria ends in a terrible tragedy. Mr. Howgrave's verses catch the spirit of the opera, and are both musical and pleasant reading.—*The French A B C* (London: Vickery & Co., 2*s.* net) is a new guide to French towns. Its first pages are given to Paris, then the places are arranged in alphabetical order, with the train service from Paris and a few notes on features of interest. Illustrations of the chief places are included. It is a valuable handbook for travellers.—*Prisoners of the Lord.* (Cardiff Western Mail. 2*s.*) This is a business man's thoughts on life expressed in prose and poetry. He begins with *Hamlet,* and has much to say about matter and society, about education and the vitalism towards which he thinks the best science and philosophy of the coming years are sweeping onwards.—*Verse in Bloom.* By Norman Gale. (Old Bilton, Rugby. 6*s.* net.) This is choice work, into which thought and feeling are closely packed. It arrests attention in its first lines, which confess

> The shame of a tongue, that, loose and careless,
> Pattered a prayer, which was almost prayerless.

'Bethlehem' pleases us much, and other pages bring pleasant visions to a reader's eyes.—The Birling Cards and Calendars, from Hadleigh Suffolk, are very neat, and range from one penny to sixpence. The verses by Mrs. Snow are good and the texts are well chosen.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

The Edinburgh Review (October).—Mr. Lockhart surveys 'Ten Years in Central Europe,' where he finds welcome signs of a better atmosphere, more particularly as regards economic co-operation. The strength of the Republican movement in Germany is a great safeguard for peace. Mr. Marriott writes on Lord Curzon: 'An intrepid traveller, a fine scholar, a high-souled statesman, above all a single-minded patriot.' He died a disillusioned man, but 'death tore aside the veil from the eyes of a public which had never been permitted to see the man.' It immediately recognized that the country had lost 'a great public servant.' The editor's 'Safeguarding' deals with 'by far the most important political issue likely to face the country in the near future.' 'Motor Transport and its Real Cost' is another timely article.

Hibbert Journal (October).—The first article, 'A Study of Paradox,' by W. K. Stewart, is fascinating, for the writer has made a copious, but discriminating, selection of examples and has theories of his own to propound concerning them. The last word in the matter is that 'in paradox, that is, self-contradiction, we come close to the very heart of life itself.' Mr. Edmond Holmes argues for 'philosophy without metaphysics,' and certainly succeeds in leaving the redoubtable Mr. Bradley, through his own confessions, high and dry on the arid shores of his own Absolute. Two articles follow—'Physics and God,' by H. Dingle, and 'Labour a Manifestation of God,' by W. R. Lethaby—which show how vague and varying are modern conceptions of the Divine Being. An article which will specially appeal to some readers is Dr. Vincent Taylor's discussion of the 'Psychology of the Johannine Christ-Testimonies.' Dr. Taylor bases his investigations upon the writings of Professor Windisch of Leiden, of whose views he gives a full account. It is high time, in our opinion, that the Johannine questions were discussed from the internal point of view here indicated—the scope and origin of the 'Christ-Testimonies' so characteristic of the Fourth Gospel. It is a delicate and difficult task, and Dr. Taylor wisely skirts the subject, instead of plunging into its depths. What a sign of our times it is that one of the most informing estimates of 'Hardy's Poetry' should come from the pen of a Chinaman, Dr. Chang Hsin-Hai, vice-chancellor of a Shanghai university! Western critics may learn something from what they now call 'The Orient.' Another article on poetry is by Mr. Middleton Murray, who writes well on 'The Birth of a Great Poem,' starting, as might have been expected, from Keats and his sonnet on Chapman's *Homer*. Other articles in a rich number of the *Hibbert* are 'Christianity in India,' by Dr. J. N. Farquhar, 'Power and Goodness in the

Primitive Conception of the Divine,' by Dr. R. R. Marett, and one by Dr. R. Milliken on 'The United Church of Canada, its Present Conditions.'

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—Under the heading 'Documents' an account is given by W. J. Anderson of 'Fragments of an Eighth-Century Gallican Sacramentary.' Dr. C. H. Turner's valuable Notes on 'Marcan Usage' are continued, and their interest certainly does not diminish. The present instalment includes 'Titles of Address to Christ,' 'Diminutives,' 'ἵνα not of purpose only,' and kindred topics. Professor Burkitt asks, 'Was the Gospel of St. Mark written in Latin?' The answer, of course, is 'No,' but the asking of the question is significant. Amongst other articles may be mentioned Dr. W. E. Barnes's on 'Prophecy and the Sabbath,' dealing chiefly with Jeremiah; the 'Trial of St. Paul at Ephesus,' by Dr. W. Michaelis; and notes on 'Some Hebrew Words,' by G. R. Driver. Amongst the reviews, Professor Tennant deals with *Relativity and Religion*, by Dr. H. D. Anthony. The chief criticism passed upon the book indicates that the reviewer evidently considers that the theory of relativity has no philosophical import and is not relevant to natural theology. Apart from this distinctly questionable position, Dr. Tennant commends the spirit of Dr. Anthony's essay and finds his pages interesting.

Holborn Review (October).—Three articles are inspired by the Bunyan Tercentenary: 'John Bunyan, 1628–1688,' by Dr. F. J. Powicke, 'Bunyan's Debt to Women,' by the Rev. H. N. Wycherley, and 'The Religious Genius of Bunyan,' by the Rev. A. D. Martin. Full justice is thus done to one whose memory is not likely to be injured by the criticisms of Mr. Alfred Noyes. The paper on *Baron von Hügel's Letters*, by the Rev. T. B. Heward, will be found interesting by those who need an introduction to the book. Those who have studied von Hügel closely may be disappointed by the article, but the last sentences in it show that the reviewer appreciates some of the aspects of 'the Baron's' teaching. Dr. Peake's Editorial Notes deal with men and matters in a discursively interesting way. His appreciation of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the two Archbishops-designate of Canterbury and York, is gracious and highly deserved. The reviews in 'Current Literature' give an excellent survey of contemporary biblical and religious thought.

Expository Times (October).—A new volume begins with this number, and the editors may be assured of the appreciation of a large circle of readers as they review the past history of this periodical and sketch out their programme for another year. In this number, Dr. W. A. Curtis of Edinburgh writes on Professor Deissmann of Heidelberg and Berlin as one of the 'Leaders of Theological Thought.' The critical estimate of Deissmann's work is accompanied by interesting personal reminiscences. Canon Harford of Ripon writes on 'Altars and Sanctuaries of the Old Testament,' bringing his subject down to the Reformation of King Josiah, and promising future articles. Dr. H. G. Wood of Selly Oak, dealing with 'Modern

Science and the Hope of Immortality,' concludes with the sentence 'It is a great part of true religion not to pretend to know more than we do.' Dr. R. C. Gillie writes interestingly on the Sermon on the Mount, and Dr. J. E. McFadyen expounds the thesis 'The Historical Method has come to stay,' bidding the preacher to take heed of it. Much interesting material for the preacher is found under the headings 'In the Study' and 'Contributions and Comments.'—(November.)—This number has some discriminating notes on Dr. Kennett's *Old Testament Essays*, on the Congregationalist Conference at Oxford, and on Mr. Kellett's *Short History of the Jews*—'an interesting, useful, and suggestive, if also provocative, book.' Professor Andrae writes an account of 'Nathan Söderblom,' of Leipzig University, who has devoted himself to promote the movement for Christian unity. Canon Harford writes further on 'Altars and Sanctuaries of the Old Testament.' Other articles are 'The Kingdom of God and the Ethic of Jesus' and 'The Historical Method and the Preacher.' Mr. Rattenbury's book on *Wesley's Legacy* is regarded as a notable addition to the literature of the subject.

Science Progress (October).—After the more technical articles, Dr. Macfie shows 'How muscles contract.' All muscular energy is derived from the chemical energy in the sugar 'glucose' manufactured by the digestive organs from the sugar and starch of plants. The glucose is carried by the blood from the stomach and intestines straight to the cells of the liver. That article is of great interest. Mr. Moir writes on 'Coast Erosion in East Anglia,' and there are important 'Notes' and 'Essay-Reviews.'

Church Quarterly (October).—Dr. Headlam's 'Appeal to Presbyterians' was delivered as a lecture in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh. His plea is for Reunion on the basis of Episcopacy—its model the undivided Church of the early centuries. There are articles on 'The Religious Philosophy of Rudolph Otto,' and 'Benedict Biscop,' of whom Bede speaks with reverent affection. In 'The Sermon as a Form of English Literature,' Dr. E. J. Martin regards Newman and his school as the last of the line of English sermon-writers. After that, the sermon changed from the literary to the conversational tone.

The Congregational Quarterly (October).—'Bridget Bendish' is an interesting account of Cromwell's granddaughter. Her mother married Ireton, and the daughter's husband was a leading member of the Independent Church of Yarmouth. Bridget did a man's work in her salt-works near Yarmouth, and was altogether a redoubtable person. Mr. Angus Watson writes on 'The Spirit of Renunciation in Industry,' and the papers read at the Oxford Conference last July are given at length.

Theology (October) is devoted to the papers on Christology read at the Second Conference of German and English Theologians at the Wartburg last August. Professor Schmidt's introductory notes are followed by the theses, and Herr Frick and the Dean of Canterbury survey the discussions in a way that brings out their significance.

British Journal of Inebriety (October).—Dr. Vernon describes 'The Effects of War-time Control' and 'the differential taxation of alcoholic liquors' in a way that will guide temperance workers. Sir Arthur Newsholme deals with 'The Place of the Alcohol Question in Social Hygiene,' laying stress on the inutility of alcohol and its actual mischievousness when taken before or during the day's work.

The Bicentenary Number of Fry's Works Magazine (2*s.* 6*d.*) is not only the chronicle of a noted business, but also a history of Bristol for more than two centuries. Pen and pencil, artist and historian, have combined to produce a number which will be greatly prized and long preserved.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago. July).—In a paper on 'Orphism and Paulinism,' V. Macchioro, a distinguished Italian scholar, points out that 'there was nothing behind the Orphic myth, while behind the Christian myth there was Jesus.' And that raises the question whether 'Christian myth' is not a misnomer. Professor Ames, in an article on the relations between religion and art, seeks to show that 'Art is significant to religion in the balance and proportion it requires.' Religion tends, he says, to 'fanatical narrowness and intensity,' while the artist's soul encourages wider perspectives and better-balanced proportions.' The subject of 'Church and State in Mexico' is discussed in a well-informed paper by S. G. Inman of New York. Professor McNeill of Chicago describes 'Calvin's Efforts towards the Consolidation of Protestantism,' and H. S. Dimock of the Y.M.C.A. writes on 'Trends in the Re-Definition of Religion.' The last article in the number, by W. Pauck of Chicago, gives a full account of that notable figure in current theological literature—about whom no two critics seem to agree—Karl Barth of Göttingen and Münster. Dr. Pauck criticizes keenly Barth's point of view, which he describes as 'a religious criticism of religion,' but he considers that theologians should not ignore the call given to 'pay more attention to the true object of true religion.' Theologians generally are awaking slowly to this crying need—but very slowly.

Methodist Review (September—October).—This excellent number opens with a portrait of the late Bishop L. B. Wilson and his friend Bishop Berry. This is accompanied by an appreciation of Wilson's life and work by his brother bishop, who knew him well. The next two articles are on ministerial work: 'The Minister as Teacher,' by President A. A. Brown and, 'Wanted—a Prophet,' by Professor H. C. Hockett, each pointing important lessons, suited to the times. The paper 'The Bible and Experience' well supplements them. Dr. J. A. Faulkner writes clearly on the 'Authorship of the Fourth Gospel,' but he knows well that his is not the last word on a subject which is as vital as it is difficult for students of the New Testament. Other well written articles are 'The Supreme Court of Christianity,' by the Rev. E. H. Cherrington, and 'Protestantism and

Authority,' by the Rev. Gorland Smith.—(November—December.)—Dr. R. Smith writes on William McKendree, the first American-born bishop of the M.E. Church, who preached Asbury's funeral sermon and had a large part in shaping the system of his Church's government. 'The Question of Divorce and Remarriage' is the subject of a powerful article. 'The Crisis in the Country Church' is another paper of living interest.

Anglican Theological Review (Lancaster, Pa. London: H. Milford. July).—The discussion on 'Divorce' is continued in this number by Dr. F. C. Grant, in a paper originally read to a Chicago Round Table Conference. He considers that existing well-known facts of tremendous import in the family life of America set before the Church a tremendous task—'nothing short of the taming and transformation of human nature—the imposition of a new ascetic discipline upon a biological process already many millenniums old.' Professor A. H. Forster writes on 'St. Patrick in Fact and Fiction,' and Dr. Oscar A. Marti describes 'John Wyclif's Theory for the Disendowment of the English Church.' A brief, but excellent, paper by Professor L. Hodgson indicates a suitable 'reading-course' for students in the contemporary philosophy of religion. The section devoted to reviews of books is thoughtfully and well maintained.—The October number contains an interesting article on 'The Vital Principle in Anglicanism,' by T. L. Harris; a discussion of 'Chassidism,' by J. A. Maynard; and two thoughtful papers on 'The Mystical Movement in the Middle Ages' and 'Spiritual Movements in the Oriental Religions,' the latter, a 'reading course,' containing a useful bibliography.

The Journal of Religion (Chicago. October).—Dr. Judson Herrick, in 'The Spiritual Life,' describes science as 'always pressing close behind and assaying the values that faith gropes for. Some of them are found to be counterfeit. Other values are greatly enhanced. Faith founded on knowledge and reaching beyond knowledge is basic in all human endeavour—commerce, science, religion. But a faith which condemns knowledge or ignores it is the root of superstition and a bar to progress in any direction.' Dr. Yard asks whether Christianity will stand the test to which it is being submitted in the Chinese laboratory. The missionary is faced with the task of christianizing all social contacts, East and West. He must be an expert in the incomparable work of bettering international and race relations.

Harvard Theological Review.—The principal article in the October number is 'Calvinism and Capitalism,' by Dr. Kemper Fullerton of Oberlin College. It is an interpretative summary of an essay by the late Max Weber on 'Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Calvinism.' Between the Protestant religion and money-making there is said to be 'a strange elusive connexion.' More precisely, 'the Protestants of Calvinistic origin have been the most conspicuous exponents of successful trade.' This is said to be due to the contrast between Luther and Calvin in their teaching concerning the secular

life as 'a calling.' 'Within the sphere of this life lies one's calling' (so Luther), but 'calling now becomes the means of moral discipline' (so Calvin). Weber regards Baxter as the best exponent of the Puritan conception of calling in its more practical aspect, and quotes John Wesley to clinch his argument. It is well that the Church should be warned against the danger of secularization, or 'this worldly orientation,' but the adoption by the Church of the conception of the secular life as a calling is not solely responsible for this result. Moreover, this conception has glorified the daily task of many saintly lives. Dr. Paul E. Johnson, of Hamline University, writes on 'Josiah Royce—Theist or Pantheist?' A careful examination of the philosopher's works leads to the conclusion, 'Royce stands on theistic ground in his reaction against Deism on the one hand and impersonal Pantheism on the other.'

The Princeton Theological Review (July).—Clarence Bouma writes on 'Christianity's Finality and New Testament Teaching.' 'The uniqueness, *Einmaligkeit*, finality, and absoluteness of Jesus Christ and His redemption impart to Christianity its unique, *einmalig*, final, and absolute character.' The Origin of the Regensburg Book,' made public in 1541, is described. It was one of the most important compromises in the history of the Christian Church, but its importance lies in what it failed to accomplish. Its failure showed that the Reformation was not to be another temporary dispute like the Papal schism.

The Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville. October).—Dr. King begins his editorship with a helpful article on 'Cruelty in Nature.' 'Human character only progresses toward the goal of perfection through severe trials and bitter disappointments.' Dr. Goddard, in 'The International Mind: A Prerequisite for the Abolition of War,' urges that the time has come for us to be citizens of the world. 'With the international mind prevalent in world leadership, we can have a world brotherhood. We can abolish war. We can have a world of peace and plenty.' Other articles are on 'Moral Government,' 'Ibsen: The Master Builder of Drama,' 'The International Missionary Council,' and the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Dr. King has certainly given his readers a varied and most instructive number.

Christian Union Quarterly (October).—Dr. Lynch writes on 'The Growing Unity of the Church.' He has just attended three remarkable conferences in Prague, and was greatly impressed by the striking sense of unity already achieved, which is a new thing in the world. That spirit was not evident at the first meetings of the World Alliance at the Hague, in 1919, or at Helsingfors, in 1923. Even at Stockholm, in 1925, there was a feeling of 'separateness,' which passed away before the congress was over. That was not felt in the least at Prague.

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (July—August).—Mr. Jordan gives an interesting account of 'Early Historical Writing,' from Hammurabi to the times of Ahab. Mr. Lowe deals with 'Form

History ' and the Gospels. It has emphasized the importance of the single paragraph as the unit and has shown clearly the secondary and pragmatic character of the Evangelists' ' plan.' The Gospels are not in any sense biographies of Jesus, and study of the detached ' blocks ' of the Synoptic tradition has much to teach us of the catechetical methods of the early Church.—(September—October.)—The comparison between ' Bunyan and Blake ' ; ' Albert Schweitzer—A Great Christian ' ; and ' A Conference in the Wartburg,' are a few of the arresting papers in this varied number.

FOREIGN

Analecta Bollandiana (Tomus XLVI. Fasc. iii. et iv.).—Paul Peters writes on the Georgian Church of Clibanion at Mont Admirable. The Georgian writers describe under the name Thorné a church dependent on the monastery of Saint Symeon Stylites the younger, upon Mont Admirable, and which was served by Iberian monks in the second half of the eleventh century. The series on Letters of Indulgence deals with their form and composition, and details are given of various readings in the Dublin codices of the lives of S. Ludovic Tolosani and S. Antony of Padua.

Calcutta Review (August).—Mr. F. H. Skrine describes ' Rural Bengal in the 'Seventies.' The Mutiny was then recent history and had left bitter memories which kept Europeans and Indians apart. He describes his daily routine, and gives details of his work on famine duty and the turfed embankments which he got the ryots to make as a protection against floods.—(September).—Taraknath Das gives his ' Impressions of Awakened Italy.' For three years he has studied Mussolini's work. Vigorous measures have been taken to get rid of the Mafias in Sicily, and to develop water-power and transport for farm produce. The Fascist Government is working for the greater Italy of to-morrow, and seeks to raise the standard of national efficiency through far-reaching educational reforms. Mr. Coueslant describes ' Technical Education in India,' which is making steady progress.—(October.)—Professor Gregory writes on ' The Reform of Calcutta University.' For ten years there has been a growing conviction in Calcutta that, despite the general progress and brilliant achievements connected with the university, the drift into inefficiency of some departments is a growing danger to the whole institution.

The Home (September) is a Souvenir Pictorial number, with illustrations that bring out the wonders of Sydney and Melbourne. The pages given to St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, and the views from its tower, are impressive, and so are the portraits and views of streets and of the North Shore Bridge, Sydney. It is a number that will be treasured both in this country and in Australia.