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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY 1932

THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF DEAN INGE

THERE have been two or three famous Deans of St. Paul's. Colet was one, Donne another, and Church another. The present holder of the office bids fair to be as famous as any of them.

Sixty-nine years of age, he succeeded to the Deanery in 1911. Formerly he was a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and a vicar of a fashionable church in London. He made a name in scholarship as a writer on the Mystics, and as a student of the ancient philosopher and Neo-Platonist, Plotinus.

He is known to the larger world as a prolific writer of articles to the daily newspapers and to popular magazines. As a journalist he ranks high, his often original and usually witty contributions being eagerly read. His views on eugenics, on birth-control, on population, on education, and on Socialism have created interest. He is in demand as an after-dinner speaker, at prize-givings at schools, and on public platforms. He is admired by such diverse men as Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and G. K. Chesterton. His wit is more than equal to their own.

Of middle height, extremely ascetic in appearance, with sunken cheeks and thin nose, he walks with a limp, seeming to drag one unwilling leg after the other. His deafness has given rise to the story, whatever truth may be in it, of having under his desk at St. Paul's a small store of books, which he reads when he cannot hear the service and the sermon.

His personality attracts large numbers to hear his sermons and speeches. He has an air of aloofness in the pulpit, as if

he did not care, like a typical Englishman, whether any one likes what he has to say or not, or, indeed, whether any one even hears or not. His voice has no particularly attractive quality, and he could not be called an orator. His attraction lies, probably, in the fact that he has something to say, and says it, however unpalatable, and has an air of sincerity, of intensity, almost prophetic. His sermons are short, and seem to be read from his manuscript, but not slavishly, and they are delivered in a slow and even tone.

His *Outspoken Essays*, a collection in two series of articles contributed to various periodicals, attracted attention by their concisiveness, wit, and originality. The first editions of these books are now, I believe, worth a good deal. That may point to the fact that booksellers and book-buyers consider that his books are destined to live in our literature, either *as* literature, or as the productions of a personality which will be taken note of by future generations.

It may be a satisfaction to those who are proud of being members of the Church of England to know that the Church of England has once again produced, and this time in our own age, a man of whom history may have to take account.

To many the Dean of St. Paul's excursions into the realms of journalism and his deliverance of public speeches may seem all to the good. They do not resent a Dean of St. Paul's leaving his pedestal and speaking to the masses. But they may shiver at the occasional lapses into colloquialisms and vulgarisms of one who might be regarded as representing the high-water mark of English culture. Those who know his best work feel sorry that he should stoop so low. But there are books of devotional and other addresses that are an inspiration and uplift to all who read them. Such are *Speculum Animae*, *The Church and the Age*, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, *Personal Religion and the Life of Devotion*.

What, now, is the Dean's contribution to the interpretation of Christianity? That he relegates miracles to 'the sphere of pious opinion' is not a new idea, nor his disinclination to

believe in the Virgin Birth of our Lord. There is nothing essentially new in the Dean's view of Christianity. His value lies in this: that he makes clear how far to-day we have deviated from the Christianity of Christ.

When people shake their heads because churches are not crowded, and Christianity is not popular, he reminds us that it was so when our Lord was here. The Church can never be a successful organization. Its call is to something which is, and always will be, unpopular, namely, sacrifice.

'The Church can rarely co-operate with a popular movement,' and so he has small sympathy, if any, with democracy. To him the majority are sure to be wrong, and the wisdom of the crowd is folly. The crowd crucified the Saviour of man, and they will do the same again if the chance is given. 'I ask you to read the Gospels, and consider whether in any single place our blessed Lord suggested that there would ever be an inconvenient crowd gathered round the narrow gate.' The voice of the people is not the voice of God. 'It never has been since the voice of the people unanimously cried, "Crucify Him!" If we ally ourselves with mankind "in the loomp," we shall ally ourselves with mankind at its worst.'

Here, of course, the Dean is wrong. He does not allow for the possibility that the crowd should ever be christianized. Surely the sole purpose of the Church's existence is to bring the mass of men and women in the world to such a frame of mind and heart that if Christ were here in the flesh they would never seek to crucify Him again. Otherwise the Church and Christian teaching have failed, or have advanced only a little way.

However, that is the Dean's teaching. Religion as a social power, as a redeeming power, over the masses, is impotent. Christianity is 'a religion of moral redemption, not of social reform.' 'Social legislation lies simply outside the range of our Lord's teaching.' Christianity is solely a religion for the individual, an individualistic rather than a social gospel.

But that is false. The individual cannot be separated from his environment and from his life among his fellow men. Man cannot live to himself alone. The teaching of the Gospels, even when directed to the individual, is bound to touch his relationships with his neighbour.

More particularly there are words of quite definite social interference in the New Testament. John the Baptist struck at dissatisfaction when he counselled the soldiers to 'be content with their wages.' This sounds so modern that probably biblical critics have marked it down as a later interpolation. St. Paul interferes in social life when he writes a letter asking Philemon to take back the runaway slave, Onesimus, and not to punish him. St. Paul writes, too, about the relationship of husbands and wives, fathers and children, masters and servants. We seem to remember that Jesus also had a good deal to say about such relations, notably to the woman of Samaria. The Dean himself admits that he finds it difficult to dispose adequately of the, to him, unfortunate references to economic questions in St. Luke, such as the question of dividing an inheritance. There are, too, the awkward and numerous references to wealth and its uses, and to divorce.

The Dean believes that this is a rational world, governed by laws which do not change, and what are known as miracles never have happened, and never will happen. Bergson's theories about trusting to intuition and instinct are dangerous, because they lead to a belief in the minds of ordinary people that reason is not the best or fittest instrument for the attainment of truth. Here, again, we get his indictment of the crowd. 'Individuals are occasionally guided by reason, crowds never.' If crowds are not guided by reason, we ask, what are they guided by? By sentiment, he replies. The Dean hates sentiment. It is sentiment that is the bane of Roman and Anglo-Catholicism alike, with their elaborate and ritualistic services; it is the curse, too. of evangelical religion, with its appeal to the emotions. True

religion is reasonable service, rational worship; it is the mind soaring upwards to God, climbing the stairs of truth to find satisfaction in the intellectual contemplation of God.

'The laws of the moral and spiritual life are just as inexorable as those of the physical world.' That is, 'there is no way of dying the death of the righteous except by living the life of the righteous; no way of seeing God except by being pure in heart; no way of believing rightly except by thinking honestly.' The Dean here seems to allow no room for the Atonement. There are no miracles and no short cuts. Laws will not be suspended in our favour. 'It matters little whether cheap forgiveness is offered as the result of the magical efficacy of the Sacraments, or as the result of being washed in the precious blood of the Lamb. In either case it is false. Spiritual laws are inexorable.'

The Dean is talking very emphatically. But it is one of his shibboleths, which he shares with the rationalistic scientist, that there are no exceptions in the laws of nature or of religion.

But Jesus Christ, we claim, is an exception to the laws of nature, and we also claim that He made an exception in the laws of the spiritual world for the advantage of man. The Atonement (by which is meant the advantages of His life, of which His tragic death was the logical outcome) was a sacrifice by which man and God could come together, having been once alienated from each other.

Secondly, it means that, if true repentance and real sorrow are expressed in the very heart of a man for his sin, then, by pleading before God the sacrifice of Jesus, the man is forgiven, and more, the punishment is often relaxed.

But God alone is the judge of the sincerity of our penitence. The sacrifice of Christ was no sham business. It is of real help. The best help to many a man is that the just reward of his deeds should *not* fall upon him. This, too, Christ's sacrifice does for us. But the decision as to whether the punishment will fall or not is in the hands of God. Even

if our penitence is of the deepest, the punishment may fall. Because it is for our good. On the other hand, it may not. It rests with God. But the laws of God are not without exception.

Perhaps we could go further, and say that the whole study of scientists is in the exceptions to the laws of nature, and the whole value of religious experience is in the exceptions to the laws of the spirit.

The Dean's philosophical outlook on the universe is awakening. He regards our race as not the one important part of God's creation, any more than this planet is the centre of the universe. He thinks it probable that there are other races, intelligent and moral, living on the other heavenly bodies which are round about us.

He accepts the scientific and philosophical view that the whole process of creation had no beginning and will have no end. He believes that there is not *one*, but *many* purposes which God has in His creation, many purposes 'which may overlap and interlace, small schemes forming part of great ones.' 'Every one of these purposes has its fulfilment in the time-series, after which it takes its place in the eternal order. Its life in time is over.'

It is here in this world of time and space which we inhabit that each of these purposes comes to its realization. That is why this world is here. It is a stage for the drama of these many purposes. The Dean is a pluralist and a pragmatist in philosophy.

In this great drama of the purposes of God we men and women are, I suppose, the actors, understudies, supers, and scene-shifters. 'God has a purpose in creating each individual; He has before Him a definite type of character which He wishes you and me and every one to exhibit—not the same type for all, but a special type for each.' 'We are sent into the world to work out our salvation by conforming our life and conduct to this type.' 'When our short lives are over we take our places in the eternal order, and our rank

or fate in the world of spirits is determined by the degree in which we have fulfilled or frustrated the design of our Creator, the extent to which we have finished or neglected the work that He gave us to do.'

'God has a purpose for the life of humanity as a whole, a scheme of discipline and gradual progress towards relative perfection which He has designed to be worked out in human history.' The Dean holds that mankind makes this progress, not only by accumulation of knowledge, but also by inner transformation. Our progress is made, not only because we start where our fathers left off, having profited by their success and knowledge, having been warned by their failures and ignorance, but it is made also because God works within us, the divine purpose working itself out in us. It is this that gives history coherence and clothes the years with meaning. This whole passage of the Dean's should be inscribed in gold. It is noble, uplifting, and inspiring.

Man makes real progress because of this inner transformation. It is 'the work of the Holy Spirit upon the soul, the continuation of the redemptive process inaugurated by the incarnation of Christ, an initiation of humanity into the higher spiritual life, for which the whole previous history of the race was a preparation and education.'

As regards Christianity, the Dean teaches that 'civilization will stand or fall with Christianity.' But we must not look back. Christianity in its first vigour looked forward, and so must we. 'Christianity is good news, not good advice.'

The Dean does not regard our Lord as having much to reveal about Himself, but a great deal to reveal about God the Father. Our Lord, however, was not only a revelation of the Father, but also a revelation of the Holy Spirit. Christianity is a spiritual religion. If we wish to know what the Holy Spirit—the invisible Spirit of God—is like, we can see it in Christ.

Our Lord did not come to found a new religion, according to the Dean. If so, He would have broken with the Jewish

Church. He would have written a book. He would have left a finished and complete code of morals. He would have founded an organization, a developed Church such as was founded shortly after His death. He did none of these things. 'He wrote His message on the hearts of men, knowing it could never be forgotten. The Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Jesus, the Spirit of Christ, which was to be, and has been in a very true sense, a continuation of the Incarnation of Christ, that Holy Spirit has been in the hearts of Christian men and women ever since the Saviour left the earth.'

The Dean clings strongly to his belief that our Lord had no intention of founding a Church. 'Nothing resembling the foundation of a Church, nothing suggesting the probability of a long history for His Community, can be traced back to what seems to be His authentic sayings.' The Dean has, probably, been strongly influenced here by the Modernist and ex-Roman Catholic, Professor Heiler of Marburg. The belief in German learning and German efficiency as superior to all others has an obstinate hold on many minds.

It is simply not true, however, that Jesus was independent of all institutions, and that He was super-ecclesiastical and unecclesiastical. Jesus attended the synagogue, read the lessons, and preached there. Not a word of His is uttered against the institutional religion of the Jewish synagogue. He condemns the buying and selling in the Temple, but there is no attack on the Temple itself as an institution. He frequented it, rather. He joined in the worship with others. He only noted a few of its abuses. His attacks are on individual types and not on the Jewish institutional religion. He seems, however, to have had an idea of a similar institutional religion on an improved plan.

His institutional Church started with the calling of the Twelve. It is false to say Jesus gave no primacy or privileged position to any of His apostles. Peter, James, and John were the chosen three. But the mere fact that apostles were selected at all is sufficient proof of an idea of organization

in the mind of our Lord. At a later period, the mission of the seventy only strengthens this contention that an organized form of teaching and the idea of a society was definitely held.

For the Dean the core of Christ's message is this:

I. It is 'good news about God, rather than a revelation or information about Christ's own person.' It was a revelation of the nature and character of God, more particularly that God is a Father, the Father of all the human race. This meant that there was (*a*) no more Jew nor Greek; or in our language, no more English or German, French or Portuguese; we are all one man in Christ Jesus; and (*b*) that the first of the virtues was no longer justice, but love or sympathy.

II. Jesus taught that 'what really matters is what we are, not what we say or have, or even what we do.'

III. 'Christ taught by example, even more than by precept, that through pain comes gain, through defeat comes victory; to suffer for others, to come down, to descend and to enter into the world of strife, and to suffer, is a divine thing.' That is the secret of the Cross.

The Dean is sceptical of any existence of a devil with horns and a tail. It was thus that our forefathers remember to have seen him. But the Dean does not agree with those who deny the existence of any external power of evil. He is not sure if this power is personal, but he is sure that it exists, and comes from outside of us.

There are temptations that come from within ourselves. They well up from the inside of our evil natures. These we have to attack and subdue. But there are also temptations that come from without. 'They are alien temptations, invasions, violations of our soul's territory.' This is, says the Dean, from experience. It was the experience of our Lord that He 'knew of a real enemy, an active plotter against our souls.'

Now that is significant. It means that the Dean is not to be carried away by the latest cries of modernity. One of

these cries is, of course, that there is no evil beyond what is in ourselves, and what we ourselves create. The Modernist teaches that all we have to learn is the truth about the principles of ethics and morals and then obey these principles, and that temptation is our desire to break these principles. But the Dean accepts our Lord's teaching of 'a strong man armed, who is also cunning and treacherous,' against whom we have to fight for life, who is a robber and a murderer and makes ceaseless efforts to enter into the houses of our souls.

Though the Dean refuses to state his belief in evil disembodied spirits, he insists on the existence of an alien element in temptation, both because it is asserted by Christ and because it is confirmed by experience. These temptations come to us through persons and not through things. He even believes in a congregation of the wicked—'an evil Church, an anti-Church, a God's enemy which radiates poison, as the true Church radiates health.' This comes from evil people in the world. But the Dean goes further and believes that 'a poisonous breath seems to come direct from the unseen spiritual world.' The door of the soul is opened for these robber spirits by our hatred, anger, or impurity. 'Any strong affection, passion, or interest, any masterful hope or fear, like or dislike, may in this way become the germ of a sort of parasitic soul within our soul.' That is no doubt the meaning of our Lord's parable of the evil spirit that brought seven other evil spirits worse than himself to live in a soul which he happened to find ready and furnished for their habitation. Such evil spirits can only be cast out again by a spirit stronger than they, and that is why our Lord, as such a strong Spirit, could cast out those mad and immoral spirits that dominated the minds of so many men and women of His day.

Heaven is a state, not a place, a state of existence eternal and spiritual, where goodness, truth, and beauty are fully realized and active. *This world* is here because the Creator desired that goodness, truth, and beauty should be worked

out by us, and consequently the true meaning of the world is to be found in goodness, truth, and beauty, or, in other words, in the living of a moral life, in the exercise of thought, and in the practice of art. Immortality begins here with a change from non-acceptance to acceptance of the Christian faith. It is the realm in which the spirit rules. The Dean believes in immortality because it is the only rational belief. 'A time will come when this planet will no longer be tenantable by human beings. This drives us to the "sure and certain hope" of eternal life; otherwise the whole process would be irrational. Why should we labour and deny ourselves, if the only result of our trouble will be to increase the expensiveness of the final crack? Humanity is intended to do and be something which God values, on this earth and in time.'

The outstanding facts of our present civilization are the advance of applied science, the vast increase of wealth, and the vast increase in population. This increase in population he considers to be a danger, and advocates some means of artificial birth-control; and, to attain finer specimens of humanity, he supports the theory of eugenics. These views are rather outside the religious field.

The Dean considers the new age in which we live:

'The younger generation are impatient of traditional views; they want first-hand experience and original thought. They will listen eagerly and respectfully when any one speaks to them from his heart, but they do not, at least the best of them, care much to hear what the Church teaches or what the Bible says. The fences erected by tradition, propriety, and respect for established order are everywhere being broken down. There are new social types emerging, such as the well-educated, self-supporting young woman, the hospital nurse and school-mistress type; and the half-educated, rather conceited, but sincere and earnest mechanic.'

He sums up: 'Our whole duty is this—to hold up the Christian life, the Christian standard of values, steadily before the eyes of our generation.

'Our Lord lays a unique stress on love and sympathy; He taught us to regard God as a Father to whom we have immediate access at all times and in all places; He broke down all the barriers, sacred and profane, that separate man from man; He made everything depend on inwardness—the moral motive of action; He taught the duty of hopefulness and trust, condemning worry and anxiety; He taught the necessity of absolute sincerity and single-mindedness; He advocated plain living without harsh asceticism; He transformed all values in the light of our divine sonship and heavenly citizenship; He drew the sting of death by making it the gate of life, and (as part of the same law) showed us how we must die daily to sin, and be reborn unto righteousness.'

Our duty is to use these convictions in helping 'to form public opinion, and in setting a standard to others.' 'Our Lord always appealed to men by what was best in them.'

HENRY N. FORBES.

Religion and Politics. By the Rt. Hon. Christopher Addison, M.D. (Epworth Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*) The Beckly Lecture for 1931 maintains that, in so far as religion fails to be a determining factor in deciding the attitude of the State towards its social activities, both religion 'and the State will suffer.' In Wesley's time, and in the early part of the nineteenth century, there had grown up an alienation between the Church of England and the life of the mass of the people which was widespread and was responsible for a host of national difficulties. The bright spots due to Wesley's work and to Dean Hook in Leeds, and Dr. Bell, who invented the mechanical system of teaching, are brought out, and the condition of Russia and the Church, the housing problem, labour in India, and the attitude of the Church to war are wisely and suggestively discussed. The lecturer feels that the Church may be a tremendous power in the life of the nation. Religion cannot separate itself from politics, 'save to its own hurt and the hurt of humanity.' The introduction of Dr. Lofthouse enriches the volume by its account of the Beckly lectureship and of Wesley's recognition that love to God was impossible without love to man. The result was that Methodism became the great philanthropic society.

THE ROMANCE OF PAUL'S CROSS

IN the north-east corner of the churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on the very spot now marked by a column erected in 1913, there stood for at least three centuries one of the most celebrated pulpits in all the British Isles. This was Paul's Cross, described by the chronicler John Stow as 'the most solemn place in all the nation.' There seems to be no record of the antiquity of the Cross earlier than the reference to meetings held at this station in 1195 by William FitzOsbert, commonly called 'Longbeard,' who is said to have stirred up much discontent against the rule of Richard I by his daily political harangues at Paul's Cross. Osbert was charged with inflaming the poor, dragged through the city 'at the horse's tail,' and hanged on a high gibbet at Smithfield. About fifty years later (1241) the citizens assembled for a different purpose at the Cross; this time to give the King (Henry III) leave to undertake an expedition to Gascony.

Paul's Cross served as a popular rallying-post in mediaeval England. A 'folkmote' was held here in 1257, when the long-suffering citizens of London rose up in protest against the tyranny and heavy taxation imposed upon them by the Mayor. Two years later, Henry III himself is reported to have called an assembly of his subjects at the Cross, and 'in proper person commanded the Mayor that on the next day following he should cause to be sworn before the Aldermen, every stripling of twelve years or upward, to be true to the King and his heirs, kings of England.' As the population of the city increased, such meetings grew fewer; but the Cross was used as an open-air pulpit on Sundays and special holidays for many years to come.

It was only by special appointment of the presiding prelate that preachers were permitted to occupy the wooden

pulpit. According to instructions issued by Archbishop Peckham as early as 1281, chaplains were required to 'carefully expound to the parishioners the Word of God, the Catholic Faith, and the Apostle's Creed in the vulgar tongue.' It is probable that John Wyclif stood in this pulpit and addressed the crowds that turned out to see 'the rebellious priest and scholar' as he went to his trial before the Bishop of London at the Cathedral.

In 1382, when an earthquake wrought much havoc in the city, Paul's Cross suffered some damage. The restoration of the pulpit became a matter in which the churches in all parts of England took a share. The money was collected by Robert de Braybroke, Bishop of London, but none of it was used for the advertised cause. His lordship gave no account of his stewardship, and no questions were asked. It was not until 1450 that the pulpit was restored by another Bishop of London, Thomas Kemp. The new Paul's Cross was one of the chief and most imposing institutions in London, and for two centuries it served as the popular rostrum from which Papal Bulls were promulgated, excommunications were thundered forth, and sermons preached by a host of eminent and obscure preachers. Here sinners did penance, heretics recanted, and all sorts of miserable men and women, suspected of witchcraft and of sorcery, made public confession of their strange dealings. Here impostors were put on exhibition. Here reformers and agitators expounded their doctrines and aired their grievances. Some of the sermons delivered at the Cross were sincere and dignified in tone, while not a few must have been akin to those popular harangues fulminated to-day by that ever-increasing army of soap-box orators in the windy corner of Hyde Park, opposite the Marble Arch. The right of free speech in London is as old as Paul's Cross.

From 1396 to 1413, when the persecution of the Lollards was quickened, Paul's Cross stirred with a new interest. The chronicles of the city contain such accounts as these :

This yeare, the Sonday beyng the XVI day of Jun, stode at the Crosse of Powlis iiii heretykes beryng ffagottes; and upon the next Sonday followng stode there viii heretykes, which all were brent upon the left cheke, and upon their garments or gownes were set a Rede Crosse and a browderid ffagot. . . .

Upon Sonday, beyng the first Sonday of Lent, and the vth day of March, was at Powles Crosse executed a Solempn Curs wt. book, bell and candell . . .

Also upon Sonday folowng stood at Powles Crosse a man disgysed in paynted papers which was convict of perjury, and the Sonday folowng stood there a woman with a tapir in her hand for like mater. . .

It is not difficult to imagine the annoyances experienced by the preachers in the open-air pulpit in that busy corner of the city. There must have been the usual shouting, the stamping of horses, the crying of babes and the swearing of soldiers, to say nothing of the occasional appearance of apprentices who had got too near the wine-butt. Whether the presence of a contrite sinner standing in front of the pulpit helped matters or not is rather debatable. We read that on a cold day in February 1556, while William Peryn, a Dominican prior, held forth at Paul's Cross, a priest named Thomas Sampson, with a sheet about him and a taper in his hand, did penance at the Cross. On March 8 in the same year, another man who had transgressed Lent stood before the preacher, holding two pigs, ready dressed, one upon his head, the other in his arms. Under these conditions, the preachers must surely have been men who could not easily be distracted. They certainly faced their obligations in the spirit of the ancient prophets, with hearts set on delivering their message, regardless of offending circumstances.

The congregation consisted of all the various types described in Chaucer's *Prologue* and in *Piers Plowman*. The Mayor and Aldermen attended with appreciable regularity, dressed in their red or violet robes of office. Everybody was expected to stand during the preaching. Only the members of the King's Court were provided with seats.

On special occasions the sermons were taken down by

scribes who sat at the foot of the pulpit and took notes for some enterprising printer. A few preachers used notes, which have come down to us. But the great majority preached as the spirit moved them, and, beyond a brief reference or two in the contemporary chronicles and annals, nothing has been recorded of their text and discourse. The sermons that have come down to us are of much interest to the student of history and literature, for they reveal to some extent the salient points in the social conditions prevailing in England at the time, and they also indicate the particular evils that provoked the preacher's criticism and censure. In times when the masses were inarticulate, the voice of the preacher at Paul's Cross sounded the note of warning and expressed the popular fears and hope. It is equally true, however, that, more often than not, those who filled the Paul's Cross pulpit kept within the bounds of the prevailing orthodoxy, and in these sermons the student is sure to find nothing but the ideas that were pleasing to the ecclesiastical authorities in power at the time.

The great era of preaching at Paul's Cross began with the publication of the Pope's sentence against Luther (1520). On March 12, 1521, Dr. John Fisher (1459–1535), Bishop of Rochester, delivered a sermon at the Cross on the occasion of the burning of the reformer's writings. Wolsey and Warham were present, and seemed pleased with both the sermon and the burning in the churchyard. Fisher was regarded as one of the great pulpit orators in the early Tudor period, and was one of the towers of strength of the old faith. However, when he refused to gratify Henry VIII's wish for divorce, and stood firm in a loyalty to conscience, he suffered with Sir Thomas More on Tower Hill.

While Fisher was the last of the old school of preachers, John Colet (1467 ?–1519), Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and friend of Erasmus, was the first of the new order. Among Colet's first reforms as Dean was the institution of daily sermons at the Cathedral and Paul's Cross. Erasmus, who

was present when the Dean delivered his famous discourses on Paul's Epistles, has left a vivid account of the style and manner in which these were delivered. Colet spoke, says the Dutch scholar, 'not with his voice alone, but with his eyes, his countenance, and his whole demeanour.' He seldom wrote his sermons, and even ascended the pulpit without notes. But he never failed in impressing his congregation by his charm and eloquence and earnestness. He attacked the degenerate lives of the average priest and monk; he spoke against image worship and the confessional; he did not approve of the monastic system; he objected to the English practice of reading sermons from the pulpit. He inveighed against the worldliness of the bishops, the accumulation of benefices, and the evils of non-residence. The Church, he insisted on all occasions, stood in need of a consecrated clergy. Erasmus seems to have thoroughly approved of the Dean's 'Coletian arrows,' which, he declared, 'were surer than the arrows of Hercules.' But, needless to say, these sermons by Colet antagonized the aged Bishop FitzJames of London, who reported the offending preacher to the King. It is something to be wondered at that the Dean was not burned at the stake. On the contrary, Henry VIII is reported to have 'privately encouraged Colet to go on preaching and by no means to hide his light in times so dark.'

During the seven years preceding the divorce of the King from Catherine of Aragon, Paul's Cross rang loudly with arguments and invective of disputants on both sides of the question. But after the coronation of Anne Boleyn, the revolt against the authority of Rome being in full swing, the King's party secured the Cross for the preaching of anti-Romish doctrines. His Majesty sent forth a royal command to John Stokesley, Bishop of London, who had supreme authority over the Cross, to make sure that

> Orders be taken that such as preach at Paul's Cross shall henceforth continually, Sunday after Sunday, teach and declare unto the people that he that now calls himself Pope, and any of his predecessors,

is and were only Bishops of Rome, and have no more authority and jurisdiction by God's laws within the realm than any other bishop had, which is nothing at all . . . and that the Bishop of London is bound to suffer none to preach at Paul's Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach and set forth the same.

Stokesley was a loyal supporter of the King, He saw to it that this royal mandate was strictly observed. The preachers appointed for Paul's Cross were picked and carefully instructed. By the 'Submission of the Clergy Act' of 1532 the proceedings at the Cross were further regulated and controlled in the interests of Henry VIII's own laws of ecclesiastical polity.

With the passing away of Henry VIII and the accession of his son, the Protestant party became almost all-prevailing. Preachers who were not quite certain of the late monarch's position in matters theological, and were therefore timid about expressing themselves at Paul's Cross, made a bold appearance now. On St. Martin's Day, Bishop Ferrar of St. David's entered the pulpit and fulminated against all manner of things in the Roman Church. He refused to put on the garb of a bishop. He addressed his congregation in the simple vestments of a Protestant priest.

Before the close of the first year of Edward VI's reign the ancient pulpit was occupied by several eminent divines, whose sermons have since been regarded as noble examples of pulpit eloquence. First among them was the famous Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Nicholas Ridley (1500 ?–55), who attracted a great deal of attention at the Cross. In 1550, when he was installed Bishop of London, he preached perhaps the longest sermon ever heard from this pulpit. It is reported that the Mayor and the Aldermen, who had been standing in their liveries from about three o'clock listening to the great doctor as he inveighed against the worship of pictures, the adoration of the saints, and other matters of offence to the Protestant cause, grew weary of long standing, and, at five o'clock, quietly stole away.

An even greater preacher at the Cross than Ridley was Bishop Latimer (1485–1555), whose energy and eloquence produced some of the most pungent sermons of the Reformation. Latimer believed in the power of preaching. He drew large crowds by his strong personality and sincere manner of discourse. On New Year's Day, 1548, he began what was probably his most celebrated series of attacks on the Roman Church. The sermon 'Of the Plough' was one of these, and in it the preacher of seventy summers lashed and reviled the vices and superstitions of the age in sentences that were bold and classic. 'The King,' he declared, 'made a marvellous good Act of Parliament that certain men should each of them sow two acres of hemp, but it were all too little were it so much more to hang the thieves that be in England.' Then he scoffed at the extravagance of prelates 'pampering of their paunches' and 'maunching in their mangers.'

I would ask you a strange question. Who is the most diligentest bishop and prelate in all England, that passeth all the rest in doing his office? . . . I will tell you. It is the Devil. . . . He is never out of his diocese. . . . He is ever at his plough.

At the death of Edward VI, the partisans of Lady Jane Grey hurriedly proclaimed her Queen. They lost no time in taking possession of Paul's Cross and appointing eminent divines to preach sermons in support of her pretentions. Dr. Ridley, who threw himself desperately into the Anti-Marian faction, stirred the people with rousing sermons at the Cross, in one of which he went so far as to denounce both Princess Mary and her sister (the future Queen Elizabeth) as bastards. We are told that the 'congregation heard him with undisguised disgust.'

The plan of the Anti-Marian party failed disastrously. Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, entered London and received the homage of the people. There were tumultuous scenes at the Cross. The slow-moving populace was not able to comprehend these quick changes from Romanism to Lutheranism, from Lutheranism to Henrican

Popery, from the modified Popery of Henry's last years to the Calvinism of his son, and from Edward VI's Calvinism back to the original Romanism once more. On August 18, 1553, the Queen's chaplain, Dr. Gilbert Bourne, a zealous Papist, preached at Paul's Cross before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and stones were flung in the direction of the pulpit. The Mayor's call for order was unheeded. Some one cried: 'He preaches damnation—pull him down, pull him down!' Then a dagger was thrown at the preacher. In the fray that ensued, a priest and a barber were arrested as the cause of all the row, and, as an example to all their fellows, these miserable men were set up at Paul's Cross in a pillory, with their ears nailed to it.

The Queen, being a devout Catholic, prohibited the use of Paul's Cross by preachers of the reform movement. She repealed the anti-Romish laws of the preceding reigns and restored the full authority of the Pope in England. The mediaeval laws against heresy were revived.

When Her Majesty married Philip of Spain, sermons were preached at Paul's Cross by Nicholas Harpsfield and Bishop Stephen Gardiner, exhorting the people to receive with favour the Queen's husband, 'the most perfect prince,' as King of England. On December 2, 1554, Philip himself, attended by Cardinal Pole, honoured Paul's Cross with his royal presence, and Bishop Gardiner repeated his eulogistic sermon. The Bishop was a past master in the art of flattery. He was a polished orator, and knew how to please his congregations. Whenever he preached at Paul's Cross, he was sure of a large and distinguished audience. On February 6, 1558, it is reported that there were as many as sixteen bishops, besides the Mayor and Aldermen, several judges, and members of the Court, to listen to his sermon. And, strange to relate, it is believed that he pleased them all.

Mary Tudor's tragic rule came to an end in 1558, and, within three days of her death, Paul's Cross once again resounded with the doctrines for which Latimer and Ridley

were burned at the stake. On the Sunday after the proclamation of Elizabeth as Queen, Dr. William Bill, Dean of Westminster and friend of Roger Ascham, preached by special appointment at Paul's Cross. It was a 'goodly sermon,' the aim of which was to 'allay the popular excitement which was manifesting itself in brutal outrages upon the Catholics.'

The new Queen, as head of the Church in England, made it her business to prevent the use of Paul's Cross as a station from which to stir up discord and controversy 'concerning the governance of the realm.' An order was issued by Her Majesty that no man should be permitted to preach at Paul's Cross but 'such as be allowed by authority.' Both Romanists and Puritans who had an axe to grind were refused permission, and, in consequence, during the early days of the reign the Cross remained silent. When Dr. Thomas Sampson (1517–89), the popular Puritan divine, tried to enter the pulpit on April 2, 1559, he found it locked. The Lord Mayor, who chanced to be present, graciously sent for a smith, who opened the lock by force. The enclosure, we are told, was in a filthy condition. As the learned preacher discoursed, he was able to knock great quantities of dust off *that* pulpit!

Preaching was not much encouraged by Queen Elizabeth. It was her opinion that one or two preachers were sufficient for any country. She seemed to favour eloquence at the Bar and on the stage, but cared little for it in the pulpit. Can this be the reason why, while there were many reputed writers of theological treatises in those 'spacious days,' there were few really great masters of pulpit oratory?

Dr. John Jewel (1522–71), Bishop of Salisbury, was an exceptionally gifted preacher in Elizabethan times. As the chief apologist for Anglicanism, he preached a sermon at Paul's Cross on November 26, 1559. He flung out a bold challenge to the Papists, specifying twenty-seven points of doctrine held by the Church of Rome, which, declared the

preacher, were not held by the early Fathers of the Church. He offered to become a Papist if any person could produce sufficient evidence that any of these points was held in the first six hundred years after Christ. This challenge was followed by his classic *Apology for the Church of England*, which was so highly successful that in 1562 it received the sanction of Convocation as the first clear statement of the Anglican position.

The terrific fire that swept over the city of London, and did so much damage to the Cathedral (1561), did not hurt Paul's Cross; but it provided the preacher with illustrative material for his sermon on the Sunday after the catastrophe. Dr. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, who occupied the pulpit on June 8, 1561, thundered against the abuses and superstitions of the times, and, pointing to the wreckage around him, attributed the fire to God's wrath for the desecration of the holy edifice by the practice of Popish worship. This attack was supported and supplemented on the Sunday following by Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Dean Nowell (1507–1602) was one of the Queen's favourite preachers. He was admired for his 'goodly zeal and special good learning' by Her Majesty, and was frequently appointed to preach at the Cross. With Bishop Jewel, he had no small share in bringing back the reformed religion to England. Sometimes his zeal got the better of him, and put him into queer positions. The story is told that when he was preaching a Lenten sermon before Her Majesty, and broke forth in a vehement criticism of the use of the crucifix, Elizabeth called aloud to him from her seat: 'To your text, Mr. Dean —leave that; we have heard enough of that!' The Dean was so utterly confounded that he could not go on.

It was at Paul's Cross that Richard Hooker (1554–1600), the 'judicious' author of *The Ecclesiastical Polity*, made his first appearance as a preacher. At the time (1581) he was an obscure scholar from Oxford. He certainly paid very

dearly for this trip to London. It seems that on this occasion Hooker lodged with a linendraper, John Churchman, on Watling Street, and was persuaded by Mrs. Churchman that he should marry the daughter of the house. Hooker complied, and discovered later that his wife, who was neither pretty nor rich, was a shrew. Izaac Walton attributed Hooker's error in the choice of his wife to his 'bashfulness and dim sight.' In the pulpit, this gentle preacher was so bashful that he would not lift his eyes from his manuscript; and he was so dim-sighted that he could not read his notes. 'Where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of the sermon, there they continued till it was ended.'

The year 1588 was the wonderful year of Elizabeth's reign. About this time, Paul's Cross was repaired and partly enclosed by a brick wall. The old pulpit was in excellent condition for the celebrations that followed the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Important sermons were delivered at the Cross by Dean Nowell on August 20, when the defeat of the Spaniards was announced, and again on September 8, when the captured Spanish flags were displayed. When Dr. Fletcher, the Queen's well-spoken chaplain, concluded his sermon at the Cross on the Queen's Majesty, the trumpets were sounded, an anthem was sung, on the steeple many lights burned, and the bells of the Cathedral chimed merrily. The Queen came in state to the Cathedral for a special thanksgiving service. She was drawn in a chariot by four stately white horses, and attended by the gallant Earl of Essex and a host of ladies of honour. After the service, the royal party went to Paul's Cross, where Dr. Pierce, the Bishop of Salisbury, preached a sermon for the occasion.

According to the historian John Strype, there were many powerful and audacious preachers among the Puritans who caused some embarrassment to the Bishop of London, Matthew Parker, by their sermons at Paul's Cross. The Bishop was responsible for the appointment of preachers, and was held answerable for their conduct in the pulpit.

A Puritan scholar from Christ Church, Oxford, on being appointed, was conferred with by the Bishop's chancellor and required to have consideration of the times and not stir the minds of the people with vain fancies; 'whereunto he answered, "Well, well"; but being set on and provoked thereunto by his zeal, he consumed his whole sermon in railing against the present state.' On another occasion, the chaplain of the Bishop of Norwich, 'much commended unto the Bishop for learning and sobriety,' completely ignored his promise to conform to the rules and regulations of the pulpit, and, in his sermon at the Cross, 'most spitefully attacked' the ecclesiastical government and the evils and abuses of the reign.

In the estimation of his contemporaries, Henry Smith (1550?–91) was 'the greatest preacher of the age.' They called him 'silver-tongued Smith.' He preached at Paul's Cross on the invitation of Bishop Aylmer of London, and was later elected lecturer at St. Clement Danes by the rector and the congregation. Smith was conspicuously free from the vulgarity and the vindictiveness common to most Elizabethan preachers. He was appreciated by all parties for the charm of his eloquence and the sincerity of his message. His best sermons were on such subjects as On Sabbath-Breaking, On Usury, On Witchcraft, and On the Devil Compassing the Earth—'The Devil goeth a-visiting; he will teach the sick how they shall recover their health, he will whisper the poor how they shall come by riches, he will tell the captives how they shall redeem their liberty, but to devour is the end of his visitation.' Smith's collected sermons were dedicated to Lord Burghley, who befriended him on several occasions.

Nationalism ran high in the 'gay 'nineties' of the Elizabethan age. London was becoming a busier and more important centre of commerce and social activity than ever before. The precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral attracted all conditions of men. Merchants and pedlars, coney-catchers and cutpurses, poets and statesmen, actors and soldiers,

women and children, invaded the churchyard at all hours of the day. In a sermon delivered at Paul's Cross, Anthony Anderson, parson of Medburn, complained of the ill-behaviour around the Cross: 'There is no place so egregiously polluted as the Church of Paul's, or His Word more contemned in any place. What meaneth else that accustomed walking and profane talking in time of the sermon there?' A proclamation was issued by the Queen prohibiting all quarrelling, bargaining, &c., in the churchyard, especially during the time of preaching, 'on pain of imprisonment and fine,' the fine to go toward the repair of the Cathedral; but the crowds did not seem to have taken this mandate any too seriously. In his *Guls Hornboke* (1609), Dekker gives us an idea of the variety of knaves and gulls that swarmed about Paul's Cross and made the preacher's life a difficult one.

The practice of buying and selling in the Cathedral grounds seems to have had a corresponding practice in ecclesiastical circles. Beginning with the Martin Marprelate tracts (1588), the criticism of the bishops of the Established Church, and of the practice of simony, became more and more searching and pointed. Dr. John Dove, preaching at Paul's Cross on November 3, 1594, 'spoke very strictly of those that buy patronages of Church livings and give them to base and ignorant and beggarly men who would accept of benefices upon unlawful conditions.' Another preacher, John Hawson, returned to the subject in a sermon delivered at the Cross on December 4, 1597, 'showing how unlawful was the buying and selling, not only of commodities in the Cathedral, but among officials of the Established Church throughout the realm.'

When the great Queen Elizabeth passed away (1603), a change came over the nation. The personal character and taste of the new monarch had some influence on the religious spirit and national feeling of London. There was nothing in which James I seemed more interested than in theology.

His ' Direction to Preachers ' denoted the colour of his mind. It is likely that His Majesty made frequent visits to the Cathedral, and, incidentally, listened to an occasional sermon at Paul's Cross. He was pleased with the religious discourses of the Bishop of London, Dr. John King (1559–1621), to whom His Majesty referred as ' the King of Preachers.' On March 26, 1620, James I was present when the Bishop made an appeal at Paul's Cross for contributions to the repair of the Cathedral. It is reported that on another occasion, in Mid Lent, 1628, His Majesty came in great state on horseback from Whitehall to Paul's Cross, to listen to another sermon by his eloquent Bishop of London.

James I seems to have taken as much interest in the pulpit oratory of the famous poet and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Dr. John Donne (1573–1631), who was recognized as one of the most learned men in the English Church at the time. Donne's first Paul's Cross sermon was delivered on September 15, 1622, in the presence of a large congregation. This sermon was later printed and widely published. Donne had the distinction of preaching the first sermon which Charles I heard after his accession.

Like his predecessor and father, Charles I is reported to have had some interest in the sermons at Paul's Cross. When the Cathedral was being restored under the auspices of Archbishop Laud, appeals were made for donations and offerings at the Cross. Laud himself preached at the Cross in the spring of 1631, and there is some reason to believe that the Court was represented on that occasion.

Paul's Cross fades out of view about this time (1640–2). In the struggle and conflict that ensued, the Cathedral fell into neglect and the Cross was abandoned. The Puritan Government had no use for anything that had to do with episcopacy. The property of the Established Church was treated with scant courtesy. It was rumoured at the time that Oliver Cromwell had determined to sell St. Paul's Cathedral to the Jews. The fact remains, however, that he

did cause Paul's Cross to be pulled down (1642), because it was a cross, and because crosses were irreclaimably Popish.

The site of Paul's Cross was long marked by an elm-tree, but in time the tree passed away, and the spot was forgotten. Sometime in 1879 the remains of the octagonal base of the old Cross were discovered by Mr. F. C. Penrose and placed at the north-east angle of the Cathedral. In 1906 the position of the original Cross was indicated on the pavement.

The visitor to St. Paul's Cathedral to-day will see a stately column standing in the place of the old Cross and pulpit, and it is likely that he will turn away in disappointment because the new memorial bears the stamp of 1913. It is not easy to realize that over that spot there hover the ghosts of a distinguished procession of preachers who filled the air with their testimony and message and had no small share in the struggle for religious freedom.

MONTAGU FRANK MODDER.

A Saunter through Kent with Pen and Pencil. By Charles Igglesden. (Ashford: *Kentish Express.* 8*s.* 6*d.*) This is Sir Charles Igglesden's twenty-fifth volume of *Saunters through Kent.* The whole set can now be had for three guineas, and they represent every side of the county's history, past and present. Its scenery, its famous names, its great houses, its ghost stories, and its smuggling, all are here told in picturesque style and lighted up by Mr. Willis's drawings of churches, houses, and landscapes. The present volume describes Sandgate, with its castle and its memorial to Sir John Moore, its storms and fears of French invasion. Then we pass to Doddington, a typical bit of rural Kent, with a church 800 years old, and Sharsted Court, with eighteen staircases and priceless pictures, furniture, and tapestry. Newnham lies in a rich cherry district, and has its Calico House and Champion Court. Boughton Aluph takes us back to Domesday Book and the family of Aluph. Earl Godwin was the first lord of the manor, and the fair on Midsummer's Day dated back to the times of the Plantagenets. Brook Church is one of the oldest in Kent, and Hinkhill has many historic treasures. Sir Charles writes from intimate knowledge of the churches, houses, and villages, and he has a keen eye for those picturesque details which give zest to a record. Kent may well be proud of such a set of volumes as these.

THE WORLD OF THE SUPERNATURAL

IN these days of change, alarm, surprise—national, social, economic, and religious—it requires both faith and courage to think out and publish an elaborate treatise on the philosophy of religion. It is not given to every one to plan and build a modern Noah's Ark and launch it, with its multifarious life, on troubled waters, under stormy skies, and perhaps an impending flood. But it is precisely when things seen and temporal are most disturbed and threatening that men need a secure anchorage and a serene harbour of refuge in things unseen and eternal.

On many accounts, therefore, we welcomed last autumn the appearance of a volume by Dr. John Oman, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, on *The Natural and the Supernatural* (Cambridge University Press). The writer needs no introduction to the readers of this REVIEW ; and when at such a time such a learned and trusted leader of religious thought in this country publishes such a work on such a subject, it behoves all who care for the paramount interests of religion to hear and give heed to what he has to say.

Some readers will probably remember that a few years ago Dr. Oman wrote at some length on the same topic. In 1925 a composite volume entitled *Science, Religion, and Reality*, edited by Dr. Joseph Needham, was at once hailed as a valuable contribution to the study of its great themes, and its influence was widely felt and acknowledged. In that volume Dr. Oman dealt with ' The Sphere of Religion,' and his essay stands in interesting relation to the volume before us. Some of the sentences, all the underlying thoughts, and to a considerable extent the outline of the argument, are the same, in the preliminary sketch and in the fully matured volume. Even now the two may be usefully read together. Those who have seen only the essay must

study the volume; while those who possess the volume may still profit by consulting the outline plan of the ground. Both represent in different ways what had doubtless been forming in the mind of the author many years before.

It is no part of our object in this article to describe in whole, or in minute detail, the contents of this valuable volume. In a single paragraph it may be possible to give some idea of its scope, and then we propose to concentrate entirely on the one topic indicated in the title and to show what is the author's answer to the questions suggested by the heading of this paper. The adequacy of Dr. Oman's answers cannot be properly discussed in a few pages.

The Introduction on the Scope and Method of the Inquiry extends to 120 closely printed pages, the statement of the 'standpoint' occupying twenty pages and 'The Method and Problems' twenty or thirty more. It must not be thought, however, that this is labour lost, for a number of most important incidental questions are discussed in this introduction, including, for example, the fullest and best examination we have seen of the theories—so prevalent and confident at this time—of Religion as an Illusion. All types of these theories are examined and their weaknesses exposed. The second part, entitled 'Knowing and Knowledge,' lays the foundations of Dr. Oman's arguments in a sound epistemology—a necessary and admirably executed piece of work. Part III., on 'Necessity and Freedom,' might well have filled a volume by itself. It covers an old battle-field, strewn with the débris of innumerable conflicts, but Dr. Oman's position—not Freedom *versus* Necessity, but Freedom *in* Necessity and Necessity *in* Freedom—is full of instruction. The title of Part IV.—'The Evanescent and the Eternal'—does not explain itself, but it deals with the historical forms of religion and their classification—Primitive, Polytheistic, Mystical, and Legal and Ceremonial, finishing up with the Prophetic type or stage, on which we shall say something later in this article. We now proceed to deal in

more detail with the central theme of the book—the World of the Supernatural.

The answer to the question, What is the Supernatural? must be given in the author's own words:

'As here used, the Supernatural means the world which manifests more than natural values, the world which has values which stir the sense of the holy and demand to be esteemed as sacred.' But this definition depends on the meaning of 'holy' and 'sacred,' previously explained as parts of man's religious environment, and the meaning and implications of environment, and our knowledge of it, as explained by Dr. Oman, form an essential foundation for all that follows. 'We know all environment,' he tells us, 'not as impact, or physical influx, but as meaning, and this meaning depends on: (1) the unique character of the feeling it creates; (2) the unique value it has for us; (3) immediate intuition of a special kind of objective reality, which is inseparable for this valuation; and (4) the necessity of thinking it in relation to the rest of experience, and the rest of experience in relation to it.' The words 'holy' and 'sacred' have been previously explained, and on this subject Dr. Oman uses results which have been fully expounded by Otto in his *Idea of the Holy*. He employs both words in a fuller and more definite sense than they have in popular usage. 'The "holy" I propose to use for the direct sense or feeling of the Supernatural, and the "sacred" for the valuation of it as of absolute worth.'

'We cannot prove the reality of any environment while omitting the only evidence it ever gives of itself, which is the way in which it environs us.'

Again: 'We cannot distinguish the Natural as the mechanical and the Supernatural as the free, for we do not know how much freedom there is in the Natural, nor how much law in the Supernatural; nor can it be divided as between the ordinary and the miraculous. . . . The two are not in opposition, but are constantly interwoven, and there

may be nothing wholly natural, or wholly supernatural, but our interests in them are perfectly distinct and very definitely distinguished aspects of our experience.'

Again: 'While the Supernatural would have no meaning were there only sensations and the values of physical pleasure and pain, in the end the validity depends neither upon the feeling of holiness nor upon the judgement of sacredness, but upon the reality to which these belong—the existence of the Supernatural. The Supernatural is the special concern of religion, and nothing else is concerned with it in the same way as religion.'

The brief extracts here given, while allowing the author to speak in his own words, do not furnish an adequate idea of his argument, which should be studied at length in his volume, though its outline may be clearly discerned in his essay. But the main features of his position are clear. The Supernatural is the Given; it is not an abstraction created by the human mind. It is not the same as our sense of the Holy, our judgement of the Sacred, but it is our own immediate possession, in and through these. As the Natural is directly given to us through the senses and the intellect, while the existence of an external natural world cannot be 'proved' by any processes of reasoning, so also with the world of the Supernatural. Both are elements of our experience—that is, of man as man now constituted. The distinction between the Natural and the Supernatural may be made clear by analysis, but the two must not be separated if either is to be rightly understood. The reality of the one is as fundamental, as essential, as certain, as the reality of the other, each to be understood only by careful inquiry and study. Real study must be suffused with intense *interest* if it is to furnish us with insight and revelation. This all-important 'interest' is secured in the realm of the seen and temporal by reason of our immediate physical and mental needs, but the 'interest' in the supernatural world has been comparatively scanty, fitful, and uncertain. Hence to the man

in the street the one world is apt to be viewed as the real, the other as shadowy and unreal. Both are essential parts of the One Real Universe, in which man lives and moves and has his being, which together, inseparably, form his environment, and both of which are real, beyond his power to tamper with, each being intelligible only in terms of the other, and both absolutely necessary for the development of the human—for man is not Man as yet.

In our studies of the Supernatural, confusion too often arises because religion is identified with theology—the Given Reality, and our relation to it, with our narrow reasonings and conclusions about it, especially our dogmatic assertions as to the relations between Natural and Supernatural. Man as now constituted is liable to error in both departments of investigation, and the history of thought is little more than the history of a rapid succession of systems theological and systems scientific. Even as we write, there is proceeding a revolution in the world of physical science which would have appeared incredible, as well as impossible, in the assured *Weltanschauung*, or 'World-outlook,' of fifty, or even thirty, years ago. If a parallel revolution is being silently effected in theology, it is not to be feared or wondered at; the real ground of fear would be a state of 'No Change,' which would mean that religion was being frozen to death. But the conflicts of our day are not, properly speaking, between religion and science, but between scientists and theologians. The world of the Natural and the world of the Supernatural both abide, august and indissoluble, their several realms distinct but equally real and inseparable. We are as far as ever from perfectly comprehending either, but we are beginning a little better to understand both. The marvel of marvels, as it is the difficulty of all difficulties, lies in the interlacing, interlocking, interpenetrating of two worlds, with all the problems which arise out of their mutual relations.

Nothing has been said as yet of concrete 'religions'—that

is, of systems more or less coherent, more or less influential, more or less stable, first growing, then maturing, then decaying, and then vanishing utterly, in the long course of human history. We have already shown where this subject appears in the outline of Dr. Oman's exposition, which throughout the two hundred pages of Part IV. is interesting and important enough for a separate volume. We can only say here that the author traces the development of religions from the Primitive and the Polytheistic, through the Mystical and the Legal and Ceremonial Religions, to the Prophetic—the climax of the whole. All religions, he says, are religions of redemption, 'in the sense of seeking in the Supernatural what is more abiding and more in accord with human purpose than the constant stream of change of the merely Natural.' But in none of the earlier religions was there any sense of reconciliation to the whole of life as all ordered by God. It is in the beliefs and actions of the prophets that we approach to a reconciliation to God in all His appointments in the Natural. There have been prophets of one kind or another since the world began, and the work of most of them, while invaluable, was clouded by ignorance and imperfection. 'In its purity we find this prophetic religion of reconciliation only in the Hebrew prophets and Jesus, though we cannot separate from Him the interpretation of His immediate followers, who through Him also lived in the prophetic order.' And, as in the natural world, sensation passes into perception, and experience, pleasant or unpleasant, is transformed into objective knowledge of meaning and purpose, there is given to us 'an objective revelation of the Supernatural as our highest and most real environment, which makes the Natural in relation to it in a sense all good, and its evanescence the unfolding of a meaning and purpose that manifest the Eternal.'

In attempting to estimate the significance and practical bearings of Dr. Oman's work, one of the most important contributions to the philosophy of religion in the present

generation, its exact scope must be borne in mind. The author is to be judged by what he set out to do, not by the standard of what some may think he should have attempted. And for our own part, we are not presuming to criticize, or weigh in the balances, the whole of this widely comprehensive volume. But we would try in a few sentences to indicate the valuable work which has been here accomplished on behalf of religion, and to show its bearing upon certain other parts of the field upon which the author has not entered. We may say in passing that in his well-known book on *Grace and Personality*, and in his stimulating *Sermons*, Dr. Oman has dealt with the great and distinctive truths of Christianity, and probably other works from the same pen may ere long be expected.

1. This book is concerned with the Supernatural, not with the miraculous. The two are often confused in popular speech, but it is not with supposed violations, or suspensions, of natural law that we are concerned, but with the whole field of man's spiritual life, from its earliest crude and rudimentary beginnings to its highest developments and attainments—a whole world of prayer, of grace, of communion, which is supernatural, though not miraculous. The distinction is well brought out by Baron von Hügel in his striking address on 'Christianity and the Supernatural,' included in one of his published volumes. He maintains that 'God's outward action moves on two levels—the natural level and the supernatural—a Good, and a Better, or Best—two levels, and not merely two degrees of goodness.' The distinction between the two must be clearly defined and steadily maintained, and this is one of the ends well and truly established by Dr. Oman. Monism is a subtle foe; it lurks in the very inner chambers of the soul; and when it is securely lodged there it is a deadly foe to real religion. Much of the religion of the day, it has been said, 'is monistic to the core.' The boundary lines between Natural and Supernatural, God and the world, Creator and creature, time

and eternity, are rubbed out, or worn away till they can hardly be discerned. When rightly restored and maintained they are lines of distinction, not of separation; Natural and Supernatural are interwoven.

2. The distinct actual reality of the higher level thus indicated needs, therefore, to be demonstrated. Objectivity in religion is necessary to its manifestation and energy, to its enjoyment within and its influence without. The prevailing emphasis on religious *experience* tends this way. Unless the nature of that experience is clearly understood, religion virtually becomes human, 'states of mind' take the place of worship, and God is driven from His very inmost shrine in the heart and life of man. Dr. Oman's chapter on 'Theories of Religion as Illusion' is of great value at this point.

3. None the less, the two worlds, Natural and Supernatural, form one whole. There is no opposition between them, neither should any impassable gulf or chasm be made to separate them. The God of nature is the God of grace. 'Two worlds are ours'—in another sense than that of the well-known hymn—and men may inhabit one, while hardly conscious of the other, or even denying its existence. The Supernatural is not to be banished to the dim past, or the even more indistinct future. It is here and now, however much its influence in these difficult days is lost. Dr. Oman's book will do much to resuscitate and reinforce it. Carlyle's vehement, though often obscure, insistence upon the Natural-Supernatural was one secret of his influence two generations ago, and many centuries seem to have elapsed since his time. The time, however, will never come when it is unnecessary to insist that the real Supernatural is with us *now*, that its kingdom is in our midst.

> Lo, God is here—let us adore!

4. Room must be left in the delimitations of this field for errors, imperfections, blunders, and misleading disproportion in the teaching of truths. Mankind is still at school.

Men have been learning a long time, and sometimes seem still hardly to have begun to learn aright. When the Supernatural is mentioned, many think only of the ghost-and-bogey stories of their childhood. Others identify it with an infallible Book, or an infallible Church, which is to save them the trouble of thinking. We are compelled to proceed by the tedious and baffling method of trial and error; and, not having succeeded at first, are like the child very impatient at being repeatedly told to 'Try again.' Even when the Supernatural is admitted, man's ultimate conceptions of reality are almost infinitely various, conflicting, and perplexing.

'To one,' says Dr. Oman in a long and impressive passage, of which we can only quote a part, 'the ultimate Reality is almost a material force, to another a purely spiritual influence. To one it is indivisible unity, to another it is gods many and lords many. To one it is the most personal of all that is conceivable, and the source and goal of all freedom; to another it is a fixed cosmic process, of which the individual is merely the vehicle, and freedom is only confusion from within and from without. . . . For one it concentrates its fierce light on a single purpose and a few austere demands; for another, like the morning sun, it seems to turn muddy pools and common window-glass into flaming diamonds.'

No wonder that multitudes are ready to exclaim that such conflicting views of the supernatural world prove its utter unreality, forgetting that similar variety of views exist concerning the natural world around us and within us, though it remains the basic reality of all our science. Like science, religion has had a long history. In both fields there has been progress, through and by means of retrogressions. Amidst multitudinous fluxes and refluxes, ebbings and flowings, the tide is advancing and the ocean of truth exists, though we are only children picking up pebbles on the shore.

Dr. Oman's chapters on 'The Evanescent and the

Eternal' shed welcome light on the meaning of this complex history, though, from the very nature of the case, it is impossible to illustrate by extracts. Enough for our present purpose if we point out that the difficulties raised by the conflicts of opinion—the complexities of the facts to be dealt with—are not ignored in this comprehensive volume. If no complete solution of the problems is presented and no profession of complete solution is made, the way towards such solution is often satisfactorily shown.

It may be well, in closing an article which does not profess to be a formal review of a book, to take one step farther—the step from the Supernatural to—God. The world of the Supernatural is sublime and comprehensive, but the very expression 'The Supernatural' is an abstraction, and, whatever may be said by theology, religion spurns and avoids mere abstract entities. Religion withers and dies if fed only upon abstractions, vague and shadowy creations of man's own mind. For 'the Supernatural' hardly any one would live or die, while without God the religious man cannot live or breathe, still less think and feel and act in that world of the Natural-Supernatural in which his lot is cast. The philosophy of religion is a great and fascinating study; its resources, especially as unfolded to-day, appear inexhaustible; but it can only deal with the thoughts and ideas of *man*; it cannot take the momentous step from the ideal to the actual. The history of men's ideas about God is wonderful, and fraught with vast issues for thought and practice. But it is mere husk and ashes to the man who is groping for Realities. '"My soul is sick of shadows," said the Lady of Shalott.' Philosophy can achieve wonders in making a road and keeping it clear and bringing a man to the very gateway he seeks; it cannot conduct him into the Presence-chamber and lift the veil beyond which is the Beatific Vision.

It may be questioned how much is actually 'given' in

that sense of the Supernatural which Dr. Oman has described so well, enriching indefinitely the minds of all who have followed him in his description of the 'sense of the holy' and 'the judgement of the sacred.' No one would assert to-day that an immediate intuition is given of the theist's or the Christian's God, and no instructed reader would expect to find in a volume on *The Natural and the Supernatural* a book of Christian or theistic apologetics. As a matter of fact, in our day there is a widespread dislike and distrust of the term 'Supernatural' as begging a number of questions concerning which the typical intellectual man has determined to keep an open mind, and the sacred name of God is avoided by science, which 'has no need of that hypothesis.' Many of us may be disposed to agree with von Hügel that 'the supernatural experience always involves (though often obscurely) the reality, indeed some dim sense, of God. Qualities such as Reality, Transcendence, Presence, Existence, are not apprehended as abstractions floating in the air, or fancies in the mind.' The sense of awe is present, more or less corresponding to Otto's description of the *mysterium magnum et horrendum*, but there is a sense of kinship also, as of spirit with Spirit, a Reality infinitely above, yet mysteriously near and akin to the apprehended. Words, indeed, fail us in this mystic region. Poets may sometimes succeed where philosophers sink out of their depth. But the hints of poets remain hints only. Wordsworth was claimed as a pantheist—which he certainly was not—when he wrote 'a sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused . . . a spirit that impels all thinking things, all objects of all thought, and rolls through all things.' Another poet, less quoted for the moment, described a higher pantheism in his 'Vision of Him who Reigns.' Closer than breathing, nearer than hands and feet, a Spirit meets our spirits, and the poet exclaims, 'Speak to Him, thou, for He hears.' He might have written, 'List to Him, thou, for He speaks.' For Tennyson at all events it is true that 'if He

thunder by law, the thunder is still His voice'; the Vision of one whom as yet we cannot see clearly, or hear distinctly, is at least not It, but He!

We are not concerned here to discuss the exact content—admittedly nebulous—of that sense of the Supernatural which is given to man, partly in and through the Natural, but mainly above and beyond it. It is not a dim perception and acknowledgement of a divine abstraction that this generation needs, but a recognition of the living God within us and around us, over us and on our side, if we are on His side. Both by individuals and by nations, to some extent even by Churches, the deep, mighty, dominating realization of God Himself in our midst has been lost. Nothing will ever be quite right till we have again made it our own.

This basal fact is coming to be recognized by a rapidly increasing number of people in our Western nations, and many are eagerly feeling their way towards a steadier foothold and a firmer hand-grasp in the region of religion. What is the meaning of the movement in Germany indicated by the eager reception of Barthian teaching? It is true that people in this country are not likely to sit at the feet of Karl Barth, even when his doctrines are clearly and ably represented by Emil Brunner. But Brunner's lectures, recently delivered in the University of London and now published under the title of *The Word and the World*, are very significant. He declares that if the teaching of devout and scholarly Christians, such as Ritschl, Herrmann, Troeltsch, and Otto, be true, Christian faith is an illusion. 'Christian belief stands or falls with the assertion that the Word of God is something more than ethics, metaphysics, or religion, something different in its source and origin, as in its conduct. . . . To know God can mean nothing but to hear Him say what He is.' This He has told us, speaking to us in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, and we must listen, believe, and obey—at our peril.

These dogmatic statements need support, and there are

serious gaps in this earnestly preached gospel, which neither Barth nor Brunner has bridged. But there is much to be learned from both. The one power which can lift man or nation from the ideal to the actual is appropriating faith. That old and sadly abused word has too often been misunderstood, inside the Church as well as outside it. Faith, if it is to bring the certitude that men desire, must be an *act*—an affirmation and an act of the whole man—heart and mind and soul and strength—followed up and embodied in the obedience of a loyal and devoted life. This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. If that faith has been wholly or partially lost, it must at all costs be recovered. Just in proportion as this faith is regained, God in Christ is ours—not a mere article, often slurred over, in our theoretical creed. If God in Christ is ours, all things are ours—the natural world and the supernatural world, life and death, things present and things to come, all are ours, if we belong to Christ as truly and fully as Christ belongs to God.

W. T. Davison.

Finch's Fortune. By Mazo de la Roche. (Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*) This takes up the history of the Whiteoaks, after the death of Mrs. Whiteoak, and shows how the fortune which the old lady had left to Finch was used for the benefit of the family and partly lost in transferring Government stock into investments which came to grief. Finch's trip to Europe with his old pair of uncles, to whom he thus gave the treat of their lives, had its adventure and its disappointment, but it made a man of him, and he is evidently on the way to be a great musician. His guardian brother, Renny, and Renny's wife, are the most powerful characters in the story. She goes far to shipwreck their happiness with her jealousy, but that storm is weathered and the whole household is settling down when the story ends. The word-painting is very fine. The Devonshire hunt, the strange Cornish honeymoon which Finch shares with the bride and bridegroom, the poet brother's gifts and waywardness, make up a story of extraordinary power and charm. We hope that Miss de la Roche will let us hear more of Finch and the love-affair which is evidently coming. The Canadian saga stands well abreast of our Forsyte and Harries sagas.

THE FRENCH GENIUS

IF we ask why the Renaissance influenced French art so little, we shall discover that in France the classical tradition had never died. In some obscure way, throughout the mediaeval period the Greek love of form and order persisted in the north as in Provence. So the awakening in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was less a revolution than a development of forms and ideas already recognizable in the existing culture. For two thousand years the strength of the Greek influence moulded the perturbed life of these northern barbarians, so that in their rudest and most robust expression there is something of the strength and moving simplicity of the earlier Greek sculpture.

Earlier rather than later. If the student searches for suggestions of the Aphrodite of Cyrene or the Belvedere Hercules he will be disappointed, unless he turns to the feeble classical imitations of Clodion, Coyzevox, or Carpeaux three or four centuries later. Let him see Autun, Moissac, or Souillac, where the ferment of the imaginative power of Byzantium had given an intense sense of the animation and profuseness of life, and then go to Chartres or Amiens. He will find little that reminds him of Praxiteles or even Pheidias, but much that leads directly to the Doric and Ionian periods. So insistent is their similarity of rhythm, their emphasis upon simple planes, the naïve candour of their emotions and the robust dignity of their movements, that one could almost, without loss of aesthetic harmony, exchange sixth-century Greek sculpture with twelfth- or thirteenth-century French. In both, the close intellectual control of the medium is apparent, and nowhere has mere technical skill been allowed to assert its rather doubtful mastery, and outrun the fertilizing power of the mind. Yet the workmanship is almost always excellent, and the sawdust

of the workshop does not obtrude itself, nor any kind of careless handling of the chisel; the pediment will be as well designed and executed as an angel's face. All this is characteristically Greek, yet it is not everything. There is in this sculpture the same serenity, steadfast directness of purpose, a close union with the life of the people, a sense of beauty interwoven with their common pursuits, such as we should expect to find at Athens. And when the august cathedral rises from the pavement, thronged with the feet of an expectant multitude, it is to reveal a correspondence with Greece that is as remarkable as it is rare.

With the end of the Gothic period, French art loses its contact with the soil and becomes an art, not of the people, but of the King and the Court. From Fontainebleau to Versailles all the decorative arts, together with poets, ecclesiastics, artisans, soldiers, offer their homage to the King, whose nod of approval is the only canon of criticism. Fortunately, François I and Louis XIV were equipped by a sureness of taste and a catholicity of judgement to play the part of Maecenas with fair prospects of success. Play the part they did, with complete thoroughness, so that at Fontainebleau nothing is left that is French. Primaticcio, Rosso, Leonardo, on occasion are summoned by the King, and a school of painting is brought into being by the royal fiat. It became, as a result, the art of the connoisseur, and the artist becomes the purveyor of furnishing pieces to the nobility. Yet, even so, their 'taste' was of such quality that competence, colour, and design, are assured.

The strength of this influence is apparent in the subordination of the emotional and sensuous instincts to the intellectual. French art is the art of ideas, logically expressed with precision and clarity. There is a constant insistence on balance, construction, and organization, and an absence of extravagance and vulgar ostentation. It turns with a subtle mistrust from that world of mystery that, like a penumbra, intruded itself upon the work of the

great Florentines to seek in rigorous and even diagrammatic form for the exact and logical expression of the reasoned facts of experience. There is little spiritual exaltation in it, but a magnificence and grand manner which redeem it from the commonplace.

It has become the fashion to suggest that in offering a warm sympathy to Italian art, and summoning into his service the men who had made the cities of Lombardy and Tuscany famous, Francis dealt to native art a damaging blow. But the sober truth is that, when da Vinci, del Sarto, Rosso, and Primaticcio came into the valley of the Loire, there was no native art worthy of the name. The school of Avignon had left no successors, and the Clouets and Corneille de Lyon were immigrants from the Low Countries. Nor do the half-dozen authentic works of this period inspire us with the conviction that any considerable school of native talent existed. But, whilst the school of Avignon left no successors, it is reasonable to conclude that the great Pietà implies that there was considerable artistic activity at the palace of the Popes, though whether the painters were French or otherwise is difficult to decide. But this Pietà stands alone, and sums up that mediaeval civilization which ended with the return of Charles from Italy. With an intense intellectual feeling which appeals to the modern mind, there is a mastery in composition, a reserve of colour, and massing of its drapery which proclaim it a masterpiece worthy of any age.

The school of Avignon and the Master of Moulins left no successors because there was no demand for their work. The craze was for portraits, and every king, duke, and noble asked that history should not be allowed to remain in ignorance of his appearance. From the Clouets to Daumier there is hardly a decade without a portrait painter of merit, and, when we have made every possible detraction from their achievement, they maintain a general level of excellence hardly surpassed even by the Venetians. Earlier

than the Clouets, Jehan Fouquet had revealed a strange power of building up the portrait so that out of sombre colours the intelligence seems to issue forth in a clarified brightness of the spirit, and the depth and power of their emotion is felt through a subdued order of expression. In his Charles VII we can read the distress and tragedy which issued finally in the burning of Joan of Arc. The weak mouth, the large dismal nose, the drooping hands, revealing a will so paralysed by fear that, afraid of being poisoned, he died of hunger, reveal more clearly than any historian's prose the coward and the weakling. Yet Fouquet is not too easy in the presence of monarchs. For there is something in him of that intimate and peaceful love of the fields, and the simple poetry of their herds, the familiar labour of the peasant's life, that ally him with the Le Nains, Chardin, Daumier, and Millet.

With these earlier painters there is a brusqueness and puckish humour in observing the character of their sitters that gives to their portraits a penetrating sense of realism. It mattered little that the sitter reigned over a kingdom or was attended by a thousand vassals. Upon them Fouquet, the Clouets, Corneille de Lyon, turn a keen, pitiless gaze which was too aware of the impoverishment of the spirit behind the opulence of the robes. Even Nicolas Froment—clumsy enough painter—possesses this quality. In his 'King René' one feels the personality of the duke who continued unconcernedly to sketch his partridges after he had lost his dukedom. But it is François Clouet who achieves the greatest distinction. If there were nothing more than his chalk drawing of Marguerite, Queen of Navarre, or his portrait of Elizabeth of Austria, or his drawing of Mary, Queen of Scots, we should recognize a painter who could be worthily compared with Holbein. Here is the same delicacy of modelling, the realization of each form, so that with the utmost economy of line the drawing has an astounding vitality. A soft shadow, yet firmly indicated, the curve of

an eyelid, the smile of a mouth, and we feel that the whole personality of the sitter has been realized. Yet not for some time will this vigour, this penetrating insight into character, again be found. It will rediscover itself after Claude and Poussin have developed the classical tradition. For Paris had ceased to be a mediaeval city and had become a lordly capital, but the line of communication between Rome and the northern capital had been busily traversed, and the Court had deliberately patronized Italian art. But, worse than that, Claude, Callot, Poussin, Mignard, and a score of lesser men take the road to Rome that they might paint as the fashion of the day beckoned them rather than as their own genius inspired them. Alone of them all, Claude and Poussin, by the inherent greatness of their nature, avoid disaster. Claude takes from the world the quality of light, that light which gives to the landscape its intensity and its meaning. There is space and air, the salt wind rippling the waters caught in an expanse of golden sunshine and purple shadow, but all this lyric quality is subordinated to an intense intellectual comprehension which demands that this ecstasy of vision shall be unified by a submission of every part to the whole. It is the genius of Claude that he retained this lyric quality whilst realizing a firm and definite organization throughout the composition. Poussin is the Mantegna of sixteenth-century French art. He rediscovered the ancient world, and surrendered himself to the fire and colour of Titian, brought back from his wanderings pebbles, moss, flowers, that in the studio he might still paint from nature, and then proceeds to paint like no one else save only Nicolas Poussin. Vision and passionate insight, a fiery intelligence combined with a heroic capacity for labour, a reverie, and a sustained sensitiveness, enable him to achieve masterpieces such as the 'Massacre of the Innocents' and 'Bacchanalian Dance,' in which we realize how near he came to rivalling Titian.

But Rome is far from Paris, and Claude and Poussin have

no successors as they had no rivals. For the moment, French painting returns to portraiture, and under the patronage of 'Le Roi de Soleil' reaches its completest expression. Rigaud—the heaven-sent painter of the Court that gathered about Louis XIV—achieves results at times that place him among the world's great portrait painters. Ignore his points and we can discover even in his most regal portraits something more than the grand manner. When everything is given a monarchical significance, and the canvas is crowded with sceptres and crowns, robes of rich ermine and velvet, a deeper human feeling is still apparent. King Louis is posed with theatrical splendour, but even the aristocratic setting does not hide the meanness of the face, the consciousness that the unpleasantly democratic grave is not far away, and the mask at last will fall and the nerveless hand no longer sign imperial decrees. Nor is it the fault of the painter if behind the courtliness of the 'Bossuet' we cannot see the essential greatness of the man. But when Rigaud has left the Court, and paints in the full range of his sensibility, as in the portrait of his mother, he reveals a tenderness and delicacy which raises him to a very high level indeed.

Grouped around Rigaud are Largillière, de Troy, Pater, Phillippe de Champaigne, and Lancret, but they lack any creative spirit. Largillière had genius and technical skill, but soon surrendered himself to the fashionable demands of the nobles, and of them all Phillippe de Champaigne is the best entitled to our consideration. The fatigue of the age is upon them, and, though they may seek to disguise it by glittering ornaments, life has fled from them. They know that behind the splendid appearance of things is a spectre of misery that will one day strike terror into the hearts of these disdainful nobles.

But for the moment French art and the spirit of the eighteenth century are synonymous terms. The seventeenth century had despised nature and had turned to antiquity

for its inspiration. Under the shadow of Olympus its seductive fables might be retold, and the unrelenting savageries of human nature be re-staged with the graceful guise of allegory, and the whole sensual troupe become for them the ideal. Of life it knew nothing. Sueur, Le Vouet, even Poussin, at times will give you the attitudes of a well-trained model, but the myriad and fleeting changes which the living, moving figure assumes are ignored—stilted attitudes and unnatural gestures, the vain endeavour to portray idealism of scene when the imagination no longer functions and the brush is the slave of the senses. For the rest of the world the Renaissance had created a passionate interest in life. Ribera and Rembrandt will translate history and legend into terms of passionate life, and Zurbaran and Velazquez will develop their art through the direction of the life around them, even though the 'Hilanderos' or the 'Borrochos' result. Elsewhere the 'Epiphany' of Jan Steen or the 'Drinkers' of Vermeer will reveal the common fustian of the highway transformed, without idealizing, into a masterpiece. But French art turned from the world about it. Logical formulas and symmetrical precision must not be invaded by any rude insurgence of common humanity. Franz Hals may paint his old woman in the almshouse and Greco trace in lines of fire the walls of Toledo, but in Paris they will still content themselves with conventional Ledas, Saturns, Venuses, and Jupiters, in the vain hope that the gods will descend from Olympus and reside at Versailles. But Versailles is silent, and the cold wind sweeps through its empty rooms and oppresses with a sinister malevolence which tells us that laughter is gone out of the world. Even as we see the noble spaciousness of Le Brun, or smile at the elegant nymphs of Coyzevox, a chill seizes our hearts, for we remember that the flowery garden-paths lead us out to the Place de Grève.

Yet for a little while the sound of the heavy tumbril will be withheld, and the *Fêtes Galantes* will be the order of a

society in which *le désir de plaire* remains supreme. Society may still admire the elegant wit and gallantry, delight in a raciness of phrase, and move with unembarrassed grace among the profounder issues of life. It created for itself an artificial paradise where an amiable optimism born of ignorance and luxury stifled those furtive desires for a life in which truth and honour and goodness were supreme. In this society, where to be a saint was less important than to be a gentleman and manners had usurped the place of convictions, art was dedicated to the adornment of life. Boucher and Nattier, Lancret and Fragonard, minister to the *élite*, and art becomes an affair of the *salon*. Everywhere artists surrender themselves to the sinuous demands of the aristocracy. Art becomes a mirror in which all the common mechanisms of life are reflected, without the spirit which alone can give them interest. Gossip is exquisite, and the plaudits of the company are reserved for the witty word, and only the maker of an epigram can hope for the attention of the dinner-table. But mind has withered, and ideas have fled from the challenge of a phrase-making coterie. Nowhere was there any willingness to pierce the brilliant surface of things, to seek to unravel the tangled skein of desire, or allow that world sadness of spirit to intrude itself upon the material light and joy of an age which in the desire to please had lost the sense of pleasure. To this spirit, art surrendered itself, and in its withered life it may have its Boileau, but it can produce neither a Bruyère nor a Pascal.

Yet in one strange, enigmatic figure it almost succeeded in this. If Boucher, Nattier, Lancret, or Fragonard express the spirit of the Pompadour, Watteau crystallizes the true spirit of that France by which she has survived—France which is patient, sober, industrious, accepting without murmuring a life where destiny sometimes garbed itself in comedy, perhaps more often in tragedy; where death knocked at the door without creating surprise, and the tears of little children were mingled with the joy of lovers and the

laughter of their parents. Watteau will paint his 'Fête Champêtre,' 'The Embarkation of Cytherea,' with an unrivalled loveliness of colour and a delicacy of expression, but through his visual harmonies a sense of infinite adventure and poignant desire will thrust itself. For him the comedy is played in a world of shadows, broken by tender silvery lights that in some rare manner he conjured from his palette; a world where the actors' voices and the wandering harmonies of the musicians never enable us to forget that, at the end of the road, death will only be welcome to them who have never known the weariness of combat. Watteau painted his age, its comedies and its *fêtes*, but with a melancholy pathos, a pathos deepened by the passionate desire of his soul for peace. He knows the illusiveness of his world, the pettiness of the lordly men and women whom he paints, yet he contrives to set them in the midst of great space, and with a sense of infinite light and air about them, so that nature may redeem them from a little of their careless folly. He caustically comments upon society by making the stone images of dead divinities more living than the courtiers who play about them. He can discover the secret enchantments of twilight for the lingering feet of lovers, yet when he dies, at the age of thirty-four, bitterness rather than love has entered his soul. The brooding discontent of his spirit seeks for rest, but not until the robe of his poet's mind has become a winding-sheet, and the thin notes of viol and flute shall be stilled in the sound of a last requiem, will he attain his desire.

Yet, of that France of domesticity, thrift, industry, and sober common sense, Chardin rather than Watteau is the painter. For Watteau the life of France was an unfulfilled dream; for Chardin it was a varying and real spectacle of absorbing interest. He has no contact with the world of fashion, and only understands art as a *métier* which must be learnt as well as is possible. So he takes a woman working in the kitchen, a group of apples, a piece of bread or a bottle of peasants' wine, a bowl of fish set against a background

of bare wall, and with them paints the *Te Deum* of the Tiers-État. What Le Nain had tried to do with halting and imperfect step Chardin accomplished through the mastery of his materials, the limpid quality of his colour, the expressive force of his spirit. A century before Maribaux discovers that the common people had a soul, his genius peered into its depths and revealed that they are worthy of the power the Revolution will confer upon them. The tradition of Chardin will continue, and the torch will be carried on by Daumier, Corot, Millet, until at last it will be seized by Cézanne, in whose hand it will burn with a yet more assured flame.

Still, let us make no error. When all has been said of Chardin and his successors, it is Ingres, Houdon, and David who remind us that the essential French genius is found neither in romanticism nor in a modified *genre* painting. Le Nain is hardly Nicolas Maes, and Chardin cannot be compared with Vermeer. In Houdon and David the portrait reasserted itself, whilst Ingres succeeded in uniting the classic line with the new naturalism. But throughout the centuries it is the portrait which holds sway—the succession from Fouquet and the Clouets is both brilliant and enduring. In religious painting there is no Jan Eyck; in landscape, no equal of Constable; in psychological insight Rembrandt remains their master; whilst Vermeer has no rival in the sheer beauty of his pigment. With all their assiduous study the classical revival is a mere childish stammering compared with the Venetians. For none of these things need we go to French art. But if we wish to see mankind in society, to know how he comported himself in the presence of his fellows, to see revealed the inner workings of his mind, we must go to France, and from Clouet's Elizabeth of Austria to Fantin Latour's 'Manet' we may read his *journal intime*, written sometimes with elegant style, more often with sober narration, but always with a rare and studied insistence on the truth.

ARTHUR B. BATEMAN.

THE INFLUENCE OF NICHOLAS OF CUSA UPON LATER THINKERS

NICHOLAS OF CUSA is one of the most remarkable thinkers of the fifteenth century. He has been strangely neglected in this country, for as yet nothing has been written on him in English. The influence of his doctrine upon later writers is a subject that has scarcely been touched by any one, either at home or abroad, and yet it is rather an interesting study, for it leads one into some strange by-ways of history and thought.

The first person of any note who appears to have been influenced markedly by Nicholas is no less a man than Leonardo da Vinci, who was a boy of twelve when the Cardinal died. There was one personal link between them, for Leonardo knew Toscanelli, Nicholas's lifelong friend, who outlived him by twenty years. In one of Leonardo's manuscripts there is a reference to Toscanelli as 'Master Paul the physician.' Leonardo was over thirty years of age when Toscanelli died. This acquaintance may account for the evident fact that Leonardo became a close student of Nicholas's writings, in the edition of 1490 or that of 1502, or possibly both. The great artist left behind him in his manuscripts many remarks and reflections[1] that are manifestly suggested by what he had read in the Cardinal's works. He was specially interested in Nicholas's geometry, astronomy, and dynamics,[2] as one would expect, but there are also several passages that bear upon Nicholas's psychology, and upon his metaphysics; especially his doctrines of complication and explication, and of the maximum and the minimum, and the theory of compenetration borrowed from Anaxagoras, *quodlibet in quolibet.*

[1] Particularly in the *Codice Trivulzio.*

[2] Hart, *The Mechanical Investigations of Leonardo da Vinci*, pp. 16, 21, 120. Duham, *Études sur Léonard de Vinci* (Seconde Série), pp. 153–7, 255–69, 185–200, 211–55.

Nicholas's influence upon Leonardo is interesting, but it is an isolated fact which has no larger significance, except perhaps in one direction. It is significant that there was a remarkable intimacy between Leonardo and Francis I of France. When the King returned from his first brilliant campaign in Italy in 1516, he took the splendid old artist back to France with him, and it was in that country, at Cloux, near Amboise, that Leonardo spent the last two years of his life, and died—as legend said, in the arms of the King. Now we know that there was a very unusual bond of affection between the King and his sister Margaret. And that fact does irresistibly suggest that Leonardo may have been a link in a chain of intellectual influence.

For only once has there been anything like a school of thought derived from Nicholas, and it was in connexion with the French reformers gathered around the Court of Margaret of Navarre. That very remarkable woman, the sister of Francis I and the grandmother of Henry IV, first married, in 1509, the Duke of Alençon, and two years after his death, in 1527, Henri d'Albert, King of Navarre. Her Court at Bourges, while she was Duchess of Alençon, and at Nérac, after she became Queen of Navarre, was a haven of refuge for persecuted humanists and reformers.

Margaret of Navarre is remembered to-day principally by her collection of rather loose stories, the *Heptameron*, which is modelled on Boccaccio. But she was very versatile, and she would have ranked in any age as a highly cultivated woman. As a girl she mastered Latin, Spanish, and Italian, and read Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Later on she acquired Greek, and even had lessons in Hebrew from Paul Paradis. She also learnt a good deal of Platonist philosophy from Marsiglio Ficino. She was herself a graceful poetess, and a patroness of poets. Clément Marot was one of her protégés. She saved him, when he was arrested and imprisoned as a heretic, by her influence with the Bishop of Chartres, and he was not ungrateful, as his extant poems show.

She surrounded herself with learned pages and maids of honour who could discuss philosophy and theology. She was especially associated with a little coterie of enlightened and moderate reformers, 'the group of Meaux,' of which the leaders were Guillaume Briçonnet and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*Faber Stapulensis*). Briçonnet was a scholar and a mystic. He formed a friendship with Lefèvre when the latter lived for several years at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Germain des Près, near Paris, where Briçonnet was Abbot. Briçonnet, who had very powerful family connexions, became Bishop of Lodève in 1489, and of Meaux in 1516. He made Lefèvre his Vicar-General, invited Farel and other reformers to preach, and undertook a genuine reform of his own diocese. He promoted the study of the Bible, and was sincere in his desire for a reformation of the Church, but while he desired reform he dreaded revolution. It was an ill time for moderate men, and Briçonnet's reforming activities had results that must have been unpleasant for him.

Lefèvre d'Étaples, after studying in Paris and visiting Italy, commenced to lecture at Paris on Aristotle, and to publish Latin translations of the Aristotelian writings. Then he began to devote himself to the study of Scripture, and published a series of commentaries on the Psalms, the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul. The latter appeared in 1512, and were closely studied by Margaret. In 1517 he published a critical essay entitled *De Maria Magdalena*, the purpose of which was to prove that Mary Magdalene, Mary the sister of Lazarus, and the 'woman who was a sinner,' were three different persons. Noël Béda, who was the Syndic of the Faculty of Theology at Paris,[1] made this the occasion of a charge of heresy, and the book was formally condemned by a

[1] Noël Béda was an old enemy of Erasmus. There is a scoffing reference to him in the *Colloquia Familiaria* (the first dialogue): 'Lutetiae Beta sapit et Quercus concionatur' ('At Paris a *Beet* is wise and an *Oak* teaches). The second reference is to another theologian of the Sorbonne, William Du Chesne (*a Quercu*).

decree of the Parlement in 1521. In 1523, the year when he became Briçonnet's Vicar-General, Lefèvre published his translation of the New Testament into French. The Old Testament followed in 1525. The version made a profound impression in France. After the battle of Pavia, in February 1525, when Francis I was made a prisoner, the Sorbonne and the Parlement had a freer hand to act against heresy, and several of those who were associated with Briçonnet were proceeded against. Some recanted, but one at least—Pauvant—was burned. Lefèvre fled to Strassburg, but on the return of Francis I he was recalled, and made librarian of the royal castle at Blois. But after some time he did not feel himself safe even there, and fled to Margaret's Court at Nérac, where he spent the last eleven years of his life.[1]

Many other of the contemporary reformers and humanists similarly found asylum with her, amongst them Calvin, who afterwards wrote her characteristically uncompromising letters, and Toussaint, the friend of Erasmus, who taught Greek in the Collège de France, which she had founded. She interested herself in the proceedings which the Sorbonne instituted against Erasmus, who wrote her a consolatory letter after the disaster of Pavia. She did not herself escape suspicion. Noël Béda laid before the Faculty of Theology at Paris her poem, *Le Myrouer de l'Âme Pécheresse*,[2] and pointed out that there was no mention in it of purgatory or of the help of the saints. The Bishop of Senlis, who was her confessor, became the Queen's advocate, however, and she was acquitted of heresy. But she was gravely suspect, and the King was often approached about his sister's opinions.

[1] The letter in which she sought to set Lefèvre right with the King after his flight is in Genin, *Lettres de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, pp. 279–80.

[2] When Queen Elizabeth was a little girl of eleven she made a translation of this poem, *The Mirrour of a guilty Sowle*, and presented it to her stepmother, Catherine Parr. Her own mother, Anne Boleyn, had once belonged to Margaret's household: probably it was there that Henry VIII first saw her.

Now in 1512 Lefèvre published a tract entitled *Introductio Metaphysica*, consisting of four dialogues which manifest throughout, in the most unmistakable fashion, the philosophical influence of Nicholas of Cusa. The work is, in fact, little more than a *réchauffé* of some of Nicholas's characteristic doctrines. And the third edition of the works of Nicholas, which appeared at Paris in 1514, two years afterward, was edited by Lefèvre, and dedicated to Denys Briçonnet (the brother of Guillaume), who was Bishop of Toulon. We know that Margaret of Navarre herself studied Nicholas's writings. It looks as if the moderate French reformers gathered around the Queen, men like the Briçonnets and Lefèvre, who never broke with Rome, and kept on hoping for reform from within, were definitely attracted to Nicholas of Cusa for two reasons—first, because they knew that he had been himself a sincere reformer within the Church, and, second, because they saw in his mystical philosophy a way of holding the dogmas of the Church in a spiritualized fashion that was not utterly irreconcilable with the new knowledge and the new spirit.

Apart from Lefèvre's excursion into metaphysics, the first philosophic writer who can properly be described as a disciple of Nicholas of Cusa is Charles Bouillé (*Carolus Bovillus*).[1] He was not without connexion with the circle we have been describing, for he seems to have been a pupil of Lefèvre. He was born at Sancourt, in Vermandois, about 1470–5, and was a student at the University of Paris in 1495. Later he travelled considerably in Switzerland, Spain, and Italy, and was at Rome in 1507. He became a priest, and eventually a Canon and Professor of Theology at Noyon. He wrote numerous works on mathematics and theology, as well as on philosophy. The most important of his philosophic writings are the three entitled *De intellectu*, *De sensu*, and *De*

[1] The best account of Bouillé's philosophy is in Dippel's *Versuch einer systematischen Darstellung der Philosophie des Carolus Bovillus* (Würzburg, 1865).

nihilo.[1] His philosophy is little more than a version of Nicholas's doctrine, with a good deal of emphasis on the mere symbolism of it. Only perhaps in one direction is there any real development. The Trinitarian rhythm is extended and worked out in new ways. Thus there is a triune element in knowledge, conceived as resulting always in a thesis, an antithesis, and a resultant synthesis. This is an advance upon anything found in Nicholas, and quite a curious anticipation of Hegel's characteristic doctrine.[2] This threefoldness runs through the whole of Bovillus's scheme of thought. There are three worlds—first, the sphere of spiritual actuality; second, the sphere of the body, in so far as it encloses the soul; third, the sphere of the visible world external to the body. The threefold life of the soul, contemplative, active, and factive, answers to this triune division. To this again answers the threefold discipline of philosophy, rhetoric, and mechanics. The general outline of Bovillus's thought is plainly borrowed from Nicholas, and he reproduces many particular ideas of the Cardinal's, such as the whole conception of knowledge as an enlightened ignorance, the whole treatment of identity and opposition, and the peculiar concept of explication.[3] Bovillus names Nicholas as *vir cum in divinis, tum in humanis disciplinis prae cunctis admirandum.*[4]

Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim was another personage who was largely influenced by Nicholas, and he was also one of those who moved more or less in the orbit of Lefèvre and Margaret of Navarre. He was in England in 1510, and stayed with Colet, so that he has a slender link with the beginnings

[1] His philosophical works were written by 1509, and printed by Henricus Stephanus in Paris in 1510, in a folio volume.

[2] Nicholas does mention *affirmatio*, *negatio*, and *copulatio*, but it is only to say that the nature of God is beyond affirmation, negation, and the union of the two. *De sapientia*, ii., p. 144.

[3] Stöckl, *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, iii., p. 106.

[4] *De mathem. supplem.*, f. 192 B.

of the English Reformation. He was a friend, and to some extent a follower, of Lefèvre, and was, like him, a moderate reformer. He lived and died in communion with Rome, but he sent friendly letters and greetings to Luther and Melanchthon; he was free in his satires of monasticism; and, in spite of his own magical repute, he thoroughly disliked what he regarded as superstition in belief and in practice.

His system of thought, such as it is, is contained in his two works, *De occulta philosophia* (1513), and *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (1530). He regards God as absolute unity, but holds that the unity is absolutely triune. Thence the Trinitarian rhythm is carried throughout the universe. There are three worlds—the elemental world of things, the heavenly world of the stars, and the intellectual world of spirits. The four elements exist in God as creative ideas, in the world of spirits as angelic powers, in the stars as celestial forces, and in the earthly world as corporeal forms. There are three intellectual disciplines to correspond with these three worlds—theology, mathematics, and physics. And there are also three grades of magic: the elemental, which operates through the earthly elements; the heavenly, which operates through the stars; and that divine magic which operates through faith and the rites of religion. Man is the middle point of the three worlds, and the union of the earthly, the heavenly, and the spiritual.

There is no doubt at all that Agrippa borrowed the metaphysical substance of his system from Nicholas, and there are many express reproductions of particular ideas as well, such as those concerned with the relation of unity to number, and with the absence of precision from the actual world.[1] It is a curious fact that so much of Nicholas's influence, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, should have expended itself in occult writers along lines of numerical

[1] *De occulta philosophia*, ii. 8, 102. Cf. Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, ix., p. 881.

symbolism and fantastic systematization. Paracelsus was largely influenced by Agrippa, and Paracelsus in turn influenced all the theosophical writers of the seventeenth century, so that there is little doubt that some of the characteristic doctrines of Nicholas filtered down, very often in a perverted way, to theosophical mystics of the age of Böhme. In another direction Nicholas influenced mathematicians like Regiomontanus and Cardan.

The most important personage in the history of philosophy, however, who is markedly dependent upon Nicholas is Giordano Bruno. He was a professed disciple of the Cardinal. He refers several times to *il divino Cusano*,[1] the *De docta ignorantia*,[2] the doctrine of the coincidence of contraries[3] and of explication, and once calls Nicholas *questo galantuomo, uno de' particularissimi ingegni, ch' abbiano spirato sotto quest' aria.*[4] There can be no doubt at all that Nicholas is by far the most important source of Bruno's characteristic ideas. Bruno, like Nicholas, makes his fundamental principle the conception of the Absolute as a primal unity in which all contradictions are merged. From this all created existence is unfolded, and yet all created existence remains essentially included in it. All is one, for all is God as implicit, and all is the universe as explicit. The two sides of reality, God and the universe, the soul of the world and the body of the world, the spiritual and the material, the one and the many, are necessarily distinguished in thought and experience, but they are not really separate. The soul of the world is an infinite reason which dwells within nature, and the infinite reason is to the immeasurable universe as form to matter, as actuality

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[1] *La Cena de la Ceneri* (ed. Wagner), i., pp. 154, 162. *De l'Infinito Universo e Mondi*, ii., p. 8. *De Lampade Combinatoria Lulliana*, p. 627.

[2] *La Cena de la Ceneri*, i., p. 154. *De l'Infinito Universo e Mondi*, ii., pp. 53–5.

[3] *Spaccio*, ii., pp. 122, 154.

[4] *De l'Infinito Universo e Mondi*, ii., p. 55.

to possibility. But all these are one in the infinite, where all oppositions coalesce. The contradictions which appear in the parts disappear in the whole.

This is the essential metaphysic of Bruno, and it is borrowed absolutely from Nicholas. A good deal of Bruno's special emphasis upon certain conceptions, such as his insistence on the immeasurableness of the universe, and the naïve delight with which he repeats that we are 'dwellers on a star' (which goes back directly to Nicholas's phrase *terra stella nobilis est*),[1] the way in which he employs the conceptions of the finite and the infinite, and his fondness for using mathematical concepts and illustrations—all these have their source in Nicholas. Bruno's writings are so unsystematic, and his philosophic thinking is mingled with so much enthusiastic worship of nature, that it is difficult to give any consistent summary of his essential doctrine, but there can be no doubt that all, or nearly all, that really deserves to be called philosophical in the Nolan is due to Nicholas. There is, of course, no doubt at all that Bruno is far less of a theist than Nicholas, but even Bruno's pantheism is not unconnected with thoughts such as that expressed in Nicholas's phrase about the world as *Deus creatus*. The tendency is carried on to its logical issue in Spinoza.

Descartes seems to have been influenced by Nicholas at one important point. It was fundamental to his physical theory that the universe should be regarded as infinite. The essence of matter is extension. It is infinite—that is to say, it is not limited either in space or in time, and it is infinitely divisible. There is no such thing as empty space, for space is extension, and extension is an attribute of matter. Differences in matter are produced by motion, and from the two conceptions of matter and motion the universe can be explained as a mechanical system. This conception is, of

[1] *De doct. ign.*, ii. 12, p. 40. Cf. Bruno's *De Immenso*, xiv.; *De l'Infinito Universo e Mondi*, ii., p. 54.

course, of indescribable importance in the history of science. Now Descartes definitely refers to Nicholas for this doctrine of the infinity of the universe,[1] and therefore it may be claimed that the Cardinal is responsible for one important factor in the Cartesian cosmology, and, it is hardly too much to say, in all the progress of science since.

There is one very curious contact between Nicholas of Cusa and the mysticism of early English dissent. The only books of his that have ever been translated into English are seventeenth-century editions of four of his smaller works, the *De visione Dei*, the *Idiota*, the *De filiatione Dei*, and the *De novissimus diebus*. The title-page of the first runs: 'Ὀφθαλμὸς Ἁπλοῦς, or *The Single Eye, Entituled the Vision of God, Wherein is infolded the Mistery of Divine presence, to be in one place finitely in appearance, as yet in every place no lesse present, and whilst Hee is here, Hee is universally everywhere infinitely himselfe.* Penned by that learned Dr. Cusanus, and published for the good of the Saints. By Giles Randall. Psal. 139. 7. Whither shall I flee from thy Spirit, Whither shall I go from thy presence. London, Printed for John Streater, at the Signe of the Bible in Budge-Row, 1646.' There is an Epistle to the Reader signed 'G. R.'

Giles Randall was an Oxford man who took his B.A. in 1625. He was at Lincoln College. Very little is known about his life. He was probably before the Star Chamber in 1637 for preaching against ship-money. He was certainly before that abominable tribunal in 1643, charged with preaching anabaptism, antinomianism, and familism. He seems to have been removed from the ministry in 1644 on account of anabaptist principles. He continued to preach in London 'At the Spittle, to as great a multitude of people as follows any Sectary about the City.' This is the testimony of Robert Baillie, afterward Principal of the University of

[1] 'Primum memini, cardinalem Cusanum doctoresque alios plurimos supposuisse mundum infinitum.'—Descartes, *Ep.* i. 86, 80.

Glasgow. He goes on to give an account of Randall's doctrine, from which it is manifest that it was high mysticism.

There is another reference to Randall extant, by Thomas Edwards, a leading Presbyterian of the time. Edwards declares 'that the Sectaries run such a round of all opinions that they are come to hold many Popish and Prelatical opinions, and to go upon the Papists grounds and mediums for many of their Tenets . . . hence divers Popish Bookes written by Preists and Friers have been translated and lately set forth by some Sectaries.' There is an asterisk against 'Popish Bookes,' and the note in the margin: '*The Vision of God*, by Cardinall Cusanus.'

But though Randall published the book, the translation was the work of another and an abler man. This was John Everard. He was born about 1575 and died in 1649 or 1650. He was at Clare College, Cambridge, where he took the M.A. in 1607 and the D.D. in 1619. In 1618 he was reader at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. In 1636 he seems to have had the living of Fairstead, in Essex, and in that year he was charged before the Court of High Commission with familism, antinomianism, and anabaptism. He was deprived of his benefice. He appears to have been an intrepid person, who bore himself bravely before the authorities, and especially Laud, who 'threatened to bring him to a morsel of bread.' Everard was a thorough scholar, and his version of the *Poemander* of Hermes Trismegistus, which appeared in 1650, was the first English translation. The manuscripts he left behind him (which are preserved in the University Library at Cambridge) contain translations of three mystical works—Nicholas of Cusa's *De visione Dei*, which, as we have seen, Randall published in 1646; the *Theologia Germanica*, from the Latin version of Castellio; and Sebastian Franck's *Von dem Baum des Wissens Gutes und Böses.*[1]

[1] An admirable translation of *The Vision of God*, by Emma Gurney Salter, appeared in 1928.

Everard was a genuine mystic, at least in his later years. He had some spiritual experience of a very definite kind in his later life which changed everything for him, and in the mystical direction. He came 'to know Jesus Christ and the Scriptures experimentally rather than grammatically, literally, or academically,' and 'centred his spirit on union and communion with God.' In 1653 his sermons were published under the title: *Some Gospel Treasures opened, or the Holies of all unvailing.* The sermons are said to have been preached at the 'publique Meeting place' at Islington and Kensington. The book is dedicated to Oliver Cromwell. It contains a good deal of mystical doctrine, often quaintly and beautifully expressed.

There was, as we know, an amazing welter of sects and opinions in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, and many of these were strongly tinged with mysticism. The Brownists, the Familists, the Diggers, the Antinomians, the Seekers, were all more or less mystical, and the doctrine of the *De visione Dei* would be acceptable to many eager and bewildered souls in those days, as it is evident that the teaching of many other mystical books was. But it is singular to think of the Cardinal-Bishop of Brixen influencing the thought of some of the most extreme sectaries of the English Commonwealth a couple of centuries after his death.

The title-page of the translation of the *Idiota* is as follows: '*The Idiot, in Four Books. The first and second of Wisdome. The third of the Minde. The fourth of statick Experiments, Or experiments of the Ballance*, by the famous and Learned C. Cusanus. London. Printed for William Leake, and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne in Fleet-street, between the two Temple Gates. 1650.' I have not been able to discover anything whatever as to the translator of this volume, or as to any influence it may have exerted upon contemporary thought.

The other two tracts were translated by Daniel Foote, who was a Doctor of Medicine, and apparently something of a

scientific pioneer.[1] Both are dated 1696. The first is *The Sonship of God*, a version of the *De filiatione Dei*.[2] The other is *A conjecturall judgment of Cusanus concerning the last daies*, a version of the *De novissimis diebus*.[3]

Nicholas's philosophic system, as a system, died with him. That is to say, he did not found a school of philosophy: there has been no definite succession of disciples to maintain and develop his philosophical principles. The most that can be claimed in that direction is that he influenced many thinkers of the Renaissance, and particularly that enthusiastic and erratic sophist, Giordano Bruno, and that personages as influential in the world's history as Leonardo da Vinci, Kepler, and Descartes derived from him some important conceptions. But there was an almost prophetic quality in much of his philosophic thought, and it would hardly be too much to say that a great deal of what is most characteristic and most valuable in modern philosophy is the development of those conceptions of the infinite and the absolute, and of that method of employing them, which first clearly emerged in the writings of Nicholas of Cusa. The historic destiny of his philosophical system (as one of his best expositors has said) is like the fate of some hero of ancient tragedy, who is victorious in the moment of his death.

HENRY BETT.

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[1] He must have been the first man to introduce lip-reading for deaf-mutes into England. He published, in 1693, '*The Talking Deaf Man, or, a Method Proposed whereby he who is Born Deaf may Learn to Speak*. By the Studious Invention and Industry of John Conrade Amman, an Helvetian of Shafthuis, Dr. of Physick. And now done out of Latin into English by D. F., M.D.' It is a version of *Surdus Loquens, seu, Methodus qua qui Surdus natus est loqui discere possit* (Amsterdam, 1692).

[2] I have never seen a copy. It is not in the British Museum.

[3] This is in manuscript. There are two copies in the British Museum, in the Sloane Collection, S.L. 617, pp. 125–8 and 129–84.

OLD TESTAMENT STUDY: A JUBILEE RETROSPECT[1]

IN this year, when we are celebrating the jubilee of this college, it seems obvious—since it is the turn of the Old Testament tutor to read the address at this Commemoration Service—that I should attempt to give some account of Old Testament study during the past fifty years, together with a summary of the present position, and some hazard as to the future prospects.

It happens that the year 1881, when this college was opened, is an important date in the history of Old Testament study, at least in Great Britain. It was the year that saw the conclusion of the Robertson Smith case. It also saw the publication of two works which may almost be said to have changed the face of Old Testament study in this country: I refer to Wellhausen's article, 'Israel,' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and to Robertson Smith's *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. Some years before (1874–5), Kuenen's *Religion of Israel*, written from a similar critical standpoint to that of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith, had appeared in English, but no widespread interest in the new conception of the development of Old Testament religion was aroused until the Robertson Smith controversy compelled it.

The work of Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith was based upon the so-called Grafian theory, viz. that the Priestly Document (P) was the latest of the four documents, J, E, D, and P, of which the Pentateuch was composed. This view had been advocated in 1865 by K. H. Graf, Graf

[1] An address read at the annual Commemoration Service in the Wesleyan Methodist College, Handsworth, Birmingham, on November 6, 1931, in the jubilee year of the foundation of the college.

having in his turn learned it from his old teacher, Eduard Reuss, who as early as 1833 had enunciated it in his classroom at Strassburg, though he had not gone so far as to challenge the then critical orthodoxy, that P was the earliest document, by committing his contrary opinion to print. Vatke and George had come to conclusions similar to those of Reuss, but they were as voices crying in the wilderness; and, indeed, it needed a Wellhausen to put the Grafian theory into convincing form.

The difference between Wellhausen and the critics who had preceded him is roughly this: they had based their conclusions for the most part upon purely literary analysis, such as the differences in the use of the divine names, the style of the documents, and so on; Wellhausen, who came to the serious study of the Pentateuch after wrestling with the problems of the historical books, concluded that only on the supposition that P was the latest document could any intelligible and convincing conception of the organic growth of Old Testament religion be formulated. It was not sufficient that criticism should be literary; it must be historical. The Pentateuch could not be understood apart from the historical books, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. When the Law was studied in the light of the history, it might be seen, as Dr. Estlin Carpenter subsequently put it, that 'the Pentateuch is an epitome of the history of Israel's religion' (*Peake's Commentary*, p. 130*a*). In this more rigorous application of the historical method to criticism Wellhausen was followed by Robertson Smith, whose book, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, is still, perhaps, for the layman, the best introduction to the subject.

Let us take two examples of Wellhausen's and Robertson Smith's method of reasoning. It is clear that in the Deuteronomic legislation not only are all priests Levites, but that all Levites are priests. The regular description of those who are qualified to officiate at sacrifices is 'the priests the Levites.' In P, on the other hand, and in the Judaism of

the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, only those Levites who are reputed to be descended from Aaron are competent to sacrifice; the non-Aaronite Levites are only entrusted with the menial service of the sanctuary. How is it possible to suppose that Deuteronomy is later than the Priestly Document, when all the historical evidence, alike in Judaism and in other sacerdotal religions, goes to show that the tendency has been to narrow, rather than to widen, the door of entrance into the priesthood? It would, further, seem that the middle term between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Document is Ezekiel, who demanded that the Levites who had gone astray—as he put it—should be degraded from the full priestly office, which should henceforth be open only to the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem.

For our second illustration let us consider the ritual of the Day of Atonement. This is described in some detail in the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus, a part of the Priestly Document, which makes it clear that the day was intended to be, as indeed it actually became, the most important day in the Jewish year. Now, if the Pentateuch is Mosaic, or even if P is anything but the latest of the documents in it, how should it come about that nowhere in the Old Testament is there any record that the Day of Atonement was ever observed? It was appointed to be observed on the tenth day of the seventh month, and yet, despite the fact that we have a detailed account of what happened in the seventh month of the year that Ezra came to Jerusalem with the book of the Law, there is no mention of the Day of Atonement. Admittedly the argument from silence can be a very precarious argument. On the other hand, it can be very convincing; and it surely is so here. It is probable that something like the beginnings of the Day of Atonement grew up during the Exile, for we read that in the year 518 B.C. a deputation from Bethel came to Jerusalem to ask whether the fasts in the fifth and seventh months should be continued, as they had been for the past seventy years (Zech. vii. 8 ff.).

On that occasion the prophet Zechariah announced that the fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months should henceforth be ' joy and gladness, and cheerful feasts ' (Zech. viii. 19). This shows that something like the Day of Atonement was beginning to be observed, but it also shows that the day was neither fixed, nor its ceremonial elaborated, with the precision of later times. Indeed, it is very doubtful whether even Ezra's law-book contained the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus.

I have laid this much stress on the historical method of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith in order to make clear what is still in some quarters imperfectly understood, viz. that the science of documentary criticism is not a futile academic exercise, indulged in by scholars who have a childish passion for the use of scissors and paste. The whole purpose of Pentateuchal criticism, and its only sufficient justification, is to help us to trace the progress of revelation whereby the Old Testament, from very humble beginnings, came to have sufficient moral and spiritual content to be the Bible of Jesus Himself.

The history of Old Testament science during the first half of the period during which this college has been open may roughly be described as that of the consolidation of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, and its application to the history and religion of Israel. We might even extend the period for another ten or fifteen years until the conclusion of the war. Those of us who left college twenty years ago were brought up on the pure milk of the Grafian word, as expounded in and from the standard works of Wellhausen, Duhm, Stade, Budde, Cornill, Marti, and others on the Continent, and, principally, in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1st ed., 1897), *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (1st vol., 1897), and the *International Critical Commentaries* (from 1895 onwards), in this country. Even in *Peake's Commentary* (1919) there are few signs of any serious challenge to what had come to be regarded as

the standard critical orthodoxy—and what Dr. Peake did not know about the latest work of the Germans was not worth knowing! Not that all writers of the dominant school spoke with one voice: there was a good deal of difference of emphasis as between a cautious scholar like Canon Driver on the one hand, and men of distinctly radical tendencies like Duhm and Marti on the other. But on the main conclusions there was, twenty-five years ago, more or less complete agreement. De Wette's identification of Josiah's law-book with some form of Deuteronomy was everywhere regarded as an 'assured conclusion.' The ceremonial of the Priests' Code was supposed to have originated in Babylonia during the early post-exilic period, and the spiritual father of it was Ezekiel, who edited his own book, much in the same form as that in which we have it to-day. The second half of the Book of Isaiah, with its mention of Cyrus by name, was, of course, the work of an unknown prophet of the Exile; though Duhm's proposal to separate the last eleven chapters (Isa. lvi.–lxvi.), the so-called 'Trito-Isaiah,' as emanating from Palestine in the early post-exilic period, was coming to be generally accepted. The Book of Daniel was a unity, and its origin was to be sought in the Maccabaean struggle of the second century. Indeed, anything eschatological, not to mention apocalyptic, was presumed to be post-exilic, and probably late at that; certainly later than Ezekiel, whose Gog and Magog prophecy was the first exercise of the kind. The Psalter as a whole was post-exilic, and it was probable that it contained very few pre-exilic Psalms. The same was true of Proverbs. The prophets were the great creative personalities in Hebrew religion, and no praise was too high to be bestowed upon them. The broad net result of criticism was put into the statement that 'Prophecy was earlier than the Law.' Indeed, the more advanced criticism was characterized by a depreciation of almost everything pre-prophetic, and the impression that some writers left was that the prophets were the originators of any Yahwism worthy of the

name, and that very little that was positive could be affirmed either of the person or the work of Moses. At the same time, it was usual to think of the prophets as men of very similar mental aptitudes, and methods of reasoning, and social and ethical outlook, to ourselves—so many nineteenth-century reformers projected back into the first millennium B.C.

What is the position to-day? Some years ago a friend of mine told me that he felt more and more drawn away from Hebrew to the study of Arabic. The main reason he gave was that, since Wellhausen, so little remained to be done in the Old Testament field. I fancy that that is a proposition which would scarcely receive the assent of representative Old Testament scholars to-day. There is undoubtedly what Dr. Stanley Cook has described as a 'certain liveliness' in current Old Testament discussions. A large number of the 'assured conclusions' of the Wellhausen school are at present in dispute. Even the date of Deuteronomy, which has been described as 'in a real sense the pivot of Old Testament criticism and chronology' (J. E. McFadyen, in *The People and the Book*, edited by A. S. Peake, p. 199), is being challenged, and that from two quite opposite points of view. If there has been any more 'assured conclusion' than the seventh-century date of Deuteronomy, it is surely the exilic date of the Second Isaiah. Torrey even challenges this: he would, on metrical grounds, cut out the references to Cyrus as glosses, and make the whole of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. a unity dating from about 400 B.C. This seems to me a violent *tour de force*, the more so as Torrey severely castigates others who venture to emend the Old Testament text on metrical grounds; and I do not propose to say anything more about it. Then the unity of Ezekiel is denied by Hölscher and Torrey, who regard the book as a late pseudepigraphon. There is also a tendency to question the unity of the Book of Daniel, and to regard the stories in chapters i.–vi. as earlier than the second century. In general, too, it is no longer possible to assume that an Old Testament passage is

late just because it is eschatological. With regard to the Psalms, while Canon Kennett impenitently persists in dating them nearly all in the Maccabaean period, there is otherwise a growing disposition to deny that the Psalter contains any Maccabaean Psalms at all, and a general tendency to date individual Psalms much earlier than was thought likely a generation ago. As the reader of a paper at a recent meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study put it: 'It is now permissible to believe that the Royal Psalms refer to kings!' The Norwegian scholar Mowinckel will have it that a large part of the Psalter is pre-exilic. And since I mention Mowinckel, it may not be irrelevant to quote a dictum of his which, however extreme it may be, does indicate a present tendency in Old Testament scholarship. He says that 'since Amos and Wellhausen it has been the fashion among theologians to abuse cult-religion.' In a word, Wellhausenism is no longer taken for granted; and, further, there is a greater readiness to find in Old Testament religion cultic, even magical, rites, which the Hebrews are thought to have observed, similar to those of surrounding peoples. With regard to Amos and the canonical prophets, it is by no means certain that they were the coolly rational, political prognosticators that they have sometimes been pictured. The opinion gains ground that even they, like the earlier *nebhi'im*, were, at least occasionally, subject to psychical states bordering on the ecstatic. The recognition of this fact is, in this country, especially associated with the name of Professor Theodore Robinson, of Cardiff.

Before we examine in more detail one or two of these divergencies from pre-war criticism, it will help us to understand them if we ask to what, in general, the change of emphasis is due. I have said that the earliest criticism was literary, and that the methods of Wellhausen and Robertson Smith were historical. More recently, the enormous mass of archaeological material that has been accumulated from Babylonia and Egypt, and latterly from Palestine itself, has

afforded a new method of approach to Old Testament problems. Wellhausen and Robertson Smith viewed the Old Testament, so to speak, from within itself. The amount of extra-biblical material at their disposal was comparatively small, and, even so, its full significance was not yet realized. Nevertheless, it was they who pointed the way to the next development. Both of them were expert Arabists, and they sought to explain much in early Old Testament religion by reference to the pre-Islamic heathenism of Arabia—Wellhausen in his *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (*Remains of Arabian Heathenism*, 1887), and Robertson Smith in *The Religion of the Semites* (1889).

By the end of the century the importance of the rapidly increasing Babylonian materials was becoming evident. Already, in the 'seventies, George Smith had published to an astonished world the Babylonian parallels to the Creation and Flood stories of Genesis. The year 1895 saw the publication of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, an examination of the Babylonian creation myth and its derivative ideas in both the Old and New Testaments. The Amarna letters, discovered in 1887, revealed a highly complex civilization, with extensive diplomatic intercourse between the States and empires of the fourteenth century B.C. —in or before the time of Moses. In 1901, the discovery of the Laws of Hammurabi testified to the elaborately organized civilization of Babylon at the end of the third millennium, and showed remarkable parallels to the laws of the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.–xxiii.). It was evident that the Old Testament could not be properly understood if looked at simply from within itself: it was necessary to view it against the wider background of general world history, of a civilization extending back to at least the fourth or fifth millennium B.C. Let it be supposed that the Hebrews entered upon the stage of history in the latter part of the second millennium, and that they had no culture and no traditions beyond those inherited from the desert. Even so,

they were not left to work out their national destiny and their religious beliefs unaided; they possessed themselves of a narrow strip of territory that was saturated with cultural and religious influences from Babylonia on the one side and Egypt on the other. At this the traditionalists took abundant courage. Why should Moses not have written the Pentateuch? The ability to write, at any rate in cuneiform, was common enough in his day. It is therefore neither incredible nor impossible that Moses himself could write. And if it is not impossible, it must have been possible. And if it is possible that Moses wrote, we may assume that he did write. *Ergo*, he wrote the Pentateuch, either in Babylonian, or in Hebrew in the cuneiform script! I need not stay to point out the gaping fallacy of such reasoning, nor the way in which it entirely ignores the compelling historical problems to which Wellhausen called attention. It is, however, in the circumstances, not unreasonable to suppose that the documents in the Pentateuch may have been written considerably earlier than Wellhausen and his followers thought likely.

This tendency to favour early dates is represented chiefly by Sellin, in Germany, and Professor A. C. Welch, of Edinburgh. Both of these scholars argue for a date earlier than the seventh century for the main part of Deuteronomy. As Welch's date is earlier than Sellin's, I will try in a sentence or two to give the gist of his argument. He insists upon the primitive character of many of the laws, and on that account would date the main part of the book in the period not far removed from the reign of Solomon. If it be objected that the law of the one central sanctuary cannot be so early as that, he would agree; but he denies that the law of the one sanctuary is found in the book, except in the opening verses of chapter xii. These he regards as a later addition, prefixed to the legislative section for the purpose of giving sanction to the reforms of Josiah. Outside xii. 1–7 he translates the phrase 'the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose in

one of thy tribes ' as ' *any* of thy tribes.' (It should be stated that the Hebrew is slightly different elsewhere in the book from what it is in xii. 1–7, and, I think it may be granted, not altogether unambiguous.) According to Welch, then, the law of the sanctuary in the original Deuteronomy is the same as it is in the Book of the Covenant (cf. Exod. xx. 24), i.e. it was legitimate to build an altar and to offer sacrifice wherever it was felt that Yahweh had revealed Himself. On the main question this leaves us very much where we were. Moreover, though it has generally been supposed that Deuteronomy was an *ad hoc* writing, written for the express purpose of initiating a reform, no one has ever supposed otherwise than that many of its laws are primitive and early. Are they not obviously based upon the laws of J and E, many of which have parallels in Hammurabi? And if Welch is going to date Deuteronomy near the time of Solomon, what earlier date is he going to give to J and E?

At the other extreme from Welch are Kennett and Hölscher, who would make Deuteronomy post-exilic, dating from somewhere about 500 B.C. As Hölscher sees it, Deuteronomy, if pre-exilic, is a piece of ' impracticable idealism.' The one sanctuary ideal was only practicable after the Exile. Deuteronomy, therefore, is not the programme, but the product of Josiah's reformation. But ' impracticable idealism ' is often a determining factor in human conduct, and on any showing was the very thing that cost Josiah his life. Moreover, as Dr. Lofthouse has pointed out, Hebrew laws were not like modern Western laws, intended to be administered by a magistrate in court. They were ' made to inform or instruct the layman, the priest, the arbitrator, as to what had been done, or ought to be done, or what would be done if things were as they should be ' (*Israel after the Exile*, Clarendon Bible, vol. iv., p. 54). There was thus plenty of scope for impracticable idealism. And if it be said that Deuteronomy was administered as law by Josiah, the answer is that those who wrote the book

wrote entirely in faith, with no knowledge of the future fortunes of what they were writing.

One logical consequence of Hölscher's late date for Deuteronomy is that he is obliged to question the integrity of the Book of Ezekiel, since it is obvious that the ideal constitution of the concluding chapters must be placed midway between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Document.

It is fair, I think, to say that the main body of critical opinion is sceptical about both attacks upon the seventh-century date of Deuteronomy. It is also significant that the relative order of the documents J, E, D, and P is unaltered, and that only the absolute dating is in question. Dr. Peake, whose close study of Old Testament problems extended over practically the whole period with which we have been dealing, summed up his own conclusions in these words: 'The net result of the recent critical movement, it seems to me, is that we are left in the main very much where we were a quarter of a century ago. Reactionary and radical conclusions have still their representatives, so—though maybe incorrectly, in the original!—new theories make their appearance from time to time. They probably contain their elements of truth, and necessitate minor re-adjustments. I believe that critics will tend steadily to retreat from the extravagances of criticism represented by such names as Duhm, Marti, and Hölscher. But I am disinclined to anticipate that we shall see any great movement in the direction of reclaiming Deuteronomy for the pre-prophetic period, to say nothing of the Priestly Document. The relative dating of the codes advocated by the Grafians will, I am convinced, remain, and the absolute dating will also, I think, not be seriously altered. And in the other departments of Old Testament criticism I anticipate a similar maintenance of what I may call a central position' (*Recent Developments in Old Testament Criticism*: Manchester, 1928, pp. 28 f.).

The truth is that the writings of Wellhausen were, of necessity, polemical. Consequently the forms in which he

put his conclusions were somewhat rigid and wanting in elasticity. But if it is natural for the twentieth century to be rather critical of the achievement of the nineteenth, the twenty-first, I think, will see in Wellhausen the outstanding figure in the history of Old Testament critical scholarship, who gave to the world conclusions which in all essentials will remain assured.

Just at present, I feel, we are rather in danger of letting our estimate of Old Testament religion be coloured too much by what we have learned of the general life of the ancient world, forgetting that the Old Testament itself must, in the last resort, be the final evidence as to what its writers believed about God. After all, the Old Testament *is* different from any other ancient literature, and no ingenuity will succeed in submerging it in a flood of pan-Semitism. Nothing is gained by making the bulk of the Psalms pre-exilic, as Mowinckel does, if that is to mean that some of their loftiest praises are the product of sympathetic magic. And if any one thinks that the scholars who favour early dates are so many Daniels come to judgement against the higher critics, he is like to be greatly mistaken. The advocates of early dates are just as critical in their methods, and free in their treatment of the Old Testament, as any one else—if anything, more so!

I hesitate to assume the mantle of a prophet, the more so as one of the latest oracles in the Old Testament has it that 'it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he prophesieth; neither shall they wear a hairy mantle to deceive!' But what I have said would be incomplete without some hazard as to the future prospects of Old Testament study.

I may be unduly conservative; but I do not think there is any virtue in mere restlessness, nor in criticism of the work of past investigators for the sake of propounding some novel theory of our own. In these days of bewilderingly rapid movement we are in some danger of assuming that the

essence of life and progress is change, and we no sooner get one construction than we are impatient to pull it down and build afresh. I do not think we shall ever go back on the main positions reached by nineteenth-century criticism, any more than biologists will go back on the general theory of evolution, however much Wellhausenism and Darwinism may need modification in particulars. I believe there are sufficient assured results of Old Testament scholarship for us to begin to think seriously of relating the revelation of God to the Hebrews to the whole cosmic and redemptive process. Does God reveal Himself to man, or is the belief that He has so revealed Himself nothing more than an agonized striving of the spirit of man after something that must for ever remain beyond his highest reach? Did God in truth reveal Himself to ancient Israel, so that the Old Testament enshrines a truth about God which man could never have discovered for himself? The Old Testament sets forth a philosophy of history that is nothing if not distinctive, and amazing in its daring. Can we reassure this generation that the Old Testament philosophy of history—with its sequel in the Word made flesh—is the true key to the meaning and purpose of history as such?

That, it seems to me, is a problem to which we ought to address ourselves in a college like this. That, if I mistake not, is the problem which this distracted world, in its heart of hearts, wants more than all others to have solved. And if we in the theological colleges of Britain do not address ourselves to it, I do not know what university, whether here or in Germany, may be expected to undertake what, after all, is our proper work of justifying the ways of God to men.

CHRISTOPHER R. NORTH.

GEORGE FOX: A PRACTICAL MYSTIC

GEORGE FOX'S discovery that 'the Beyond is within,' and his consciousness of having come into direct, immediate contact with the Supreme Being, places him among the mystics. J. B. Pratt broadly defines a mystic as one who has 'the sense of the presence of a being of reality through other means than the ordinary perceptive processes or the reason.'[1] According to a more narrow viewpoint, however, a mystic is one who is capable of experiencing an awareness of the Divine Being through certain special workings or by means of certain exercises. Becoming aware of the Absolute, he becomes one with it also. By means of immediate divine revelation he is brought to ultimate knowledge, which he feels is purer and better than anything else that is called truth or knowledge. He becomes speculative, gives himself over to impractical contemplation and solitude for its own sake, revels in a kind of passive rapture, evinces clearly defined emotional tendencies, possesses a rich, sensuous imagination, and often manifests a tendency toward making a separation between a life of service to his fellow men and a life spent in contemplation of the Absolute.

George Fox was not a mystic in any narrow sense of the term. He did not possess a poetic temperament, and he could not be ranked as a speculative thinker or a theologian. He differed from most of the classical mystics in that he did not exhibit such marked sensuous traits and did not make use of so much erotic, metaphorical language. Solitude was not a goal for George Fox, but rather an incidental matter, and even during his youthful period of 'seeking' he did not revel in solitude for its own sake.

Fox's religion was far more social than solitary, and he

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[1] *The Religious Consciousness*, 1924, p. 887.

found it much more profitable to 'wait upon God' in fellowship with friends than to seek Him by private contemplation. At times he held himself aloof from those who harassed him and assailed his message, but never did he live the life of an ascetic. So strong was the gregarious nature of the Quaker founder that he was frequently to be found mixing with busy humanity in the market-place, walking the crowded streets of cities, engaging in conversation with tender sympathizers, and denouncing those who opposed him. Rather than give himself over to a discipline of impractical contemplation he preferred to live a life of activity, his mystical experiences being immediately converted into motor responses.

Even Fox's writings were not like those of the great mystics, being much more practical than inspirational and speculative. Josiah Royce says of Fox's autobiography: 'Even his *Journal*, detailed as its record of personal experience is, is written rather as the soldier records his campaigns than as the typical mystic tells of that wondrous journey which he believes leads Godward.'[1] The *Journal* has historical and practical value, and it reads more like the autobiography of John Wesley than the self-revelation of St. Augustine. It is a distinct contribution to the field of religious literature, and it is also an excellent source for the historical study of the inner life of the Commonwealth and Restoration periods of English history. The *Journal* is of great value to the study of the psychology of religion. It has its place along with John Wesley's *Journal*, Bunyan's *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, St. Teresa's *Life*, St. Augustine's *Confessions*, *The Life of Madam Guyon, Written by Herself*, and other religious autobiographies. The growing interest in the psychology of religion, especially in the study of mystical literature, has given increased significance to autobiographies. Surely, then, Fox's *Journal*

[1] 'George Fox as a Mystic,' *The Harvard Theological Review*, January 1915, p. 88.

deserves to be ranked with the outstanding diaries of all time.[1] Many mystics have written autobiographies, but the account of Fox's life stands out as unique, inasmuch as it is of such practical value.

George Fox made no separation between meditation and activity. Classical mystics have nearly always tended toward separating the life of contemplation of the Supreme Being from the life of service to humanity. They have invariably made a distinction between the inner self and the outer self, a distinction that Fox refused to recognize. There was for him no important difference between the two. He was so able to adjust himself that he could pass directly from a concentrated 'waiting' upon God for divine insight and guidance to the work of organizing meetings, providing for the poor, correcting social abuses, sailing the seas, or visiting with men of state. Even the 'inner light' revelation Fox valued not only for the peace that it was capable of conferring upon him, but for what it actually could do for him.

In considering mysticism one must, furthermore, make a distinction between the negative and the positive mystic. Some mystics have attempted to come into contact with the Divine Presence by the process of negation. In order to

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[1] Many have been the praises heaped upon Fox's *Journal*, of which the following are typical:

'George Fox's *Journal*, rising like a flame from the cold and dismal piety of a formal and faithless age, has enough of mystic warmth in it still to kindle the dullest heart.'—J. W. Buckham.

'It is one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world; which no reader of competent judgement can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer.'—Sir James Mackintosh.

'I have read through the ponderous folio of George Fox. Pray, how may I return it to Mr. Skewell at Ipswich? I fear to send such a treasure by stage-coach, not that I am afraid of the coachman or the guard reading it, but it might be lost. Can you put me in a way of sending it safely? The kind-hearted owner trusted it to me for six months; I think I was about as many days in getting through it, and I do not think that I skipped a word of it.'—To Bernard Barton from Charles Lamb, February 1828.

get in touch with the Infinite, say they, all finite things must be abandoned, and one must cut oneself off from the sense world. There is nothing real—so the reasoning goes; everything, even sin itself, is mere illusion, and it is only as one forgets everything that one can discover the Absolute Truth. On the other hand, the positive mystic believes that the Supreme Spirit can be found in this finite existence, that one can come into immediate contact with Reality. George Fox was the latter type of mystic. He did not believe, as did those who took the path of negation, that God was 'beyond the heaven,' but rather that He was very near, and imminent in the heart of every creature. God can, therefore, be immediately perceived and known by every man, even the most wretched of human beings, for the divine 'seed' is planted in every soul.

Many of the classical mystics never accomplished much in the world because they were too much separated from it, and perhaps it is really this difference between their type of mysticism and the mysticism of George Fox that made it possible for the founder of Quakerism to become the great religious organizer and social reformer that he was. As has previously been suggested, George Fox was not a mystic in any narrow sense of the term. Royce suggests that his theology 'was nearer to becoming an idealism in the modern sense, than to being a mysticism in the classical sense.'[1] Judged by a broad definition, Fox must be classed as an active, positive, *practical* mystic, although his 'waiting' in silence would also quite clearly ally him with the contemplative mystics.

There is, to be sure, a close likeness between the mystical insight of George Fox and that of other celebrated mystics. The apostle Paul, like Fox, experienced an at-one-ment with God through inner revelation, and both were rushed into their missionary work after having experienced a strong

[1] Op. cit., p. 59.

psychical disturbance.[1] The 'Christ within' of George Fox had its prototype in Paul, who could say, 'Christ liveth in me.'

Fox was also, in many respects, like the German mystic, Jacob Boehme,[2] whose writings probably had some influence upon the Quaker founder. He may possibly have heard of Boehme through the medium of some of the smaller mystical sects of his day.[3] Fox also may have been influenced in arriving at his mystical principles by Henry Nicholas, a Westphalian mystic, born about the year 1501, who founded a mystical and non-ecclesiastical religious sect known as the Family of Love.[4]

George Fox's most direct and immediate mystical revelations came in the form of 'openings' (to use his own expression), in which the divine communication burst into consciousness and was conceived to be of supernatural origin.

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[1] In the experience of the apostle Paul one notes an absence of real 'conviction of sin,' so characteristic of the ordinary conversion. An element of conviction is discovered in the conversion of Fox, but it was more in the form of his being convinced of the evil condition of the world than a personal conviction of sin in his own life.

[2] Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), of Görlitz, in Silesia, was a mystical philosopher, who had originated a theosophical and mystical system, which was permeated with the same inward message as had been brought forward by many other exponents of a spiritual reformation. Boehme went through a troublesome period of 'storm and stress,' and finally a new religious experience came to him through 'openings,' enabling him to bear testimony to the operation of an Inner Light in the soul.

[3] Between the years 1647 and 1661 the writings of this great German mystic were translated into English, his ideas becoming very popular in certain parts of England. Fox may not have read any of these works, but he probably had heard of Boehme's doctrines.

[4] The Family of Love, or Familists, as they are sometimes called, consisted of a small group or community of persons who quietly set about to cultivate a truly mystical type of piety. They attempted as best they could, in their simple communities, to practise Christian brotherhood. In common with other sects of the time, they did not approve of the historic Church as an institution or of a professional ministry.

These 'openings,' quite similar to those which Loyola experienced, were of different kinds. Usually they came as an impulse to action, calling out some kinaesthetic response. At other times the 'openings' were of the purely discernment type or of the consoling type. In most instances these intimate communications from the Divine came in auditory form; occasionally, however, they were of the visual type.

Fox experienced 'openings' of various kinds all his life, but he never gave to these occasional inner agencies of mystical insight the same place that he gave the 'inner light' principle. The highest form of revelation was the ever-present 'Christ within,' 'the Power of God in the Soul.' Fox put the Light above 'openings,' since he saw how easy it was for man to fall a prey to a perverse, irregular inner guide. A perverse 'opening' might cause one to become unsteady and misguided, but the true Light would lead one into unerring conduct, and finally into a state of perfection.

It was the 'that of God' in George Fox, therefore, that dominated and directed his whole life. His mysticism, though it was but a supporting element of his eventful life, was, to say the least, a most essential support. The idea of an indwelling Christ became for him the supreme essence of religion. Many other men had believed in the principle of an inward spiritual guide, but to the founder of Quakerism goes the distinction of making the Inner Light the *sole* basis of the whole of life. In this he was original, 'being no man's copy.' Evelyn Underhill, in one of her excellent studies of mysticism, characterizes George Fox as an outstanding example of the 'power of the Spirit,' 'one of those great and life-giving personalities through whom from time to time the Spirit reaches out to men.'[1] Indeed, he did so live in practical service to his fellows that he was continually infecting others with a sense of the Universal Spirit, and he

[1] *The Mystics of the Church*, 1926, p. 224.

introduced, in a time of religious formalism, the life-giving discovery of 'the Seed of God' in every living creature.

This principle of the 'Christ within' was sure to have certain far-reaching consequences with respect to the generally accepted conventionalities, the practical affairs of daily living, and the worship, ceremonials, and ministry of the Church. Many very practical corollaries naturally followed Fox's central proposition of the 'that of God' in every human soul. His mystical principles had influential religious, moral, and social implications. Perhaps in no other sphere of life did his Inner Light doctrine have such a sweeping effect as in the realm of human life and duty. It led him straight to the principle of human equality and the divine right, not of kings, but of men. He believed that human beings could be trusted, and that it was his business, and the business of all Christians alike, to help to elevate all men, even the wicked and the repulsive, recognizing that there were dormant capacities in every human soul that were only waiting for a fair opportunity to develop. His recognition of the fact that all human beings were God's children, that it was the duty of the Christian to honour all men and to dignify the worth of the individual personality, led George Fox into the work of a great reformer. When one has carefully studied the service that he rendered in the interests of the principle of human equality, one does not wonder that some have called him the first real prophet of the English Reformation.

George Fox was at heart a genuine humanitarian, having a burning passion for a nobler world. To begin with, he lacked pronounced introspective qualities, and his nature was not one bit self-centred. He never allowed his mind to focus itself unduly upon his own personal interests; to think excessively, as did John Bunyan, the Bedford tinker, about his salvation, or to satisfy himself with the thrills of pensive quietism or ecstatic rapture, as the mystics are wont to do. He was much more of an extrovert than an introvert. The

sins and evils of the world exercised him far more than his own temptations to wrongdoing. All his life he was deeply concerned with those who were weary and heavily burdened with the cares and trials of this world. He placed high value on the sacredness of all human life. He believed that every man should be free, and consequently he was led to oppose everything that belittled man's personality or that limited his freedom.

George Fox's practical services to humanity in the fields of religious, moral, and social reform are legion. In religion, he was the organizer of a religious sect which has for over two hundred and fifty years perpetuated the experiment in corporate mysticism initiated by him. Greater than all else, perhaps, he left '*a testimony for the spirituality of true religion.*'[1] Emphasizing God as Spirit, he spiritualized worship. He also contributed much to religion by stressing the sin of intolerance. Theologically, he helped to reduce the arrogant prestige of the doctrine of predestination.

As for the great influence of Fox upon Quakerism, 'few religious sects have been more thoroughly moulded by their early leaders, and, so to speak, stereotyped as to their future constitution, than that Christian body.'[2] It is now over three hundred years since Fox was born. The great spiritual movement which he set going has been tried and tested during over two and a half centuries. The Society of Friends still continues to be small, so far as numbers go, but the value of the Quaker movement cannot be measured by the mere counting of its adherents. Quakerism, which is possibly more an *atmosphere*, or an attitude of mind, than anything else, has, since the time of George Fox, been in the forefront of Christian reforming bodies. The Friends have always exercised a very large influence in the world—far more, perhaps, in proportion to their number of adherents, than any

[1] William Tallack, *George Fox, the Friends, and the Early Baptists*, 1868, p. 14.
[2] Ibid., pp. 1 ff.

other religious body, with the possible exception of the Jesuits.

Another evidence of George Fox's practical nature is exhibited in his ability to organize his followers. He displayed great tact in uniting capable men for mutual Christian leadership. He manifested unusual power as a religious legislator, which is shown in the very commendable organization that he gave to the new society. As a missionary he might be ranked with St. Paul, and as an organizer he might well take his place alongside John Wesley, the Methodist founder. Nothing could daunt his missionary ardour—hunger, cold, prisons, enemies, failures.

In social and moral reform this unusual mystic once again demonstrated his practical nature. He was exceedingly outspoken against many of the conventionalities of his day. He was one of the first to protest publicly against slavery in America. He was a strong advocate of peace, believing that all war was inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. Fox was a pioneer in prison reform in England, and he also made a very bold stand against the evils of intemperance, the oppression of servants, the deceitful selling of merchandise, and such 'worldly' amusements as festivals, balls, games of chance, musical entertainments, theatres, horse-races, and such-like. Probably no individual of his time was more vitally interested in religious education.

Such is the brief story of a mystic who, rather than revel in the beatific vision, preferred to lead a life of practical activity. Much more might be written concerning the far-reaching consequences of George Fox's mystical principle of the 'Christ within.' Suffice it to say, however, that this great truth of the Indwelling Light of Christ penetrated the whole of his life. From it he drew his vision and his strength; it dominated and unified all of his life forces, conferring upon him his capacity and his power. Fox's service to the world in many spheres marks him as an *active, positive, practical* mystic of the first order.

WARREN C. MIDDLETON.

ROBERT, MARQUIS OF SALISBURY

Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury. By his daughter, LADY GWENDOLEN CECIL. Vol. iii.: 1880–1886. Vol. iv.: 1887–1892. (Hodder & Stoughton. 1931.)

IT is ten years since Lady Gwendolen Cecil gave us the first two volumes of her father's Life. The third volume covers six years, 1880 to 1886, when Lord Salisbury's reputation and influence abroad reached their highest point, and the subjects dealt with in his correspondence covered a wide field of bewilderingly diverse interest. Nothing, however, in the new volume is more fascinating than the picture of the statesman at home. He felt that five years of the strain of administration was as much as the average man could stand without a loss in mental vigour, and with it of the fruitfulness in initiation and the capacity for instinctive judgement, and quick confidence in decision, upon which effective statesmanship depends. His own energies were fully restored by a year's relief from office, and after Lord Beaconsfield's death in 1881 he became the virtual leader of his party. Before that time he had made a few speeches in the smaller London halls, but from 1880 to 1886 he spoke on more than seventy public platforms in all parts of the kingdom to thousands of people.

That by no means exhausted his energies. He resumed the chairmanship of Quarter Sessions which he had given up two years before when he took charge of the Foreign Office. 'He took up botany again, and while at Puys added a collection of seaweeds to those of flowers which he had made in his boyhood.' Laboratory experiments were restarted, and he erected arc lights outside Hatfield, mainly for the benefit of coachmen at the annual county ball. Trouble arose when he brought arc lights inside. 'For a brief period his family and guests were compelled to eat

their dinners under the vibrating glare of one of these lamps fixed in the centre of the dining-hall ceiling. No exertion of goodwill or courtesy could silence the plaintive protests of his lady visitors, and he would gird with growing despondency at the obstructions which feminine vanity offered to the conquests of science.' When he heard of Swan's electric lamp he set his estate workmen to install it, and, in the summer of 1881, Hatfield was able to contest, with Sir William Armstrong's house at Craigside, the honour of being the first private house in England in which the new light was fixed. A sawmill on the Lea cut wood by day and worked the electro-magnetic machine by night. The wires passed through woods, and, when the wind was high, the current sometimes failed through short-circuiting. Lord Salisbury tells his wife on August 14, 1881: 'Jem [the present Marquis, then an undergraduate at Oxford] and I have been devoting ourselves to the electric light, which of course has gone wrong; and Jem has been all the afternoon climbing trees and cutting down twigs near the wires.'

Life at Hatfield in these years had no lack of excitements. 'There were evenings when the household had to grope about in semi-darkness, illuminated only by a dim red glow such as comes from a half-extinct fire; there were others when a perilous brilliancy culminated in miniature storms of lightning, ending in complete collapse. One group of lamps after another would blaze and expire in rapid succession, till the rooms were left in pitchy blackness, and the evening's entertainment had to be concluded in the light of hastily collected bed-candles.' One evening the guests on entering the Long Gallery after dinner found the carved panelling near the ceiling bursting into flames from contact with an overheated wire. It was a shooting-party, and the young men 'rose joyfully to the occasion, and, with well-directed volleys of sofa cushions, rendered the summoning of a fire-engine unnecessary.'

Zeal for new inventions led to the early introduction of the

telephone at Hatfield. Lord Salisbury at once started to send messages from one end of the house to the other. The connecting wires were laid loosely over the floors of the principal rooms, and made Robert Lowe, who caught his foot in them more than once, prophesy that the invention would prove a 'great bore.' A little later, when familiar phrases had to be used on the embryonic apparatus, visitors were startled by hearing their host, standing at selected spots within and without the house, repeat with varying emphasis, 'Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle; the cow jumped over the moon.'

Agricultural depression threw two or three farms on his hands in 1879 and Lord Salisbury set himself to discover how to make farming pay. He used to say that whilst in Opposition he succeeded, but on his return to office he had to content himself with the accounts, which he felt to be a mental relaxation from official work. He said that it occupied his mind without worrying him. He now began to prefer living in the country, but 'his tastes had always a tendency to translate themselves into occupations, and, where that was impossible, their indulgence never satisfied him for long.'

He had no gift for the companionship of small children. Lady Salisbury reduced rules and restrictions to a minimum, and this external liberty led to a sensitive development of conscience. 'The illimitable claims of New Testament teaching were left to impress themselves upon their awakening consciousness, restricted as little as possible by secondary deductions and applications.' The years of 'irresponsible boyhood' had very brief existence for the young Cecils. Lord Shaftesbury once was in company with two of them and spoke to them of the privilege of having such a father, and urged them carefully to treasure all his letters of moral and religious counsel. The boys were considerably embarrassed at having to confess that they had never received a line of that sort from him. 'On their return home, one of

them delighted his parents by gravely remonstrating with them upon their default as placing him in a position of invidious singularity: "The other fellows all get letters of advice from their parents; we never do." '

Lord Salisbury rarely talked to his children about the evidences of Christianity, but occasionally dealt trenchantly with the dogmatism of negative critics or made 'disrespectful fun of the systems of rationalist morality or worship of humanity by which it was proposed to replace Christianity as a social force. He showed a complete confidence in the effective strength of his case. On one remembered occasion he tossed a magazine across the room to a girl of fifteen, inviting her directly to read an argued attack upon Christianity by Mr. Frederick Harrison—"to see what rubbish these people can write." The invitation was eminently successful, its proud recipient straining every faculty she possessed to justify the implied trust in her critical powers.'

Amid the Boycott troubles of 1880 the administration was impotent. 'Lord Beaconsfield, from his sick solitude at Hughenden, was indignant at their want of spirit. His own courage never showed to finer perfection than in the last year of his life. Oppressed by the extreme of physical weakness, in difficulties about money, in utter domestic loneliness, he constantly refused to acquiesce for his party in the defeat which he accepted as the close of his own career. He turned increasingly for sympathy to the colleague in whom he recognized a kindred spirit.' His wish was that this trusted lieutenant should succeed him as leader of the party. When he died, Lord Salisbury, in moving that a national monument should be erected, said: 'Upon me, as I believe upon all others who have worked with him, his patience, his gentleness, his unswerving and unselfish loyalty to his colleagues and his fellow labourers have made an impression which will never leave me as long as life endures.'

During this period, Salisbury's success as a public speaker was shown by the massed audiences that crowded to listen

to him in every centre of industry which he visited. Emotion and at times even passion were manifest, but they were not made prominent. His capacity for hard hitting was welcomed; his style was crisp, his statements lucid, his approach direct, and he came to close quarters with facts—all these enhanced the impression. There was also 'an innate fidelity to type as an Englishman; an unconscious participation in the mentality, the sympathies, the points of view—it may be the prejudices—which were his common inheritance with the race of men whom he was addressing.' He recognized that 'no system that is not just as between rich and poor can hope to survive.' With 'the Bitter Cry of Outcast London' he was in warm sympathy, and not only wrote on the subject of housing, for the *National Review*, but moved in 1884 for a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole subject. 'It is wholly futile,' he held, 'to try and escape from the urgency of the problem by throwing blame on any class of men.' He did not favour any wild schemes of State interference. 'After all, whatever political arrangements we may adopt, whatever the political constitution of our State may be, the foundation of all its prosperity and welfare must be that the mass of the people shall be honest and manly, and shall have common sense. How are you to expect that these conditions will exist among people subjected to the frightful influences which the present over-crowding of our poor produces?'

On June 11, 1885, Salisbury was summoned to form a Ministry, and travelled alone by night mail to Balmoral. He used to pride himself on the way he had eluded the touts who were hot upon his trail from every newspaper in the kingdom. At the first stop he slipped out of the sleeping-car into which he had been ushered at King's Cross and took refuge in an empty third-class compartment. 'Keeping himself close, he heard, as the day advanced, the footsteps of puzzled Pressmen hurrying along beside the train at each stopping-place, and listened with gratified appreciation to

their ejaculations of mutual information: "It's evidently a mistake!" "I can't find him anywhere!" "He's certainly not on the train!"'

Lady Gwendolen describes how Lord Carnarvon was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. He was 'deeply dissatisfied with the existing state of things' in Ireland. The Premier was hardly less so himself. Carnarvon set himself to govern from a standpoint of sympathetic contact. A private conversation which he had with Parnell led the Irish leader to report to the House of Commons that a Minister of the Crown had told him the Conservatives intended, if they won the elections, to offer a statutory legislature to Ireland. Lord Carnarvon gave an account of the interview to the House of Lords which was in direct contradiction to that of Parnell. He affirmed that he had never allowed it to be inferred that he spoke with the authority of his Government.

Lord Salisbury decided to combine the Foreign Secretaryship with his office as Premier in 1885. Mr. Gladstone maintained that such a combination was physically impossible and interfered with the Premier's control of his Cabinet. The ubiquitous supervision traditionally associated with the Premiership has really become obsolete. Lord Beaconsfield had kept a watchful eye on all his colleagues; Lord Salisbury left them very much to themselves, unless they consulted him. Lord St. Aldwyn had known Beaconsfield enforce his own view on the Cabinet, even when all its members had expressed a different opinion; Lord Salisbury frequently allowed important matters to be decided by a small majority of votes, even against his own opinion. He held that the Cabinet was the unit of government, and the Prime Minister only the first among equals in carrying out its decisions. His daughter says that, judged by results, his methods will bear comparison with the more autocratic tradition of his two immediate predecessors. Lord George Hamilton found him as 'always accessible and responsive.' Lord St. Aldwyn's description is: 'Sometimes kindly

sarcastic, but always frank and fair and patient—though easily bored.' Boredom he always showed by wagging his leg. He was a great fidget. He would raise his heels from the ground and maintain, perhaps for half an hour, a sustained quivering of his knees and legs, shaking the floor and making the furniture rattle. His colleagues on the front bench in the House of Lords felt it made them seasick. When his legs were at rest his fingers would incessantly twist and turn a paper-knife or penholder, or beat a devil's tattoo upon his knee or the elbow of his chair. He puzzled over how he was to sit through his interviews with ambassadors without falling asleep, and secured a wooden paper-knife, pointed like a dagger, which he saw in a shop. This he kept on his table, and, 'when a conversation of foreseen vacuity opened, he would hold the point under the concealing shadow of the table-edge, pressed against his thigh, ready to be jammed home when temptation became irresistible.'

He did not magnify his office. In a walk with his son Robert he dilated on his powerlessness to control foreign policy. Everything was done by the arrangement and execution of the details. 'The Prime Minister may lay down the broad principles of foreign policy, but those principles can only be carried out by the judicious execution of a number of details, and, if the Prime Minister attempts to interfere in these latter, the only result is confusion. And the same is true with respect to all the executive, though not the legislative, part of the Government.' His son said, 'Then you regard your office as a kind of fifth wheel of the coach?' 'Yes, as far as the executive is concerned. It is an office of infinite worry, but very little power.'

His work at the Foreign Office won from the Queen a confidence which never weakened. He felt for her that personal affection which she aroused in all her Prime Ministers. Her loyalty, her white truth, and honesty greatly impressed him. 'Always speak the truth to the Queen,' was his only advice to those who approached her

for the first time. Lady Salisbury used to say that he told the Queen everything. Her eccentricities of outlook upon art and literature, and her irrational prejudices in matters of everyday life disturbed his sense of humour. Her letters, which at times presented an extraordinary jumble of values, perpetually amused him, but he respected her inflexible conscience, her unflagging industry, her high standard of public morality, in which the watchwords of duty, truth, and honesty stood sternly in the forefront. They never discussed theology; they agreed to differ on Church polity; but were always in religious sympathy. Her political wisdom and her wide knowledge of the minds and motives of foreign magnates were of real service to him as Foreign Secretary. When he resigned the seals on the defeat of the Conservatives in 1886, the Queen wished to offer him a dukedom, but this he begged leave to decline. Her Majesty's approval of his conduct, he said, was 'very far more precious to him than any sort of title.'

When Dr. Bernard gave a series of lectures in 1900 at Ripon, he met Dr. Boyd-Carpenter, 'who talked much about Kaisers and Courts. The bishop also talked about Queen Victoria, her ways and works. Once when he was talking to her, he asked her, "Do you count Beaconsfield as one of your *great* Ministers?" She replied, half hesitatingly, "Yes," and quickly added, "But the present one is greater." Now, the present one then was Salisbury.'[1]

His work at the Foreign Office was always congenial. There he stretched mental limbs cramped in the phrase-making of the platform or of the House of Lords. The strain was constant. His so-called holidays abroad brought an unbroken succession of messengers carrying sacks full of boxes, and a constant correspondence of coded telegrams. Mr. Balfour secured him a complete holiday in his last two years by taking over his work at the Foreign Office for a few

[1] *Archbishop Bernard*, p. 160.

weeks. During the eleven and a half years that he held the two offices, broken roughly into two halves by the Liberal Ministry of 1892–5, he never enjoyed a whole day's rest unless he was ill. 'Nature exacted her penalty. There were repeated minor failures of health; he lived close to the physical breaking-point, and kept clear of it only by a careful avoidance of all exertion, mental or bodily, outside his work.' He knew what questions could be left to the control of his staff, and delegated certain matters altogether to the principal and assistant under-secretaries. His paper-work—letters, telegrams, dispatches—was done in the mornings and evenings at Hatfield or Arlington Street, with the occasional assistance of his shorthand writer. The afternoons at the Office were devoted exclusively to interviews. A member of the service who was private secretary to Beaconsfield, Gladstone, and Salisbury was rallied by a friend on the intimacy which he must have attained with hidden weaknesses of his three chiefs. He did not deny it of the first two, but refused to admit it of the third, adding, 'Lord Salisbury was undoubtedly the greatest of the three.'

Many touches of humour amused his staff. An adventurous trader, having got into or made trouble for himself in a semi-civilized country, appealed wrathfully to the Foreign Office, on his return, for redress. Lord Salisbury wrote on the appeal: 'Buccaneers must expect to rough it.' The Colonial Office was then notorious for its red-letter delays. Salisbury's office adjoined, and he added a postscript to a letter: 'Do you mind our driving a hole into your room? It would expedite consultation—and the present distance between the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, reckoned by time, is about as long as the distance between London and Berlin.'

Lord Salisbury resigned the seals on February 6, 1886, but he was called to resume them in July. The Home Rule battle was now seriously engaged. The elections had given the Conservatives seventy more members, and they

numbered forty more than the Gladstonians and Parnellites combined, though they were twenty short of a majority of the whole House. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain's party held the balance. Lord Salisbury pressed Hartington to accept the Premiership, but he definitely declined, and, on July 25, Salisbury kissed hands.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach firmly refused to lead the party in the Commons, and, at the age of thirty-six, Lord Randolph Churchill became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House. His audacious controversial methods and 'his tendency to borrow the language, if not the substance, of Radical appeals had made him suspect to the more sober elements of the party. But his pre-eminence, both in the House and on the platform, was so indisputable that no serious protest was made against the nomination. The colleagues over whose heads he was promoted made no demur.' Lord Salisbury felt that his promotion was a testing experiment. Everything went well at first, and even his admirers were surprised by the dignity and unprovocative skill of his leadership. But he was restive as to the policy of Lord Iddesleigh, who was now Foreign Secretary, and in December, when preparing his Budget, his refusal to accept the Estimates of the War Office and the Admiralty led to his fateful resignation, to Goschen's accession to the Chancellorship, and to Lord Randolph's political eclipse.

Mr. Smith's appointment as Leader of the Commons proved one of the most successful of Lord Salisbury's Premiership. He himself replaced Lord Iddesleigh at the Foreign Office. His efforts to spare the feelings of one of his oldest friends broke down through the unauthorized publication of the proposed change, in the *Standard*. Lord Iddesleigh accepted the situation in the finest spirit, and came up from Exeter to London, where he had a heart-attack and died in Lord Salisbury's presence at Downing Street. Three or four years before, his doctor had confidently reported to his colleague that he was able for present work,

but added, 'The glass is cracked and may break at any moment.' It was a great shock to the Prime Minister. Lord Randolph wrote a letter of sympathy which showed the qualities which, in spite of all defects, made him so singularly attractive to his fellows. In his reply, Lord Salisbury wrote: 'It was a very painful scene that I witnessed on Wednesday in Downing Street. I had never happened to see any one die before—and, therefore, even apart from the circumstances, the suddenness of this unexpected death would have been shocking.' In addition was the thought of the strange misunderstanding which had caused pain to his old friend. 'As I looked upon the dead body stretched before me, I felt that politics was a cursed profession.' The bright feature of that troubled time was 'the rapid evolution of the most brilliant parliamentarian of his generation, and the most triumphantly successful administrator that Ireland has known.'

Lady Gwendolen's fourth volume opens with the war spectre hanging threateningly over Europe. Bismarck's attitude was puzzling, but Lord Salisbury believed he was 'still true to the main principle of his policy—employing his neighbours to pull out each other's teeth.' Salisbury was seeking to establish better relations with France, but told Lord Lyons in 1887 'she seems bent upon aggravating the patient beast of burden that lives here by every insult and worry her ingenuity can contrive.' This led him to adopt a policy of neighbourliness. Bismarck was seeking to enroll England in the ranks of the Triple Alliance. It was a time of many anxieties for the Prime Minister. He gave up office in July 1892. His policy of neighbourliness had won England a unique position of influence in Europe, and, though he returned to power three years later, he never fully regained for himself, or for England, that mediatorial authority 'which marked the zenith of his fame and achievement as a Foreign Minister.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

RECENT FOREIGN CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEW TESTAMENT STUDY

DURING the past year two new editions of commentaries in that excellent series Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* have appeared. One is Windisch's on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which I have not yet seen, the other is Martin Dibelius's on the Pastoral Epistles. A comparison of the new edition with the old shows how very thorough has been the revision of this work. This book won highest praise on its first appearance, not only for its excellent textual comments, but even more for its admirable special notes. Many of these have been expanded, and a new excursus has been provided on several subjects. Thus we now find a page and a half devoted to a note on 'Good Conscience' in the Pastorals, two-thirds of a page to 'Faithful is the Saying,' and a page to 'The Ideal Christian Citizenship.' A most interesting addition to the *Handbuch* is a new volume by Leonhard Fendt, *Die Alten Pericopen*. This book is symptomatic of the new feeling in Germany that theology and exegesis should not be kept in isolation from the preaching message of the Christian Church. Lietzmann feels as strongly as ever that the preacher's duty is to wrestle bravely with the linguistic and historical conditions under which the message has reached us in the Greek Testament. He recognizes that the Church needs biblical preaching more than ever, but preaching which relates the subject matter of the New Testament to the practical needs of our time. He has therefore invited a minister who combines a pastoral charge with a lectureship in Practical Theology at Berlin University to write an expository book on quite new lines. Dr. Fendt has followed the Church Calendar, giving a brief exposition of the Gospel and Epistle for the day, and showing the liturgical unity of the two.

Another commentary that should be mentioned is Adolf Schlatter's *Der Evangelist Johannes*. It is brief, and its purpose is simply to show 'How the Evangelist speaks, thinks, and believes.' The most striking feature of this commentary is the use made of parallels from rabbinic sources to illustrate the language and thought of the Fourth Gospel. (1930. Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung. RM 12.)

The fifth and last volume of the new edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* is rapidly approaching completion. Within the past twelve months no articles of outstanding importance to the New Testament student have appeared, but we name the few that come within our field of special interest. Paul Feine writes briefly on the Epistles to the Romans and the Thessalonians, the younger

von Soden on the Text and Textual Criticism of the New Testament, Stauffer on 'Ethics of Primitive Christianity,' and on 'Baptism in Primitive Christianity,' Mundle on the 'Kingdom of God in Old Testament and New Testament,' Schmitz on 'Sin and Guilt in the New Testament,' Bertram on 'Sagas and Legends in the New Testament,' Gunkel on 'Belief in Demons in Old Testament and New Testament,' also on the Odes of Solomon. Two other articles on subjects bordering on New Testament study are those by Leisegang on Philo of Alexandria and by Carl Schmidt on Pistis Sophia. One amusing error—not by any means the only one of the kind—is that in this biblical and theological encyclopaedia a brief article is devoted to William Makepeace Thackeray instead of to H. St. John Thackeray, the scholar who has done so much for the grammar of the LXX and for the text of Josephus.

The New Testament student may well wonder whether he has received his money's worth in the third volume of the valuable bi-monthly *Theologische Rundschau*. In the five numbers which have so far appeared there is only one essay with any bearing on this field. In that article, Dibelius gives a welcome account of the work done so far in relation to the *Formgeschichte* of the New Testament outside the Gospels. Those who know this commentary on James in Meyer's *Kommentar* and his books in the *Handbuch* on the shorter Pauline letters will be prepared for the discussion about such points as the place of *paraenesis*, cultic hymns, tables of household duties, testimonia in the Epistles, and the relation of the Stoic diatribe and the Jewish tradition of sayings of the rabbis to the form in which primitive Christian teaching and preaching was given. Perhaps the most important section is that in which Dibelius surveys the ground for a '*formgeschichtliche Betrachtung*' of the Acts of the Apostles. The whole article deserves study, both for the information given of work already contributed towards the more systematic investigation of the way in which these books assumed the form in which they are written, and also because of the sketch of problems awaiting further study. The most recent issue of the *Theologische Rundschau* has a survey by G. Bertram of studies in the LXX during the past dozen years.

The name of Georg Bertram recalls a useful pamphlet which he contributed in 1928 to the Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Vorträge. The title is *Neues Testament und historische Methode* (Tübingen: Mohr; M 1.80), and he deals with the significance and limits of the historian's tasks in New Testament research. After discussing the rational and the empirical elements in historical writing and considering the after-effects of Hegelianism as applied by the early Tübingen school, he attempts to discriminate between 'tradition' and 'remains.' By the former term he means the official interpretation given to the remembered facts and sayings of Jesus in the light of Old Testament, or of Hellenistic, conceptions. He also distinguishes between narratives which played a part in the religious worship of primitive Christianity and those which were recorded

for no theological or ritual significance. Another distinction is made between those stories which find their prototype in the Old Testament prophetic pattern and those in which the heavenly mission and power of Jesus shine forth. One of Bertram's points is the comparison that can be made between the active and the passive elements in the Ministry, and the way in which the Passion has come to throw its shadow over the Galilean Ministry, so that Luke can represent Jesus as describing his disciples as 'those who have continued with Me in My temptations.' Moreover, even the passive comes to be regarded as active, and the temptations and passion of Jesus could be looked upon as the victory of one who voluntarily incurred the strain of opposition, arrest, and death. The main result of this interesting essay is that we must not try to develop a time-plan for the history of the origin of Christianity. We must take the Synoptics, Paul, and John side by side, not in sequence, for they all lead immediately to Jesus. The New Testament is first a witness to the piety of the primitive Church. 'Jesus, from whom this history took its moving and living impulse, is still active in His Church. Not what He was, but what He is, has been constantly disclosed only to believers. The historian must acquiesce in this judgement.'

In the same series—and at the same price—appeared Koehler's admirable tract, *Das formgeschichliche Problem des Neuen Testaments* (1927). Here we have as succinct a summary as we could desire of the views of all the most important German works on this method of treating the Gospels, with a reasoned criticism leading to the judgement that it is an inadequate means of arriving at what is essentially an historical problem.

Next we should name two articles in American periodicals containing, in English form, surveys of present-day attempts to solve the supreme problem in all biblical study. They are written by two of the leading New Testament scholars on the Continent. In the *Harvard Theological Review* (April 1930) Maurice Goguel writes on 'The Person of Jesus,' and in the *Journal of Religion* (April 1931) Martin Dibelius gives a most valuable survey, 'Jesus in Contemporary German Theology.' A similar task is undertaken by Paul Feine in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, whose essay, 'Die Aufgabe der heutigen Jesusforschung,' has been reprinted by Leopold Klotz of Gotha (from Vol. CIII., 1931, 2*s.* 8*d.*), and should certainly be read by all who wish to hear a positive note in the testimony of a German scholar who has devoted his life to the problems of New Testament criticism. But this pamphlet is in part an answer to criticisms which have been brought against Feine's latest work and the method which he has followed. Paul Feine is well known for his early book on *Jesus Christ and Paul*, his *New Testament Theology*, which has run through five editions, his little *Introduction to the New Testament*, which is now in its fifth edition, and his big book on *Paul*, which we noticed in this chronicle two or three years ago. Now we have his *Jesus* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; M 10, geb. M 12). We regard this as a very important book, in spite of the severe criticism which

it has met with from the pens of some of the leading New Testament scholars in his own land.

In the article referred to above, Dibelius writes: 'If one is unwilling to misuse faith by employing it as a makeshift for historical knowledge, then only one conclusion can be drawn. Jesus, as historically known and classified in connexion with historical happenings, does not save; and the saving quality of the Christ known to faith cannot be exhibited by means of historical research, because it is superhistorical in character, because it permits of no comparison, and belongs to no human category.' Feine, in this book, writes in almost identical language, yet he also finds it intolerable that critics like Bultmann should make such tremendous demands in obedience to the Word of God proclaimed by a Jesus of whom we are said to know historically next to nothing. Now Feine sets out, not to write a life of Jesus, but to prove the historicity of the biblical Jesus who has been the source and object of the faith of Christians through the centuries. This involves a study of the divine self-consciousness of Jesus as an historical fact central to the understanding of His personality. The first part of the book is devoted to an investigation of the value of the historical tradition regarding Jesus, and this embraces a consideration of non-Christian sources as well as the evidence of Paul and of the Fourth Gospel as well as the Synoptists. The second part is a study of Jesus Himself, first in relation to the task to which He was called, then as that vocation was followed out in His life. Under the former head such subjects are considered as the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament, the claims that are made, the terms that are used, the evidence both in Synoptists and in John that Jesus thought and spoke out of a conscious and specific Sonship. Under the second head, Jesus is studied in the conduct of His life. A short third part gives a sketch of the message of the Kingdom of God. Starting from the Old Testament thought and language about the Kingdom of God, Jesus is shown to have heard His call in the realization for man of these prophecies and promises. Conscious that His being goes back to eternity, He finds this attested, not in His becoming King of the Kingdom of God, but in His intuitive certainty that He is the Son and the Son of Man. Feine makes much of the way in which passages in Paul and John, though going beyond what we find in the Synoptics, do not clash with the earlier records, but are rather a fulfilment of them. Perhaps the weakest point in the argument is the attempt to link up this consciousness with the story of the Virgin Birth given in divergent forms in the Infancy narratives of the First and Third Gospels. Limits of space forbid a more detailed account of one of the most important books which have appeared in recent German study of the message and meaning of Jesus.

Two years ago we called attention to the first two parts of Professor Ernst Barnikol's *Forschungen zur Entstehung des Urchristentums des Neuen Testaments und der Kirche* (Kiel: Mühlau Verlag). Now we have three more parts. In the first he attempts to show that John

Mark's home was not Jerusalem, but Cyprus; that the Silas of the Acts is not the Silvanus of the Pauline Epistles and the Apostolic Decree, but is to be identified with Titus and to be regarded as the author of the 'We' passages. In the next he offers a startling hypothesis about the Epistle to the Romans. It was not written to Rome at all, for he found no Church when he arrived a prisoner in the capital. It was his intention on his last journey to Jerusalem to go via Antioch, and, when this plan fell through, he sent a letter to the Christians at Antioch, by the hand of Trophimus, in which he promised to make his next journey to Italy—not Spain—via Antioch. In the latest number, Barnikol attempts to show that Gal. ii. 7–8 is not a genuine part of the letter.

A few other pamphlets may be mentioned, though, unhappily, there is no space for more than this. We have a reprint from the *Proceedings of the Prussian Academy* which gives us Werner Jaeger's paper on 'The Newly Discovered Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, and Dionysius the Areopagite.' It is also a pleasure to have the beautifully printed lecture which Deissmann delivered as Rector of the University of Berlin in 1930. The subject is *Die Schicksale des Neuen Testaments*. Then there is a study by Professor Michaelis of Bern, *Reich Gottes und Geist Gottes nach dem Neuen Testament* (Basel: Reinhardt). These two ideas are studied in the Jewish presuppositions, in the preaching of the Baptist, in the teaching of Jesus, in the narratives of the sequel to Easter and Pentecost, in Paul, and in the Fourth Gospel. The treatment is eminently readable, and there are some valuable bibliographical notes in an appendix.

Within the last few days we have met with Fascher's new edition of Jülicher's famous *Introduction to the New Testament* (Mohr; M 20, geb. M 22). The significant changes in this well-known work since Miss Ward's English translation of the 1900 edition must form the opening portion of the next instalment of the chronicle.

WILBERT F. HOWARD.

THE JUBILEE OF THE REVISED VERSION

IT is not so long since great excitement prevailed in religious circles throughout this country, concerning the proposed revision of the Anglican Prayer Book; but only those who are older will remember the far greater national interest aroused in the last century by the revision of that version of the English Bible which had come, without any real warrant, to be called the 'Authorized' Version. The fifty years since 1881–4 have in many respects created a new world, but the recent sinister estimate of *The Times* that, as regards the Revised Version, 'few jubilees can have given less excuse for jubilance,' exceeds the usual superficiality and misrepresentation of the popular Press. A London weekly adds that the Revised Version 'was disliked at the beginning, and it is as unpopular to-day after

fifty years.' The last clause here is as untrue as the first is irrelevant. So far as popular dislike is concerned, the Revision of 1884 was not nearly as bitterly condemned as was the so-called Authorized Version when it first appeared. Now, for some time, language has scarcely sufficed for the adulation poured upon that version as 'the well of English undefiled,' 'the triumph of Elizabethan style,' 'the noble and sacred language which alone deserves to be called the Bible of the English-speaking world.' But when it was issued, it was repudiated by Romanists and Puritans alike. The 'Dean Burgon' of that day—the learned Hugh Broughton—declared that 'he would rather be torn in pieces by wild horses than impose such a version upon the poor churches of England.' So that if to-day—according to *John o' London's Weekly*—'the critics of the Revised Version speak and write as the critics of fifty years ago did,' it only shows how much, like those former critics, they have yet to learn as to what constitutes real worth in a work of such importance. In point of fact, the hasty and bitter fault-findings of Dean Burgon and Mr. Washington Moon, with their echoes, have long been dismissed as unworthy of present-day regard. Their maledictions were sufficiently answered, by anticipation in Bishop Lightfoot's words, and later, in actuality, by Dr. Salmon and a host of others.

In 1897 a modest volume appeared entitled *Which Bible to Read*, in which all the popular and conventional objections were fairly met, and the real need for the corrections given in the Revised Version for Authorized Version mistakes, in the meanings of words, in grammar, in meaningless archaisms, in misleading misrepresentations, ambiguities, obscurities, loss of delicate and significant expressions, &c., were plainly shown, in more than a thousand examples. There was no answer to that book, for it was unanswerable. But the world of to-day is swamped with books and flooded with newspapers to such an extent, that, for the many at all events, it is wellnigh impossible to secure the reading of anything which demands careful attention. Thus, in the modest volume referred to, it was avowed that 'the present and pressing duty of the Churches of to-day is plain, viz. to see that the Revised Version, and no other, is adopted for regular use in all our public services, in every pulpit, in every Sunday school, and in every Bible class throughout the country.' Has, then, anything happened since 1897 to show that such an estimate was unwarranted in its outspokenness? No; only printed space is required to show that it was as true as plain, and as timely as lucid.

There is really but one test to be applied; but there are three spheres for its application. After all, when the floods of eulogy poured upon the version of 1611 have passed on, what really is the worth and purpose of the Bible? One would think, from such utterances as those of Dean Welldon, 'the failure of the Revised Version consists in the mutilation and injury done to the noble and sacred language of the Authorized Version, which had sunk into the hearts and minds of people who read it and congregations which listen to it'—that the only thing to be considered was the 'sacred language';

and that the question whether such language is, as a translation, true or false, is a mere trifle. So that all substitution of what is true, for what is not true, is a 'mutilation'!

But in definite reply to that ecclesiastical notion, one more reference to the book above mentioned should suffice. Dr. Driver had shown that 'there are hundreds of inaccuracies in the Authorized Version for every one in the Revised Version.' Are these of equal value? Certainly not. 'But whether great matters or little, *truth to the uttermost* is the very soul of the mission of Christianity. To cling to error, no matter how dear its associations, where once the truth has been made apparent, is but to repeat the old deadly fallacy so emphatically abjured by the apostle—"as we be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say—let us do evil that good may come, whose condemnation is just."' The Christianity which is content with less than truth to the uttermost is its own self-contradiction and self-condemnation.

There are three distinct spheres in which this Christian Canon increasingly applies, namely: private reading and study; the public reading of Scripture in what are called the 'lessons'; and the outer world of non-churchgoers who are still more or less affected by biblical quotations and references. Each of these calls for a much fuller consideration than is here possible.

(1) Those who can read their Bibles in the originals may be left to take care of themselves. It is not of such that Dean Inge, in his *Everyman's Bible*, laments that 'Bible readers are declining.' That is but a mild statement of an only too obvious fact. But surely the less the quantity, the greater the need for quality. That is to say, there is more need than ever that private English Bible-reading should so have the unmistakable truth in view, alike as to the character of God, the teaching of Christ, the estimate of human nature, the meaning of salvation, the whole significance of the Gospel, that sincere and intelligent study of the English shall fulfil Christ's own promise—'You will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.' In a word, Bible study, to contribute to Christian character, must involve something more than ancient forms of speech, familiar language, old association, and the like. As Paul put it—'Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true——'

(2) This equally applies—or even more applies—to those, and their number is legion, who attend churches, but do no private reading of the Bible at home. And it includes that vast modern congregation which is now reached, as never before, by the 'wireless.' For these, as for almost all Anglican churches and many Free churches—especially in missions and country places—the 'lessons' are read from the Authorized Version, regardless of the fact that in many instances the truth is obscured, and often misrepresented in important matters, by faulty renderings. The sound of familiar words is there, indeed. But the popular contentment with sound instead of sense, and with antique falsity instead of later truth, is not merely what Christ Himself so plainly condemned, but what is profitably

disowned in every other department of our life to-day, except religion.

It is indeed high time that some protest was made, more plainly than heretofore, against the superstitious clinging to antique speech in the reading of 'lessons,' as if it were more Christian, or holy, to say 'Thou shalt,' than 'You will'; or 'The sun shineth,' than 'It shines.' The *Church Times*' denunciation of 'colloquialisms' in public worship, would equally condemn the invariable practice of Christ to speak to the 'common' people in their own tongue; and of the apostles in their preaching everywhere. The substitution, indeed, of any one of the four other translations of the New Testament which are now happily becoming better known—Weymouth, Twentieth Century, Moffatt, as well as the Revised Version—in the public reading of the 'lessons,' would do much to awaken that reality of mind and heart which is often so sorely lacking in Sunday services. The practice of the B.B.C. to read from the Authorized Version in the Sunday evening Epilogues, is an utter self-contradiction; seeing that the very words which are heard depend upon the utmost accuracy of structure in the 'set,' for their intelligibility.

(3) As to the English-speaking world around the Churches, it is indeed composed of those who are, alas, increasingly conspicuous by their absence from worship. But they cannot help breathing a more or less Christian atmosphere. Is it not all the more desirable, nay, even necessary, that they should have that atmosphere as clear as possible? Not merely through the conduct of 'those who profess and call themselves Christians'; but in the statements of the truth which such conduct should represent. The words of the Authorized Version are confessedly not as familiar now as they were when the Authorized Version was produced, when, as J. R. Green says, 'England was a people of One Book.' But ordinary folk are still very familiar with many 'passages' which are in constant use. Unfortunately, all these are still taken from the old version, and every one of those most popularly used is contrary to what the writer intended, whilst also, in every case, the true significance as in the Revised Version is better, in every sense, than the representation of the Authorized Version. This can be proved to the uttermost by honest study.

This is all but a fragment of what may be and ought to be said, in reply to the superficial estimates of newspapers, and the pitiful contentment of the Bible-buying public with what in any other realm would not satisfy them for a minute. It were tragedy indeed, if three centuries had passed without teaching Christian scholarship anything more than our fathers knew. Nor is there any valid reason whatever for supposing that the sixteenth attempt to give ordinary English people Bible truth should be accepted as the last. That the seventeenth attempt is not perfect, any one who reads the Preface to the Revised Version may see its devoted authors themselves fully acknowledge. But, for all teaching purposes, it is by far the best thus given to the English people, and its jubilee ought to be a real occasion for thanksgiving, both to God and to the revisers of 1881–4.

FRANK BALLARD.

SHAKESPEARE AND DRINK

In the old days of pantomime we were accustomed to the clown who struck with his hatchet a thwacking blow on the pate of his opponent. Tweedle-Dum would then retaliate, whereupon they would fall to in goodly earnest and finish up by affectionately hugging one another, neither having suffered any ill effects. There is some resemblance to this good-natured sparring in the verbal battles of the critics over William Shakespeare. We look on at the performance with detached amusement. Sometimes something practical, which the ordinary man can appreciate, ensues from the controversy. A case in point is the defence of Shakespeare by Mr. Edgar I. Fripp, against the admission, by so great an authority as Sir Edmund Chambers, that Shakespeare was a hard drinker. It would seem that, forty years after Shakespeare's death, a rumour was spread abroad by John Ward to this effect: 'Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard; for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted.' Sir Edmund Chambers thinks there is no reason to reject this statement. Mr. Fripp[1] thinks there is every reason for rejecting it. Not to go over all the ground, he says: 'Ben Jonson's presence in Stratford in 1661 is most unlikely; and that of Michael Drayton, if it were a fact, would be evidence of the respectability of the "merry meeting," which almost certainly was the wedding of Judith Shakespeare and Thomas Quyney.' Other charges of a character defamatory of Shakespeare are dealt with in a similarly robust and, to me, convincing fashion. Since, however, so little is known about the man behind the plays, it seems rather unlikely at this late hour, that we are going to get much further into his private conduct. We turn, then, to Shakespeare's attitude to drink, so far as it is contained in the body of his writings.

In the first poem that Shakespeare wrote, 'Venus and Adonis,' there is a statement, very definitely expressed, of the devitalizing influences of alcohol.

> The proceedings of a drunken brain,
> Full of respects, yet naught at all respecting:
> In hand with all things, naught at all effecting.

In one character, Shakespeare gives expression to views that are absolute in their endorsement of temperance and total abstinence: Adam in *As You Like It* explains the reason for his vigour in old age in the following speech:

> Though I look old, yet am I strong and lusty;
> For in my youth I never did apply
> Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood;
> . . . . . .
> Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
> Frosty, but kindly.

Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek are hardly the men we should expect to yield material for temperance advocates. Toby's

[1] *Modern Churchman*, April and May 1931.

famous retort to Malvolio is one of Shakespeare's oft-quoted sentences: 'Dost thou think because thou art virtuous there shall be no more cakes and ale?' It is rarely conceded that these words are more in the nature of a tilt at over-austere Puritanism rather than an encouragement to those addicted to linger long over their cups, yet such we believe is the case. We have only to read what Maria said to Sir Toby in reference to Sir Andrew's three thousand ducats—

> He'll have but a year in all these ducats: he's a very fool and prodigal—

to know where Shakespeare stood to topers. The very names Belch and Aguecheek give their owners away, says Mr. Fripp. And, were further proof needed of Shakespeare's view, we have only to set these two men within the true scope of comedy, as an instrument of correction, to realize that Shakespeare is gently censuring the weakness of wine-bibbers as in another play he is rebuking the romantic sentimentality of Orsino and Olivia.

What of Falstaff? We may be certain that Shakespeare loved this mammoth of revelling and bawdry, loved him as we do, not for his sins, but in spite of them. We do not expect Shakespeare to moralize here nor elsewhere, but we feel that he cannot let Falstaff leave the stage glorying in his lusts. First he is dismissed as no companion for the Prince, now become King. Then there is the death-bed scene. Shakespeare could not, with any show of poetic justice, or truth of any sort, make Falstaff end up as a teetotaller—that would be absurdity *in excelsis*.

> They say, he cried out of sack.
> Aye, that 'a did.

But it is not as a mere libidinous fellow that Shakespeare will have Falstaff die:

> Nay, sure he's not in hell; he's in Arthur's bosom. 'A made a finer end, and went away, an it had been a christom child.

Turning to Shakespeare's counsellors, these sometimes fail because, like Polonius, they are too fussy, inquisitive, and time-serving; or else they lack spine. Menenius is an invertebrate type, and his weakness is directly connected with sins of the sense. Had he been strong he might have curbed the arrogance of Coriolanus and saved him from his fate, but Menenius was a slave to the body. 'The man who uses an apologue in which the belly figured as the most important of human organs, doubtless recognized its claims in his own daily life,' says Mr. Boas. This, at any rate, is the man who must have his 'cup of hot wine, with not a drop of Tiber in it.' Men in Elizabeth's day were content to have their drinks mixed with water, but in the reign of James they shocked the old-fashioned sort by drinking strong, unmixed potions. Take the reference to 'wine with not a drop of Tiber in it' together with the weak character of Menenius and we find Shakespeare, in his art, no more tolerant of the new form of drinking than the old.

'Drink in Shakespeare is associated with weakness—with foolishness, failure, disease, and crime.' We have quoted and elaborated on some of the examples mentioned by Mr. Fripp in recent numbers of the *Modern Churchman*. Others he instances are Timon, and his 'Go, suck the subtle blood of the grape'; the Triumvirs and their 'Cup us till the world go round'; strong men, Richard III, Brutus, Antony, who call for drink on the eve of disaster; Macbeth and his 'When my drink is ready . . . strike upon the bell'; Lady Macbeth and her tell-tale words, 'That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold.'

We turn from these passing references to one of the three greatest tragedies, *Othello*, where the hero, blinded by jealousy, has a shadowy understudy in his lieutenant Cassio, who is blinded by an act of drunkenness. Cassio is an example of the man whose only safety lies in total abstinence. He says to Iago:

I have very poor and unhappy brains for drinking: I could well wish courtesy would invent some other custom of entertainment.

When he has yielded to the blandishments of Iago and has tripped himself up by his fault, and as a result been dismissed by Othello, he breaks forth into the strongest condemnation of liquor to be found in any literature.

Drunk? and speak parrot? and squabble? swagger? and discourse fustian with one's own shadow?—O thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee devil! . . . O that men should put an enemy in their mouths to steal away their brains! that we should, with joy, pleasance, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!

Iago—ponder it well—is the only person brought forward in defence of drink.

Come, come, good wine is a good familiar creature, if it be well used; exclaim no more against it. And, good lieutenant, I think, you think I love you.

Eloquently spoken, Devil's advocate.

J. H. Bodgener.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Recently *Punch*, in a review of a new book on India, said, 'He must be an optimist indeed who can suppose that the puny organizations which are on the side of sweetness and light can ever conquer the demons of cruelty and superstition. But, all the same, one must admire the steadfast courage with which enlightened men and women, Europeans and Indians, give their best, in the faith that at last the victory will be theirs.'

Much is written and said about the work of foreign missionaries sent out from these islands to work in India. What is not so generally understood at home is the effort put forth by the Indian Church for the conversion of its own land. Christian Nationalism at its highest is a very fine and beautiful thing. A recent talk with Rai

A. C. Mukerjee Bahadur, the secretary of the National Missionary Society of India, revealed to me afresh how great is the courage of enlightened *Indians* 'who give their best, in the faith that the victory will be theirs.'

Rai A. C. Mukerjee Bahadur lived for thirty-three years in Benares, at the very core of Hinduism. He was municipal commissioner in that great city which has been longer venerated, and by a greater number of people, than any other place of pilgrimage in the world, Jerusalem and Mecca not excepted. One supposes that there was very little that Mr. Mukerjee did not know about the Hindu pilgrim. Leaving Benares, Mr. Mukerjee joined the National Missionary Society, and now tours India ceaselessly; when I met him he had not seen his home for five months.

The National Missionary Society of India began just twenty-five years ago, when sixteen young Indian laymen, representing every part of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, gathered in Serampore for three days of thought and prayer concerning the Indian Church. They sat in Henry Martyn's pagoda and gave themselves to prayer that God would reveal His will to them and show them how best they might awaken the Indian Church to a sense of responsibility for the evangelization of its own country.

'Shall we,' they asked one another, 'always look to the West for leadership and support? Can the Church in India never become self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating?' They formed themselves into the National Missionary Society. One of these young men who saw a vision in that spot made for ever sacred by Carey, Marshman, and Martyn, was young Vedanayakam Azariah, who is now the Bishop of Dornakal. He became the first secretary; he was followed a few years later by Mr. K. T. Paul. When Mr. Paul became secretary of the Indian National Y.M.C.A., he handed on the torch to Mr. P. O. Philip, who later became secretary of the National Christian Council of India. He was succeeded by Mr. Mukerjee, the present secretary.

Some scepticism existed at first, among the older generation of Christians and among the foreign missionaries, about the ambitions of these 'young men in a hurry.' There were not lacking those who reminded them of the poverty of the Indian Church, of the lack of initiative which was then supposed to be a characteristic of the Indian. Dr. Julius Richter, in his monumental *History of Missions in India*, wrote in 1906: 'As by far the greater number of Indian Christians have hitherto shown a deplorable lack of interest in active missionary work, any step in this direction ought to be recorded with satisfaction, even though we have doubts concerning the feasibility of the far-reaching proposals made by the National Missionary Society.'

The following facts are a sufficient commentary of that attitude: The National Missionary Society is now working in ten language areas and supports 116 Indian missionaries. Its work radiates from forty-eight centres, in which are hospitals, schools, and a network of

social and evangelistic agencies. At present there is one European on its committee, which is otherwise entirely Indian. The whole of the financial support is provided by Indian Christians.

Mr. Mukerjee emphasizes that his society is not out to establish a Church. It provides workers and support for pioneer work in connexion with many different Churches—Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical, Lutheran, Syrian, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational. It appeals to members of all Churches in India, and has in countless instances fired young men and women with zeal for home evangelization, and the society may claim to have captured the imagination of young Christian India.

One interesting instance of this is that about twenty years ago an appeal from the National Missionary Society fell into the hands of a young Tamil Christian in Madras called Joel Appadurai. That appeal for the evangelization of India by Indians was his first call to Christian service. Years later he became a minister of the Wesleyan Church, and was sent as the first representative of the South Indian Wesleyan Missionary Society to evangelize a hitherto unoccupied area of Hyderabad State. His work, inspired in the first instance by the National Missionary Society, is supported and directed by Indian Wesleyan Christians all over South India. He has been the leader of a great Christ-ward movement among caste people in the villages of Hyderabad, in which some 5,000 members of the middle and higher castes have been received into the fellowship of the Christian Church.

Before it was reached by the influence of the National Missionary Society, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church (which claims to have been founded by St. Thomas) was almost entirely self-centred, and for centuries had lost its great opportunity of propagating the truth throughout South India by indigenous methods. Now, however, largely through the influence of the National Missionary Society, the whole outlook of this ancient Church is changed. For the first time the Syrian Church is engaged in work among the outcastes, and this year their missionary budget is Rs.25,000.

The Home Mission budget of the Lutheran Church, formerly Rs.2,500, has been raised to Rs.14,000, without diverting a single pice from other hands.

In many places voluntary preaching bands of young laymen have been organized, and young Christian India is hearing the call to sacrifice and service as never before.

The Indian lady principal of a Government college volunteered to join the National Missionary Society. She was offered a salary of rather less than she had been receiving in Government service. She protested, 'I don't want so much; I don't want a salary; I want simply a maintenance allowance.' There is no 'scale of pay' among the workers of the society, each receiving according to his or her individual requirements.

Some of the workers of this Indian Missionary Society are Europeans; Father Balcomb is lent by the Oxford Mission for work in a

little settlement in Bengal, where a group of men and women, mostly Indians, having taken a vow of poverty and celibacy, with no salary, but only the necessary provision for food and clothes, are working among the villages.

The *ashram* at Tirupattur in which Dr. Paton and Dr. Jesudasan are working is carried on entirely by unpaid workers, and for fourteen years its doors have never been closed for a single day for lack of workers. On one occasion both doctors broke down at the same time. The society prayed. They did not advertise for workers. They did not even mention the need in their periodical. They simply prayed, and a volunteer medical worker presented himself at the *ashram*, and offered to stay for three months. At the end of that time another Indian doctor arrived, and remained until Jesudasan and Paton could return. Mr. Mukerjee says, 'I go round India saying to our Christian people, "I don't come primarily to beg; I place before you a demand on behalf of our Master for something greater than money—I want your prayer life."'

Truly the achievements of the National Missionary Society have been very wonderful, and the movement is pregnant with even greater possibilities in the future. Mr. Mukerjee's last words to me were, '*We all need one another*. Tell your friends in England that we in the National Missionary Society ask not for a penny of their money, but we beg for their prayers.'

Pray ye the Lord of the Harvest that He will thrust forth labourers—Indian labourers—into the harvest field.

C. GORDON EARLY.

Solomon Schechter. By Norman Bentwich. (Allen & Unwin. 1*s*., 2*s*.) In a Foreword to this Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture, Professor Burkitt describes the Hebrew language as the modern ghetto which needs men like Schechter to open it to the Gentile world. The lecture deals with him as man, teacher, writer, prophet. He was born in 1847 in a small Rumanian town, was discovered by Claude Montefiore in Berlin and brought to England in 1882. His Jewish scholarship won him a lectureship in Rabbinics at Cambridge. He made important discoveries in Hebrew manuscripts, and, after filling the chair of Hebrew at London University, became Principal of the Theological Seminary in New York. Mr. Bentwich gives an interesting account of his teaching as 'at once prophet and rabbi, seer and teacher, practising and compelling reverence, the inspiring master of Jewish tradition and the inspired messenger of a living faith calling to loyalty.'

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

What is the Old Testament? By C. Ryder Smith, B.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 4*s*.)

This is an illuminating answer to a question which perplexes not a few minds. Dr. Smith shows that the line of the evolution of true religion lay through Israel as that of art lay through Greece. 'If the Bible be taken as a whole, all men agree that the one masterful claim upon the attention of men is because it is a book of religion.' It is really two books, the first of which, the Old Testament, forms the prelude and the basis of the New. The geography of Palestine and the history of Israel are described in two chapters, and an account is given of the Higher Criticism and some of its results which will set at rest many fears. The religion of Israel before and after Elijah is clearly traced, and the books of the Old Testament are studied in three sections: The First Group of Written Prophets; The Second Group; Books after the Exile. The miracles of the Old Testament, the growth of the Canon, and the period after the Exile are the subjects of three important chapters, and the concluding pages show that the Old Testament is incomplete without the New, and the New without the Old. The value of the book lies in the frank and fearless way in which it discusses the whole subject and reaches the conclusion that when the Higher Criticism has done its work the Old Testament becomes a more valuable book of religion than before, and a more satisfactory prelude to the New Testament. The table of dates, the dates of the documents in the historical books, with their arrangement in groups according to dates, and the books for further reading, further enrich a volume of unusual value and importance.

The Holy and the Living God. By M. D. R. Willink, S.Th. (Allen & Unwin. 10*s*.)

Otto's *Idea of the Holy* was welcomed by Miss Willink as an endorsement of an idea which she had already worked out and an encouragement to further investigation. She thinks that behind the often distasteful symbolism of a bygone age in the Old Testament there is a vision of real powers at work. The idea of the Holy taken as a background thought in the minds of prophets and lawgivers throws light on many things which are obscure. In Greece, every discovery of a law of nature dethroned a god; in Israel it added a new attribute to

the Almighty. The fiery side of the holy love of God has been lately rather obscured in our teaching. We have been inclined to speak of the loving Father as an indulgent Father, which is by no means the case. The wrath of God seems really to be another aspect of the idea of holiness. Some impressive stages in man's 'approach to the hallows' are shown, not only among primitive peoples, but in Greece and Rome. Ritual washings, baptisms, and purification were required before initiation into the Eleusinian and Dionysiac mysteries. Israel has its five hallows, which are unfolded in chap. vi., and its rules of holiness were developed on the ethical and ceremonial, or aesthetic, side. Priesthood and sacrifice guarded the approach to the unseen Tremendum. That led up to the Suffering Servant, to Christ the great High Priest, and to the Church as the Royal Priesthood. Instances are given where a man may stand on the Godward side for sinners and be accepted. 'It needs one with a vision of the awfulness of sin and the tremendous holiness of God, with the untold issues that hang upon them, and a love of souls going to the very bounds of detachment from self.' It is an impressive view of a great aspect of religious life.

Jesus of Galilee. By F. Warburton Lewis. (Ivor Nicholson & Watson. 6*s*.)

This is a set of studies in the life of Christ which fasten on the main features, such as The Years at Nazareth, The Wilderness, Toward Cana, and gradually lead up to the Cross, the Resurrection, and the Ascension. Every sentence is clear-cut. There is no waste of words, no lack of thought. The whole course of the ministry stands out clearly, and suggestions are made which challenge inquiry. Some reasons are given for regarding Lazarus as the Rich Young Ruler who went away sorrowful, though Mr. Lewis is not tied to that view. Lazarus has his own home apart from his sisters, and sends a message from what proved his death-bed to warn Jesus not to venture south among foes waiting to destroy Him. Mr. Lewis looks on him as 'one of those few rulers who gave in their allegiance to Jesus. He stands, far more prominently than Nicodemus, far more prominently even than Joseph of Arimathea, as one of those rulers who kept so pure their hearts among their own set that they broke with their ancestral traditions, and bowed in love and faith before the Nazarene.' The scene at the grave where Jesus broke down weeping is vividly described: 'He stood there danger-girt, in spite of every precaution He had taken; stood there with the two sisters weeping at His feet, and His friend lying dead and cold within; stood there once more where men have stood beaten and insulted by death; there where men have stood, slandered by all appearances, made to seem but the children of an hour and the children of the dust; stood there in our name and in the name of mortal love, amid foes who had come to lay Him beside His friend: "Lazarus, come forth!" It was not an incident of a day; it is the inner meaning of things and the drama of

life.' Mr. Lewis does not carry conviction when he identifies Jesus with the man who was so nobly served by the Good Samaritan, and sends Him to be nursed back to strength by Martha and Mary. But he makes us think and wonder. He sets himself to see Jesus living, to pass with Him through the days and nights. His object is to get within the life, not merely to look at it from without; then maybe His life will enter ours. Mr. Lewis accepts John's placing of the cleansing of the Temple, and gives a dramatic description of Jesus standing in that cattle-market which turned the sacred place into 'a den of robbers.' The last section regards the words to Mary—'I ascend unto My Father and your Father, unto My God and your God'—as the culminating and final words of our Lord's revelation. 'This is the first moment of the new full Christian era. He gives His Father to us; henceforth, not as men have known Him, and not as men think of Him now, God becomes the Father of all who love Jesus. Jesus will not have His heaven alone; He will take the highest, the richest, and the most splendid, His own blessedness, His own heaven, and make it ours.'

The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches. By Ernest Troeltsch. Translated by Olive Wyon. Two volumes. (Allen & Unwin. 42*s*.)

Dr. Gore, in an Introductory Note, expresses his pleasure at the appearance of Troeltsch's greatest work in an English translation. 'It stands beyond question without a rival, whether in thoroughness or comprehensiveness, as an exposition of Christian life and thought in their relation to contemporary social facts, ideas, and problems from the beginnings of Christianity down to pre-Reformation developments.' The translation has not been an easy task, because of the wide range of the author's learning, his extensive use of unusual and technical terms, and his extremely involved style. Miss Wyon has introduced cross-headings, divided paragraphs, and broken up sentences, where possible, into their constituent parts. She has been able to consult expert friends, and Dr. Garvie has read the full text. The result is a translation which it is a pleasure to read. Troeltsch's work gathers up researches previously issued in part in monographs and studies of various kinds. He gives an analysis of Protestantism and of the modern world. He found more and more as he studied modern problems that the balance leaned to the side of ethics. The ideal of a humanity based on spiritual freedom and fellowship, in which tyranny, law, war, and force are unknown, was due to the development of a purified and deepened faith in God. A rich ethos was working its way up, and in its development the organization which grew out of the gospel took, in increasing measure, a leading part. St. Paul laid down the duty of the recognition and use of social phenomena as organizations and institutions—which did not come into existence without God's permission, and which contain an element of good—mingled with a spirit of detachment and independence,

since, after all, these things belong to a perishing world, and are everywhere steeped in paganism. The Pauline turn of thought in relation to social matters corresponds to the spirit and meaning of the gospel. Troeltsch then turns to early Catholicism, in which the sociological energy was narrowed down to the Church, though the ideal of the gospel lived on in the ideas of sanctification and brotherly love. Mediaeval Catholicism moved forward from the attitude of passive toleration, and then of actual acceptance of 'the world,' and established the Papal theocracy and the Christian unity of civilization, in which the ethical ideal of the gospel, with a certain amount of inevitable compromise, was reconciled with the world—and a ladder of ethical development rose from life in the world to the heights of mystical sanctification and brotherly love. The second volume opens with Luther's religious ideas and their sociological results, and broadens into a general survey of Protestantism in its various branches. The founding of Methodism is described as 'one of the most important events in the later history of Christianity, and of modern spiritual development. It marked the renewal of orthodox Christianity in a quite individualistic accentuated form; it anticipated the Continental revival movement of the nineteenth century, and was one of the means by which the English world was rendered proof against the spirit of the French Revolution; it presented a radical opposition to the whole spirit of modern science and civilization.' Wesley, 'who was an indefatigable and indomitable missionary like Paul, and a dominating, powerful organizer like Ignatius Loyola, was a master' in the art of organization. Troeltsch regards Methodism as something between an Order, established upon a foundation of unconditional obedience and minute mutual control, and a society of earnest Christians proving their faith by their lives. The aim of Methodism 'was to win men and women to Christ, who would then be genuine Christians, full of "joy and peace in believing," and who, as far as they could, were aspiring to perfection.' That estimate will indicate the insight and close acquaintance with the various branches of Protestantism which gives such interest and value to the work. The inquiry is brought down to the close of the eighteenth century, when Church history entered on a new phase of existence. The Christian ethic of the present day and the future must be an adjustment to the world-situation and set itself to achieve what is practically possible. Faith is the source of energy in the struggle of life, but life is a battle continually renewed upon ever new fronts. The final ends of all humanity are hidden within the hands of our Father in heaven. That is the closing note of this comprehensive and masterly survey of the social teaching of Christianity.

The Servant of Jahveh. By Arthur S. Peake. (Manchester University Press. 6*s*.)

The three lectures which Dr. Peake delivered at King's College, London, are a masterly survey of the great passages in Isaiah and the way in which modern scholarship has formulated the problem which

they present. Professor Peake regards Israel in its essential significance for the history of mankind as the subject of the prophecy. If, however, we find some individual who embodies the qualities of Israel as the organ of revelation and the sufferer for the world's sin, 'we may have an application not intended by the prophet but more adequate to the functions he assigned to the Servant than Israel itself could be.' This is the justification of the application to Jesus of the prophecy, because in Him, 'the essential significance of Israel, as the poet defines it, was concentrated.' Lectures on Jewish Apocalyptie; The Conflict with Baal; Old Testament Criticism; and the Messiah and the Son of Man, are followed by three important lectures on Paul and Paulinism, which were preparations for the book on St. Paul which Dr. Peake had in view. The lectures are a precious legacy, and Mr. Guppy's 'In Memoriam' pays fitting tribute to his scholarship, his amazing capacity for work, and the noble service he rendered to Victoria University and the Rylands Library.

Religious Essays. By Rudolph Otto. (Humphrey Milford. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

These essays are an elaboration and supplement to *The Idea of the Holy*. The idea of sin is developed in the first four essays. Luther showed that it was the obverse of the Holy. It infringes a higher value than the *only* moral. Its sphere includes that of the bad, but extends beyond it. To crucify the flesh and to sow to the spirit involves a radical change of function within the personality; a complete transference from the realm of all mere inclination and interest into that of service to the honour of God. The prophetic idea of God is that of one 'who ordains His ends and makes His covenant, who seeks a community of salvation, which shall carry out His plans as His servant,' and establish His dominion and His will of salvation over all flesh. The Lord's Supper as a numinous fact and the form used at Marburg take up two suggestive essays. One of the most interesting chapters describes 'How Schleiermacher re-discovered the Sensus Numinis,' and opened 'a new door to old forgotten ideas; to divine marvel instead of supernaturalistic miracle, to living revelation instead of instilled doctrine, to the manifestation of the divinely infinite in event, person, and history.' Three of the essays discuss the history of religion and the question of a universal religion; another important subject is 'Darwinism and Religion,' and an address delivered at Marburg on the need of a body which could represent Protestantism closes a valuable and most suggestive volume, which will be warmly welcomed by all students of Otto's *Idea of the Holy*.

Pathways to the Reality of God. By Rufus M. Jones, Litt.D. (Macmillan. 8*s.* 6*d.*)

This is the supreme quest, and there is no lack of literature on the subject. Dr. Jones leads us along eleven pathways towards reality. He feels that 'to infuse persons with faith in God, to arouse the

conviction that the Heart of the Universe is friendly, to help a generation to get its feet firmly on the high road to confidence in spiritual energies to live by, is, in itself, as practical a service as increasing the corn crop, or as fighting malaria mosquitoes, or as turning slums into fine houses.' His first pathway is faith. Spiritual certainty of God is acquired by the slow accumulation of experience, which saves its gains and out of them builds a character that 'knows' by second nature. The mystic bears witness to the transcendence of God, yet finds something in us related to Him. God and the Universe, God and Evolution, The Testimony of History, and other great themes lead up to Prayer as a Pathway to God. To cease its cultivation would mean, in the long run, the loss of the central thing in religion—the surrender of the priceless jewel of the soul. Dr. Rufus Jones is a master of the spiritual life, and this volume will guide its readers into paths of trust and peace, where he walks himself with growing confidence.

Courage, Truth, and Purity. By R. H. Charles, D.D., Archdeacon of Westminster. (Oxford: Blackwell. 6*s*.)

We owe a great debt to Archdeacon Charles, and the brief memoir by the Archbishop of Armagh which is prefixed to this volume of sermons shows how he was led to his special sphere of work, and what research and unflagging industry lay behind it. His father was a medical man of high repute in Ulster, and four of his sons adopted the same profession, but Robert turned his thought to the Church and had a splendid training at Queen's College, Belfast, and Trinity College, Dublin. He did valuable work for two years as a curate in Whitechapel, and afterwards in Kensington and at St. Mark's, Kennington, but in 1889 his health was seriously affected, and he sought rest in Germany. There he was gradually led to undertake his work on the Book of Enoch, and when he settled at Oxford he took his place as the acknowledged master in apocalyptic. It is interesting to find that he started wood-carving at the suggestion of his wife as a relief from his literary work. In 1913 he was made Canon of Westminster. His sermons were at first too closely knit for the Abbey congregation, but he soon learned to adapt himself to the new conditions, and became one of the most interesting of preachers. The twenty-two sermons in this volume were all prepared for that pulpit, and are on such subjects as Courage, Purity, Prayer, God's Wisdom for the Humble, The Chief End of Man's Life. Such themes, handled by such a scholar and thinker, help one to realize the influence of his work at Westminster, and they are as attractive on the printed page as they were when delivered from the pulpit.

The Highway of God. By H. R. Mackintosh, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 7*s*.)

This is a book of sermons of the rarest distinction, strong in its substance and wearing a garment of the most exquisite beauty. It

has all the fine qualities that we have come to recognize as an essential part of the equipment of its distinguished author—a fine scholarship, a power of lucid expression, a noble restraint, a penetrating insight, a sane and wise treatment of great themes. Here is no peddling with little things, but the engagement of a great mind with those high things that have an eternal import to the human soul. The chiefest characteristic of the book is a profound spirituality of mind, which moves with a reverence which is akin to awe among the high things of the soul: which has a clear vision of their beauty, of their significance to common men in their ordinary life, and of the immediacy of their application to the deep needs of the human heart. The writer's profound insight into the mind of God, which is written large upon every page, is the open secret of most illuminating interpretations; and a clear understanding of the soul of man, with its imperishable hungers, gives a wise sanity to intimate and fearless applications. Here the august things of the Christian religion stand out in their own inherent distinction—essential, congruous, regnant. The very sanity of the book is a superb vindication of the greatness and glory of the truths of which it so consummately treats. It is true that the scholar is the preacher, but his great teachings, in virtue of a noble simplicity, are made accessible to all who are cultured in the lore of the Spirit. The wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err here. The volume is another proof that the finest scholarship and the rarest powers may bring the beautiful things of the gospel to the door of the cottage as well as to the study of the learned. The book is set for spiritual profit and quickening to all who will read it with their souls.

Every Man's Bible. An Anthology. Arranged with an Introduction. By William Ralph Inge, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The Dean of St. Paul's is concerned at the decline of Bible reading. 'Many Christians have almost ceased to read their Bibles at all.' This is a grievous loss to our national Christianity. The Bible has set its mark on our character, our habits, and our language. The Dean arranges his selections into four main sections: God, Christ, the Christian Graces, the Christian Experience. Each division is prefaced by a valuable account of its subject, and a few notes are added on various passages. The selections sometimes cover a chapter, or even two chapters, and the setting passages from the Old and the New Testaments side by side brings out the progress of revelation. Dr. Inge admits that while some of the results of Old Testament criticism 'have undoubtedly been displeasing to old-fashioned believers, the gain has far outweighed the loss, since innumerable stumbling-blocks to faith have been removed without any loss to spiritual religion.' His Introduction is of real value, and throws welcome light on the various books of the Bible. Most of the selections are from the Authorized Version, but in a few cases the Revised

is used. It is a real incentive to Bible reading to have such a volume as this put into the hands of the public.

Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul: III. Pseudo-Jerome Interpolations. Edited by Alexander Souter, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*) This valuable addition to the Texts and Studies Series, edited by Dean Armitage Robinson, involved a complete collation of the Gottweig MS. which Professor Souter made in July 1928. It brings to an end the Pelagian researches which he began in 1904. Many of the interpolations in the two authoritative manuscripts do not come within the scope of such a work as this, but others are not without real interest. The interpolator is in sympathy with Pelagius, and Dr. Souter collects some of his mannerisms and shows how they compare with those of Pelagius himself. It is not necessary to suppose that the author of these extracts attributed them to Jerome, or that the person who first placed Jerome's name at their head was guilty of fraud. There is enough genuine Jerome material even in Pelagius's own work to give a guesser an excuse for putting Jerome's name in the title. Dr. Souter points out some characteristics which distinguish the interpolator from Jerome, describes the Gottweig MS., on which he spent three weeks, and gives the interpolations in the Epistles in order, beginning with Romans and ending with the Pastoral Epistles and Philemon. It is a piece of expert work which scholars will know how to prize.

Dr. R. W. Church has filled a niche, that was in great need of filling, in *A Study in the Philosophy of Malebranche* (Allen & Unwin, 10*s.* 6*d.* net). There has been little available in English upon Malebranche, and, when his philosophy was set as the prescribed subject at an examination, both teachers and pupils felt the need, which Dr. Church's study has now supplied. If this is a first venture in authorship, it is a promising beginning. In judging a book of this type, one's first consideration is the lay-out or arrangement of the subject as a whole, and in this respect Dr. Church has succeeded in providing a good general conspectus of the work of Malebranche, with a well-proportioned attention to its various details. Malebranche was not, strictly speaking, an original thinker, and is generally linked with the school of Descartes, as if he were but the expounder of his master's voice. Yet he extended certain of the doctrines of the school, notably Occasionalism, in a manner that was his own, and his denial of the actuality of causation was an anticipation of the position Hume made famous later. Descartes had separated mind and matter so thoroughly that his followers found it difficult to account for any relation existing between them. Philosophers, like other people, have a habit of calling upon God to aid them in their difficulties, and Malebranche, finding no way of connecting body and soul, developed Geulinck's doctrine of Occasionalism, which denied that mind could work on matter, much less matter on mind. All that happened was

due to God. He is the sole cause. There are no secondary causes. We think we can cause, but actually it is God who works in us in all our activities. It need hardly be said that the difficulties the doctrine introduced proved worse than those it was designed to remedy. Dr. Church gives a short life of the great Oratorian, as Malebranche was called, a life that was outwardly uneventful, the life of the cloistered student. A complete bibliography, embracing all the works of Malebranche, including polemical pamphlets and correspondence, adds to the utility of the book, though it would have been a further gain if a bibliography of at least the chief expositions of Malebranche could be added, and one thinks the author would have strengthened his exposition if he had summarized and estimated, in a final chapter, the influence of Malebranche, and the chief contribution of his thought to later times. The critical estimates given chapter by chapter are sufficient as far as the points expounded severally are concerned, and suggest that, had there been a general criticism of the philosophy as a whole, it would have been of real value. One must, however, appreciate what has been done, rather than ask for more, and one is glad to acknowledge the value of Dr. Church's study. Malebranche has been neglected too long. Even in Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* he receives no separate article, and only half a dozen incidental references. It is an advantage, therefore, to have this well-balanced critical exposition of a man whose thought was in many respects an important link between the mediaeval and the modern in philosophy.

Scepticism and Construction. By Charles A. Campbell (Allen & Unwin. 12*s.* 6*d.*) This is an able and interesting book, especially to students of ethics. The starting-point is the epistemology of Mr. F. H. Bradley. Mr. Campbell defends and develops Bradley's central tenet. He takes the essential result of the epistemological argument—' that the ultimate nature of reality is beyond knowledge ' —and endeavours to prove that this conclusion is supported by considerations drawn from aspects of experience other than the cognitive. Three forms of human experience are examined, that of ' self-activity,' moral experience, and religious experience. No summary can do justice to the closely knit argument. It is particularly interesting to see how Bradley's work is disencumbered from some of his questionable doctrines, such as that of Degrees of Truth, and how at the same time the idealist tradition is reinforced by a fresh statement. ' The reaction in contemporary thought against idealism seems to me to have passed beyond all reasonable bounds.' It is the latter part of the book which is well worthy the attention of students of theology. They will note the estimate of Rudolf Otto's work, *Das Heilige*, as one of the most profound and original contributions made in our generation to the philosophy of the spirit. But, if they agree, they will note with amazement some of the conclusions to which Mr. Campbell's argument leads him. The moral ideal must be substituted for the historic person of Jesus

Christ, and this will be an 'incomparable gain.' 'In that which is for us the central and irrefragable truth of religion, its mystical doctrine, the great religions are substantially at one.' From Professor Otto's little book on *Grace*, we know how he regards such facile attempts to equate Christianity at its highest with Hinduism at its highest. But the argument of Mr. Campbell's last chapter certainly suffers from a methodological error. He begins by abstracting two features of the religious consciousness, the peace of religion and the moral dynamic of religion. If this is all that can be found in the religious consciousness, we may perhaps find (though the statement needs a verification which has never yet been given) that in mystical doctrine the great religions are one. But the facts of the religious consciousness are not so easily summarized. The very creeds which are stigmatized by Mr. Campbell as the result of an attempt which is 'the veriest vanity of vanities,' are in reality simply the result of an attempt which is exactly like that of Mr. Campbell himself, who has endeavoured to set down in credal form the implications of what he finds in the religious consciousness. Deep in the religious consciousness of the Christian in all ages is the inexpugnable belief that the peace of religion and its moral dynamic are the gift of the God who has been revealed in Jesus Christ, and that in Christ God Himself has established a personal relationship such as is dimly figured in the relations of the best of earthly fathers with his child. To the Christian this *datum* seems more fundamental than the two elements singled out by Mr. Campbell. Those are the fruits; the relationship itself is the root. When Mr. Campbell thinks (perhaps mistakenly) that a certain principle would be 'unwelcome in the courts of theology,' he makes an appeal to 'the simple in heart, to the ordinary devout man.' Let us appeal to 'the simple in heart,' the untheologically minded saints whom every good minister finds here and there in his congregation; let us ask whence they get their peace, or their sense of moral mastery over the lower nature. There will be no doubt about the answer.

The Kingdom of God in the New Testament. By Ernest F. Scott, D.D. (Macmillan. 8*s.* 6*d.*) Professor Scott's chief aim is to determine how Jesus regarded the Kingdom of God. He first examines the historical background, showing that Jesus inherited the hope of the Kingdom as His most precious inheritance from the old religion, separated it from all that was merely Jewish, and laid bare its deeper meanings. His teaching as to the Kingdom dwells not so much on an outward change as on spiritual conditions. To have a will in harmony with God's will, and to enter into fellowship with God, is to possess the Kingdom. It is the work of the Messiah to make that new life possible. Later developments lead to the inquiry why all ages have responded to the message of the Kingdom. It appealed to needs and aspirations common to all men; it identified the hope with a moral and spiritual ideal, and its many-sidedness. Jesus saw that the reign of God meant a new righteousness, a higher spiritual order, a perfected

human society, an inward fellowship with God. Men seized on His message, and began almost at once to explain it in different ways, according to their own beliefs and temperaments. The whole study is of deep interest, and the treatment is fresh and suggestive.

The Sundays of Man's Life. Compiled by A. E. Smith and W. J. Ferrar. (S.P.C.K. 6*s*.) This is a poetic anthology for the Sundays and Holy Days of the Christian year which seeks to bring out the teaching in the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, though that is not always easy for some of the Sundays after Trinity. That is really an advantage, for it gives the compilers a little more freedom. Religious poetry that has become familiar is not used except in special cases. The selections for each Sunday or Holy Day cover two to four pages, and the source of the passage is given below each piece. It is a choice anthology which many will want to set beside their *Christian Year*, and which will make those who use it familiar with much beautiful and unfamiliar verse.—*The Hidden Years.* By John Oxenham. With pictures in colour by Margaret W. Tarrant. (Longmans & Co. 7*s*. 6*d*.) This 'Tale of the Youth of Christ' had a great welcome in 1925, and the illustrated edition will be prized wherever it goes. Miss Tarrant has steeped herself in the subject, and interprets Jesus in a way that adds a vivid touch to the beautiful narrative. Mr. Oxenham has a third volume in preparation on our Lord's ministry, which will complete his story of the greatest life ever lived on earth. The red cloth binding, the beautiful type and paper, and these coloured pictures, make this a book to be proud of.—*Temples of Eternity.* By R. H. G. Stewart, S.J. (Longmans & Co. 5*s*.) The first essay in this linked series exhibits the Art of Arts as 'making of myself as perfect a reproduction, in the medium of myself, as my own self can take.' The saints differed greatly, but all had the *principle* of the Christ-life, its spirit, exhibited in as many different ways as they had different characters and dispositions. The essays are rich in thought, and every one seems to bring the reader closer to the dominating idea that the life of man is to be shaped in terms of the life of God. Sanctifying grace makes us actually participate in that life, though we do not always grasp its reality. It is a choice book of devotion, and one that will be greatly prized.—*Personal Problems of Conduct and Religion.* By J. G. McKenzie, M.A., B.D. (Allen & Unwin. 5*s*.) For five years Mr. McKenzie has attended every fortnight a psychological clinic in Belgrave, Leeds, and for three years has contributed a monthly article in the *Sunday at Home* for those in distress of mind through religious doubt, moral conflict, or nervous trouble. Out of such wide practical experience this book has grown. It deals with the problems of young men and women, the way to master temptation, the troubles of old age, the delinquent child, the questions of faith and immortality. 'Does Christianity need Christ?' is a valuable chapter, and the advice given throughout is sensible and helpful.—*The Keswick Convention*, 1931. The annual report (Pickering & Inglis, 2*s*. 6*d*., and 4*s*. cloth) shows that there were never such

attendances, both morning and afternoon. 'A spontaneous outburst of praise and prayer, and addresses all to the point, marked every meeting.' Hundreds of letters received during the year testify to the blessing which the annual report has brought to many in the far places of the earth, and this year it is full of words that light up the whole course of Christian experience and make one eager to share its riches.—*The Bible and its Background*, by C. H. Dodd, M.A., D.D. (Allen & Unwin, 2*s*. 6*d*.), gives a series of broadcast talks on the history of the Bible. The first traces the growth of the Canon; others are on the Law and the Historical Books; the Prophets; the Writings and the Apocrypha; the Gospels and the Epistles. There is a chronological table. The whole subject is treated in a lucid, scholarly, and interesting style which makes it a really valuable handbook to the Old and New Testaments.—*Helps to the Study of the Bible*. Second Edition. (Oxford University Press. 8*s*. 6*d*.) Many corrections, alterations, and additions by ten recognized experts have made this volume a most complete and reliable handbook for a Bible reader. The research of the last thirty years in textual criticism, archaeology, and other subjects, is embodied in its articles on the various books of Scripture and in the extensive series of plates. The subject-index, the ample concordance, the dictionary of proper names, the notes on geography, music, and musical instruments, and the glossary of antiquities and customs, show what a wealth of information has been packed into this wonderful set of *Helps to the Study of the Bible*.—*Christianity and the Cure of Disease*, by George S. Marr, (Allenson, 5*s*.), is the work of a clergyman who is also a physician, and urges that the Church is called to make a definite contribution towards the healing of the sick. His historical survey of the subject in the Gospels and during the Christian centuries is valuable, and his account of the influence of hope and faith in many cures is sensible and suggestive. The book will repay careful reading. —*Inevitable Harvests*, by W. E. Blackburn, M.A., (Epworth Press, 6*d*., 1*s*., 2*s*. 6*d*.), is a welcome addition to the broadcast series which shows that 'the law of the harvest on land and in life is one law.' Every harvest gathered gives fresh opportunity to sow new seed. 'A man or a nation will reap just as each sows.'—*The Truth of Christianity*. By Lieut-Col. W. H. Turton, D.S.O. (Wells Gardner. 2*s*.) This is an eleventh edition, carefully revised throughout. The fact that the work has now reached its fifty-fifth thousand is its best recommendation. It is a careful examination of the evidences for the truth of Christianity, and well deserves its widespread circulation.

The Cross Moves East. By John S. Hoyland. (Allen & Unwin. 5*s*.) The Christian Church conquered the Roman world by bearing the worst pain and oppression patiently, and that is the spirit of the Indian Bhakti, the school of personal piety. Mr. Hoyland gives an interesting account of this Indian spirit of 'joyful personal devotion to a personal Saviour-God.' He then discusses the five ideas which

form the basis of Satyagrapha, which is the controlling force behind Mr. Gandhi's movement for Indian independence. The conviction of wrong and injustice, and the feeling that right must be had at any cost, are two of these ideas. Mr. Gandhi's twenty years in South Africa gave him an experience which he put into use in the far larger movement in India. Mr. Hoyland thinks that the extraordinary success of the movement is a cause for joy and satisfaction, and hopes that the West will awake to the significance of what has happened in India, and will apply the method of the Cross to the solving of such problems as that of international welfare. That is the burden of this book, but it will certainly not convince every one that Gandhi's action is too Christian for us.—*The English Bible as Literature.* By Charles Allen Dinsmore. (Allen & Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*) The Bible is 'the best of a racial literature, unified, by a developing thought and a continuous quest, into an epic, the world's noblest epic.' The marks of a supreme book are in this library gathered into a single volume. It is an epic of redemption, and the way in which a literature so great sprang from a people so small leads to a study of the characteristics and literary qualities of the Hebrews. The literary qualities of the various books of the Old and New Testaments are brought out under such divisions as history, the poetical books, the prophets, the sayings of Jesus, Paul as a writer, New Testament history and letters, and apocryphal writings. It is a survey which will promote Bible study and add new interest to it.—*Every Man's Hour of Destiny,* by Leslie D. Weatherhead, M.A. (Epworth Press 6*d.*, 1*s.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*), is 'A Message to the Disappointed.' The hour of destiny will come to every one. Faith in God involves faith in the meaning of every life. Our business is to be ready and faithful in that which is least. It is an inspiring message enforced and lighted up by striking illustrations. The Broadcast Series is sensibly enriched by such an addition.—*For God, King, and Fatherland.* By W. K. Gibson. (Belfast: 42 Upper Arthur Street.) This little set of poems was printed for Armistice night, and its tributes to our brave men and its overflowing loyalty to England and the throne make one thankful to see it. The Christian tone is impressive, and there is variety and freshness in the verses. *The Character Outcome of Present-Day Religion.* By G. H. Betts. (Abingdon Press. $1.25.) This book gathers up the opinions of 800 leading Protestants as to the effectiveness of Christian teaching in the formation of character. Professor Betts seeks to show the practical bearings of the inquiry. The young and the old should have an equal share in the services and offices of the Church; the teaching should be in tune with modern knowledge and should emphasize those features of religion which lead to good living. It is an interesting and suggestive survey, and one that claims thoughtful attention.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

King Charles II. By Arthur Bryant. (Longmans & Co. 9*s.* 6*d.*)

THE selection of this work by the Book Society has enabled the publishers to print a sufficient number in the first instance to allow its price to be reduced by three shillings. No one who reads the volume will be surprised at its selection. It is more enthralling than a romance, and, after all deductions have been made for its roseate view of the King's policy, and the steps which he took to carry it out, it is a wonderful study of royal determination and courage. His flight after the crushing defeat at Worcester stands out in vivid detail, but, when safety was gained, 'it was a forlorn prospect upon which Charles gazed from his mother's windows in the Louvre that winter. On land and sea his enemies were invincible. All imaginable ways for the recovery of the royal interest had been tried and failed.' Gradually events worked in his favour, and his return was an indescribable triumph. 'Tall, slim, and dark, he rode bare-headed between that dazzling crowd, bowing now to left, now to right, to the ladies in the balconies and windows.' His long struggle with his Parliaments, the desperate opposition of Shaftesbury, and the consternation caused by Titus Oates and others, make a thrilling story.

The King's amours have their sinister place in the record, but his love of the sea, his pleasure in English country life and sport, his company with jockeys at Newmarket, and the happy knack he had of making friends wherever he went, bring out the lighter side of palace life. England naturally dreaded the reign of a Popish successor, and that added enormously to his anxieties, for, though he loved Monmouth, he would not for a moment entertain the thought of his usurping the place of James. The long-delayed popularity came to him richly in his last years, and, when death approached, his courage did not fail. The death-bed scene, when Huddleston received him into the Roman Catholic Church, stands out clearly from Mr. Bryant's pages. It shows where the King's heart had always been, though he was far too wise to risk his throne as his brother did. Lord Thomas Bruce, who stood by him in many a trying hour, watched in the chamber where his master lay dead. Long after, he wrote: 'Thus ended my happy days at a Court, and to this hour I bewail my loss and that of the three Kingdoms. . . . My good and gracious King and Master, Charles the Second, and the best that ever reigned over us, died in peace and glory, and the Lord God have mercy on his soul.'

John Wesley. By C. E. Vulliamy. (Geoffrey Bles. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

The first sentence of Mr. Vulliamy's Preface shows his estimate of Wesley's importance. It was 'not confined to his work as the founder

of Methodism. His influence upon the social, industrial, and religious life of the eighteenth century in England has to be reckoned with as one of the prime historical factors of that period, nor even yet are we in a position to measure its full extent.' This far-reaching influence adds to the labours of a biographer, and no one can turn to the bibliography at the end of this volume without seeing what care and research have gone to its preparation. It follows the course of Wesley's history, devoting special chapters to Whitefield, Lady Huntingdon, Brother Charles, and Berridge of Everton. Wesley's relations with Betty Kirkham and Mrs. Pendarves, with Sophia Hopkey and Grace Murray, are treated with much fullness and good sense, and the chapter on his marriage bears tribute to his persevering affection and inexhaustible patience with his wife. 'He reproved her firmly, but never with bitterness. Yet his words, at times, had a peculiar, though not intentional, sting,' though 'he could never be accused of lacking in consideration.' The difference between the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield is well brought out by John Nelson's description. As a preacher to the multitude, Whitefield's record is 'probably unique in the history of the Christian Church.' He was one who played well on an instrument—a man producing the impersonal effect of genius. 'Wesley stroked back his hair and looked into your eyes; his grave, penetrating words were meant for you personally; you had the sense of being directly apprehended by the mind of the preacher. It was this illusion of direct personal contact, appearing to place the listener and the preacher in a field of mutual experience where the rest of the congregation counted for nothing, which gave the words of Wesley such tremendous power.' His calm courage in the face of the mob was heroic, but it was not courage alone that saved him. 'He was preserved by tranquil dignity, by cool, steady, and courteous behaviour, by the entire absence of malice or anger, but above all by those peculiar graces and powers which accompany the man of God.' His relations to 'The Great Vulgar' give material for an important chapter. Before the end of his life he had gone a long way towards winning the esteem of the broader Churchmen, but the great vulgar 'remained obdurate: or at best they could only show a sneering toleration.' They were 'too proud to be saved and too foolish to understand. . . . Nor could Whitefield and My Lady's Preachers do more than make salvation an occasional theme for polite curiosity.' Mr. Vulliamy finds in Wesley's experience in Aldersgate Street 'a conflict between ideals of spiritual knowledge on the one hand and the persistence of inherent characteristics on the other.' It was really an illumination. His old notions of gaining salvation by keeping the whole law gave way to rest on the work of Jesus Christ. He had found the faith that saves, and had a message for the world. Dr. Mackintosh gets to the heart of the experience: 'Thus God made all things new for one man, and that hour a beneficent life-work opened which changed English history and added incalculably to the Christian forces operating in the world.' Mr. Vulliamy scarcely grasps the significance of that

event, but his book is one of sustained interest, of true sympathy and high appreciation. He does not set Wesley among the great intellectual reformers of the Church. 'But if we place what is purely spiritual above what is purely intellectual, if the elevation of philosophy is yet below the elevation of saintliness, then we can surely place him in the highest company of all. "I do indeed live by preaching," he said. He was a great light, rising in a time of darkness and confusion, and showing men that a vital religion was the one thing which could give them happiness and security and peace.'

Matthew Arnold: A Critic of the Victorian Period. By Charles H. Harvey. (Methuen & Co. 6*s*.)

This study is based on a survey of the whole range of Arnold's work, including his note-books, his letters, and his educational reports. The comprehensive range of his influence is thus clearly seen, for 'rarely has a single mind touched modern life at so many points with such disturbing force.' The volume opens with an outline of his life which helps a reader to understand the influences which shaped his character and thought, and shows the place which he gradually attained in English literature. A generation which did not know him personally will here realize the charm of his personality and the spell which he exerted on hosts of teachers and friends. Mr. Harvey maps out his survey under six sections: Poetry, Education, Literary Criticism, Social Criticism, Politics, Religion. A list of works is prefixed to each section, and a careful account is given of the various works in the group with judicious criticism. Arnold did not relish his duties as Inspector of Elementary Schools, but 'his fine taste, his gracious and kindly manner, his honest and generous recognition of any new form of excellence which he observed, all tended to raise the aims and the tone of the teachers with whom he came in contact, and to encourage them in self-respect and respect for their work.' Many of his proposals as to education have been adopted, and 'every official utterance is an echo of his voice.' As a literary critic he is one of the masters, and this part of Mr. Harvey's discriminating review is deeply interesting. The section 'Religion' shows how deeply he felt on this subject. Mr. Harvey says his work was a loud and solemn call to a new and real and rational interpretation of Christianity. It provoked strong criticism in his time, but it helped many thinkers. 'Butler's appeal to experience, and the great argument drawn from the actual facts of life, commended itself to Arnold. The impressive conclusions of Butler are heard sounding through all Arnold's work.' He regularly attended public worship, and the last morning of his life, when he listened to John Watson's sermon on 'The Shadow of the Cross' and spoke afterwards of the hymn that was sung, 'When I survey the wondrous cross' as the finest in the language, proves that, whatever criticism he passed on supernatural Christianity, 'he had in reality a deeply spiritual

mind.' This study will certainly delight his friends, and add to their number.

Italian Influence on the Poets of the Ragusan Republic. By Josip Torbarina, M.A., Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

This thesis was approved for the Ph.D. of London University, and any one who turns its pages will see how well that proud degree was earned. Its theme is the highly artificial school of poetry which sprang up in the little Slavonic republic of Dubrovnik. The sea acted as mediator between the republic and Dalmatia on one side and Italy on the other. 'The Ragusans could thus draw the utmost profit from Italian culture while still preserving their national consciousness and integrity intact.' The Ragusan literature is the issue of a marriage between the Slavonic element and Mediterranean culture. The relations with Italy began very early, and became more intense in 1205, when Dubrovnik passed from the supremacy of Byzantium to that of Venice. The Italian elements in Ragusan poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are brought out, with special attention to Ranjina and Zlatarić. Despite Italian influence, Ragusan literature preserved an individual physiognomy and an intense national consciousness, as Dr. Torbarina shows in this learned thesis.

1. *Mr. Gandhi: The Man.* By Millie Graham Polak. (Allen & Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.* & 5*s.*)
2. *Gandhi: The Mahatma.* By John G. Rowe. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*)
3. *The Dawn of Indian Freedom.* By Jack C. Winslow and Verrier Elwin. (Allen & Unwin. 4*s.* 6*d.*)

1. Mr. C. F. Andrews's Foreword is a pleasing introduction to the writer of these reminiscences. Her husband shared Gandhi's legal and social work in South Africa, went to prison with him, and lived under his roof. When she went out to marry Mr. Polak, Gandhi showed her great kindness, and discussed many of his problems with her. The result is a peculiarly intimate set of reminiscences. Gandhi even took her baby of eight months old to sleep beside him every night for about two weeks till the little fellow's weaning was completed, and he returned to his mother's room in much better condition than when he left it. The way in which he disarmed a man who intended to stab him in the dark, and turned him into a friend, is a striking story. His strange views come out in many ways, and one cannot forbear to smile when, in a serious illness, he could not be induced to drink the milk of a cow, but was persuaded that he might drink goat's milk and still keep his vow. The milk saved his life, and he almost admired his wife for the subtle distinction she had used.

Gandhi appears in a very lovable light in these pages, and one can also understand better what a difficult person he is to handle.

2. Mr. Rowe's little biography is a careful and reliable narrative of Gandhi's parentage, his training for the bar, and his legal practice in India and in Natal. His service to this country in the Boer War and the Great War is described, and the course of his quarrel with the Government of India, his imprisonments, and his part in the rebellion against the salt laws is traced with impartiality. The record is brought down to his arrival in London last September for the second Round Table Conference. The little Life is the best brief epitome of the facts that we have seen.

3. *The Dawn of Indian Freedom* is the work of two Englishmen who have thrown in their lot with India. They leave purely political issues on one side. Their concern is with the great moral and spiritual issues underlying recent political events in India, or inevitably involved in her future development. The conclusion of the Gandhi-Irwin agreement on March 4, 1931, is regarded as an event of outstanding importance, and the bestowal of Swaraj is looked on with hope as a means by which a liberated India might contribute to the world's highest progress. Mr. Elwin writes on Gandhi, 'without doubt the greatest man now living in the world.' He compares him with Francis of Assisi, and expounds his idea of Satyagraha—soul- or truth-force. The last chapter attempts to show what a mighty power the Christian Church in the new India could exert by the maintenance of a high moral standard, and by the example of true brotherhood and love.

Dr. Ernst Barnikol, Professor of Church History, &c., in the University of Halle-a.-S., is publishing a series of 'Studies in the Origin of Christianity, of the New Testament, and of the Church.' (Kiel: Walter G. Mühlau.) Heft III., *John Mark, Silas, and Titus* (RM 1.60) essays to prove that John Mark was not a native of Jerusalem, but of Cyprus, and became there the helper of Barnabas and Paul (Acts xiii. 5); that the Silas mentioned in the journeys and in the 'We-document' (Acts xv. 40–xviii. 5) is the Silvanus of the Pauline Epistles, and is to be distinguished from the Silas of the decree (Acts xv. 22–34), but to be identified with Titus (Gal. ii. 1). Heft IV., *The Last Journeys of St. Paul: Jerusalem, Rome, and Antioch* (RM 1.20), and Heft V., *The Non-Pauline Origin of the Parallelism between the Apostles Peter and Paul* (RM 1.60), similarly challenge traditional interpretations. But New Testament students will be stimulated by the researches of Dr. Barnikol to reconsideration of the problems raised, for his reconstructions are based upon original researches.—*Gandhi, Christus und wir Christen*, by Walter Gabriel (RM 3.60), is a sympathetic but discriminating appreciation of the ethics and religious beliefs of Gandhi. Numerous quotations are given from his writings to disprove the extravagant claims of admirers, as, e.g., the Frenchman, Romain Rolland, who calls him 'a mortal demi-god,' and the American, J. H. Holmes, who says: 'If

I believed in rebirth, I should recognize in Mahatma Gandhi—and I say it in all reverence—Christ returned to earth.' It is held that ethically Gandhi has much to teach 'the suffering-shy average Christianity of Europe and America,' but how far he is from being a Christian is plain from his own words: 'It was simply impossible for me to regard Christianity as a perfect religion, or even as the greatest of all religions.' His theistic beliefs are clearly stated and ably contrasted with the Christian view of God; ultimately he is described as 'a genuine Indian Theo-Panist.' The difference between this Hindu doctrine and Pantheism is thus stated: 'For Pantheistic Monism there is nothing evil in the world; all is divine. For Theo-Panistic Monism there is nothing good in the world. . . . The creation, not sin, is the fall.'—*Buddha und Christus*, by Professor Schomerus (RM 8.50), is a comparison of two world-religions by a former missionary in India, who is now a professor in the University of Halle-a.-S. and is pursuing his researches into the history of the religions of India. He is at present engaged on his *magnum opus*—a work in three volumes on *India and Christianity*. In the present work no pains have been spared to state exactly the teaching of Buddha, including its metaphysical background, though it is not claimed that he was 'a philosopher of the first rank.' With an exposition of the two sentences, 'Christ lives' and 'Christ works,' the comparison of the two personalities closes: 'Christ does not merely belong to history; He belongs also to the present. He is ever-living, ever-working. This is the greatest and most significant contrast between Christ and Buddha.' As two religions of redemption Buddhism and Christianity are compared: 'Buddha found the ground for the need of redemption in the suffering to which man is exposed—that is to say, in something external. . . . Christ found the ground for the need of redemption, not in something outside man, but in something within. . . . Sin is not destiny, but guilt. . . . In Christ we have a leader from death to life, in Buddha from life to Nirvana, which resembles death.' Both these works are published by the Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses G.m.b.H., Halle-a.-S.

A Saint in the Making. By John Oxenham. (Longmans & Co. 5*s*.) The little Curé d'Ars won the hearts of Mr. Oxenham and his daughter when they were rambling in odd corners of France, and the result is this little gem of biography—a Protestant tribute to a Roman Catholic priest who barely scraped into Orders from his lack of learning, but lived to transform Ars and to become the best-known and most sought-after priest in the whole of France. His austerities were terrible; his zeal and holy boldness were heroic; his success in winning souls was extraordinary. It warms one's heart to read this beautiful record of one whom Leo XIII described as 'the religious glory of France.'

Bishop Nuelsen is the author of two instructive and interesting booklets. 1. In *Reformation und Methodismus* (Verlagshaus der

Methodistenkirche, Bremen; 52 pp.) it is clearly established that Methodism is a younger sister of the Reformation and cannot be justly charged with obscuring or distorting its principles. The subject is treated from the religious, the social, and the ecclesiastical point of view, involving a comparison of the teaching of the Reformers with that of Wesley on the relation of man to God, of man to his fellow man, and of the Church to the State. In illuminating notes Bishop Nuelsen gives apposite quotations from modern historians who testify to the extent of the influence of Methodism and to the value of its contribution to evangelical Christianity. It is gratefully acknowledged that 'modern German ecclesiastical historians give an objective and just judgement on Methodism,' and this is favourably contrasted with statements made as recently as 1900 in school books that 'Methodism undervalues the divinely ordained means of grace, the divinely ordained way of salvation, and the divinely ordained ministerial office.' But the Swedish historian, Ed. Lehmann (*Svenska Sändebudet*, 1917) writes: 'The Lutheran Churches are not as much occupied, as they were in former days, with dogmatic theories; they have become more practical, and are striving to be more actively influential in the world. In their temperament they are children of John Wesley rather than of any other follower of Luther. The founder of Methodism really completed a Reformation of the earlier Lutheran Reformation.' Professor Leziüs of Kõnigsberg, in a lecture delivered in Berlin University in 1903, described Methodism as 'Lutheranism rightly understood.'—2. *Die Methodistenkirche im religiösen Leben der Schweiz* (80 pp., Christliche Vereinsbuchhandlung, Zürich) is an expanded edition of a lecture in celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Episcopal Methodist Church in Switzerland. Bishop Nuelsen pursues in general the same line of thought as in the booklet already mentioned. He claims that Methodism is enriching and strengthening the religious life of Switzerland. 'On important questions, as, e.g., its doctrine of the sacraments and its conception of the Kingdom of God, Methodism is nearer to the Reformed teaching than it is to the Lutheran.' Interesting facts are cited which prove that 'there was Methodism in Switzerland before there was a Methodist Church.' Urlsperger, who founded a society like the S.P.C.K., 'spent several months in England in 1779 and had personal intercourse with Methodists and like-minded Christians; it was only after this fellowship that his somewhat vague thoughts took definite form.' Ecclesiastical conditions in Switzerland differ from those which obtain in Germany. The decree of the Eisenach Conference (1855) still influences popular opinion in Germany: 'a sect is whatever is not the National Church.' But the eminent church historian, Professor Köhler, said: 'The law of the State can never differentiate between religions. The two fronts are not National Church *v.* Sects, but Christendom *v.* Anti-Christ.'

GENERAL

Fashion in Literature: A Study of Changing Taste. By E. E. Kellett. (George Routledge. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

After a chapter on 'Taste in General,' the subject of literary taste is considered in various aspects, such as the taste for the precious, the grotesque, the austere, and the exotic. The inquiry branches into many devious literary paths, and Mr. Kellett seems equally at home wherever he turns. The width of his knowledge and the catholicity of his taste make it not merely a pleasure, but a real addition to one's own literary education, to follow him. His personal preference is for simplicity. He dislikes cleverness for its own sake, and does not care for adornments that are rather disguises than aids to beauty. He refrains, however, from censuring the over-ingenious so prevalent now, though he looks forward somewhat eagerly to the coming swing of the pendulum. An interesting passage in the chapter on 'The Evolution of Taste' refers to the contrast between Gladstone's Midlothian speeches, which have lost the spell of the orator, and John Bright's, with their 'extraordinarily exquisite choice of words, rich with all the associations of Milton and the Bible.... If any one wishes to see the English language at its simplest and best, I know no place where he is more likely to find it than in some of the *printed* speeches of John Bright.' The whole Graeco-Roman world read aloud, when it read at all. The very idea of mental reading had scarcely arisen. That is only one of the vistas which these studies open before the eyes of a lover of literature. Mr. Kellett feels that he has by no means exhausted his subject, but he sets us thinking, and supplies material for forming taste and cultivating judgement which will be greatly appreciated by the readers of his fine set of studies.

The Imperial Theme. By G. Wilson Knight. (Oxford University Press. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

Professor Knight continues the interpretations of Shakespeare's tragedy which he gave in *The Wheel of Fire.* His essays are concerned primarily with 'life' themes which are positive, optimistic, and consistently related to images suggestive of brightness and joy. His opening essay 'On Imaginative Interpretation' brings out Shakespeare's splendour of imaginative appeal and all its essential limitations in a suggestive way. *Julius Caesar* is a play of love and fire. All the persons are lovers with a soft eroticism not quite passion, but powerful, itself fiery. The fire of life is passed on from one torch to another. All the complexities are but threads woven on a cloth whose delicate texture is compact of love. All wounds are healed. Brutus and Cassius part nobly, lovers at the last. The whole of

Macbeth is a wrestling of destruction with creation, and after the agony 'creation's more firm-set sequent concord replaces chaos. The baby-peace is crowned.' Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra each possess a unique power and vitality which is irresistible, and, in both, expressly feminine. Their mastery is twined with their femininity. In Macbeth and Antony, masculine weakness and strength alternate. 'Both are fine warriors, both are plastic to their women. They fail in warriorship and practical affairs in proportion as they absorb and are absorbed by the more spiritual forces embodied in their women. Antony grows strong in love, Macbeth in evil.' The essays are thought-provoking and illuminating from first to last.

Hamlet. By A. J. A. Waldock, M.A. (Cambridge University Press. 5*s.*)

The lecturer in English in the University of Sydney feels that it would be extremely interesting to know exactly how an ordinarily well-educated and intelligent Elizabethan was impressed by the play of *Hamlet.* To him the play had had forerunners, and no criticism is sound which does not take into account the possible consequences of this fact. We have no record of any perplexities which it raised until more than a century after it appeared. Goethe found the key to the Prince's character in the couplet:

> The time is out of joint: O cursèd spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right!

Coleridge finds in Hamlet an *inherent* incapacity, an original one-sidedness. Procrastination was in his very blood. The portrait he sketches is ludicrously like himself. Mr. Waldock gives special attention to Bradley's view of the prayer-scene and the play-scene. Dr. Ernest Jones regards Bradley's account as psychologically inadequate. 'Shakespeare did not trouble or did not wish to make the Hamlet-Ophelia story plainer, and in place of his refusal we are helpless.' Hamlet is neither the ideal romantic avenger nor the melancholy man. He has something of both in him, but he is himself. The play is a tremendous *tour de force.* An old plot is wrenched to new significances which it sometimes refuses to take, but all that humanity might be seems figured in Hamlet, and it is no wonder that we find it difficult to pluck out all the mysteries of his soul.

Collected Papers of C. S. Pierce. Edited by C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss. Vol. I., *Principles of Philosophy.* (Milford. 21*s.*)

'Though pitchforking articles into a volume is a favourite and easy method of bookmaking, it is not the one which the author has deemed to be the most appropriate to the exposition of the principles of philosophy.' It is a strange irony that this is the very method by which the very numerous and varied and arresting works of the writer of these words are presented to the public. Mr. C. S. Pierce held only

for a short time a chair of philosophy; but he had a wide influence on many typical American thinkers, notably James and Dewey. At his death he left an immense mass of unpublished manuscripts, complete and incomplete; these, during a period of fifteen years, the editors have sorted and arranged, and they are to appear in ten volumes, of which one is now before us. Obviously, as Mr. Pierce said, this is not the way to make a book; but the ingenuity of the editors, aided by what appears (from this volume) to be the underlying simplicity of the author's thought, has achieved a remarkable success. The main part of the volume is concerned with what the editors call phenomenology—although of a different nature from that which Husserl is now pressing forward in Germany. An admirer of Aristotle, of Duns Scotus, and of Kant, the author gives us what looks like a Hegelian scheme of the universe—though he has no words too harsh to use of Hegel himself. (We may remember how Aristotle used to criticize Plato.) Wherever we look in the universe, in reasoning, metaphysics, in psychology or biology or physics, we find a system of threes—'firstness,' 'secondness,' and 'thirdness,' corresponding to feelings, which are in themselves single, and of which each has no need of another; to things, each of which implies an Other, and to acts or relations, each of which implies two and a third beside them: e.g. giving implies a giver, a receiver, and (joining them together) a gift. All this is elaborated, or accompanied, by a great number of reflections, some of them suggestive and even profound, others little more than *obiter dicta*, and although the writer professes that he is a 'fallibilist,' knowing that, as a truly scientific student, he can never hope to be beyond the possibility of making mistakes, his judgements are often over-confident and sweeping. But he is as humorous as he is versatile; some of his illustrations, even if they do not convincingly illustrate, are delightful to contemplate and to follow out, like that of the million people who started betting a dollar on the turn of a die; and those whom he fails to impress with his 'triadomany' will rejoice in that youthfulness of mind which has always been one of the chief attractions of Dewey and James, and which is one of the charms of all the greater writers on the other side of the Atlantic. For instance, he closes a lecture on 'some vitally important topics' by the assertion that all reasoning about such topics must be unsound, and all study of them 'narrow and sordid.' Some misprints and errors need correction; there is something wrong about the Latin on page 9; Hotspur, on p. 97, is a mistake for Glendower; the masculine form appears instead of the neuter on p. 828; and what is a 'socdolager'? But anything may be forgiven to an author who tells us that 'there are philosophical soup shops at every corner, thank God!'

Contemporary Thought of Germany. By W. Tudor Jones, M.A., Ph.D. Vol. II. (Williams & Norgate. 5*s*.)

Dr. Jones was introduced to this important and almost bewildering field of study by three of the great teachers of Jena—Eucken, Liebmann,

and Scheler. His first volume dealt with the leading thinkers of the Kant and Hegelian schools; this second volume is devoted to present-day writers who have made important contributions in the various branches of the philosophical sciences and of religion. The work is based on years of careful study of German thought, and gives the English reader a real insight into the vast work that is now being carried on in Germany. Count Keyserling views life as an art and not as a science, and an art that has to be shaped in accordance with wisdom. Lask, who fell in the Great War, had a mind of a rare order, and had made contributions to philosophy of great importance. He was drawn to the significance of human life and to the place of religion within it. Max Weber took up some of the main problems of Karl Marx to present them in a more profound way. His work on sociology aimed at a truer understanding of the meaning of human relations. The brief account of Jung is valuable, and the sections on Catholic and Protestant Philosophy are important. Harnack's *History of Dogma* is a monumental work which probably supersedes everything written on the subject during the nineteenth century. The teaching of Hermann, Dorner, Gogarten, and Otto is clearly brought out. Otto combines powerful mental qualities with deep mystical intuition, and this 'gives his books such originality, and such an appeal to the deepest aspirations of the human mind and heart.' The two volumes are a lucid and masterly survey of German thought on the most profound subjects.

The Moral Issue in India. By Robert Stokes. (Murray. 1*s.*) This is a strong argument against allowing self-government to India till the people are properly prepared to undertake it. Evils, now kept in check by British traditions, would cause immense misery among all the peoples. 'The Hindu intelligentsia, to whom "self-government" would transfer the trusteeship for all the peoples of India, not only include the high priests and prime practisers of these horrors and evils, but are bound by the nature of their religion and the structure of Hindu society to accord to these men every honour and influence.' The 'Chinese anarchy' from which Great Britain has rescued India, giving it unity, peace, good government, and justice, would return. Lord Meston, in his valuable Introduction says that there are points in which he does not agree with Mr. Stokes, but describes his work as an honest and competent attempt to claim attention to an aspect of the Indian which runs real danger of being overlooked.

Music and Literature. By James T. Lightwood. (Epworth Press. 8*s.* 6*d.*) These twelve studies range from Chaucer, Dante, and Shakespeare, to George Eliot, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Walter Scott. They bring out aspects of the work of the poets and novelists which are distinctly fresh and attractive. We are indebted to Chaucer for most of our knowledge of the music of the fourteenth century, 'for his genius was universal, and he could adapt it to

themes of wonderful variety.' We have no means of knowing whether he was himself a skilled player, but he evidently knew the capabilities of the instruments he mentions. Boccaccio tells us that Dante in his youth was exceedingly fond of music and singing and was friend and companion to those who were distinguished in these arts. The songs in Shakespeare, and many allusions, show that vocal music was a source of great delight to him. George Eliot's keen appreciation of music began as a child when her music-master reckoned his hour with her as a season of refreshment for his wearied nerves. All the studies are discriminating, and open new doors into the world where literature and music live together in delightful harmony. No one should miss this charming book.

Hypnotism and Mental Healing. By Thomas Metcalf. (Epworth Press. 2*s.* 6*d.*) Those who are interested in these subjects will find much light thrown on them in this volume. The writer has not only studied hypnotism, but has practised it with notable results. He begins with the unconscious and Freud's contribution to the theory, brings out the relation between body and mind in the production of health and disease and the influence of suggestion. The chapter on mental healing at Lourdes, Christian science, and faith-healing is valuable, and hypnotism is treated with expert knowledge. Interesting chapters on dreams, psycho-analysis, and sublimation are followed by a description of medicine and religion as complementary sciences which are now working together, as they never did before, for the physical and moral well-being of men and women. The book is lucid, frank, and full of knowledge and good sense.

When the Swans Fly High, by F. W. Boreham, D.D. (Epworth Press, 5*s.*), is another charming volume from the Australian essayist whose wealth of fancy and gay wisdom seem inexhaustible. We begin with Nettie Campbell, who is bewildered by the questions launched at her by her Sunday-school boys. She seemed to be getting out of the quagmire, when Ted Pringle raises a spectre which paralyses her powers: 'What is the Order of Melchizedek?' That brings Nettie to the manse on the Monday evening, and enriches this volume with an essay which projects the story of Bethlehem back into the eternal past and forward into the eternal future. These first pages are a foretaste of the varied delights of the volume. Every incident turns to gold in Dr. Boreham's skilled hands. 'A Mid-winter Holiday'; 'An Irritating Saint'; 'The Spoilers'; 'The Manuscripts of God'—all are arresting and uplifting. It is a rare pleasure to be in such company.—*Faces in the Fire*, by F. W. Boreham, D.D. (Epworth Press), is No. 9 in the half-crown Pocket Boreham. It is a very neat pocket reprint of a set of essays which have now reached a sixth edition, and which it is a joy to read.

Judith Paris. By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*) The fortunes of another generation of the Herries family open with

the rescue of Judith as a baby by old Squire Gauntry. We follow the story of the dauntless girl through her troubled childhood and her strange marriage, till she and her boy get ready for their place as champions of the family against the ambition of Walter Herries. Judith has a hard life, and only a fearless spirit bore her through some of its sorrows. She lives among men of elemental passions, and holds her head up bravely against all the storms. Little Adam evidently has his mother's spirit even as a child. The scenes in London and in Paris are painted with masterly skill, but the glory of the book is its Cumbrian background. Mr. Walpole dearly loves its lakes and mountains, its 'statesmen' and their farms, its peasants and their superstitions. Nor are the Lake poets forgotten. We see Southey at home in Keswick, and get into touch with Coleridge and his boy Hartley. In London, Francis Herries meets the poet Rogers and gets a glimpse of Tom Macaulay in his golden youth. But it is the Herries family that dominates the scene, and the way in which Judith finds her vocation and comes to the rescue of Jennifer, the widow of Francis Herries, is dramatic. Mr. Walpole is writing the chronicle of an English family of which this is the second part. Judith's boy and Jennifer's John are evidently getting ready to face the unscrupulous Walter, who is bent on blotting out all branches of the family save his own. Two other volumes are to follow. The *Forsyte Saga* concerns southern England; here the wilder North has its chronicle, and both are masterpieces.—*Jeremy.* By Hugh Walpole. (Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.*) This is one of Mr. Walpole's books that has been transferred from Cassells. It was first published in 1919 and has run through fifteen editions and reprints. It certainly gets deeper into the nature of a boy than any story we know. Jeremy does not wear his heart on his sleeve, but it is a warm one and there is not a little chivalry in the small and independent creature. It is manifest autobiography, and sisters, father, mother, aunt, uncle, nurse, and governess are all alive. Most alive of all is Hamlet, the dog that finds a home and a master and repays his debt with loving interest.

Sowing Glory, edited by P. C. Wren (Murray, 7*s.* 6*d.*), is based on a diary kept by an Irish girl who served for five years as a man in the French Foreign Legion. It came to Mr. Wren from Belgium with the request that he would edit and prepare it for publication. This he has done with the intimate knowledge which his famous Legion novels would lead us to expect. Terence Hogan knew her secret, but no one else discovered it, and the account of marches, fighting, quarrels, and hardships make up a thrilling story. It is a picture of a legionary's life at first hand which will appeal to all lovers of wild adventure.—*Hester of Pepper Tree Ranch.* By Felicia B. Clark. (Epworth Press. 2*s.*) This fine story opens at the Old Bell Inn in northern Vermont, where Hester is taking a maid's work during her college vacation. She wins the heart of the innkeeper's son and has many exciting adventures before they make a happy marriage.

Jacques Dufour, the violinist, plays no small part in a story of extraordinary beauty and sustained interest.—*Freda Meredith*, by Estelle Gwynne (Epworth Press, 2*s*.), vanishes suddenly from the London office where every one adores the bright and spirited typist. Her lover proves a broken reed, and the mystery deepens till a young lawyer and his sister solve it and take their part in three weddings which bring the romance to a delightful triumph. Freda is a real heroine.—*The Golden Foundling*. By Sinclair Murray. (John Murray. 7*s*. 6*d*.) Pirrie comes into a new world after Dolph Hudson's discovery of her at the mining-camp in the Rockies. No one will wonder that he falls in love at sight, and Julianna Martin saves the situation by her happy proposal to take her sister's rival under the family wing to London. Pirrie's lovers, the whirling fortunes of the mine, Matt's discovery of Pirrie's parentage, and his boxing prowess supply endless excitements. Matt's own love and his weird proposal to Jennifer are not the least pleasant pages in a story of no small charm.—*The Secret of the Swamp*. By George Bettany. (Skeffington & Son. 7*s*. 6*d*.) The Crime Book Society recommends this story to its members, and we do not wonder, for it is an enthralling tale of smugglers in the border country between Canada and the United States. How well Mr. Bettany knows the ground is manifest in his description of the woods and hills, of the half-breeds and the lawless community where the mounted policemen are in daily peril of their lives. Their bravery and resourcefulness are rewarded by a notable triumph over the desperadoes, though two constables are killed and both Baxter and Simson are severely wounded. The story of Andrew Cameron is enthralling, and his daughter and her friend Winona come out of the excitement and peril with flying colours and with lovers that are worthy of them. It is a story of adventures and escapes which it would be hard to rival. Baxter's mare and his dog, and Cameron's glorious stallion, are almost human in their skill and intelligence.—*Rhymer's Wake*. By Mary MacCarvill. (Murray. 5*s*.) This is a first story and one of real promise. Rhymer comes back to his native place to die, and his feeble steps just carry him to the house of John MacPhillips. There the priest arrives in time to give him the last sacraments; then his friends gather for the wake and carry him to Drumsnat for his burial. Every stage of the story is vividly drawn, but its charm is in the sketches of the quaintest and most lovable of Irish peasants and farmers. Little Davnet is the gem of the story, and we hope to meet her and Ævar MacMahon again. We feel ourselves in a new world as we turn these pages, and it has a glamour and a pathos all its own.

The Values of Life. By Viscount Ennismore. (Allen & Unwin. 3*s*. 6*d*.) The viscount feels that the problem of how to live well is the hardest and most vital problem we have to face. He passes in review the five great types of human experience—the æsthetic, the moral, the scientific, the religious, and the practical or pleasure-seeking. The last subordinates intelligence and conduct to the

irrational instincts, and leads to a perpetual chase of comfort and enjoyment. Passion for truth lies at the basis of the scientific attitude; in the aesthetic attitude the natural and the truly human are reconciled; the moral attitude seeks to create a harmony between individual wills, and to make us supremely worthy of love and honour for its own sake. Religion is as necessary and enduring a manifestation of the human spirit as science or art. Love is the power behind the pursuit of knowledge, goodness, beauty, and holiness; the fount of every spiritual passion, and 'dwells at the very heart of emotion in religion, saintliness, and art.' In the kingdom of values it can reign supreme. The book is a lucid and suggestive study and a valuable introduction to a series being published by Education Services.

World-Peace and Armaments. By A. J. Jacobs. (Hutchinson & Co. 5*s*.) Mr. Jacobs here restates a plan which attracted favourable attention when published in 1917. He holds that international peace and disarmament may be expected to result from the practice of voluntary co-operation for mutual protection. That principle is already established, for individual members of civilized society already secure the safety of themselves and others by the surrender of their own absolute freedom. Mr. Jacobs feels that co-operation would not prejudice the authority of the League of Nations or the sanctity of the Kellogg Pact. It would really strengthen the League by bringing in those nations which at present stand aloof. The scheme is clearly outlined and well reasoned. It aims to set the face of the nations against the horrors of war.—*Saint George's Service-Book for Schools.* (S.P.C.K. 2*s*. 6*d*.) Jerusalem has an English cathedral and a school, both dedicated to St. George, and this service-book is in use there. It gives a hymn, a sentence of Scripture, brief prayers, anthems or chants for thirty-five acts of worship. Special subjects are chosen, such as the Presence of God, Peace in the World, Saints, Homes, and Friends, and they are made impressive and helpful. It is a very happy gift from Jerusalem, and schools that use it will grow more and more grateful.—*The Book of Play Hours.* This is a half-crown book by Doris W. Street, with a Foreword by Ernest H. Hayes. It comes from Ludgate Circus House (A. J. G. Seaton). Here is just the information and guidance which those who have to conduct play hours in day or Sunday schools will find most helpful. It describes the organization, the programmes, the types of games and stories, and the various forms of activity, such as handwork, nature-work, drama, music, and rhythmic movements. The music is arranged by the skilled hand of Mr. Carey Bonner, and it is charming. Team games are suggested and worship is not overlooked in this attractive volume.

The Epworth Press provides some attractive books for young folk. *The School Adventure Annuals* (2*s*. 6*d*. each), for boys and girls, are bound in picture covers, well printed, cleverly illustrated, and full of

stirring stories. Girls solve many puzzling problems, foil train-robbers, bring Greek brigands to justice, and prove really expert detectives. Boys outwit red men, follow the thrilling adventures of South Sea raiders, and have many laughable experiences which lose nothing in the telling. Half a crown is a small price for such handsome annuals.—*The Tip-Top Annual* (8*s*. 6*d*.) is fully illustrated in colour and in black and white. Every opening has its picture, and the serial, the short stories, the lively verse make this a real book of wonders.—*Teeny-Weeny's Annual* (8*s*. 6*d*.) is intended for smaller folk, who will delight in its wealth of amusing colour pictures and drawings and will love its tales and verses. The editorial resourcefulness shown in these volumes seems without limit.—*Stubby: The Story of a Cat* (8*s*. 6*d*.) takes the form of an autobiography which will help young readers to understand the ways of their domestic pets. It is written by a lady who loves animals and wants to make them understood and kindly treated. Stubby sees the world through his own eyes and makes us open ours.—The Methodist Diaries for 1932 range in price from the *Vest Pocket Diary* at 1*s*. 6*d*. and 1*s*. 9*d*. to the *Layman's Pocket Book and Diary* at 1*s*. 9*d*. and 2*s*.; the *Minister's Pocket Diary* at 2*s*. and 2*s*. 8*d*., and the *Minister's Pocket Book*, with registers and schedules, at 2*s*. 6*d*. and 2*s*. 9*d*. All are strongly bound in pluviusin and printed on superfine writing-paper. Postal information and information about the departments of the three Methodist Churches is put in the most compact form and will be of special service in view of Methodist union. Nothing could be more complete, compact, and serviceable.

Songs of Praise. Enlarged edition. (Milford. 6*s*.) The wide acceptance of *Songs of Praise* by Churches and schools has brought a call for an enlarged collection, and the number of hymns is here raised from 470 to 708. Hymns for Advent, the weeks after Easter, and for special occasions, have been added. Well-known hymns and many fine poems and magnificent tunes are now included. The new spiritual and intellectual needs of the day have been met, and the older lyrics, melodies, and settings appear in their best form.—*The Rescue of Odo the Prodigal Prince* and *Princess Odo del Aves*. By H. M. Hain. (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses. 70 pfennige.) Two pleasant little stories in English. The orphan girl who loves the birds is cared for by the fairies and adopted by the old prince, whose son is reclaimed from his bandit life and marries Gracie. Children will find romance and adventure here.—*The Long Christmas Dinner and Other Plays*. By Thornton Niven Wilder. (Longmans & Co. 6*s*.) There is movement and dramatic surprise in these lively plays. *The Long Christmas Dinner* brings successive generations to the table and sends them out at last through the old-age portal. It is a moving drama of ninety years and three generations. *Queens of France* is a tissue of ambition and credulity, *The Night in the Pullman Car* is exciting, and each of the six plays is alive and full of brisk movement.

Quaint and Homely Stories. By Uncle Reg. (Independent Press. 1*s.* 6*d.*) These stories are well described in this title. Their quaintness makes you smile, but they always have a happy lesson to leave behind them. They are full of incident, and Uncle Reg knows how to tell his stories and keep his small friends alive from the first word to the last. Little illustrations add to the zest with which one turns the pages.—*Inner Light* (Allen & Unwin, 8*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.*) is a devotional anthology compiled by six friends, with a Bible reading, quotations in prose and verse, and a brief prayer. More than 200 subjects are dealt with, such as The Beauty of Holiness; The Lowliest Task; Love, the Glory of Life; The Crucifixion; Anger; Marriage; Humility. The manual has been compiled with care and insight for use in the family circle. Adult schools and study circles will find it of great service.—*The Religion of Masonry*, by Joseph Fort Newton (Allen & Unwin, 5*s.*), is an interpretation. Dr. Newton says 'to enter our Lodges a man must confess—not merely profess—his faith in God—though he is not required definitely to define in what terms he thinks of God—in the principles and practice of morality, and in the immortality of the soul.' Dr. Newton says that there is the widest difference among Masons in English-speaking lands in regard to the relation of Masonry to religion. Some hold that it is a purely social and philanthropic fraternity, which has nothing to do with religion except to acknowledge its existence, accept its fundamental ideas, and respect its ordinances. Having done this, it is free to take up its work of 'Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth.' Dr. Newton himself holds that Masonry is not *a* religion, but Religion; an expression of religious faith, life, and hope. That is the theme worked out in this interpretation.—*The Life Story of Beasts.* By Eric F. Daglish. (Dent & Sons. 6*s.*) Mr. Daglish gained a great reputation by his *Animals in Black and White* and his *Life Story of Birds.* Here his pen and pencil are devoted to beasts: their characteristics, their food, hunting beasts, their homes and courtship, beasts as parents, and baby beasts. The whole range is covered, from the tiny gazelle to the elephant. The harvest mouse does not bend a stalk of wheat when it rests on it. Text and illustrations match each other, and it is a delight both to read and to look at. The book is beautifully got-up and printed, and there is a wealth of detail which shows how much at home the writer is in his animal world, and what a guide he is to its marvels.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Hibbert Journal (October).—'The Living Forces of Civilization,' by Dr. Jacks, is a timely answer to the pessimists who cry 'civilization in danger.' He feels that there is enough unfaithfulness all over the world, enough incompetence, and enough cowardice to expose the fortunes of civilization to grave peril. People talk as if the gospel of 'go as you please' had never been heard of before, but 'Dante's hell is packed full of its disciples.' The word for to-day is 'Thou shalt play the man; thou shalt not play the fool,' and the splendid courage of the best men in standing up to their reverses shows that 'Never was there less cause for despair.' Important articles—'Our Cultural Ambitions'; 'The Religion of Nationalism'; 'New Religions Reading the Gospels Backward,' a masterly survey by Professor Bacon; 'What Did Jesus Say?' and a learned study of the claim of Barnabas to the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews—make up an important number.

Expository Times (September).—Dr. Cave describes 'Great Britain's Contribution to Systematic Theology' as that of treatises on individual doctrines which have their author's special interest. Our theologians have shown less original power than the Germans, but have been in closer contact with the practical necessities of the Church, and have not bewildered ordinary Christians by the successive advocacy of contradictory extremes. No doctrine has aroused so much interest here as that of the Person of Christ. Dr. P. T. Forsyth's deeply moving book, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, added to the kenosis the plerosis, the self-fulfilment of Christ. Dr. Mackintosh's volume has deeply influenced Christian thinking on this doctrine, and Dr. Temple's *Christus Veritas* is Anglican theology at its very best.—(October.)—Professor G. Duncan finds a new setting for the Epistle to the Philippians at Ephesus, not at Rome, with which he holds that it originally had nothing to do. We do not think he proves his case. Professor Viénot describes 'The Contribution of France to Church History.' Bossuet eclipsed all others by the splendour of his style and the breadth of his views. He found opponents worthy of him in Paul Ferry and Jean Claude. The study is continued in the November issue. 'St. Jerome's Letters on the Monastic Life' make an article of special interest. Canon Battersby Harford examines the views of Professor Torrey of Yale on Ezekiel, and holds that his main thesis, that the prophet never lived in Babylonia, fails to carry conviction.—(November.)—Professor McFadden writes on 'The Ministry of Books.' He cites some noble names and asks, 'Could so much magnificent, God-inspired manhood

pass before us and leave us unchanged?' Dr. F. A. M. Spencer's subject is 'The Atonement in Terms of Personality.' Christ is a universal Personality, able to enter into communion with all the children of God. 'Lifted up from the earth, He draws all men unto Him and He in them.' Dr. Moffatt gives an account of Porphry's *Against Christians*, and Professor Viénot concludes his 'Contribution of France to Church History.'

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—M. Esposito discusses 'The Ancient Bobbio Catalogue' which Muratori discovered in the monastery in 1714. He attributed it to the tenth century. Gottlieb dated it a century later, but M. Esposito gives grounds for dissenting from Gottlieb's view. R. R. Betts writes an article on Janova's *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, of the fourteenth century, one of the important documents which prepared the way for Hus, and also a monument of the universal European desire for reform. Its doctrine of the all-sufficiency of sacramental grace marks the distinctive character of reform in Bohemia, which was to set all Europe in arms against it. It shows that the theory of the complete dependence of Husitism on Wyclif and other foreigners is false.—(October.)—Dr. S. A. Cook, in 'Primitive Monotheism,' points out that the critical study of the world's religions is becoming more crucial than hitherto. The ethnological treatment does not cover the great historical religions. The study of religions is passing from the data themselves to the very complex questions of theology and philosophy that arise therefrom. Dr. Nairne describes the two uncompleted works of Friedrich von Hügel—*The Reality of God* and *Agnosticism and Faith*. The account of his relations to Sir Alfred Lyall is very suggestive.

Church Quarterly (October).—The Bishop of Gloucester's second article on 'Christian Theology' is devoted to the formation of the canon, the relation of the Bible to Christian tradition, and inspiration. We hope it will be widely read. Canon Addleshaw, in 'A Famous Dean,' says Donne's legacy to posterity was a handful of lovely lyrics, the Holy Sonnets, and many pages of splendid, if perhaps too ornate, prose, in which he deals greatly with subjects of high import—death and sin, judgement and redemption, hell and heaven. Other articles are 'Hooker and the Jesuits' and 'Home Reunion,' which holds that, if English Christianity is to be reunited, the reforms proposed by Ussher must be revived.

Congregational Quarterly (October).—The papers read at the fifth Theological Conference of Congregationalists, at Cambridge, are printed in full. Dr. Albert Peel says he came away strongly convinced of the need for more and more conferences of this kind, and made conscious of the gap between the thought and practice of to-day and the Church's appreciation of it. There is notable matter for study in the papers. Mr. Clarkson's 'Further Reminiscences' tell how Dr. Parker spent an hour in giving lessons to a country pastor on the letter 'h.'

Holborn Review (October).—'Wordsworth and his Critics,' by A. D. Martin, shows how grossly Mr. Herbert Read, in his Clark Lectures, has 'maligned one of the nation's greatest patriots and one who loved his kind passionately to the end.' Mr. Rigson gives a full account of Mr. Belden's 'timely and deeply interesting biography' of George Whitefield. The Rev. Charles Gimblett's article on 'A Sceptic's Pilgrimage' holds that 'without God as the implied postulate of all our thinking and acting, there can be no final satisfaction.' His own experience lights up his thoughtful article.

Science Progress (October).—Dr. Dyment writes on 'The Caplace Correction' of Newton's incomplete formula for the velocity of sound. The correctness of the explanation of the excess of the observed velocity of sound over that calculated by Newton, Stokes says, is undoubted. Dr. Lang's 'Recent Experiments on Some Thermal and Other Properties of Petroleum Oils' is of special importance in view of the rapid development of the petroleum industry. Other articles are 'Post-glacial Succession of Forests in Europe' and 'Palaeolithic Man in Palestine.'

British Journal of Inebriety (October).—Lady Barrett calls attention, in her presidential address, to the influence of alcohol in the toll of life taken by motor-traffic, and the interesting development by Mr. Lansbury of greater facilities for refreshment in the public parks. 'Drug Addiction,' as an international problem, and the state of things in Egypt are the subjects of two important papers.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (October).—'Should We be More Mystical?' by Frank Lakin, argues that cosmic mysticism harmonizes most completely and harmoniously with the scientific spirit, and has an important rôle to play in the future. Professor Bacon discusses 'The Judean and Galilean Resurrection Story.' Paul's record (1 Cor. xv. 5, 7) is the touchstone of historic truth. 'Only as revised to meet this ancient tradition of the appearances in Galilee did the Ephesian Gospel of the Hellenists at last obtain a place beside those based on the Petrine story of Mark.' Articles on 'The Modern Liturgical Movement in Germany' and 'Some Early Practices of Baptists in America' will be read with interest.

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (September).—Arthur Hübscher, in 'Germany since Versailles,' says 'the reparation payments have proved to be of immeasurable harm, not only to Germany, but also to the whole world, of which the economic equilibrium has thus been rudely shaken.' He thinks the fate of Europe depends on that of Germany, whose breakdown would usher in an era of Bolshevism all over the

world. Mr. Weston's 'The Calamity of Chronic Unemployment and its Solution' was delivered at the Rotary Club in Calcutta. He finds chronic unemployment in all countries which are trying to achieve the gold standard, and argues that the value of our paper money should be standardized in terms of the commonly desired commodities rather than gold.—(October.)—M. P. Gandhi, in 'India's Industries,' says that the prices of agricultural commodities have fallen so low that in many cases the cultivator is unable to meet even the land revenue charges. The Government allowed raw materials to be purchased and markets to be flooded with foreign-manufactured goods. The writer holds that 'India will have to take extra strong measures, developing her industries by offering them full-fledged protection, bounties, or subsidies.' A bold and courageous policy of State aid and encouragement in industries would enable India, within a generation or two, to take its proper place among highly industrialized nations.

Moslem World (October) begins with 'The Rosary in Islam,' of which there is a frontispiece illustration. Its name, *subha*, means praise to God who is free from every imperfection. The rosary is mentioned as early as A.D. 800, and seems to have come from India to western Asia. Dr. Zwemer once found a Moslem counting his ninety-nine rosary beads which represented the names of Allah, and was told that they were really graven on his palms, where he pointed out the Arabic numerals 81 and 18, making a total of 99. 'And that,' said he, 'is why we spread our hands open in supplication, reminding Allah of all His merciful attributes, as we plead His grace.'

C.S.S. Review (Poona: October) is a special St. Francis number. Lawrence Houseman asks why his saintliness has a peculiar quality of its own. He had the artistic temperament and saw goodness in terms of beauty, and led the worst sinners to discover that love of goodness lay deep down in their hearts, though overlaid and forgotten through disuse. Evelyn Underhill describes 'A Franciscan Hermitage' among the Umbrian hills; there is an account of St. Clare and 'Some Great Franciscans,' with reviews and notes. It is an attractive number.

Analecta Bollandiana (Tomus XLIX., Fasc. iii. et iv.). The catalogue of the Latin hagiographic codices in the Seminary and Cathedral Church of Treves will be of real service to experts. M. Paul Peeters gives an account of the first Latin translation of 'Barlaam et Joasaph' and its original Greek. The 'Passio S. Abraham Lapicidae ex Apographo Aethiopico,' in the National Library at Paris, hitherto unedited, is printed with a Latin translation. The legends and miracles of the King St. Richard is the strange story of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim who died at Lucca in Tuscany. Baronius at first held the opinion of his contemporaries as to Richard's royal birth, but afterwards described him as an Englishman of noble race.