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THE CHURCHMAN

A Monthly Magazine

*CONDUCTED BY CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

VOL. X.

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PREFACE.

THE tenth half-yearly volume of THE CHURCHMAN is now completed; and the course of the magazine within these years, a period long enough for satisfactory enquiry, calls for an editorial expression of thankfulness and hope.

That a periodical of this character was really needed has been sufficiently shown. THE CHURCHMAN (to quote the recent words of one of our fairest critics) "has supplied a want long felt in the Church of England."

Five years ago, in soliciting the co-operation of the clergy in bringing the magazine under the notice of the laity, we stated upon what lines it would be conducted. To the principles which were then set forth, friends being our judges, we have been thoroughly faithful; and no critic of THE CHURCHMAN, so far as we know, has in any wise complained of its tone and temper.

A representative periodical, which at once possesses a clear insight into the real meaning of current events and is competent to express a sound judgment on the most important works in sacred and secular literature, cannot fail to render valuable service in the guidance of opinion, the defence of the truth, and the encouragement of well-directed Christian effort. Such was our conviction in the year 1879; and encouraging testimony to the influence of THE CHURCHMAN has reached us, from many influential quarters, in the present year.

Our critics in newspapers and periodicals, as a rule, we

gratefully acknowledge, have been appreciative and kindly. In particular, as in duty bound, to *The Record*, a journal which during the last two or three years has shown increasing vigour, as well as judgment and ability, we tender our hearty thanks. From some of our most earnest supporters, new friends as well as old—we gladly mention the fact—we are cheered by letters of sympathy and suggestion.

It has often been said about members of the Evangelical School in the Church, that they are apt to neglect literature, and do not sufficiently value the Press; and that in regard to literary undertakings of which they approve they are slow to “take any trouble.” That reproach, however, we trust, is losing its modicum of justice. Certainly, the needs of this time, as regards both Christian Truth and the National Church, are patent and pressing.

THE
CHURCHMAN

APRIL, 1884.

ART. I.—THOUGHTS ON LITTLE THINGS CONNECTED
WITH THE WORSHIP OF GOD.

“THE greatness of little things” is a subject that has afforded material for a recently published volume, and this suggestive and well-chosen title calls attention very forcibly to a truth that we are much too ready to overlook. Life is for the most part made up of little things, and the same may be said of the service of God. Great acts of heroism and devotion are, indeed, occasionally called for by special and unusual circumstances, but this does not happen very frequently in the lives of most of us ; and, when it does, he will be most likely to respond to the opportunity who has been most careful in the smaller matters of daily life. Indeed, it is obvious that the greatest things must be composed of the aggregate of little things, and he who passes carelessly over such little things as mere trifles will hope in vain to attain to greatness in any department of human conduct. This is especially the case with all matters affecting our religious life and experience. I heard it once well said that “nothing is small when God is put into it ;” and so I don’t think I need apologize to the reader if I offer some remarks upon topics that may appear slight and trivial, but which I am persuaded are not without importance, inasmuch as they closely concern that most important function of the creature—the proper worship of God, and deal with its usual concomitants.

It is a false and exaggerated spiritualism that ignores the connection between the outward and the inward, and that teaches that our inner relations with God, and our enjoyment of those relations, are wholly independent of, and incapable of being influenced by, external circumstances. We are, alas ! all of us, I apprehend, only too familiar with the phenomena of mental and moral distraction, and are aware how frequently

outward objects bring this about. It has been affirmed, for example—I fear with only too much truth—that the attention of no congregation is proof against the presence of a small bird flying about in the rafters, or the intrusion of a dog into the church aisle. But if our devotion may be interfered with by external circumstances, may it not also be assisted to some extent by these when they are favourable to it? To take a familiar instance, and only one out of many that might be given: a Christian man of musical taste and sensibility will find his attention greatly diverted, and his enjoyment of worship materially interfered with, if the music that fills his ears is out of time and out of tune, or harsh and devoid of expression, whereas the same person may feel his heart powerfully stirred by a well-sung and impressive hymn that seems to carry home to his mind and feeling the full import of the words that are being sung. It argues not superior sanctity, but rather sanctimonious ignorance of human nature, when we shut our eyes to such obvious facts as these. Our wisdom lies in recognising the close connection between the outward and the inward, and in endeavouring to make the one as far as possible minister to the other.

My life and work as a Mission-preacher is constantly bringing me into contact with great varieties of usage in the conduct of our *regular* Church services (and it is of these that I now write), some of which seem to me useful and worthy of general acceptance, while others appear more or less objectionable. Besides variations in custom, I am also frequently constrained to take note of variations of manner; and herein sometimes one is gratified by excellence, and sometimes pained by slipshod carelessness and inefficiency. It is seldom that I join in the worship of a congregation where I do not see something that might be improved; while, on the other hand, it is a very frequent experience to have my attention called to a realized improvement that had not before suggested itself to me. The difficulty in writing such a paper as this is not to find material, for this observation abundantly supplies, but rather so to arrange the material as that my remarks may not appear desultory, and therefore tedious.

It will be needful to make some sort of rough classification of the many subjects which my friendly criticisms or suggestions must touch upon; and, to begin with, I will make some remarks about the *musical element* in our services. And here first let me say, that it seems to me, from a somewhat extensive observation, that the solemn nature of the functions exercised by the choir, and the importance of endeavouring to infuse into its members a spiritual and devotional tone, are insufficiently realized for the most part by the clergy. Surely

if the choir is in its tone and the general condition of its members unspiritual, the service, so far as it is concerned, must be cold and perfunctory, and this must exercise an evil and a chilling influence on the whole congregation. Now I should be slow to suggest any test for membership in the choir, such as participation in Holy Communion, or a distinct profession of certain definite spiritual experiences, because this might induce hypocrisy in some, and check the beginnings of a new life in others, who, in joining the choir, might be taking a first step towards better things. On the other hand, however, it must be obvious that habitual contact with holy things in an unholy spirit must have a very injurious and hardening effect—an effect that one too often discerns in clerks and sextons, and other church officials, and sometimes, unhappily, in clergymen themselves, when these lack true spirituality.

Surely then definite efforts should be made to deepen the spiritual life of our choristers, if they have any; or to infuse it into them by God's grace, if they have it not. It would surely be well if one of the clergy of the church made it a rule to be present at the choir practices, and to open and close them with a few words of earnest prayer; taking care, throughout the whole time, to suppress with kindly firmness all irreverence and levity.

Such a custom, while fostering a devotional spirit, would have this additional advantage. The presence of a clergyman would render it much easier and much safer to employ the services of women in our Church service, and I am quite sure that our music must suffer grievously where they are not employed. Where is there to be found a competent conductor who would think of giving a concert without the assistance of women's voices? and if their presence is so necessary on the platform, how can they be dispensed with in the church? If we are exceedingly, not to say morbidly, sensitive on the subject of feminine modesty, things may frequently be so arranged that women may belong to the choir without having to occupy at all a conspicuous place in the church. The side-chapels so common now in our churches seem expressly made for this purpose; but if such an arrangement be impossible, better, surely, that they should occupy a conspicuous position than that their help should be lost altogether.

I remember being much struck with the custom of one church that I visited, where the men were in surplices, and the women were all dressed in comely black cloaks; the contrast between the black and the white producing a not unpleasant effect to the eye. The Romans are "wise in their generation," in this as in so many other respects. You can hardly go into one of their chapels without being struck with

the beauty and the culture of the female voices that take so prominent a part in their services, although they are concealed from sight.

If the hour for practice were so chosen as to follow immediately the close of the usual week-night's service, there would be this further advantage from the presence of the clergy at the practice, that any members of the congregation that pleased could be invited to remain and take part in, or at any rate become acquainted with, the church music about to be rehearsed. This might conduce to congregational singing, and might also render it much more easy to introduce new chants and tunes, and even simple services.

But, to return from this digression upon a subject that I regard as an important one—I was saying that the presence of a clergyman, and, if possible, of the incumbent himself, at the practice would be the best safeguard against any improper levity or unseemliness amongst the young people attending, and would thus render the employment of women in the choir as unobjectionable as it is expedient. But, need I add, more should be aimed at than mere propriety. If the spirit of devotion and of worship be wholly excluded from our rehearsals, we can scarcely wonder if it also disappear from our services; but if our choirs learn to regard even the practising of church music as a sacred function, their hearts as well as their voices may thus be trained for the Church services.

Something, too, might be done to help the choir, by infusing more of reality and earnestness into the prayers in the vestry before and after church. I must say, that if these are not often performed in a cold perfunctory manner, at any rate they often have the appearance of being so performed. Is the use of a stereotyped form on such occasions—at any rate its invariable use—wise and expedient, especially when the form contains a sort of jingle of words of very indefinite significance. I frankly confess that I am heartily sick of the too familiar "Grant that what we have sung with our lips we may believe in our hearts, and that what we believe in our hearts we may show forth in our lives," etc. This, from much repetition, is apt to become a barren "rigmarole," and is usually followed by a precipitate flinging off of surplices and scrambling for hats, which does not argue that the rattle of familiar sounds has produced at all a solemnizing effect. Surely it were wiser to improve the occasion by taking up some special point that the sermon has dealt with, and by offering a few simple and practical petitions connected with this. Perhaps, too, if all music and intoning were excluded from such exercises, the very contrast between them and the public worship of God in church might tend to increase their reality.

It seems to me most important, also, that special devotional meetings should be arranged for the boys, and, if possible, for the men of the choir, either on the Sunday afternoon or on some week night, so that genuine piety and true religious fellowship may be promoted amongst them, and that the less decided may come under a strong spiritual influence.

I will not encumber this article with any controversy upon the subject of the superiority or inferiority of a choral service. I will only remark, in passing, that I believe strong feelings on either side are chiefly attributable to peculiarities of temperament, or to education, or (not least) to prejudice. If God can be worshipped either by the reading or by the singing of a psalm, His acceptance of a service will not depend upon whether it is or is not choral.

As a matter of fact, choral services are now so common, and are so little regarded as the peculiar characteristic of any party in the Church, that a few remarks upon the subject of how they may be rendered most conducive to true devotion cannot be out of place.

Common-sense might lead us, if we would only have recourse to it, to avoid certain forms of procedure which are unhappily as common as they are grotesque. Whatever may be said on behalf of the monotone, for example, in an address to God, Who discerns the heart, and is not affected by the inflections of the voice, what can be said for its use in an address to man, who cannot read the heart, and is specially open to impressions produced by inflections of the voice? What, then, can be the wisdom of shouting out "Dearly beloved brethren," and so forth, on a monotone? Must not such a procedure contribute to the air of unreality which only too readily attaches to such familiar but important exhortations? It would seem as reasonable to chant the Lessons, or to intone the Sermon; and indeed this is frequently the sequel! For when men lose the power of taking up and laying down the monotone at will, they frequently fall into a miserable sing-song habit, which persists in asserting itself alike in the pulpit and at the lectern. I need not say that the victims of such a habit would be hissed from the stage or the platform; it is unfortunate that they cannot be shown equally unmistakably how grievous is the infliction which their much-enduring flock has to put up with, from this silly habit.

Then, again, how frequent a thing it is to hear that most penitential utterance, the Confession, shouted out on G natural, or even on A, as if it were an object with us to exclude all indication of sorrowful feeling for the acknowledgment of our sin. Surely if music has any place here, it should be made to interpret our feelings and not to outrage them. A low note

(such as E natural), a subdued tone and not very rapid utterance might impress the mind with a sense of the solemnity of this act of self-abasement, and by its very contrast with other parts of the service contribute to its sincerity and reality, whereas the most inappropriate accompaniments that are so common must necessarily tend to interfere with the feelings that are so much to be desired.

Differences of opinion may exist as to the expediency of intoning on the part of the officiating clergyman, but surely it stands to reason that this should only be attempted when the clergyman himself possesses, at any rate, a tolerably good voice and ear. It is my misfortune sometimes to have to listen to clergymen whose attempt at monotone might better be described as an ingenious modification of the chromatic scale with an ever-descending tendency, expressly devised, you might think, to inflict the maximum of torture on a musical ear. When this performance is accompanied by an altogether strained and unnatural delivery, the only idea of which seems to be, to throw as heavy an accentuation as possible upon the last syllable of every clause, while the rest of the sentence is rushed over with a celerity that does not always seem compatible with reverence, you have a combination of circumstances which, if it does not produce dissipation of thought, not to say distraction, might seem to be expressly designed to do so. Nor is the ungainly effect diminished when at the end of a long prayer "intoned" in this fashion the choir and organ, as if in resentment at clerical aberrations, return with their *Amen* to the original key, rising, perhaps, three semitones and a half at a leap.

If a man cannot sing, then, let him read, and no congregation will be any the worse for a little variety in this matter. The plain truth is, we are all of us always in danger of suffering spiritually from the effects of stereotyped modes of procedure, and we should be specially thankful where God in His providence breaks in upon our routine. A musical clergyman may be an acquisition to a congregation if he exercise his gift for the glory of God; but he who does not possess this gift may also benefit the congregation even by the variety which he introduces into its manner of worship; if only he will not try to sing when he can't, and if he will endeavour to read, as a witty friend of mine once remarked, on the only right key-note, which is "*Be (B) natural.*" Alas that this should seem too high a note for many of us parsons to reach!

The remarks that I have ventured to make with respect to certain forms of intoning as practised by some clergymen, suggest a few words of counsel with respect to similar faults on the part of some choirs. It may seem to be stooping to very small matters when I insist upon the importance of what

is technically called "singing true;" but first I am dealing with little things, and next I can witness from my own painful experiences to the distressing and distracting effects of a neglect of this fundamental condition of all good music. Is it a light matter to a worshipper, or one who wishes to be so, that sometimes he has to give up attempting to sing, in sheer despair, because he doesn't know whether to adhere to the key of the organ or to follow the eccentricities of the choir, who are perseveringly pursuing their course at least a quarter of a tone below? Is it a light matter that when he thus has to cease joining audibly in the service of God, his ear is assailed by such discordant combinations as are rarely excelled in cacophony even by German brass bands at a watering-place? To one who is gifted or afflicted, as the case may be, with a sensitive ear, this means so much nervous torture; and surely this may seriously interfere with the concentration of one's thoughts upon devotional exercises. Do organists and choir-masters as a rule pay sufficient attention to this point? We do not demand of them elaborate musical performances; we would prefer to have things as simple as possible; but we think we have a right to ask for two things—musical truth and intelligent expression. We should be fortunate, however, if we always obtained as much as this.

With regard to the latter of these two requisites (for I cannot otherwise describe them), much no doubt has been done, but a good deal remains to be done. The editors of "Hymns Ancient and Modern" deserve general thanks for the happy idea which they have so well carried out of introducing notes of expression (*ps.* and *fs.* in fact) into their book, and I hope that before long every hymn-book in common use will contain these reminders of the nature of the sentiment that has to be expressed. But the loudness or softness of our singing is not the only thing that has to be thought of if music is to be expressive. Two other points at least require a consideration that they do not always receive. One is *time*, and the other is *accentuation*.

With regard to time, it may be said, speaking generally, that our grandfathers used to drawl, and we gallop! This is only explicable on the ground of æsthetic reaction; but surely it is clear on the very surface of things, that the adoption of a uniformly high rate of speed must be fatal to all true interpretation of sentiment. What organist out of Bedlam would think of playing Mozart's well-known and exquisitely plaintive *Agnus Dei* at the same rate of time as he introduces with such thrilling effect into the last jubilant movement of Beethoven's "Hallelujah Chorus;" and yet this is the sort of treatment that our rich supply of psalmody has to be content with. I do not remember at this moment more than one

church amongst the hundreds I have visited where it was possible to induce singers and people to sing "When I survey the wondrous cross" slowly and softly. I have nearly given the case up now as hopeless. I scarcely expect ever to hear people singing this, the most tenderly pathetic hymn that Watts ever wrote, otherwise than they would sing "Great the joy when Christians meet," to "Durham." It would certainly be helpful if future editions of our hymn-books contained references to the metronome as well as marks of expression; but until this can be brought about, a little care and attention on the part of the parish-presbyter might surely produce a great improvement. He will, in all probability, be a man of considerable education and refinement, and it is too much to expect that the same should invariably be true of the organist. And be it remembered that musical capacity is not so much required to decide a point of this kind as general intelligence and good taste, and aptness in detecting and appreciating a sentiment.

The same fault often mars the singing of our Canticles. It surely must grate upon our feelings and shock our sensibilities, when we hear the "Tris-hagion" in the *Te Deum* sung exactly at the same rate of speed as the other verses of the hymn. Surely the thrice-repeated cry of adoring admiration must lose much of its solemnity, and even of its import, under such treatment. And not less incongruous is the effect when the same iron law of speed is ruthlessly applied alike to the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis*, the *Cantate* and the *Misereatur*.

A smaller matter than even this I cannot allow myself to pass by—the subject of accentuation. Here, certainly, great strides have been taken of late years, and a vast improvement may be noticed when we compare recent Psalters with those of twenty years ago; yet, even in the best it would appear that there is much still to be desired.

It seems to me that no man is competent to point a Psalter who has not made elocution a matter of careful study, and I apprehend that this condition has not been fulfilled by many of our most accomplished organists. Were it otherwise, should we be taught to sing as follows, "The sea is His, *and* He made it"? Here, of course, the general rule is that a personal pronoun should not be accentuated, but equally clearly it should be accentuated when it is emphatic. The thought we want impressed upon our minds is the almighty power of God, and the opportunity of being forcibly reminded of this is lost when we fail to sing, "The sea is His, and *HE-E* made it." Or again, "And kneel *BEFORE* the Lord our Maker." Do we wish to emphasize the idea that we are to kneel before (instead

of behind), or to call attention to the Person of Jehovah? If the latter, why not sing, "And kneel before the LORD our Ma-aker"? and why not similarly, in the next verse, sing "the SHE-EP of His hands," instead of "AND the sheep," etc. Why should we be instructed in the *Jubilate* to "SPEAK good" of God's name? Would any sane man read the verse so? Why should we not sing it as we should read it, "speak GOO-OOD of His name"? Why in the *Magnificat* should we have to sing, "He hath filled the hungry WITH good things," when we should certainly say, "He hath filled the hungry with GOO-OOD things"? Why should we sing in the *Nunc Dimittis*, "the glory OF Thy people Israel," when "of" is the last word that any rational person would think of emphasizing, and when it is just as easy to sing, "the glory of Thy PEOPLE Is-ra-el"? Why in the *Te Deum* should we lay a stress upon the word "this" in the prayer, "Vouchsafe, O LORD, to keep us THIS day without sin," that, if it suggests anything at all, might seem to imply that all other days were to be exempt from this blessing? Why not sing, "to keep us this DA-AY withou-out sin"? This, surely, is what we should say. These faults are common to most of the best Psalters, and seem to arise from a want of proper appreciation of the modes of expressing sentiment which the study of elocution teaches us to discern, as naturally belonging to our language.

But if such obvious flaws as this disfigure even our best manuals, what shall we say about the worst? Surely the time is come when we should no longer, as reasonable men, be constrained to stultify ourselves every time we sing the *Gloria*, by exclaiming "world without end, A-amen"; nor should we be forced to adopt the scarcely less objectionable alternative of singing "world WITHOUT end," since all the best Psalters seem agreed that the passage should be sung, as we would read it, "world without E-END, A-amen." This may serve as an example of other enormities which are still unfortunately only too frequently to be met with, such as (in the *Te Deum*) "The Father, o-of an infinite Majesty." The insignificant word "of" being unduly emphasized in order to render it possible to take Majesty at a mouthful, as if it were a word of one syllable. Where obviously, "reason would" that we should sing, "Of an infinite Ma-jes-ty;" or again, in the next verse, "A-AND only Son," instead of the natural "and o-only Son;" or in the very next verse, "THE-E-E Comforter," instead of "The Co-OM-for-orter."

But I must desist, or I shall weary my reader's patience. Let me ask him, however, to bear with me while I call attention to another evil closely connected with this which often tends to rob our chanting of all intelligence, and to render con-

gregational singing impossible. I refer to the neglect or the abuse of punctuation. There was a time when the former of these two faults was common, and the stream rushed on without any regard for such things as commas or colons; now an opposite and perhaps more insufferable evil is far more common, arising from a servile adherence to the somewhat archaic punctuation of the Prayer Book, emphasized by the introduction of a staccato style, with the result that the choir seems to be broken-winded or to be aiming at such effects as are produced by an insufficient supply of air to an organ played at full power! Imagine the effect of this system in such a verse as the following: "If his wrath be kindled!—yea!—but a little!—blessed are all they," etc.; or again, "Lead me!—O Lord!—in Thy righteousness!—because of," etc. It is clear that in each case only one pause is required, and that even that need not be in the least emphasized, as any rational man may see by reading the passage in a natural way. It would be wise, when this is not already done in the Psalters employed, to run through the books used in the choir, and erase with a pen-knife all superfluous stops; for you cannot expect that ordinary members of choirs will be able to guide their conduct with regard to them by a reference to the sense.

These little mistakes that I have been indicating may seem the merest of trifles, but it is obvious that they are distracting just in proportion to the intelligence and sensitiveness of the worshipper; and further, they tend to create confusion and to militate against that unity of congregational expression which is a thing so much to be desired.

Space will only permit me very briefly to touch upon one or two other points connected with the musical element in worship, and the mention that has just been made of the desirableness of congregational music suggests the first. I notice, with some regret, a disposition on the part of the choir, in not a few churches where the music is good, to encroach upon the unquestionable rights of the congregation, in taking the singing of the Canticles out of their hands altogether. This may, perhaps, be due to another fact, that the choir is by popular prejudices or preferences so frequently deprived of the right which the rubric after the Third Collect certainly gives it; and therefore it has, so to speak, to compensate if not to revenge itself by deliberately appropriating what belongs to the people. It seems to me that there is much to be said for an anthem, especially if it can be sung correctly, and above all devotionally, and not as a mere performance; and no one who has witnessed the effect produced by one of Mr. Sankey's hymn-sermons can doubt that a well-chosen solo, such as "If with all your hearts," earnestly and devotionally sung, may be

a useful adjunct to a service. The choir has its part and office, as choir, apart from that which it exercises as leader of the psalmody of the congregation; but if this be denied it, that is surely no reason why reprisals should be made by the purloining of those portions of the service which certainly belong to the people. It seems to me nothing less than a grievous thing when a whole congregation has to stand dumb listening to an elaborate *Te Deum* or *Cantate*, when they should all be making "a joyful noise" with heart and voice. Surely "services" so-called are out of place altogether in a parish church, unless they are familiar to the people; then, indeed, they may become more effective than an ordinary chant.

No musical person will speak very highly of the well-known "Jackson's *Te Deum*," yet I venture to say, no man who has heard two thousand people sing it with might and main at a thanksgiving service at the end of a Mission, will have any heart left in him for mere æsthetic criticism. The thing rises to a region where criticism must be mute.

My last word shall be to the organist. Dear Mr. Organist, I would dare to say, you have more musical skill in your little finger, I can well believe, than I have in my whole person, and yet may it be possible for you to obtain a hint or two, even from a wandering "Missioner." Let me be bold, then, to ask a few questions. Is it, since our services are usually pronounced to be too long already—is it necessary for you to add ten minutes to their duration? Could you not begin your voluntary two or three minutes before the time of service, so as to bring your sweet strains to a close just as we rise from our knees, while the clock is on the stroke, instead of playing on for five minutes thereafter, while we all sit listening to you? Can you not so train your choir that they shall not need to hear their hymn tunes and chants played through, but be content with a single chord, and then begin to sing? Please to remember, my worthy friend, that each verse you play over takes up as much time in playing as would be occupied in singing it, probably about one minute; and if we sing four hymns, that means four minutes wasted—I beg your pardon—*occupied* instrumentally in the course of a service already, by admission, too long, to say nothing of the six chants that you also add to your labours by playing over. We would fain *spare* you the extra toil.

Furthermore, could you not be a little more liberal of trumpet-stop, or other violent measures, when "those boys" insist on getting flat; or else would it not be better to be silent for a time and let them sink to their own level, and then pick them up when they are safely landed a semitone below? Once more, will you so far respect our sensibility as to select only plaintive and tender music for the *Kyrie* after the Commandments?

Surely it cannot be desirable to sing these solemn words jauntily and with a flourish! And last, if your patience be not exhausted, *please* must the organ always dismiss us with a roar? This may be the right thing sometimes, but surely it would be well not to arrange what you are going to play beforehand, but to wait and be guided in some measure by the subject of the sermon.

I had an organist once, who seemed to think it his special work to supplement my teaching when he played; for no sooner had my voice done preaching, than he—himself a clergyman as well as a first-class musician, and more than all, a true Christian—took up his parable upon that organ, and wove the spell of tender music around thoughts that were still fresh in his hearers' minds. Peace to his dear memory—he has gone to join the chorus above. I can only say, as I look back lovingly on those calm efforts of sanctified melody and consecrated skill—*Utinam sic omnes!*

By the kind permission of the Editor, I shall proceed to consider other "little things" in a future paper.

W. HAY M. H. AITKEN.



ART. II.—THE QUESTION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF A DISESTABLISHED CHURCH FROM THE CONTROL OF THE CIVIL POWER.

THE above question, which I have not seen touched upon in any of the various articles or reviews which have succeeded each other in rapid succession on the subject of the Ecclesiastical Courts, has had some light thrown upon it by the evidence given before the Royal Commission. The subject itself is undoubtedly one of very great importance. It has not in my opinion received the attention which it deserves. Statements are frequently made which show that those who make them have not considered the subject in all its bearings. Men of strong self-will chafe under the restrictions to which they are subjected in a National Church, and oftentimes speak as though they imagined that all State control of any kind whatsoever would be removed simultaneously with the disestablishment of the Church. Utterances of such a kind must be familiar to the readers of this review, and by being oft-repeated have almost passed into supposed truisms. The liberty of disestablishment is sometimes sighed for by those who little know what that supposed liberty would entail.

I do not intend to refer to any aspect of disestablishment,

except as regards State control. I have my own very strong opinion to the effect that disestablishment of the Church would be a national evil of immense magnitude. If it comes upon the Church unsought by herself, no doubt all good Churchmen will rally round her banners, and strive with all their energies to make her—if not the National Church—at any rate the Church of the nation at large. The best weapons to ward off disestablishment, as far as the clergy are concerned, are increased faithfulness and zeal, a more intense love for our Church's Head showing itself in working for Him in the evangelization of the masses, the shepherding of those brought into the fold, and the faithful and zealous discharge of our duties as the "dispensers of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments." It might be that, as with those herbs which only when bruised send forth their sweetness, so the Church in her time of trial would rise to higher levels of energy and usefulness than she had ever done before. God grant it might be so! But it would be a fearful risk to run! Surely it is not for Churchmen by the lifting up of a little finger to anticipate such a time. Surely it is not for them, like the French statesman under Louis Napoleon, to enter with "a light heart" upon such stony and difficult paths!

I venture to think that the following evidence tends to show that the question of disestablishment had not been considered by every witness under all its aspects; and it is because I believe that there are many who imagine that the State would have no control whatever over a disestablished Church, that I think it would be of advantage if the evidence were to be brought before the readers of this magazine, who may not have had the opportunity of reading it in the Parliamentary Blue Book of the Royal Commission.

The first evidence is that given by Mr. Mackonochie. Disestablishment had been spoken of by him as the remedy for the present evils (6129), and Sir Richard Cross questions him:

6139. (*Sir R. Cross.*) But then, do you suppose for a moment that in your disestablished Church you could get rid of the decision of the Law Courts in this kingdom of England?—I should suppose so.

6140. Are not you aware that whenever there is property or status involved, the Law Courts would still exercise the supreme jurisdiction?—Then, if the Church were disendowed there would be no property.

6141. No money?—I suppose the churches would be held by private individuals, and so allowed to be used as churches; in fact, in the hands of trustees.

6142. Is there any disestablished body that you are aware of that is in that position?—I am sorry to say that I have not gone into the question of disestablished bodies. I imagine that is the rule with most disestablished bodies, that their churches are in the hands of trustees.

6143. Have not you heard the cases recently about almost all the Dissenting bodies that have been brought before the Civil Courts?—I

am afraid I read so little of the newspapers that I scarcely know what is going on. My attention has not been called to these things.

6144. (*Bishop of Oxford.*) Then you have no other solution of the difficulty to lay before the Commission except that of disestablishment? I think things could be made a great deal better short of disestablishment.

6145. But could they be made so much better as to bind the conscience of those who now refuse submission?—I should think so, quite easily.

6146. (*Archbishop of Canterbury.*) And by disestablishment you mean denuding yourself of every sort of property and privilege?—Certainly. Exactly so. Being put exactly on the same level as any Dissenting community in the land.

6147. But is there any Dissenting community that has no property and no privileges?—I believe so.

6148. (*Sir R. Cross.*) All have chapels, have not they?—Yes, but I suppose most of these are held by trustees.

6149. Yes, but they are held on trust for certain purposes?—Quite so.

6150. That being so, the Law Courts would immediately interfere to see that the purposes of those trusts were carried out?—Yes; I suppose they would.

The following extracts from the evidence of the Rev. Edmund S. Ffoulkes refer to the Church of Rome:

2336. (*Lord Penzance.*) You mentioned how these matters of discipline are managed in the Court of Rome; you say that they are decided by a court that sits in private?—Yes.

2337. How is the judgment of the Court enforced?—Just simply by conveying it through the ecclesiastical channel, and informing that person whether he is acquitted or condemned.

2338. Supposing the individual complained of does not obey the judgment, what happens then?—Then he is excommunicated.

2339. But supposing he does not mind being excommunicated, and goes on performing the service?—He cannot go on performing the service, certainly, because they would stop him. They have power over their own chapels and places of worship; they could prevent a person officiating.

2340. How could they do it?—I suppose, finally, it would come before the Civil Courts in this country.

2341. What would their Courts do when they came before them?—They would only decide just in the same way as our Courts would.

2342. When they had decided, supposing the man still went on, how would they stop him?—I suppose by force—by imprisoning him if they could.

2343. (*Sir Walter James.*) Have you ever known a case of a Romish priest being imprisoned because he refused to obey the laws ecclesiastic?—I do not quite remember; they would be very chary of doing it in this country; though I have seen priests in this country detained in a monastery for some misdeed; and I have known priests appeal against their superiors, and I remember a case in which Cardinal Wiseman was cast at Gloucester by a priest who appealed against him.

2344. Was that in a Civil Court in England?—Yes, at Gloucester; but then of course the priest did not profit by it in the end.

The following evidence of the Rt. Hon. E. P. Bouverie refers to the Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Ireland:

5174. (*Archbishop of Canterbury.*) A good many of your constituents in Scotland belonged to the Free Church of Scotland?—A very large portion of them.

5175. Do you consider they are not liable to the Civil Courts?—The theory of the struggle between the Free Church and the Law Courts was that it was the boundary line between what was spiritual and what was civil. That is really the source of all these difficulties and discussions. There are many questions which everyone would say were spiritual, and many everyone would say were civil, and there would be no disagreement about it; but in the boundary line between the two there is something which may be contended to be civil or spiritual, and the Civil Courts claim to decide that boundary and that question in the last resort.

5176. And, notwithstanding the secession from the Established Church, that remains?—There is the difficulty about the Civil Courts interfering.

5177. They take it upon themselves to interfere in civil questions?—Yes, as regards the property of the Free Church.

5178. Just as they did before?—Yes. All their properties are trusts, and of course the Civil Courts hold that they are entitled to decide, in case of dispute, how those trusts are to be discharged.

5179. So that shaking themselves free from the establishment, they have not shaken themselves free from the State?—Not a bit; not free from the control of the Civil Courts as to property.

5180. And is it your opinion that there must always be in a well-ordered community a power in the Civil Courts to control everybody?—That seems essential, unless you are prepared to take the exactly opposite view, and going back a thousand years, to say it is all to be done by the Church Courts. . . .

5182. Does the present Irish Church exist by an Act of Parliament?—No, I consider not. I think it was founded by an Act of Parliament.

5183. That is, it holds all its authority in consequence of that Act?—By the arrangements of that Act of Parliament, certainly.

5184. And for violating this Act of Parliament the matter comes before the Civil Courts?—Yes, exactly.

5185. So that though they are disestablished they are just as much subject to the Civil Courts as they were before?—Quite so.

5186. (*Sir Walter James.*) Except when strictly spiritual matters are concerned.

5187. (*Archbishop of Canterbury.*) Supposing they have no connection with property.

5188. (*Dean of Durham.*) The Courts have nothing to do with the changes in their liturgy; they can make any changes they like without reference to the Civil Courts?—It might raise a question as to the tenure, I think.

5189. They have actually done so.

5190. (*Sir Walter James.*) All questions relating to the performing of Divine worship would be quite independent of any Civil Court?—Not necessarily.

5101. (*Archbishop of Canterbury.*) Supposing a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, a thing almost inconceivable, were to wear a chasuble, do you suppose his parishioners would not be entitled in some way to restrain him by means of the Civil Courts?—I think the question would be raised undoubtedly in the Civil Courts. The question of his right to hold a certain benefice and discharge certain duties in a church would come before the Civil Court.

5192. So that those matters would come before the State by being disestablished?—The bottom of it is that the clergy, perhaps not unnaturally, think they should be independent of the Civil Courts, especially

in the matter of opinion ; but when you come to thresh it out and look at it from the outside point of view, we find it impossible that it should be so, so long as the exercise of those opinions and outward observances involved in the maintenance of those opinions, by the clergy, are connected with property of any kind.

An extract from a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from Mr. Reeve, the Registrar of the Privy Council (June 24, 1882), which touches on this point, has an interest of its own : "This jurisdiction" (the regular appellate jurisdiction of the Queen), writes Mr. Reeve, "is not at all confined to the members and interests of churches in connection with the Church of England. It is exercised in precisely the same manner over other Churches and sects. Thus, in my own recollection, the Queen in Council has adjudicated upon the rights, and sometimes on the doctrine and practices of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland ; of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales, in the case of Dr. Lang ; of the Presbyterian Synod of the Cape of Good Hope, in the case of Mr. Burgers ; of the Roman Catholic Church at Gibraltar ; and an appeal has been lodged, though not prosecuted, on behalf of the Wesleyan body in Natal. The jurisdiction over the clergy and the fabrics of the Anglican Church in the dependencies of the empire is precisely the same, neither more nor less, as that to which all corporate bodies are subject."¹

Our last extract shall be from the evidence of the Dean of St. Paul's :

7037. (*Sir Richard Cross.*) Now one question about the Supreme Court. In the case of all religious bodies who have no connection with the State of this realm of England, the ordinary Civil Courts will step in?—Certainly.

7038. If there is property or position?—Yes, certainly.

7039. And in some points do you think the Church of England in any form or shape would escape from that general law?—Certainly not.

7040. And that is not the desire?—Certainly not ; but the decision in the State Court about the Church in Canada, or about some Huddersfield congregation, is not the decision of the Church in Canada or of the Huddersfield congregation, but the decision of the law of England on some particular matter arising in its transactions. The decision in the final Court of Appeal now is the law of the Church of England. The Court is the mouthpiece for the time of the Church of England.

7041. In the Court of Chancery they would consider whether a Non-conformist body was acting according to the spirit of the trust deed in their churches or chapels?—Certainly.

7042. And in order to find out whether that is so or not, they would have an inquiry into the question of doctrine?—Undoubtedly.

7043. (*Bishop of Winchester.*) Still you would not consider that was the mouthpiece of the Dissenting body?—The Dissenting body might agree to change its trust-deeds, or at least its constitution, to-morrow.

¹ Report II., pp. 341, 342.

7044. That is the distinction between it and the Church of England, that one can do that, and the other cannot?—Yes.

The point here referred to is certainly of the utmost importance, but it is not so clear that the solution of the difficulty is to be found here. No doubt, if the trust-deed of a Dissenting body is brought into Court for the judicial interpretation of the doctrines contained in it, and if this judgment be contrary to the meaning assigned to the trust-deed by the majority of the body, that body could "reproclaim their faith." But be it remembered, that this simple and easy process would in the eye of the law make them a wholly different body, and they would lose all interest, either in their chapel or pecuniary endowments to which the trust-deed had formerly entitled them. In the case of "*Jones v. Stannard*" this actually occurred. It was a suit in Chancery, and concerned a Huddersfield chapel. Judgment was given against Mr. Stannard, the minister, whereupon he and those who agreed with him "reproclaimed their faith," and, in consequence, had to resign all interest in the chapel in which Mr. Stannard had formerly served, and to build another for their own purposes. It will thus be seen that, whether a Church be established or not, the State absolutely asserts the right of determining in her Courts whether the provisions of the trust-deeds, under which the body is formed, are duly carried out or not.

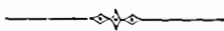
I will only add that in their Report the Commissioners thus refer to the subject: "The English Civil Courts do not appear ever to have placed any limitation upon their power of deciding on the merits of controversies which have arisen between members of the Nonconformist bodies whose civil rights depended on the decision. They do not accept the decision of the supreme authority of the particular society as binding in regard to the interpretation of its documents, unless such acceptance has been specifically agreed to, but claim to interpret them independently. The Court administers each trust according to its terms; and if the instrument declaring the trust does not define the precise form of religious worship for the benefit of which it was designed, the Court will endeavour to determine by usage what the intention of the founder was. But it will not allow any usage to alter the nature of the original management of the property, to make it serve for the support of opinions different from those which the founder prescribed."¹

From the foregoing evidence it will be seen that by the separation of the Church from the State, the control of the

¹ Report XIV.

civil power is not simultaneously removed, and that it may be better to bear the evils which we know, than rashly to bring upon ourselves evils which we know not of.

GEORGE HENRY SUMNER.



ART. III.—MEDIÆVAL LIFE AMONG THE NOBLES.

WE exceedingly civilized people, in this extremely superior nineteenth century, are apt to look back on our mediæval forefathers as at once more, and yet less, civilized than they really were. Human nature, and human needs, are alike in all ages: it is only the expression of them which differs. In some directions our ancestors surpassed us, and in other directions we have far outstripped them. In respect of materials for clothing, whether as regards variety, splendour, or endurance—in beauty of architecture, in plate and jewellery—they were decidedly our superiors; while in respect of home comforts, of houses and furniture, of cookery and travelling, we are much better off than they were. With regard to manners, we are at once less ceremonious and more refined than they. Young ladies no longer kneel on cushions in the awe-striking presence of their mothers, not daring to take a seat; but neither do they wipe their mouths upon the tablecloth, nor help themselves from a dish with their own spoons. Their brothers do not now wait at table upon the family and guests, nor walk bareheaded in a north-east wind when a lady is in the company; nor, on the other hand, are they habitually carried to bed drunk and helpless, neither do they regard their sisters and daughters as pieces of merchandise, to be disposed of to the highest bidder.

Between the style of life led by a noble and a commoner there was a vast gap in the Middle Ages. It must not, however, be forgotten that "nobleman" is a much more elastic word than "peer," and that all knights were reckoned among the nobles. Below them were squires, yeomen, and villeins or serfs. The squire might naturally look forward to becoming a knight, if he could distinguish himself sufficiently; the yeoman could not hope for such an honour, except in extraordinary circumstances. For the villein, unless manumitted and unaccountably favoured, the thing was an absolute impossibility.

Those who explore the by-ways of history become familiar with the personal history of many noble families, to an extent which would hardly be guessed by persons unacquainted with the study. For them, the dry bones of mediæval days become

instinct with flesh and life, and those who to the majority are mere names on a printed page, stand up and walk "in their habits as they lived." It is almost like entering the castle long since destroyed, and shaking hands with the man who lived five hundred years ago, when you dive into his private papers and behold him as he was. The prince of whom you only know that he fought this battle or passed that statute, may be a very uninteresting person; but go over the drawbridge and pass the portcullis of the past: see him buying a head-dress for his wife, or a gown for his daughter, superintending the education of his son, bargaining for a new horse, paying wages to his servants—and he becomes for you a living man like yourself, and no longer a mere figure cut out of dead stone or musty parchment.

Of all the mediæval families of rank, there are very few of whom such minute details have come down to us as of that of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. This is owing to the fact that two volumes of his Register, and several compotuses of different members of his family, are preserved to this day among the State papers. We may take this household as a fairly representative one of that of a nobleman of the highest rank in the Middle Ages.¹

¹ John of Gaunt, the fifth son of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault, reckoned in order of birth, but the third of those who reached manhood, was born at Ghent, in 1340; created Earl of Richmond, Sept. 20, 1342; Duke of Lancaster, Nov. 14, 1362; Duke of Aquitaine, March 2, 1390; and assumed, in right of his second wife, the title of King of Castile, March 1, 1372. He died at Ely Place, Holborn, Feb. 4, 1399, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was thrice married: first, in the Queen's Chapel, at Reading, May 19, 1359, to his cousin Blanche, daughter and heir (of the estate, not the title) of Henry, Duke of Lancaster (she died at the Savoy Palace, Sept. 12, 1369, and was buried in St. Paul's); secondly, at Rochefort, near Bordeaux, about Nov., 1369, to Constance, daughter and coheir of Don Pedro I., King of Castile (she died at Leicester Castle, March 24, 1394, and was buried in St. Mary's, Leicester); thirdly, to Katherine, daughter of Sir Payne le Roet, and widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, who survived him, and died at Lincoln, May 10, 1403; she was buried in Lincoln Cathedral. His children were: 1. Philippa, born at Leicester, about March 31, 1360; married at Oporto, Feb. 11, 1387, Dom Joam I., King of Portugal; died at Coimbra, June 9, 1415; buried in Batalha Abbey. 2. John, born 1361-2; died infant. 3. Edward, born about Jan., 1363; died infant. 4. Elizabeth, born probably 1364-5; married (1) about May, 1380, at Kenilworth, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke—divorced by mutual consent, 1383-4; (2) 1384, John de Holand, Duke of Exeter; (3) at York, 1401, Sir John Cornwall, Lord Fanhope; died Nov. 24, 1425. 5. John, born about March, 1366; died infant. 6. Henry IV., born at Bolingbroke Castle, April 3, 1367; married (1) at Rochford, about Feb. 1381, Mary, daughter and coheir of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex (she died at Peterborough Castle, July 2, 1394, and was buried at Leicester); and (2) at Winchester, Feb. 7, 1403, Juana, daughter of Carlos II., King of Navarre

At the time when the Duke's Register begins, Jan. 1, 1372, the living members of the family consisted of the Duke himself, then aged thirty-two; the Duchess Constance, aged eighteen; the Lady Philippa, aged eleven; the Lady Elizabeth, aged about eight; and Henry Earl of Derby, aged three. But there were also a number of persons residing with the Duke, who did not strictly belong to the family, and yet cannot be reckoned among the servants. Among these were his wards, of whom half-a-dozen or more are on record, but only two are certainly known to have lived in the house, though the probability is that several did so. In this class also we must place the Duke's illegitimate children, who bore the name of Beaufort, and whose mother was Katherine Swynford, state governess of the Duke's elder daughters, and subsequently his third wife. These, who more or less left their mark on English history, and who were legitimatized for all purposes, Feb. 9, 1397 (the qualifying words "*excepta dignitate regali*" are not in the original draft), were five in number.¹

We now come to the household. Highest among the officials were of course reckoned the priests—Don Juan Gutierrez, the Dean of Segovia; Friar Walter Disse, the Duke's Lollard confessor; Friar John de Benyngton, confessor of the deceased Duchess: and the existing Duchess must also have had one, whose name is not on record, for in noble mediæval families it was not usual for husband and wife to confess to the same priest. Walter Disse appears as confessor from 1375 to 1381; his predecessor in 1372 was Friar William Baddeby, and his successor in 1392 was Friar John Kenyngham. The Duke had also a chaplain, named Sir Walter Scott. Two priests, William Der-

(she died at Havering, July 10, 1437, and was buried at Canterbury); he died at Westminster, March 20, 1413, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. 7. Isabel, born 1368; died infant. 8. Katherine, born 1372-3; married at Burgos, about March, 1389, Don Enrique III., King of Castile; died June 2, 1418; buried at Toledo.

¹ 1. Joan, born about 1370; married (1) 1372, Robert, Lord Ferrers of Wempe, a ward of the Duke; (2) 1396, Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland; died Nov. 13, 1440; buried in Lincoln Cathedral. 2. Blanche, born about 1372; married 1380, Sir Thomas Moreaux or Morieux; was alive in 1384, but as she is not named in the patent of legitimation, had doubtless died before it. 3. John, born about 1374; created Earl of Somerset 1396, and Marquis of Dorset Sept. 29, 1397; married, about 1397, Margaret, daughter of Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent (she died Dec. 31, 1440, and was buried at Canterbury); died in London, March 16, 1410; buried in Canterbury Cathedral. 4. Thomas, born about 1377; created Earl of Perche and Dorset 1411-2, and Duke of Exeter 1416-7; married Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Neville of Hornby; died issueless, Dec. 27, 1426; buried at Bury St. Edmunds. 5. Henry, born about 1379; at Cambridge in 1388, and Oxford 1392; Bishop of Lincoln 1398, and Winchester 1405; Cardinal of St. Eusebius, June 23, 1426; died at Winchester (where buried) April 11, 1447.

went and William Benge, were attached to the household of the Duchess; and one of these may have been her confessor, though it is not so stated. Hugh Herle was in 1376 chaplain to the Earl of Derby. The officials next in importance were the seneschal, or state steward, under whom was a working seneschal of the household, and under him a comptroller; the chancellor; the treasurer, who had a treasurer of the household and a keeper of the privy purse as his subordinates; the chamberlain, under whom was a chamberlain of the household, vice-chamberlains, knights and squires of the household, and knights and squires of the body; the keeper of the wardrobe, who had several clerks as his assistants; the receiver-general, to whom all moneys were paid, and who was head of a crowd of local receivers, every county in which the Duke had property having at least one to itself; the dispenser, or purveyor for the household; the almoner, who presided over charitable gifts and religious dues and oblations; the clerk of the council, who was legal adviser and keeper of documents; the clerk of the marshalsea, whose duties lay in the stables; the custodian of the privy seal, who was subordinate to the chancellor.

The meaner officials were legion. There were a clerk of the works, a guest-master, a jewel-keeper, heralds, minstrels (who, to judge from their names, were Flemings), varlets of the household, of the chamber, and of the robes; pages of the chamber and the wardrobe; huntsmen, falconers, ushers, messengers, and a mob of underlings of every possible description—cooks, butlers, footmen, running footmen, palfrey-keepers (grooms), sumptermen (baggage-porters), dairymaids, laundresses—with as many *et ceteræ* as the reader chooses. There were not, however, any chambermaids or housemaids, for their duties were performed by the squires of the chamber. But there were a private physician and barber-surgeon, a tailor, a furrier, an embroiderer, and a large retinue of scutifers, or esquire-soldiers. To these must be added the governor of the Earl of Derby, who in 1374 was Thomas de Burton, and in 1376 William Montendre; his wardrobe-keeper, chamberlain, and other officials similar to those of his father; and the officers of the royal ladies. The Duchess had her own chamberlain, treasurer, and wardrobe-keeper, a number of clerks, knights, and squires—the “squire of dames” was held in some contempt by his brethren who served the nobler sex—a tailor (there were no such persons as female dressmakers), a furrier, a broiderer, damsels of the chamber (corresponding to ladies of the bedchamber, and always married women), and damsels (corresponding to maids of honour, and always unmarried), who were also known respectively as chamberers and bower-

women. A "mother of the maids" kept the young ladies in such order as she could, and a mistress of the household was over them all. The name of the latter was Maria Diaz; of the damsels of the chamber the names of four are known, one of whom was Philippa Chaucer, wife of the poet, who had filled the same position with the deceased Queen Philippa so far back as 1366. Of the damsels proper, six were Spaniards: but at least four more English ladies were in the service of the Duchess, the exact nature of whose position is not specified. The young Princesses had their separate households: the state governess of Philippa and Elizabeth was Katherine Lady Swynford, mother of the Beauforts; the state governess of Katherine was Joan Lady Mohun of Dunster, whose name has descended to us as one of the most decided Lollards of her day. We read also of one damsel of the Lady Philippa, two of the Lady Elizabeth, and a Spanish damsel and a varlet of the chamber attendant on the Lady Katherine. The last-named Princess, being in right of her mother the heiress of Castile, had a larger and more superb establishment than her sisters: they appear in the Register as simply "*Philippe de Lancastre*" and "*Elizabeth de Lancastre*," but she is "*ma dame Katherine d'Espagne*."¹

The Savoy Palace was the town house of the Duke of Lancaster, and stood on the north bank of the river, immediately to the west of what is now Somerset House, and was then the site of the town houses of the Bishops of Chester and Worcester. The "liberty of the Duchy" stretched from Temple Bar to the Bishop of Carlisle's "inn," on the western side of the Savoy. The Duke's estates were scattered all over England; but those of his country houses at which he was a most frequent resident were the castles of Hertford, Leicester, Kenilworth, Knaresborough, and Lincoln.

From two to three stories was the usual height even for a nobleman's castle in the fourteenth century; but there was not unfrequently a "solar chamber"—the *entresol* of a modern French house—in addition. The banquet-hall usually ran the entire height of the house; the chapel was very often placed on the second story. The ground-floor always lodged the soldiers of the garrison; the middle-floor the family; the top-floor the attendants and servants. Every bedchamber of any person of note had its accompanying private sitting-room, often an antechamber beyond, and sometimes a little oratory.

¹ It is remarkable that Katherine Swynford kept up a distinct establishment, as if she were one of the royal ladies. She had her own seneschal and chamberlain, and at least three ladies of honour, of whom two are described as damsels of the chamber.

In the antechamber a servant waited within hearing of the master's voice, for bells were a mystery of the future, except in the form of a little handbell occasionally used by ladies. The hall was the public sitting-room, the dining-room, and the ball-room. There was also in every castle a council-chamber, often an upper room, smaller than the hall, but much larger than the bedchambers. Our ancestors squeezed even their princes into very small spaces for the night.

Beyond the large courtyard where the garrison were paraded, there was usually a smaller court, known as the base-court; the towers in which ladies or royalty resided, opened upon this inner court. Ladies usually took exercise upon the leads of their towers, except when they formed part of a large company gathered for hunting or hawking.

The floors of the hall and sitting-rooms were spread with rushes in summer, with carpets in winter; a sick-chamber also was generally carpeted. The process of removing the carpet for the rushes was known as "rush-bearing"; that of replacing the latter by the former bore the suggestive name of "sweetening." When a dance was desired, some one shouted "A hall! a hall!" and varlets entered, who swept the rushes on one side, thereby evoking sights and scents which were scarcely those of a perfumer's shop.

Glass windows were common enough at this date in noble houses; and they were very often of stained glass. The fireplace was a large sloping projection from the chimney, and the hearth a mere paving of stone below, upon which the logs of wood were thrown.

The furniture of the hall consisted of curule chairs, surmounted by cushions, for royalty alone, and stools, settles, or forms for the use of less distinguished persons. Tables were set up when wanted; for they existed only in the shape of trestles and boards, and were carried away after a meal was over. To "set" a table is a term derived from this custom, and in like manner we still speak of "a hospitable board." The sitting-rooms were provided, like the hall, with forms and a few chairs. The bedrooms contained a bed of the tent or French form, with a pallet or trundle-bed in addition; a large chest at the foot of the bed, called a standard, wherein the owner kept such garments as were in constant use, and a lesser one termed a coffer, which held any small articles that he might wish to keep under his own eye, such as jewellery; a few forms or stools; and a mirror fixed to the wall, and too high up to give much encouragement to vanity. In the fireplace would be a fire-fork, or two-pronged poker. Cupboards were very frequent, and the deep recess of the window was usually cushioned as a seat, and sometimes formed a box. There were no washstands,

a silver basin and ewer being brought every morning and set upon the chest for use ; and wardrobes were always kept in a room or rooms devoted to themselves.

The walls at this date were in a transition state. The old practice of painting them was out of date, and the new one of papering them had not arrived ; and they were now left in a state of rough whitewash or panelled wood, and covered by tapestry hangings attached to hooks fixed in the wall. A set of these hangings was termed a "hall." John of Gaunt has left on record in his will, that he possessed a hall of cloth of gold ; and in his Register he mentions a hall striped with white and blue, which probably belonged to his bedchamber, since he had a bed to match. Several beds are bequeathed in his will. To the high altar of St. Paul's Cathedral he left his "great bed of cloth of gold, the field powdered with golden roses upon staves of gold, and in every stave two white ostrich plumes ; the curtains of taffeta of similar work, thirteen carpets (pieces of tapestry) woven to match." (This is the best sense that can be made of a confessedly difficult passage.) To his wife, Katherine Swynford, he left his bed of cloth of gold, with all appurtenances, "of which the ground is red, fretted with black lattice-work, and in every place where the fret is joined [is] a golden rose, in every one mascle of the fret a black M, in every other mascle a black leopard ;" which doubtless means alternate letters and leopards in the openings of the lattice-work. This bed was bought from his cousin Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk. He also bequeaths to his wife, "my great bed of black velvet, embroidered with a circle of fetterlocks and garters, and a turtle-dove in the midst of the circle, with all the carpets and tapestry and cushions belonging to the said bed or chambers ; and to her I devise all my other beds made for my body, called in English trussing (dressing) beds, with the carpets and other appurtenances." The trussing-bed, however, was not properly a bed, but was the ancestor of the modern sofa. Beside these, he left to her "twelve cloths of gold, of which the field [is] red satin rayed (striped) with gold, which cloth I had ordered to make a bed which is not yet begun." To his son he bequeathed a "great bed of camaca (a variety of silk), checked white and red, embroidered with a golden tree, and a turtle-dove sitting on the tree, with fourteen carpets of tapestry ; and to him my great bed of cloth of gold, the field piers (an unknown word) wrought with golden trees, and by every tree a white dog tied to the said tree." To his daughter Elizabeth he devised "my white bed of silk wrought with blue eagles displayed, the curtains of white silk" to match, with fourteen pieces of tapestry.

The sacking bedstead was the kind now used. Upon the

sacking was placed a mattress, and over it a feather-bed—it was matter of etiquette that a nobleman should sleep on a bed; only common people lay on a mattress—the blankets were of fustian, the sheets of linen from Rennes, Champagne, or Flanders; the quilt would be of velvet, satin, tapestry, or fur, and if of velvet or satin, would be beautifully embroidered. Of pillows there were sure to be plenty, both large and small, and always of the softest down. In the pallet-bed, which ran on castors, and was pushed under the large one in the day-time, would sleep the squire of the body on duty, or in the case of the Duchess, a damsel of the chamber.

Let us next inquire into the finances of these illustrious people. Duke John of Lancaster was the wealthiest subject in the realm, but to state his yearly income might puzzle the most diligent student of his papers. He has, however, told us what, to use a modern term, was his banker's balance in 1392; in other words, what sum his treasury at Leicester contained. "Of florins of Florence and dokettes (ducats) of Jeen (Genoa), in two parcels, there remains in the treasury of my Lord, Leicester, 2,739 florins and dokettes; of doubloons of Castile, there remains in the treasury of my Lord, 12,189; of florens of Aragon, £1,169 7s. 3d." After 1389, when he and his wife resigned their claims on the crown of Castile, they received from the *de facto* King of that country a pension of 40,000 francs per annum for their joint lives, to be continued to whoever of them might be the survivor. The second payment of this money, which was made in gold, required forty-seven mules for the carriage of the chests containing it. From the Duke's Register and computuses we gather the following items. For his personal expenses he assigned 1,000 marks per annum (£666 13s. 4d.), which must be multiplied by about eighteen to reach its value in the present day; to his Duchess he allowed £500 a year in 1372, increased in 1392 to 1,000 marks; to his son, 250 marks; and to each of his daughters, Philippa and Elizabeth, £100. The same allowance is made to Lady Mohun for Katherine, "for wardrobe, chamber, and all other expenses, and for bouche of court." This last item signifies, for such board as was suitable to her rank: for, as we shall further see, rank entered into everything. In 1392 the allowance of Sir John Beaufort was £100 per annum; of Sir Thomas Swynford, £40; while poor Lord Ferrers had to content himself with £5. The salaries and wages paid to the household ran as follows: Dean of Segovia, 1s. 3d. per day; governor of the Earl of Derby, £13 6s. 4d. per annum; chantry priests, singing mass for the deceased Duchess Blanche, from £5 to £10 per annum; wardrobe-keeper, £2 13s. 4d. per annum; knight, 1s. 8d. a day; esquire-soldier, £2 10s. per annum; dispenser, £2 per annum;

clerk (priest), £1 10s. per annum; damsels, from £1 to £11 3s. 4d. per annum, the Spanish damsels receiving also, for *chaussure*, £3 6s. 8d.; tailor, 1½d. to 4d. a day; furrier, 4d. a day; varlet of the chamber, £1 6s. 8d. per annum; page of the chamber, 6s. 8d.; palfrey-keeper, 13s. 4d.; sumpter-man and kitchen knave, each 6s. 8d., all per annum.

The close of the fourteenth century was beyond others the era of magnificent apparel; and, strange to say, the gentlemen were far more superb than the ladies. With the exception of head-dresses, female costume may be said to have been in a very reasonable mood at this time; but surely never did men make such objects of themselves as during the period between 1360 and 1420. They wore long gowns which trailed about the feet, even when on horseback, occasionally varying them with short tunics, some of which barely reached the hips. Their sleeves were of enormous width, often turned back to show the lining, and cut into the form of leaves at the edge. Their boots had points which must have preceded the wearer into the room by more than a fourth part of his height. Their hats were sometimes little round wideawakes, at other times enormous erections more nearly resembling the Guards' bear-skins than any other modern head-covering. This last form was known as the "copped hat," and came into use first about this time.

There are several portraits of John of Gaunt in illuminated MSS. The "Golden Book" of St. Albans represents him as kneeling at a desk, dressed in a white robe with a red pattern, red sleeves, and a gold collar. He wears a blue fillet adorned with gold bezants. The exquisite miniature in the "Portuguese Drawings" shows him in golden armour, with a blue tunic, bordered with pearls and edged with gold. All his English portraits represent him as a tall, spare man, with extremely light hair and forked beard. His son Henry IV. was very unlike him in every respect but height; he was of magnificent proportions, and handsomer than his father, with a fair complexion, but dark eyes, and hair only one remove from black. The Duchess Constance appears to have been tall, and of fair complexion for a Spanish lady. The Lady Philippa—if we may trust the "Portuguese Drawings," which is less certain than might be wished—was fair, with golden-brown hair, and of much smaller build than her father and brother. Her sister Elizabeth was considered one of the beauties of her century, and the best singer and dancer at court; but Philippa possessed a human heart, and Elizabeth did not. Katherine resembled her father in complexion, but differed from him in growing very corpulent during the latter part of her life.

We are told that the Duke possessed a coat of state, which

was so closely encrusted with jewels that before Jack Straw's rioters could divide the spoil, it was necessary to hack it in pieces with their swords; but this item of information comes from enemies who were anxious to discredit him in every way they could, and cannot, therefore, be received without hesitation.

He has told us very little about his wardrobe in his private papers. All that can be added from this source is that he possessed a gold collar, a gold girdle, two gowns of foreign baldekyn "*escroitz*"—which probably means woven, or embroidered with, little crosses—striped with blue and white silk; one of red baldekyn of gold of Cyprus; another gold girdle, "with letters of J and divers bars and mottoes." He bequeathed to his Duchess "my best collar with all the diamonds; my best hart with the good ruby; my two best ermine mantles, with the robes to match." The hart was doubtless the King's badge of the White Hart, which we usually find to have been made of gold and white enamel. The Duke's own badges were a golden antelope, a white greyhound, and an ermine ostrich feather with a golden quill. The wild boar, which he bestows in the form of buttons, may also have been one of his cognizances; but the fox's tail, and yet more the red rose, were probably adopted as badges of the House of Lancaster at a later date.

Of the costume of the Duchess we know even less than of the Duke. Her splendid figure in the "Portuguese Drawings" presents her in a dress of crimson velvet, edged with ermine, and a black border above; tight orange under-sleeves with black arabesque pattern, and ermine cuffs. The under-gown is a bright blue with a *chiné* pattern, and a black border. She wears the Syrian, or steeple cap, of crimson velvet embroidered in gold; a fret, or network of gold and pearls, confines her hair; and behind floats a yellow scarf. This figure has been engraved in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages;" but the colours of the original are brighter, and the face younger and lovelier, than in the copy. The Register records but one gift from the Duke to his wife of anything but jewellery and plate. He orders the delivery of 183 large pearls, and 346 of undefined size, for a fret for her; and he bestows on her, chiefly as New Year's gifts, a circle and a buttoner (button-hook), both of gold and perry (goldsmith's work); 1,808 pearls of the largest sort, object not stated; a round barrel, garnished with gold and perry, to contain relics; a gold nouche (button, stud, or brooch), and a collar with balas (rose ruby), sapphires, diamonds, and pearls; 400 pearls, and sixty of the largest pearls—the Duke deals lavishly in these gems; a gold button (doubtless a solitaire), "in the shape of a wild boar, of gold and perry; an eagle

of gold enamelled white, and a baldekyn of, double silk ;" four "buttons of wild boars," of gold and perry ; a nouche of two rows of gold and perry, with a balas ruby. The only entry concerning her wardrobe proper, is an order to deliver to Aline Gerberge, one of the damsels of her chamber, "all manner of things necessary and needful for the attire of the head of our beloved companion ;" and to William de Stanes, "all cloths and furs and all other things belonging to the body of our beloved companion aforesaid."

Concerning the younger members of the family, rather fuller information can be given. For the Earl of Derby, "against the coronation of the Queen," were provided "one long tabard of blue damask, of the gift of the Lady Duchess, and one long gown of Cyprus and one slop of the same, of the gift of my Lord of Lancaster, and one short gown of [cloth of] gold, of the gift of my Lord Duke, and one slop of [cloth of] gold of Damascus, and one paltok of satin powdered with golden leopards, and one paltok of white and blue silk—all of the gift of my Lord of Lancaster."

A tabard and a slop were both short tunics, the former very loose ; antiquaries differ as to whether the paltok were a cloak or a tunic. Let us hope that the Cyprus was well lined, for it is crape, and seems but an airy material for winter garments, the coronation having taken place on the 14th of January. Damask was a very rich silk, only inferior to baldekyn. The furriers were next summoned to exercise their craft upon these garments : and we read that they furred "one short slop of red damask, of the gift of my Lady of Lancaster ; one long gown and one short one, of [cloth of] gold of Cyprus," which were presents from the Duke ; one tabard of blue damask, the gift of the Duchess, was furred with *new gris* (marten's fur), which suggests the idea that old fur was thought good enough for the rest. But Earl Henry of Derby, at any rate in his youth, was a very stingy man, as nobody can doubt who reads his *comptuses*. Whence he derived this quality of mind is not easy to judge, but assuredly it was not from his father. He pays, during this same year, 1382, 1s. for "scouring ermines," and lays in eight pairs of spurs for his own use. His stepmother makes him a further present of a long blue and white gown, a royal robe, a short gown of scarlet, and a short slop of red damask, all of which he has furred. These articles were provided for him when a boy of fifteen. Ten years later, in 1391-92, we find him in receipt of the following : One baldekyn of gold of Cyprus ; four ditto "of the gift of the Lady Duchess of Aquitaine, namely, two wrought with golden lions, and one wrought with crowns of gold of Cyprus ;" two ditto, "the

ground *blodio*" (blue or blood-colour), "of the gift of the Duke of Aquitaine, my Lord's father."¹

Prices of materials and garments ran as follows:—Baldekyn, by the piece, from £2 13s. to £4; baldekyn of Cyprus, which appears to have been a superior kind, £4 to £8; satin, about 4s. 6d. per yard; linen 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. per ell. Eighteen gowns, given to eighteen poor women on Maundy Thursday by Lady Derby, cost only 7s. 6d. Boots were 8d. a pair; low slippers, 6d.

The Lady Elizabeth having reached the mature age of about sixteen—decidedly a mature age for matrimony at a time when brides were not unfrequently from four to twelve years old—was married to John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, at Kenilworth, in the spring of 1380. But alas! her father is not sufficiently considerate to tell us what she wore. He only informs us that he paid £13 13s. 4d. to Hermann Goldsmith for her wedding-ring, and that it was set with a ruby; that her offering at the mass was 6s. 8d.; and that he gave £10 to the officiating heralds, and £13 6s. 8d. to the minstrels who "made minstrelsy." A year later, in March, 1381, he pays 8 marks for the wedding-ring of Mary Bohun (the bride of his son Henry), only eleven years of age; this was also set with a ruby. The making of this ring, and of another ring with a diamond, cost £1 8s. 8d.

Some details concerning the bridal attire of these young ladies may be assumed with certainty. Each of them would wear a circle or fillet, with no other head-dress, and the hair would flow downwards from it, unrestrained by plait or curl. The dress would be cut low on the neck, quite irrespective of the season; but the arms would be covered with tight sleeves to the wrist, possibly finished by a cuff of fur or gold embroidery. The dress would have no frill or other finish at the neck, but the cote-hardie might be worn over it—a fur jacket

¹ For the young Princesses we find provided the following: "Ten buttons of gold and of perry, bought of John Pallyng," for Philippa, and the same for Elizabeth; "to our dearest daughter, Dame Philippe, a fillet made of three balases received from Sir Johan Cheyne, and of 28 pearls received from Sir Johan de Bathe; to our other daughter, Dame Elizabeth, one fillet" similarly described, 1373. For three baldekyns of gold of Cyprus, bought for Philippa, Elizabeth, and Katherine, for Christmas, 1379, the Duke pays £20; and for three ditto, "the ground blue, given to Philippa and Elizabeth, and a knight of *Duchelonde*, £21. To Hermann Goldsmith, jeweller, of London, 21s. 7d. is paid for making two bottles and a turret (? *torrell*) of gold, made by him into a collar for Philippa; 6s. 8d. for making a silver hart, and a golden terrage, into a nouché for her; and 29s. 11d. for making eight new bars of silver gilt into two old girdles of silver for Philippa and Elizabeth." The scribe must surely have exchanged his adjectives.

without sleeves. As to the bridegroom, he would probably wear the long robe, of velvet, cloth of gold, or baldekyn, with white frills at neck and wrists, or perhaps at the neck only, made of rich lace; his heavily-plumed hat would be carried in his hand, and his boots would be a marvel of absurdity, requiring the toes to be well turned out before he could clasp the bride's hand. Both would be almost sure to wear a girdle, not round the waist, but close to the hips; and girdles at this date were so rich as to be rather articles of jewellery than of clothing. The favourite colours for both sexes seem to have been blue, red, pink, slate, and a very bright, light shade of apple-green. White and black are also much used. The patterns are mostly *fleurs-de-lis*, crosses, rings, rambling arabesques, or horizontal stripes; flowers and perpendicular stripes are less common. Violet and yellow are colours rarely seen. Any mixture of colours in the same garment was known as "motley." Taste would appear to have been somewhat at a discount in the matter of colour, for we find blue and apple-green, slate-colour and lilac, red, pink, and claret in the same costume.

The family of Duke John of Lancaster were highly educated for their day. He and all his children could read and write; autographs of Henry, Philippa, and Katherine are still extant. The education of gentlemen and ladies alike comprised music and dancing, hawking, heraldry, and etiquette, to which the gentlemen added military tactics and state-craft, the ladies cooking, distilling, carving, surgery, and needlework. Earl Henry of Derby went beyond this, for he was sent into Italy at the age of twenty-five to learn Italian. French was a matter of course, for only about 1370 did the English nobles begin to use their own tongue in ordinary intercourse. Both sexes had to be adepts in waiting at table when young. As to manners, the youth of the nobility were taught to speak low, and not until they were addressed by their elders; not to sit in the presence of their parents; and not to speak without the name of the person addressed. Boys were instructed never to wear a hat when a lady was of the party, not to feed dogs or cats at table, and in every way to yield precedence to a woman of their own rank or superior to it; but they were not desired to refrain from either drunkenness or profanity. Girls were taught not to bite their bread, nor put knives in their mouths, and were desired to brush their teeth every morning, and not to use the tablecloth in lieu of a pocket-handkerchief; they were also to drink their wine mixed with water. But neither were they warned to refrain from swearing, the only restriction upon which was that certain oaths were considered proper for ladies, and others were to be left to the gentlemen.

Of books for children and youths there were none but works on etiquette and school-books. There was plenty of poetry and fiction, but little of it was fit to read; there were didactic and devotional books, and lives of the saints in profusion. Some of these last were little more respectable than the other fictitious works. Latin Psalters and even French Bibles were not uncommon among the higher classes; and after 1382 there were English Bibles. We may be sure that the Bible was not unknown in the Savoy Palace, for the Duke, Lady Swynford, and Walter Disse were professed Lollards, though little sway were their opinions permitted to have over the actions of two out of the three. The Princess Katherine's governess, Lady Mohun, and Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, both prominent Lollards of a truer type, were in the Duke's household; and Wycliffe himself was a personal friend. But on the other hand, the Duchess Constance and Earl Henry of Derby were determined enemies of the "new doctrine." The former, indeed, was not without excuse; for the side of Lollardism displayed to her was anything but a pious one. The mention of Chaucer induces me to add that in the Duke's Register the poet's name is usually spelt Chaucy. There is an interesting entry, under date of 1381, which would be more so if we were told the exact relationship, of the "expenses of Elizabeth Chaucy, at the time that the said Elizabeth was made nun in the Abbey of Barking." If she were Chaucer's daughter, as seems probable, she may have been in 1381 a girl of about fifteen years of age.

At this period, the chief meals of the day were two in number, dinner and supper, with three more which might or might not be usual in any household. These were breakfast—rarely taken by men unless aged or invalids; the void—a light meal of sweet wines, cakes, and spices, in the early afternoon, and generally restricted to the higher classes; and the rear-supper, a lighter edition of supper taken later in the evening. The usual hour for dinner was ten, and for supper four o'clock; and these were the customary hours for centuries. Our ancestors at this time rose about five, and were in bed by eight, or nine at the latest; so that midnight was to them really the middle of the night.

All ranks of persons in a household dined and supped together in the hall; the family on the dais, at a table which ran across, and was called the high table; here the guests also were seated. The servants and retainers sat at one or more tables which ran lengthwise, at right angles to the high table, in the lower part of the hall. Forms, not chairs, were the seats; and the table, being made of boards laid on trestles for the occasion, was much narrower than ours, so that the waiters

could stand and hand the dishes across from the further side. The seat of honour was in the middle of the high table, facing the hall. At the table of the sovereign, every sewer (waiter) tasted the dish which he brought in, the officer of assay dipping a piece of bread in the gravy, which the waiter ate. This was done as a precaution against poison. Nobles always used gold or silver plate; it was thought very mean to eat in earthenware.

It was usual, during the former half of the Middle Ages, which ended about this time, for husband and wife to share one plate, and for a friend to offer a share of his plate was a special honour. Every person was provided with knife and spoon, but each had to help himself to the dishes with his own.

By no means an idle ceremony was that bowl of rosewater which was carried round before and after the meal for the guests to wash; and to offer the bowl in wrong order of precedence was an affront of the deepest dye. For a subject, uninvited, to wash in the bowl brought for royalty was also a most arrogant and impudent proceeding. With this exception, neither bowl nor towel was changed as it passed round the table.

In smaller, such as knightly houses, where only one table was set, the large silver salt-cellar was the divider of rank. The family and visitors sat above it; the servants below.

Extremely little information on this head can be gleaned from the Duchy of Lancaster papers. The Duke bestows sundry tuns of wine on various persons; he orders a tun of wine which was laid in at Kenilworth to be sent to his wife at Hertford "with as much haste as you can," because she "has great need of wine at this present," 1372; he sends four does from Melbourne Park to the officers of his daughter Katherine, 1375; he pays £2 13s. 4d. to Clement Lavender, fishmonger of London, for an erection in the Savoy Palace, "to keep the fishes in," 1376; he pays on account £80, "for our purveyance of salt fish and herring at Blakenby and Yarmouth," which supply he orders to be sent to Snayth, 1381; he provides a tun of Gascon wine and a vat of Rhine wine for the marriage of his son; he pardons William his "*charioter*" for "breaking and losing" two tuns of Gascon wine on the road from Knaresborough to Pomfret; and he tells us that he sustained the loss of eighteen tuns, one pipe, and three-quarters "of divers wine destroyed and lost in our manor of the Savoy, by the rebellious commons in the time of the great tumult (*i.e.*, the Wat Tyler riots), and one tun and one pipe and a quarter destroyed in our castle of Herts at the same time, and by the same rebellious commons." These are in 1382. In 1383 he issues an order to "catch salmons." For one vat of Rhine wine, in 1392, he

pays £3 13s. 4d.; its carriage to Lincoln, apparently from London, costs £2 6s. Earl Henry of Derby gives a "lagen" of Romeneye wine to his sister Philippa, it would seem as a birthday present, in 1382; and in 1394 he sends from London to his wife at Hertford, "*ostre, musculis, et sprottes*."

In the absence of further information, the gap may be filled up by the *menu* of a dinner at which John of Gaunt was one of the guests, given by the Bishop of Durham in 1397.

The first course.—Venesone, with ffurmenty; a potage called viaund-bruse; hedes of bores; grete flessch; swannes rosted; pigges rosted; crustade lumbard in paste; and a sotelte.

The second course.—A potage called gele (jelly); a potage de blande-sore; pigges rosted; cranes rosted; ffesauntes rosted; herons rosted; chekenes endored (larded); breme (a variety of pork); tartes; broke braune; conynggs (rabbits) rosted; and a sotelte.

The third course.—Potage bruete of almondes; lewde lumbarde; venysone rosted; chekenes rosted; rabettes rosted; partrich rosted; peions (peacocks) rosted; quailles rosted; larkes rosted; payne puff; a dish of gely; longe frutos; and a sotelte.

It will be noted that the courses do not consist of various dishes as now, but that each is a dinner in itself, and that the sweet dishes are very few as compared with the meat. Some names cannot be translated, but "long fruits" were a kind of pancake. The "sotelte," with which every course concludes, was a fanciful ornament, which might or might not be of edible materials, such as a castle, a dragon, or a knight.

Two or three points are specially to be noted in old cookery receipts—their extreme vagueness; they direct you to "take milk," or "take hares," without a hint of quantity; their horrible mixtures—they mix cheese and honey, pork, almonds, and ginger, ale, vinegar, and wine; their excessively indigestible compounds—there is a dish termed mammenye, "after which the"—doctor; and the odd way in which whole fowls and beasts are only "for a lord," and must be cut in pieces for the eating of the commonalty.

The mention of the doctor brings him naturally on the scene, and his presence was likely to be wanted after a mediæval dinner-party. In the fourteenth century the ladies in noble families had well-nigh ceased to be the doctresses of their households, but the era of medical men as a separate order had scarcely come in. At this date all physicians were priests, and all barbers were surgeons. Illustrious houses kept one of each attached to the family. Prescriptions were about as curious as receipts. Medical herbs were in much use, and many of them probably did good service; but what benefit could be derived from pounded pearls, potable gold, live woodlice, viper broth, and many equally palatable-sounding compounds? Much superstition was mixed with the practice of physic; not

only were herbs to be gathered with reference to the ascendancy of different planets, and medicine taken on days determined by the position of the signs of the Zodiac, but amulets were worn round the neck, and a hair of the beard of some saint was accounted a panacea for all imaginable diseases.

Carriages were at this date of two kinds—the litter and the whirlecote, the former being used mainly by ladies or invalids. For ordinary land-travelling, the general mode of progress was on horseback. The Duke purchased two horses for his own use during 1375-6; a courser, which cost £20, and a black trotter, for which he gave £12. A whirlecote was provided to convey the Duchess to the funeral of the Black Prince, new harness for which cost £8; it was drawn by six horses. A dun palfrey for the Duchess was bought at £10; and one for the Princess Philippa at £7. Saddles were very splendid and costly articles. The Duke gave £33 6s. 8d. in 1376 for saddles for the young Princesses and their governesses; and twenty marks in 1382 for another for the Princess Elizabeth, of velvet embroidered with gold. As to the costs of travelling, we find his daughter-in-law, Mary Countess of Derby, sending a man and three horses from Kenilworth to Ely at a cost of 4s. 3d.; and a man and horse from Kenilworth to Pleshy, in Essex, three days' journey, for 2s. Her own progress down the river from Fleet Street to St. Katherine, by the Tower, costs her 4s. From Coventry to London, a journey of five days, is 1s. 8d. The Duke pays 3s. 4d. to a strange bargeman who rowed him from Lambeth to the Savoy. For a new barge, built at Mortlake, he gives £13 6s. 8d.

Travelling by water was a very slow process. Nine months were once consumed by John of Gaunt in the Channel, in a fruitless endeavour to land at Calais. He allowed for travelling expenses 6s. 8d. per day to his chancellor, and 1s. 8d. to his seneschal. His own allowance from his father, when employed on embassies, was £5 per day, beside expenses.

It may be interesting to add a few miscellaneous items of expenditure. Masses for the dead were 1d. each; a missal cost about six guineas. The writing of a roll is on one occasion charged 12s., and on another £1 0s. 8d. Oblations (which in mediæval computuses always signify gifts to the Church, as distinguished from the poor, and may consist of every imaginable thing beside money) range from the stingy 2d. of miserly Henry of Bolingbroke, to the regal £1 8s. 8d. of his father in 1379, at the obit of Sir John Arundel "and other bachelors, to God commanded by tempest in the sea." A chalice for his chantry chapel, built over the grave of his wife Blanche in St. Paul's Cathedral, costs the Duke £3 5s. 8d.; and the making of a new altar £5 0s. 8d. For the tomb he gave

the magnificent price of £486. Twenty-three loads of hay cost £5 15s. ; and 427 lbs. of wax are worth £11 0s. 6½d. For a falcon the Duke pays £3 to £8 ; and for a "trumpet for a hackney" £1 15s. 2d. A bed of blue worsted, bought by the Countess of Derby, cost £2 in 1388 ; a coffer for jewels, 50s. ; and a standard or large chest for garments, 30s. Jewellery and plate form superb and costly items. About the highest-priced articles are an engraved gold pint-pot, "graven with crowns and written with a reason" (motto), £28 19s. 9d. ; and "twelve gold buttons, round, in the form of a garter, written with a reason, and wrought with lilies and little bells," £55 15s. 7d. One hundred hanaps, or large cups, of gold and silver, were given by the Duke between 1371 and 1383. New Years' gifts, which were mostly of plate or jewellery, were a very heavy tax upon a mediæval Prince. For this item only the Duke paid in 1380, £155 ; in 1381, £194 ; and in a previous year undefined, £396.

The average duration of human life was far shorter in the fourteenth century than now. Men and women were considered, and conducted themselves, as grown up at an age when we scarcely expect them to have lost all their interest in playthings. Fifty was old age ; and a man who passed sixty was regarded much as we now look upon one of ninety and upwards. "Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," never saw his sixtieth birthday. Yet he lived too long for his own comfort ; lived to see his son an exiled traitor—of how black a dye few now realize ; his daughters married, all but one in foreign lands ; and nearly all his friends estranged. And then he seems to have thought it time to make his peace with God. But instead of taking hold of His strength, he leaned on the broken rush of his own doings. The friend of John Wycliffe might have known better. No stronger proof can be afforded of the fact that the Lollardism of the Duke of Lancaster was of a merely worldly and political type than the opening words of that last will, wherein the old man, conscious of his unreadiness to meet God, pitifully orders to burn around his bier "ten large tapers, in the name of the ten commandments of our Lord God, against which I have too evilly trespassed, supplicating the same our Lord God that this my devotion may be an expiation for me of all that against the ten commandments I have very often and too evilly done and forfeited : and beyond these ten, shall be set seven large tapers in memory of the seven works of charity, of which I have been negligent, and of the seven mortal sins : and beyond these seven, I will that there be set five large tapers in honour of the five principal wounds of our Lord Jesus, and for my five senses which I have most negligently expended, for which I pray God

for mercy; and notwithstanding these tapers, I will that there be three tapers in honour of the blessed Trinity, to whom I surrender myself for all the evils which I have done, praying for pardon and for mercy, for the mercy and pity which of His benign grace He has done for the salvation of me and other sinners."

The last few words sound more like a trace of Lollard teaching. So he died, commending his soul to God, "and to His very sweet mother Saint Mary, and to the joy of Heaven;" and there were trentals and obits and masses sung at the chantry altar, and a superb hearse in St. Paul's, which stood down to the time of the Great Fire; and the princely life was over than which never was seen one with more splendid opportunities of serving God and man. They were all thrown away. Yet, if we inquire what was this man's special sin, beyond that alienation of the heart from God which is the sin of all men, it will be found that his life was rendered vain and worthless, less by any deliberate wickedness or unparalleled temptations than by the moral indolence of a paralyzed will. Neither physical inertia nor mental inactivity was among his failings. Nay, compared with most men of his day, he was better rather than worse, for he had the grace to be ashamed of sins of which few men in his time ever thought of being ashamed, and to vow amendment. But when it came to the point, he could not prevail upon himself to give them up.

Those who have drawn their impressions of the character of this Prince from his private papers, and not from the charges brought against him by his enemies—some of whom were of his own household, and the worst of all was his own son—are likely to be of opinion that the favourite accusations brought against him—that of unbridled ambition, and that of dissolute life—are, the one completely disproved, and the other decidedly minimized. But the saddest charge of all is left untouched—that he knew his Lord's will, and did it not.

EMILY S. HOLT.



ART. IV.—"THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES."

WE have received the following letter from the Reverend Professor Swainson, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge:

Many of your readers will remember the excitement produced in England and on the Continent, about eight years ago, by the arrival of a volume, printed at Constantinople, containing a complete copy of the "Epistles"

of Clemens Romanus, of which up to that time we had only an imperfect edition, the only authority being the mutilated Codex Alexandrinus, which is now in the library of the British Museum. Philotheus Bryennius, Metropolitan of Serræ, had discovered this copy in a manuscript now at Constantinople; the MS. really belonging to the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The document immediately following the letter of Clement was entitled Ἡ διδασχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων: and now, after seven or eight years of careful preparation, Bryennius (who has been promoted from Serræ to Nicomedia) has given the work to the public. There can be little doubt that this "Teaching of the Apostles" is mentioned by early Christian writers, and that it dates from a time before the year 160.

Speaking roughly, it is divided into two parts: the first part containing a "teaching" concerning the "Two Ways, the way of life and the way of death." The second part has short but important memoranda of the office of baptism, of fastings, and of the Eucharist; together with instructive and interesting advice as to the discerning of true missionary teachers of the Gospel—who are called Apostles—and of the duty of the Christian to these and other ministers. The first portion (that concerned with the "Two Ways") is found in modified forms both in the later chapters of the "Epistle of Barnabas," and in the so-called "Judicium Petri." I have not had time to examine this carefully. I have been chiefly interested in noting the germs of the services for the Eucharist and the descriptions of the preachers of the Gospel; and most important of all in every respect is it to compare this document of the *early second century*, with a recension of it, which is attributed to the *fourth century*, in the seventh book of the so-called "Apostolical Constitutions." The change is marvellous. In "The Teaching of the Apostles," we read only of prophets and teachers, apostles, bishops, and deacons. In the later recension we read of bishop and presbyter and of ἱερεῖς. In the one, the prophet is to be allowed to "give thanks" at such length as he may think fit. This is altered in the other thus: "We allow the presbyter also to give thanks." In both we have a prayer over the bread to the effect that, "as this fragment was once scattered over the mountains [it means, of course, in several grains] and became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom." Words describing the consecrated elements as antitypes of the Body and Blood of our blessed Lord were added in the course of the next two centuries. So, again, the simple rite of baptism (in running water, if possible; but if that and cold water cannot be obtained, by pouring water on the head) is augmented in the later time by the use of oil before baptism, and of sweet unguent afterwards. These, however, are represented as not absolutely necessary.

No doubt, ere long the work will be edited in England; but I have thought that your readers will be glad to know, at an early opportunity, of the appearance and importance of the so-called "Teaching of the Apostles."

C. A. SWAINSON.

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 23.



ART. V.—THE CHURCH AND THE LONDON POOR.

The Bitter Cry of Outcast London. J. Clarke and Co.*The Harvest of the City.* John F. Shaw and Co.*The Church Quarterly Review.* January. Spottiswoode and Co.*The Quarterly Review.* January. J. Murray.*How the Poor Live.* G. R. SIMS.

NO one can wonder, and no one can regret, that a thrill of shame and sorrow should have passed throughout the whole body of the Christian Church in this country on account of the startling revelations recently made as to the condition in which multitudes of our fellow-citizens are compelled to live. No one can doubt that the problems which still await solution are sufficiently large and important to tax to the utmost the skill and the energy of the philanthropist and the statesman. We are sometimes inclined to think that even yet the conditions of the problem to be solved have not been fully appreciated and clearly recognised; otherwise people would not be so ready to expect that some one simple remedy could be found to meet the requirements of a complex and terrible disease. It is very easy to draw pictures of the condition of "Outcast London," and to trace the origin of every social disease to the insanitary dwellings of the poor; but it would be a grave mistake to place all our hopes for the future upon the working of a Royal Commission, or to stay all efforts at amelioration in the expectation that some new and sufficient remedy will be discovered.

In looking at the condition of the London poor, it ought to be remembered that the metropolis attracts to it the surplus and unemployed labour, not only of the agricultural districts, but also of smaller towns. London has to provide not merely for the natural increase of its population, but for an enormous immigration every year into its poorer districts. And not only so, but, by reason of its very size, it affords a convenient hiding-place for those who, for any reasons whatever, desire to withdraw themselves from the observation of those to whom they are known. It is easy to see that London is thus likely to receive an undue proportion of the least hopeful elements in the population. It is true of course that the enterprising and the ambitious will always find their way to the metropolis, because they still believe that its streets are paved with gold; but even these too often sink from sheer disappointment to despair into the ranks of the hopeless and helpless poor. And the pressure caused by this continual influx of population is felt most keenly in the districts which are already poorest and most overcrowded. Hence it is that houses and streets, once inhabited by well-to-do families, are given over to the occupa-

tion of those who can only afford a single room, in which every operation of life has to be carried on.

The marvellously rapid increase of the number of these one-roomed families is one of the most painful and most astonishing of the features of life in East London. We are speaking now of course, not of the utterly vicious and abandoned, but of the normal condition of thousands of the respectable amongst the working-classes. It is difficult for anyone to realize what this means. Let us try to set out one or two familiar scenes. A mechanic who in former years has been in good employment at the West End, through misfortune has become gradually reduced, and is no longer equal to the work which once he did. He occupies one miserable little room, in which he carries on his trade, and works when work is to be had. In the same small room his wife passes the long hours of the day upon a sick-bed, from which she will now never rise again. To the same room a grown-up son and daughter, together with a second girl twelve years of age, all come to sleep. Sickness under such circumstances must be hard indeed to bear; and how can it be expected that morality and virtue, to say nothing of religion, should abound under these conditions? Or, again, a respectable working-man, who has been blessed with nine children, occupies two tiny rooms. One of the children is taken ill, and of course is in constant contact with the other members of the family, all of whom are in attendance at a neighbouring Board-school. After a time, the illness turns out to be small-pox; but this makes no difference, the child continues to mix with the rest; and the rest go as usual to the Board-school, and no one appears to think it strange. Or again, in another family, living in a single room, a young man, after long illness, dies. In such cases, as we know, every effort is made by the poor to avoid the disgrace, as it is thought, of having a relation buried by the parish. As a rule, the undertaker provides the coffin, but will not conduct the funeral arrangements until a considerable portion of the expense is paid. At such times there is a large amount of liberality towards one another amongst the poor. But whilst friends are being canvassed and the necessary funds are being raised, the corpse is kept unburied in the same room in which all the surviving members of the family are living. The natural awe and reverence which the presence of death inspires must in such cases be driven away; and we have known ten and even twelve days to pass before the body was removed. It needs no words to paint and no imagination to fancy the condition of the family meanwhile. Or yet again, in another such room, a poor woman, with a family which already numbers six children, is

about to become a mother. The husband, disabled by illness, has had no work for weeks. It is already evening, and no one out of this family of eight has tasted even a piece of bread all day. Can we imagine the miserable position of the mother in her trial, herself almost fainting for want of food, and all her family around her in the like condition?

Can we wonder if those whose lot calls upon them to come into daily contact with experiences like these, amongst the respectable and the industrious, do feel the warmest sympathy with "the comfortless trouble of the needy and the deep sighing of the poor," and make their voices heard in loud and strong complaint? Alas for the poor children, brought up under privations such as these, compelled to go to school, as we have known again and again, without even a crust to break their fast with!

A good deal has been said, and truly said, with reference to the starvation-prices to which the payment for labour, and especially women's labour, has been reduced by the fierceness of the competition. Matchbox-making at 2½d. a gross, shirt-finishing at 1½d. a dozen, trousers-finishing at 2½d. or 3d. a pair. It would seem indeed as if it were impossible to carry on the awful struggle for bare life on such terms as these. How many hours must be spent in order to earn a single shilling! But even at these prices work is not easily obtained. Indeed it almost seems as if the worst-paid work were the most fluctuating. How many a weary tramp is made to shop or factory only to find that no work can be had, and that for another day the whole family must try to solve the awful experiment of sustaining life without the means of living. And be it remembered that, however poor and wretched may be the miserable room,¹ which is called a home, the rent-collector calls with unfailing regularity and his demand must be met. And so, one after another, all the little luxuries gathered in happier days find the way by degrees to the pawn-shop, until everything has disappeared, and the family, kept alive just at starvation-point, sinks down into a condition from which it seems as if there were no release or rescue but in the grave.

Whether the Royal Commission on the dwellings of the poor, which has commenced its work, will be able to suggest a remedy for difficulties like these we are unable to conjecture; but the most serious question which that Commission has to face is, not how to improve the dwellings of those classes who can afford to pay a rent sufficiently remunerative, but what is

¹ The rent of some of these room-homes (three shillings a week for a small room without any conveniences) makes a large hole in such earnings as these.

to be done for the still poorer classes, whose rent has to be paid at the expense of their stomachs, and who are utterly unable to provide themselves with any decent accommodation on a purely commercial basis. Everyone admits that it is contrary to public policy that a whole family, which includes sons and daughters approaching adolescence, should occupy the same room night and day; but how are matters to be arranged, what legislation can be adopted so as to enable such families to occupy two rooms when they can barely pay for one? If the Royal Commission can solve this problem, it will earn the gratitude of the whole nation.

But it will be asked, Is not this miserable condition of the poorer classes largely due to drunkenness and improvidence and immorality?—and no doubt this is perfectly true. Yet surely this is no reason why Christian people should relax their efforts to withhold their sympathy. If in spite of the influence of civilization and religion in this favoured country, and in this her greatest city, persons are compelled to live in circumstances such as we have described; if children are condemned to grow up, and, when grown up, to exist under these conditions, is it any wonder that drink and crime and immorality and improvidence abound? Is it fair to force people to live in circumstances in which religion and virtue are well-nigh impossible, and then to turn round upon them and say that their wretchedness is due to their sin?

Certainly, if we believe in the power of the Gospel to reform the character and to change the heart, we cannot argue thus; or if we do, at any rate, we dare not relax our efforts to discover and apply the remedy whilst we are investigating the causes which led to the disease. We do not indeed deprecate this inquiry and discussion and investigation, but we do feel the danger of adopting any such tone in the discussion as would tend to destroy zeal and to discourage effort. When the fire is raging fiercely and threatening the whole nation with devastation and ruin, it is hardly wise to waste time in discussing how it arose. In God's Name and for the sake of His people let us unite all efforts to put it out.

We believe that there is a danger to the State and to the Church, more urgent and more pressing than any which exists amongst the poor, and that is, the careless indifference of so many amongst the wealthy classes, who see and know the want, and, like the Priest and the Levite in our Lord's parable, pass by on the other side. If any words or any action can arouse the richer classes to realize their own personal responsibility, then at least some good result will have been achieved. It is very easy to sweep away the whole subject with the too obvious remark, which we so often hear, that in every com-

munity we must expect to find a residuum of the helpless, the vicious, and the abandoned. This may be true, yet not the less is Christian philanthropy bound to use every exertion to confine that inevitable residuum within the narrowest limits. If ever the time should arrive when the Church became indifferent to the cry of the outcast and the needs of the ungodly, then, indeed, the period of decay would have commenced, and we could only expect her speedy dissolution and destruction.

With reference to the condition of London, we feel that the statements which have been so widely spread require some qualification. We do not believe that the individual cases of poverty and immorality which have been painted, are in any way exaggerated. We do not think that it would be possible to exaggerate the evils which are found to exist in this metropolis; but it ought not to be supposed that isolated pictures of extreme cases will give a fair representation of the actual condition of the working-classes of the metropolis. Our long experience of these classes leads us to believe that an erroneous estimate has been formed in the public mind of their real condition, and that the whole of the East End is regarded as though it were absolutely given over to indifference, drunkenness, and immorality. Things are bad enough amongst us, we know, but, thank God, we are not altogether so black as we have been painted; and there is some comfort and consolation in the thought, that the condition of the poor is much better than it was. On this point we cannot do better than quote the words recently uttered by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who declared that "We whose experience and memories travel back forty or fifty years, know perfectly well that the condition then, as compared with the condition of things now, was infinitely worse." And again, speaking of the "Bitter Cry of Outcast London," he says, "that this expression is precisely the reverse of just. There is not in London a nook, a hole, a corner, or a door, however remote, that has not been examined, explored, and reported upon. We know all these evils, and we have endeavoured to provide the remedy. I maintain that the words ought to be 'Sought-out London,' and you would then have a far better expression."

In the "Report on the Welfare of Young Men," recently presented to the London Diocesan Conference, there is very striking and very valuable evidence as to the condition of London, given in a series of reports from the Superintendents of the various Divisions of Police. We have not space to quote at length, but these reports will well repay a careful perusal; and the general impression which they convey is that there is a considerable improvement throughout the metropolis, and

that this improvement is due in no small measure to the larger efforts which have been made in recent years, especially in the cause of temperance. To this general testimony we may add the experience of one of the Inspectors in the East End, who has been acquainted with its condition for many years past. This Inspector spoke to us in the strongest possible way of the improvement during the time for which he had known it, and unhesitatingly attributed the change to the work of Christian people, who had done so much to influence the poor.

Now, if all this testimony is true, it will easily be seen in what direction further and larger efforts are to be made. To quote the words of "The Harvest of the City," "Lost London wants living men and living women, who, in love to Christ and love to their fallen fellows, will brave the untold and unthought horror of uncleansed rooms and unwashed persons, to speak, in simple, straightforward language, words of warning and messages of mercy. The remedy lies in the daily and incessant house-to-house labours of the faithful missionary, and in the simple services held in little mission-rooms in the heart of the neighbourhoods in which misery abounds."

These words we heartily and thoroughly endorse. After all, it is personal influence—the influence of real Christian love and Christian sympathy—which tells. This is the pressing need of our time, and especially in the East End of London, where so many thousands are living in extreme poverty, almost shut out from the power of such influence. And we are the more urgent to insist upon this point, because of the danger we foresee lest all the interest which has been awakened throughout the country should evaporate in mere talk and discussion. There is so great a tendency in these days to trust to plans and committees and organizations, to the mere machinery of service, and to leave out of sight the absolute necessity of individual effort and personal service.

It cannot be too often or too plainly stated, that what we really want is not more machinery, but more workers. Pour into this stagnant pool of hopeless lives the living stream of active sympathy and warm-hearted benevolence, and the corrupted waters will be purified.

But surely, it will be thought, there can be no fear that this power will be wanting. Where interest is awakened, surely efforts will naturally follow. We wish that it were so; but, in spite of all that has been said and all that has been written upon this painful subject, during the past few months, we, who are living in the very heart of the masses of the people in East London, in charge of a parish containing a population of 22,000, are absolutely unconscious of any increased activity introduced amongst us as the result of this interest. No

doubt, there is a very general impression that visitors from the other parts of the metropolis are pouring in their money and their personal service for the help of the East End poor. If this were so, we could hardly be unconscious of the fact. We are indeed most thankful to acknowledge the valuable help which the poorest parts of London have received from a few noble-hearted men and women, who give most bountifully of that which we so sorely need. But we greatly fear that while fashionable London talks about us and discusses us, and finds grievous fault with those who have been toiling for years amongst the masses of the poor, the number of those who render the assistance which we need is a very small proportion of those who ought to be the first to help.

But perhaps it may be said that this lack of service is mainly due to the impression that the machinery of the Church has failed, and that the clergy of East London are incapable and inefficient. Where are the clergy? What has the Church been doing to mitigate the evil? These are the questions which many will ask. When a gigantic evil is discovered, there is a tendency, not perhaps altogether unnatural, to find some scapegoat on which to lay the blame. It must surely be on account of some distrust of the sufficiency of the Church of England to meet the need, that we find so general a tendency, even amongst Church people, to support only, or chiefly, those efforts which call themselves unsectarian and undenominational. It is notorious that some at least of these private and unauthorized adventures of an irregular and abnormal Christianity, are supported by the lavish expenditure of funds which might be far more wisely appropriated to strengthen the hands of the parochial clergy.

But it must be obvious that the clergy, provided at the rate of one to 4,500 of the population, could do very little towards meeting the gigantic needs, spiritual and temporal, of persons living in the condition we have attempted to describe. We wonder whether our readers have ever fully grasped the tremendous difficulty of the task assigned to the clergy of endeavouring to convey the message of the Gospel to the poor, without being provided with funds to meet in any way the pressure of temporal needs. It is hard work to preach to starving men and women of the tenderness of God's love. The scornful sarcasm of an Apostle teaches us that "if a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace: be ye warmed and filled, notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body," there is little good done. Our wonder is, not that the clergy have effected so little, but that by God's help they have been enabled to accomplish so much. And we

firmly believe that the true solution of the problem will be found not so much in the invention of new machinery, as in increasing the number of workers, and strengthening the hands of those who have been labouring in the cause for years.

Time and space would fail to tell of the means which have been adopted by the Church to increase the workers amongst the East End poor. But it would be ungracious and ungenerous to ignore the valuable help which has been afforded by the London Diocesan Home Mission, the Bishop of London's Fund, the Church Pastoral Aid Society, the Additional Curates Society, and the Scripture Readers' Association, as well as by the London City Mission in this cause. But, apart from and in addition to the work done by all these societies, we may direct special attention to the latest effort of the Church of England to overtake the spiritual needs which lie around us amongst the poor. The East End London Church Fund, which was started less than four years ago under the guidance of the Bishop of Bedford (whose appointment marks a new era in the progress of Church work in East London), was founded for the express purpose of increasing the supply of labourers in this important part of God's great harvest-field. At the present moment this Fund is pledged to an annual expenditure of £10,000, and has added 130 to the number of persons who are wholly devoted to the work of the Church amongst the poor. No doubt this is a noble contribution to the cause, and already the results are sufficiently apparent in the quickened zeal and energy thrown into the working of many an East End parish.

God grant that the conscience of the Church of England may be awakened to realize the magnitude and the value of the work which is entrusted to her, as the messenger of Christ, to "preach the Gospel to the poor"! Much has been done for which we have abundant cause to render our grateful thanks to Him Who moves the hearts of men. But much remains to be done; and if the work of Christ in the world is to be accomplished, we believe that it must be done by the full recognition of an individual and personal responsibility, on the part of those to whom God has given the privilege of being stewards for Him, of all that they have. When this result has been produced, when Christian men and women, moved by love to Christ, will give themselves to the work, and cease to put their trust in systems and committees and organizations, then, and then only, as we believe, "the wilderness and the solitary places of the Church shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

JOHN F. KITTO.



ART. VI.—OLD PRINCIPLES AND NEW METHODS IN THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S ASSOCIATIONS.

THE progress of God's Revelation and the history of the Church have been marked by continuity and variety. He Who gave the new commandment came not to destroy but to fulfil, and described the instructed Christian as "like unto a man that is a householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old" (Matt. xiii. 52). We adhere, therefore, staunchly to old principles, and reverence the warning of the prophet, "Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls" (Jer. vi. 16); but we hold that we have the highest authority, that of Jesus Christ Himself, for adopting new methods, if these can be shown to be likely to help on the good cause.

If we look back some fifty years, say to the year 1836, we shall see that the old principles have been faithfully interpreted by the Church Missionary Society, and that they are still powerful in the Church of England, for that Society has prospered and still takes the lead. In the year 1836, Charles Simeon died. His name appears as a Subscriber in the Society's First Report. The name of his friend and biographer, Canon Carus, is amongst the Life-Governors in last year's Report. It was also an important year for the three parties in the Church of England, since in the same year Richard Hurrell Froude died; J. H. Newman began his responsible connection with the *British Critic*, Pusey took his Doctor's degree, and Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. In 1836, also, Hugh Stowell appeared at the Church Missionary Anniversary. Now, if we compare the present condition of the Church Missionary Society with what it was then, we shall discover that the principles of Simeon and Venn and Cecil have been blessed to a remarkable degree. In the year 1835-36 the income of the Church Missionary Society was £147,129; in the year 1882-83, the income is £215,483. Further, let us add up the united incomes, for the year, of the three Evangelical societies already existing at the end of 1835, and measure them with those of the last financial year, viz., 1882-83. The three societies were the Jews; the Newfoundland, now merged in the Colonial and Continental; and the Church Missionary Societies. Here, then, are the figures. Their united incomes, in 1835-36, were £83,331; and in 1882-83, £295,864. Since then, too, what numberless other parallel organizations have sprung up in friendly competition: South American, Zenana, and the like. It might not have

been surprising had some of the older societies felt the sap drawn away from their roots. But through all the past there has been a steady and continuous advance along the whole line; nor is there a single great institution which has been founded by Evangelicals which has failed, or which is not more robust and flourishing to-day than ever. There are many cheering signs that the younger men are not forsaking the old anchorage, and particularly the young men now coming forward. The attitude of undergraduates towards missionary meetings is warmer now than when I remember it. The generation of Ritualistic youths is already beginning to pass, and a better race is pressing to the front.

Thus the old principles have stood the test; and there is no cause either to be in fear for them, or to adapt them in anyway to supposed modern requirements. Men often mistake principles for methods, and are tempted to desert principles, when all that may be needed is some more elastic adaptation of methods. The Church Missionary Society was in its day a startling innovator, and yet it was most Conservative, going back to the old foundations and recovering the old lines. The lay committee, the associations, the system of collectors, the meetings, were all dreadful innovations. This Society, in the words of Henry Venn, set the pattern of "public meetings to stir up a missionary spirit, association secretaries to advocate the cause, finance committees to regulate its accounts, a working capital to sustain the irregularities of its income" ("Knight's Compressed Life," p. 394).

To put it briefly, the Church Missionary Society was the first body in the Church of England to arouse the laity to a consciousness of their responsibilities, and to induce them to participate actively and largely in Church affairs. There is no useful department of modern Church life with whose origin the Society has not been connected. Contrast the few collections there were then in churches, the rare times a new preacher appeared in the pulpit; the small number of meetings except vestry-meetings that were held in a parish, with the army of deputations that cover the country now; the number of objects for which appeals are made in the course of a year; the lectures and meetings, and the multitudinous parochial associations that there are at present. It is amusing to turn to the first volume of the *Missionary Register*, issued in 1813, and to read the minute and elaborate instructions laid down for the formation of "associations" and of "unions of friends." There are added two pages of tables, written up to ten places like a ready-reckoner, to show what would be the result in each case if one person collected from four others and himself one shilling a week, or five shillings a month. Per-

sons were at that date unfamiliar with what is now the A B C of parochial ministries. An incident not mentioned in the Society's publications will illustrate what a novelty these things were. On December 1st, 1817, there was a meeting in the Bath Town Hall, with the Bishop of Gloucester in the chair. The Archdeacon of Bath, an estimable and popular man, presented himself to enter a protest against the proceedings. He had specially sent to London for a "short cassock to mark his official character." He was indignant that a society should "authorize persons to go about collecting pence and farthings from servants, schoolboys, and apprentices, in order that the collectors of one shilling a week or five shillings per month might be elevated into members of a Church of England Society, and moreover be tempted to the additional honour of voting at meetings and receiving copies of the annual report and sermon." Doubtless all this was hitherto unheard of and extremely revolutionary. In the *Register* for 1813, I may note, in passing, is a speech by Josiah Pratt, the then London secretary, delivered at the Bristol meeting, on March 25th, in which occurs this passage: "The institution of Sunday-schools seems to have given the first impulse to the general feeling for the spiritual welfare of children, and thence, by an easy transition, for the conversion of the heathen" (*Ib.*, p. 225; see also p. 3 of the same volume). This is interesting, as coming from official lips, and being afterwards published with official sanction. The Sunday scholars of to-day are amongst the Society's warmest supporters. Yet, perhaps too much reliance, at least in Lancashire and the West of Yorkshire, is sometimes placed upon them. It is not uncommon to have parishes in which almost the only contributions are from the schools. Invaluable as juvenile auxiliaries are, they should not be in place of other arms of help.

There is an aspect of the Society's early operations to which, on its secular side, sufficient justice has scarcely been done. It was a great educational agency. Before the schoolmaster or the emigration agent were abroad; before there were telegraphs and a cheap press; the free circulation of magazines and of pamphlets, telling of stranger races and of foreign lands; the appearance in remotest country villages of missionaries, describing new peoples, new countries, new religions; the presence occasionally of natives on the platforms; the exhibition of maps, pictures, curiosities, and idols—these things excited interest, awakened curiosity—set people inquiring, and reading, and thinking, and opened minds as well as hearts. Here were lessons in geography, ethnology, and history, as well as, at times, in zoology and botany. In truth, we can hardly

at this distance measure the impression these events made, or the extent to which they have influenced the country. I have read private letters written by Mr. Hall, when he was in England in 1818, having with him two young New Zealand chiefs. It is amazing the curiosity they aroused—sometimes a troublesome curiosity. At one place a young lady proposed to Teetere. He said, “You should no love me, madam: you should love Englishman. I no Englishman;” and, without arguing the matter further, “he gently took her by the shoulder and put her out of the room.” When asked afterwards of what rank the lady was, it being suggested she was in humble station, his comrade Tooi answered with emphasis, “No, no; quite lady: beautiful figure, beautiful face, beautiful dress.” Possibly they were not good judges, for it is related in the “Life of Marsden” that, walking past a hairdresser’s shop in Fleet Street, they mistook the busts in the window “for dried heads of the human subject,” and appeared pleased to discover in Englishmen this likeness to their own cannibal propensities.

The spirit of enterprise and heart of faith it required to press forward a new cause, and introduce new conditions of working, may be gathered from many a story which lingered, till within the last few years, amongst our older friends. I have had pleasant hours listening to the late Rev. Charles Hodgson, Rector of Barton-le-Street, as he recounted early troubles and difficulties for the encouragement of a later generation. At one Yorkshire town a local clergyman met him with, “Mr. Hodgson, we have put you down for twenty minutes.” He replied, “I have not ridden thirty miles on horseback this day for twenty minutes;” and he took his full swing of fifty minutes at the meeting. His brother on one occasion, finding himself a little late, made a short cut across the grounds of the squire, who was a friend of his, and came out over a five-barred gate near a path along which the squire and his family were walking to the place of meeting. “Hollo, Hodgson! I don’t know which to admire most—man or horse,” was the greeting he received. Mr. Charles Hodgson once rode eighty miles in the day, to address a meeting in the evening at Lincoln, using, of course, a relay of horses. One of his many hazardous rides was from Hunmanby, on the Yorkshire coast, twenty miles across the wolds after nine o’clock of a November night, so dark that the ostler had to lead the horse with a lantern out of the inn-yard. I have heard him describe, with pardonable pride, the journey Hugh Stowell and he took to Edinburgh in February, 1839, when, beyond Newcastle, they had to hire men to cut them a way through the snow. He mentioned the surprise of Dandeson Coates when the bill was presented for £42 as expenses; but the sermons raised about £100, and pioneer-

work is sometimes expensive. We may compare with these experiences that of a Welsh clergyman whose letter is quoted in the Report for 1813, p. 91, "I took my horse at your summons and rode forty miles, and called at the doors of the rich and the poor, and I send you £23 1s. 6d., my hard earnings in this noble cause."

These brothers Hodgson started, in 1838, the *Missionary Gleaner*, which, in 1841, became the *Church Missionary Gleaner*. In 1842 they brought out the *Juvenile Instructor*, and for twenty years were its editors. In 1856 the same ready hands commenced the *Juvenile Quarterly Token*. Worthy, vigorous, and spiritual was everything that flowed from their pens; and vigorous, too, were the illustrations, often drawn in the first instance by George Hodgson's own facile pencil.

There is a long step, however, from these sketches, lightly rubbed in at a Yorkshire parsonage, with a free exercise of poetic imagination, to the publications now issued. These older pictures were always telling, and instinct with the spirit of the scenes they portrayed, but in form they were not always photographically accurate. They contained inner truth, and were quaintly suggestive, but some distance behind the finished illustrations of the present *Gleaner*. Possibly there is also an advance from these simple stories, sometimes also allegories, to the dramatic narratives, with full dialogue, which accompany the sober historical narratives in the current numbers. The use of fiction to render the invisible play of motive, and to depict the tone and colour of actual life, is eminently one of the modern methods, and seems to be deemed inevitable, whether in secular or religious periodicals. The *Intelligencer*, in its thirty-sixth year, retains its solid character; but evidences its elasticity and comprehensiveness by reviews of new books of a missionary character, and by occasional notices of other fields of labour beyond the Society's own. In the advertisement prefixed as a kind of preface to that first volume of the *Missionary Register*, to which I have already referred, it is stated that "while particular attention is paid to the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, the principal transactions of all similar institutions will be recorded: and they will be left to report these transactions chiefly in their own words." The growth of missions in all directions has been too great for such a plan to be continued; and possibly it would enlarge the responsibility of an editor too far if he were expected to review, and consequently to criticize, the action of kindred bodies. There is abundant material in the Society's own work to make monthly magazines deeply interesting, and to fill the annual report as well.

Yet there is a defect of imagination even in good Christian people, and amongst friends of the Society, or they would read and study the publications more closely and constantly than they do. I have by me some Reports, which for forty and fifty years had lain uncut, though they belonged to one of the most devoted and liberal supporters of missions, from whom I obtained them. When a bit of old Saxon wall is pointed to in York Minster, when a series of diocesan histories is issued, persons are attracted, and talk interestedly about ecclesiastical history. We are to-day making ecclesiastical history; and there has not been a more memorable crisis in the Church, even though you were to name the Council of Nicea and the Diet of Worms.

Speaking of organic matters, one is naturally led to the subject of a proposed Board of Missions. From such a proposal I for one expect both very little and very much. I expect very little, at any rate, until there is more real unity of feeling than at present in the Church of England. The men in earnest about missions are already enlisted in the cause. They will not leave their present connections to labour for a scheme which has mainly been improvised by those who have been hitherto somewhat supine in the matter. Whatever the two Convocations may suggest or decide upon, will not for a long time affect directly any of the more important missionary societies. At the same time, I expect much good result from these proposals, and the discussion to which they give rise. They are an admission, on the part of those in authority, that it is not seemly for individual clergy to decide, as incumbents do at present, whether a parish shall support missions or no. Too many of the clergy are imbued with that fatal and unworthy opinion, so that more than one-third of the English parishes do nothing at all for Foreign Missions. It will, therefore, make some difference, when the younger clergy come forward, if they have before them the judgment of influential Church representatives, and find an accepted sentiment to the effect that a parish priest is seriously neglecting one of his first duties, if he has no organization for teaching his people to obey their Saviour's last command in all its fullness.

Still there are now so many societies that a new task is imposed upon all warm-hearted Christian people, namely, that of selection; and, alas! in consequence, the painful duty of rejection. It would task the purse of a millionaire and the age of an antediluvian to learn about and to help all the manifold philanthropical institutions to which the Christian charity and voluntary enterprise of to-day gives birth. We thank God for the abounding sympathy and for the fertility of resource which no sooner recognises a need than there is provided a remedy.

Nor must it be forgotten that the oldest and best established society was once a young competitor for public favour. At times, too, there may be special and instant demands of supreme urgency. When Lloyd Garrison applied to Dr. Lyman Beecher, Mrs. Stowe's father, for aid in the cause of American emancipation, he was met with the excuse, "I have too many irons in the fire to put in another." "Doctor," responded the ardent advocate, "you had better take them all out and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or to the civil liberty of your country." At that juncture he was right; but ordinarily it is not just to desert old friends for new favourites. Help others by all means as far as possible, but do not curtail your aid to the old ones in order to run after a new institution. A well-known missionary could not teach his American Indians to grow turnips, because, when the season arrived for hoeing them out, the Indians did not like to destroy the young plants, but left all in the green line to extend long stringy roots choked one against another, instead of producing broad turnip bulbs, as a few left sufficiently apart would have done. The question of special missions has seriously engaged the Gospel Propagation Society, who have had a committee to report upon it, and have spoken very seriously about it. But if special missions must be warily supported, much more so should the practice of leaning to pet missionaries be discouraged. The most valuable missionary is not always the most fluent deputation; and there are now and then those men, like Robert Noble, who never leave their posts to return to England. These must depend upon the prayers and the liberality of Christians, who subdue personal liking to a sense of duty and a great principle.

Passing from these topics, it may be asked how far shall friends of missions borrow hints from such artificial helps as Salvation Army manœuvres or bazaars? Seeing that missionary societies ought to appeal far more to the inner-circle of believing and Christ-loving people than to the general public, they are under less temptation to eccentric measures than others may be supposed to be. They will also lose more in spiritual power and in the great work to which God has called them if they lower their high tone of faith and prayer. Sales of work properly conducted are every way good; but bazaars, with their worldliness and their gambling-raftles, cannot help doing harm. The *Daily News*, some years ago, in a leader on the Derby-day, defended sweepstakes on the ground that they could be no worse than the raffling at religious bazaars. They are illegal; and by 42 Geo. III., c. 119, s. 1, the promoters of them are liable to a heavy fine. It can scarcely be well to allow, in the name of religion, what, if

permitted in a public-house, would endanger the publican's license. Every day it is becoming more and more necessary for Christians to draw the line, and to avoid that temptation which our dear Lord resisted when He would not command the stones to be made bread. One of the very best of the later developments of missionary organization has been the forming of missionary prayer-unions. They are bonds of closer brotherhood; they are founded upon the soundest basis; they will deepen spiritual life and enlarge and purify missionary zeal. We cannot too much insist upon the necessity for prayer, and of a prayerful spirit in all our efforts. It is when we fail here, or when our faith falls low, that we become distrustful, and are tempted to resort to human contrivances for the accomplishment of spiritual ends. These unions, too, might become more and more means of communication with the parent committee, as well as occasions for mutual counsel and sympathy. There can be little doubt in the minds of those who are watching the issues of affairs, that the Church Missionary Society is still moving forward, and, as of old, in many directions taking the lead under the guidance of that Holy Spirit Whose inspiration and admonition is always sought for in the committee-room and by all its members.

Still some maintain that there are signs of waning energy. In July, 1868, I met a clergyman who prophesied that in six years the Society's income would be less, and, after that, less and less. At the end of that time it was £9,237 more, and is now half as much again. He grounded his unfavourable anticipation upon the fact that the attendance at missionary meetings was signally falling off, and that it became increasingly difficult every year to induce persons to come to them. Yet, in 1830, there were 352 sermons and 263 meetings for the Society; whilst, in 1880, when population had not quite doubled, there were twenty times as many sermons and ten times as many meetings: the figures being, 7,356 and 2,846 respectively, and there were five times as many contributing parishes. Last year there were 7,423 sermons and 2,790 meetings. These statistics are for England and Wales. It is probable that the day for large central meetings is over. Where express energy is put forth, as at Liverpool and one or two other towns, there are grand annual gatherings. But for the most part the parochial meetings have tapped the monster assemblies, and are much more valuable. Fifty years back persons lived near their places of business and dined in the middle of the day. Now, trains whirl them a dozen miles away, and they dine late. It requires a surgical operation after dinner to extract their feet from under the sacred mahogany. Then too, perhaps, the managers of meetings have themselves

somewhat to blame. There has frequently been much want of judgment here. Let this be frankly admitted. I was in a certain village at a meeting, which began at eight o'clock, and I was not called upon to speak till a quarter to ten. Up to this, one solitary missionary fact had been alluded to, and that had been inaccurately told. It is, indeed, not always borne in mind that a true story may be made untrue in the repeating of it. I remember a critic complaining to me of a speaker who had asserted that the Sierra Leone Christians were so warm-hearted they wrung the nails off the missionary's fingers when shaking hands. This was an exaggerated narration of what had really happened. Poor Johnson, in 1823, emaciated and broken down, was saying "Good-bye," and the sorrowing affectionate converts crushed his hands in their sad eagerness and in their inconsolable grief. But then he was within a few days of his death, which happened on board ship, and he had suffered from that deadly climate in days when the uses of quinine had not been discovered. Another species of the injudicious speaker is the one who has all the information you want, but never imparts it. I have listened for three-quarters of an hour, at a fashionable watering-place, to an Indian missionary, who told us everything about West Africa where he had not been, and nothing about India where he had spent a score years and rendered excellent service. It is thrashing old straw to notice the innumerable nobodies who have nothing to say, but for their sincere love of the cause must take up an hour in saying it. These and other indigenous creatures of the platform are *feræ naturæ*, and cannot be tamed. But let a meeting be ever so interesting and profitable, there will probably be some in the family who have stayed at home. These are not always patient. If the return of their household be later than they expected, they are angry, and will veto another meeting.

We are bound also to consider social conditions. My father has a straggling parish of fishermen on the coast of Newfoundland. Fully one-third of his population are regular communicants. In his last letter he described a vestry meeting, which began at two o'clock and ended at seven. Many important arrangements were settled for what is literally Church-work; for they have little money, and must depend upon voluntary labour. Our meetings in English towns are thought to be long if they exceed one hour. The pace of life is quickened in these busy centres. Men who do their business by telephone, have short-hand clerks to write their letters, and receive daily telegrams from India or America, cannot unhinge themselves, so to speak, from the constant daily habit of their minds. Things must be put before them rapidly and tersely, and in vivid,

attractive form.¹ Although the average quality of public speaking is higher than it ever was, there are still few who are born speakers, and who have not with pains acquired the faculty. The ability to state positions clearly and graphically is a rare one. Meanwhile, owing to the multiplication of institutions, the demand for special preachers and for deputations has largely extended. The few capable men are in severe request, and one leading society is no longer in full command of the supply. Indeed, the newer movements, like the Church of England Temperance Society, are, for the moment, more fashionable, and to these the ascending stars are magnetically attracted. Hence the daily increasing importance of employing the public press for the distribution of missionary information, and the wisdom of conveying details in sermons to those who will be present in church, but will not be induced to enter the school-room. Missionary exhibitions, magic lanterns, diagrams, have a passing but not a permanent interest. They can be resorted to occasionally, but must not be depended upon for more than a time or two. An excellent plan is to advertise beforehand each speaker's subject.

I was staying at a large and hospitable house when a brother secretary arrived. There was lifted out of the dogcart a case—six feet long by nine inches wide, and three inches deep—containing diagrams, with an elaborate machinery for hanging them up. On sighting this case, the butler inquired, "Shall I send your fishing-tackle to your bedroom, sir, with the other things?" Turning to me, our friend whispered, "Very good name that—fishing-tackle!" So I thought—*if only the fish are caught!* When our Lord called Peter and Andrew, they were "casting a net into the sea;" when He called the sons of Zebedee, they were "mending their nets." Fishermen must do both; but some good people are always casting without mending, whilst others are always mending without casting. A worthy incumbent, now a Church dignitary, wrote me that if I could provide him with a black man, he might venture a lecture in his schoolroom: he had no sermons or subscriptions in his parish for the Society. Was not he doing the mending without the casting? Another was always enthusiastic at the anniversary, and his speeches as chairman were both urgent

¹ In some of our large towns of late years, during Lent and Advent, short noon-hour services have been well attended, and I have wondered why, if these answer, we could not borrow a suggestion from them, and have half-hour addresses, in accessible rooms, during the luncheon hour from well known men, or else short missionary sermons, with a hymn and a collect, in a central City Church. There ought to be no collection made, but copies of the Society's *Brief View* might be plentifully distributed.

and eloquent, after which he forgot us till the same month next year. Was not he doing the casting without the mending?

I was once at a tea-meeting where there was no tea. We were seated at tables covered with ham-sandwiches and beef-sandwiches, with plates of carved fowl, and of various "sweet-breads,"—that is, slices of currant loaf; but some one had forgotten to light the boiler fire, and there was no hot water to brew the tea. The vicar released us from our embarrassment by having the meeting *before* the tea instead of after, and I had the felicity of addressing for three-quarters of an hour two hundred hungry Britons. I have since reflected that often in our arrangements we omit to light the fire. It is not deputations, it is not magic lanterns, it is not posters and circulars and handbills that can make a missionary meeting. A true missionary meeting is one of the highest acts of worship. For in the worship of God there are three elements: prayer, the Word, and praise. Of these, prayer will be absorbed into praise when we reach heaven, and the written Word will be no more needed when we have the WORD Himself. Here, therefore, when we recount the glorious things which God has done, "we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God:" that is the real purpose of a missionary meeting, and that can be achieved whether there be many present or but a few. Even for money-getting, numbers do not always pay. I have heard of a well-attended meeting, to which the chairman drove in his carriage-and-pair, and at which the collection was 11s. 9d. I have been at a meeting where were only twenty-one persons, in a small poor village, yet they gave nearly £4 that evening. It is notorious that some of our cathedral sermons and large town meetings do not defray their own expenses.

In short, the conclusion at which, as an old Association secretary, and as a clergyman with twenty years' experience of Church-work, I have arrived is this, that it is not so much methods which are wanted as men. Those whose hearts have been touched will readily discover the plan which best suits their own sphere of labour, the tools which they can most successfully handle. The genuine sculptor can, as Canova did, shape a lion with a penknife from a lump of butter; the man who is not an artist may have the stateliest studio, and there will only be produced unsightly figures, and the "thing of brass." We have all been too much concerned about manners and methods and precedents, both in our criticism of others and in the regulation of our own conduct. We must be careful that the way in which we are travelling is the right way (Jer. xviii. 14, 15). We must beware of going to a priest of Micah, and saying to him, "Ask counsel, we pray thee, of God, that we may know whether our way which we go shall

be prosperous" (Judges xviii. 5). We must remember the promise, "Ask of Me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8). Then shall we not, on the one hand, yield to an Athenian restlessness after novelty; nor, on the other, attempt to strain old wineskins with new wine. We shall affectionately cling to the old principles, and have both eyes and ears open for all new methods that may be worthy, wise, and workmanlike.

WILLIAM JOSEPH SMITH.

Review.

Troja: Results of the latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy, and in the Heroic Tumuli and other Sites, made in the year 1882; and a Narrative of a Journey in the Troad in 1881. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN, Hon. D.C.L., etc., etc. Preface by Professor A. H. SAYCE. London: John Murray. 1884.

THE great work achieved by Dr. Schliemann, during a space of more than the ten years of Troy's primeval siege, has a special interest for us, as a part of the recovery of the monumental history of the Eastern world. Students who have nearly completed the term of human life have lived through three distinct periods of unquestioning belief, critical scepticism, and patient research, which has gone far to prove that, as the brothers Hare taught in "Guesses at Truth," it is not second, but first and third thoughts, that are often best. To that "boyish enthusiasm" for classical legend, which glowed in the very words by which Mr. Lowe affected to deride it, the "tale of Troy divine" was a reality, and even scholars accepted as a chronological epoch the date assigned to it by Eustathius, which we now learn, from Professor Sayce's Preface to "Troja," is curiously consistent with a train of reasoning from monumental evidence. The site of Priam's city had been preserved by the unbroken tradition of its later Greek occupants (with but one attempt to question it by an ancient grammarian), till, just a century ago, a French traveller, who never visited that site, invented another to suit his ideas of the topography of the Iliad. It was characteristic of the criticism of the revolutionary age that the novelty of Lechevalier's hypothesis secured its general acceptance, and, till the epoch of Dr. Schliemann's researches, nearly all our maps of the Troad distinguished an imaginary "Troja Vetus" from the "Ilium Novum" of the Greeks, who claimed theirs as the true site. Nay, even scholars came to assume that this "Ilium Novum" was a name used by ancient Latin writers; and some, who should have known better, have been surprised to find that the one simple name of ILIUM, handed down from the ILIOS of Homer, always marks the one site recognised by the consent of antiquity, with the sole

exception referred to, which gained factitious importance from its adoption by the great geographer Strabo.¹

Meanwhile, the growing spirit of sceptical criticism had assailed both the integrity of the Homeric poems and the reality of the traditions which they have embodied in the most perfect form of poetry. The attack was aided by a special weakness in the position then held; we mean, the utter want of any scientific conception of the worth of mythical tradition, and the tendency to treat it on what is called (from the ancient grammarian who used the method) the "euhemerist" plan of rejecting all that seems improbable, and accepting the residuum as the original kernel of fact—a process well described by a great scholar as "spoiling a good poem, without making a good history." We have seen the method applied to the highest of all writings, with results which in a less sacred matter would be ludicrous. But because we have no certain test by which to "divaricate" the fiction from the fact, does it follow that the poetical legends of antiquity are all fiction, containing no element of fact? The very statement of the question exposes the fallacy; for, as there is no test in the *poetry itself* to prove, so is there none to disprove, a basis of historic fact; and the whole history of epic poetry attests that—as, for example, in the lays of Charlemagne—its subjects have been largely chosen from the heroic deeds and signal fortunes of men and nations; deeds and fortunes often first recorded in that form. And now, quite apart from all archæological researches, a sound criticism of the earliest sources of Greek history, and of the relations between the primitive nations of Greece and of the opposite coasts of the Ægean, has marked the north-western angle of Asia Minor, on the shore of the Hellespont, as the very ground where we might expect to find such a collision between the kindred races (for kindred they were, as they appear in Homer) as would give rise to the great legend of the Trojan War. Moreover—and it is a striking sign of the convergence of the great researches of our time to very unexpected points—we are now able, with the greatest probability, to trace the civilization of primeval Troy to that Hittite² empire of Western Asia, which meets us in the earliest books of Holy Scripture and on the old Egyptian monuments. In the war of Rameses II. (the Pharaoh who oppressed Israel) with the Hittites, celebrated in a contemporary Egyptian poem, the latter number among their allies Dardanians, Mysians, and other peoples of Asia Minor named in the *Iliad*; while, above a century later, the same names appear among the invaders of Egypt under Rameses III., with the very remarkable difference of the omission of the Dardanians and the appearance of the Teucrians (*Tekkri*), corresponding to the traditional change in the occupants of Troy. In short, before asking what the site itself has to reveal, we have a mass of independent evidence to the existence of such an empire as that of Priam, to the reality of such a war as that sung by Homer. This is the judgment of the veteran historian Von Ranke; and, as Duruy puts it, with characteristic French neatness, in his "Summary of Universal History": "A fact certain, if we are content to accept it in its general form, is the war which for the first time brought Greece into collision with Asia."

¹ As our limits preclude any discussion of this part of the question, it must suffice to inform those of our readers who may not be familiar with the controversy, that the site contended for by the grammarian Demetrius, followed by Strabo, has nothing to do with that invented by Lechevalier, and that the former had been almost universally rejected by modern criticism even before its complete disproof by Dr. Schliemann.

² On this vast field of new discovery our limits forbid more than a passing reference to Professor Sayce's invaluable Preface to "Troja."

Granted, the more moderate sceptic may say, and did say down to a dozen years ago ; but was not Troy so utterly destroyed as to forbid the hope of its rediscovery ? "Troja fuit" has long been a standard grammatical example of the perfect tense for that which has ceased to be, and Lucan's "etiam periere ruinæ" was echoed by an Oxford scholar and Chancellor of the Exchequer in defence of the public purse against a modest appeal by the Society of Antiquaries. It was a remarkable coincidence that Mr. Lowe gave this rebuff, and lamented that the spirit of Herodes Atticus had *not* survived to our days, in the third year of Dr. Schliemann's excavations at his own expense, and within a week of his finding the first of the famous "treasures" that attest the wealth of primeval Troy (June, 1873). A very different estimate of the fallacy involved in the poet's hackneyed phrase had been formed long before by the boy, not yet eight years old, to whom his father, a humble pastor in Mecklenburg, gave the Christmas gift of a "Universal History," with a picture of the conflagration of Troy. "Father," he exclaimed, "if such walls once existed, they cannot possibly have been completely destroyed ; vast ruins of them must remain, but they are hidden away beneath the dust of ages ;" and from that moment he resolved that he would one day dig up Troy. This was in 1829 ; and about twenty years later, just as Henry Schliemann was beginning to reach the turning-point in that marvellous course of self-denial and preparation which he has related in his "Autobiography," Layard showed the world, in the signal example of Nimrod, the secret of those mounds which ages had neglected to test by the simple method of excavation : simple, and seemingly "so easy" (like the egg of Columbus), but all depends on a rare gift of knowing both where and how to dig. It was therefore with as much justice as grace that Dr. Schliemann dedicated his great work "Ilios" (to which "Troja" is a supplement) to Sir Austen Layard, as "the Pioneer in recovering the lost History of the Ancient Cities of Western Asia by means of the Pickaxe and the Spade."

We trust that most of our readers are acquainted with the autobiographical record, prefixed to "Ilios," of the hard and persevering course by which Dr. Schliemann rose from utter indigence to the mastery of the knowledge and wealth which gave him at once the qualifications and the means for the work which seemed absurdly out of his reach when he devoted to it his future life. It was in 1868, at the age of forty-six, that he was first able to satisfy his longing to visit the island of Ithaca, the Peloponnesus, and the Plain of Troy ; and his comparison of the localities with the perfect knowledge he had acquired of Homer, and with what modern scholars had written about the site, led him to decide for the view held, among others, by the high authority of Grote, namely, that the Greek colonists of the historic Ilium were right in claiming to occupy the very ground on which Homer's Troy had stood. That ground is a raised plateau on a ridge running westward from the Mysian Olympus, and terminating in a higher hill overhanging the course of the Scamander. In that hill, which bears the Turkish name of HISSARLIK, "the fortress," and which was unquestionably the Acropolis of the historic Ilium of Greek and Roman times, Dr. Schliemann recognised the Pergamus of Priam. It stands about three miles from the Hellespont, in the very position of those primitive cities that were built near enough to the sea for commerce, but far enough to be removed from the sudden attacks of pirates, with an eminence forming the fortress to which the inhabitants around it could fly for shelter. How exactly the site answers the indications of the "Iliad," is an argument for which we must be content to refer to the exhaustive discussion in "Ilios ;" but far more important than all minute details is the consideration, urged by

Professor Virchow, with his combined power of poetic imagination and scientific accuracy, that this hill, commanding the whole plain of Troy to the range of Ida in the background, and looking out over the Hellespont and the Ægean to the distant peaks of Samothrace, is the very centre of the whole scenery of the Iliad. "It is in vain to dispute with the poet his knowledge of the place by his own eyesight. Whoever the 'divine bard' was, he must have stood upon the hill of Hissarlik, and have looked out thence over sea and land. In no other case could he possibly have combined so much truth and nature in his poem" (Preface to "Ilios," p. xv.). Very happily does Dr. Schliemann choose his motto for "Troja" from a saying of Von Moltke that "A *locality* is the fragment of reality which survives from an event long since past;" and as such this spot was recognised by the reverent belief of Greece, from the time when Greek guides led Xerxes up to sacrifice at the little temple of Athena on the hill, to the visit of Alexander, whence dated the special greatness of the Greek city. But between these dates we have a signal witness to the opinion of Greece. In a passage of Plato,¹ which is specially interesting for its recognition of the Deluge as the catastrophe from which the history of human civilization is to be traced, he makes the first stage the patriarchal system, like the Cyclopes of Homer; the second, that in which men gathered for safety in cities among the mountains, as Homer describes Dardanus building Dardania in the foothills of Ida; the third, still following Homer, is that in which they ventured down from the hills and built sacred Ilios in the plain: "For we say that Ilios was founded by a removal from the heights into a large and fair plain, on a hill of moderate elevation, watered by several rivers that flow down from their sources in Ida;" on which the comment of so great a scholar as Professor Jebb is doubly valuable for reasons that we cannot stay to discuss: "If Plato had wished to indicate Hissarlik, as distinguished from Bounarbashi" (the site invented by Lechevalier), "*he could scarcely have described it better.*"

Here then Dr. Schliemann began his preliminary work in 1870; and in the three following years, in company with his wife, a Greek lady as enthusiastic for Troy and Homer as himself, he pursued those systematic excavations which were made known to an admiring world, ten years ago, in the letters from the spot, which must always have what Renan has happily called "the charm of origius."² Much that he wished still to do was postponed, chiefly through difficulties with the Turkish Government; and meanwhile he opened, with equally brilliant success, another field of Homeric research in his excavations at Mycenæ (1876). In 1878 and 1879 he renewed his work at Hissarlik with the great advantage of the company of Professor Virchow and the French Orientalist, M. Emile Burnouf; nor should the fact be passed over, that some of his most interesting discoveries were made under the eyes of officers of the British fleet stationed on those coasts. The chief work of this second exploration was the further laying bare of those remains in the very heart of the hill, significantly called the "Burnt City," which, in the remains of weapons and implements, treasures of the precious metals and objects of art and commerce, all bearing the marks of a mighty conflagration, answered well to the Troy of the Homeric legend, and was evidently a city that had been sacked by enemies and burnt with fire.

Here, however, at once, arose two difficulties; but of the kind that

¹ Plato, "Legg," p. 682. The passage of Homer about the building of Dardania and Ilios is in the "Iliad," xx. 215-218.

² "Troianische Alterthümer," translated into English as "Troy and its Remains." John Murray. 1875.

always attend the progress of discovery, where new light throws back unexpected reflections on preconceived ideas. One of these was architectural. Certain critics of Dr. Schliemann are for ever fond of displaying their own cleverness, and making a factitious show of opposition, by contrasting the brick ruins of the "burnt city" with Homer's "well-built" Troy, with its "wide streets" and its palace of Priam of polished stone, whose spacious halls were surrounded by fifty chambers for his sons and fifty for his daughters. Now Dr. Schliemann was himself the first to point out the discrepancy, and to give its true solution. He had laid bare in the hill of Hissarlik, not the ruins of one city, but a series of successive strata of habitations, lying one upon another, and crowned by the remains of the historic Greek Ilium. Between the last and the "burnt city" of Troy were interposed no less than three of these strata, presenting the remarkable phenomenon of a civilization inferior to that of Troy itself; and thus strikingly corresponding with the barbaric invasions which are known to have overspread the Troad in the meantime. If then, as we can now no longer doubt, the Greek bard or bards of the "Iliad" celebrate an ancient catastrophe, the tradition of which had survived upon the spot, the city whose fate gave rise to it lay buried far out of sight beneath the *débris* of successive habitations; and the architecture of Homer's Troy, like its social life, is the creation of poetic imagination, having for its type that of the poet's own age. As Virchow puts it: "The Ilium of fiction must be itself a fiction;" and the Troy discovered by Schliemann is not, could not be, the actual Troy described by Homer (which never was actual, but imaginary), but the *primeval city whose fate gave birth to the Homeric legend*. Disappointing as this result may have been to his hopes of finding *Homer's Troy*, Dr. Schliemann was the first to recognise it. At the same time, there remain a number of singular parallels, which were pointed out in "Troy and its Remains," between the objects discovered in the ruins and those described in Homer; which can only be accounted for by the persistence of social customs and religious ideas among the kindred Aryan races, which have succeeded one another on the spot. Thus, for example, it is now certain that Dr. Schliemann was right in his bold identification of the peculiar two-handled vessels found in all the strata with the *δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον* of Homer, and of the owl-like idols and female vases with the "owl-faced goddess Athena," who is now shown to be derived from a Chaldean divinity worshipped by the Hittites. For further particulars of this remarkable link between the East and West we must refer to Professor Sayce's Preface. Among the new discoveries in "Troja" are two edifices, which show the exact type of the Greek temple; and the square pilasters, called "*antæ*," which in Greek architecture have only an ornamental use, are here found in their original constructive form of barks of timber facing the ends of walls.

The other paradox which staggered Dr. Schliemann had regard to the extent of the Troy which he discovered. In the hill of Hissarlik, and the raised plateau of which it crowns the end, he saw the exact type, both of a primitive Greek city, and of the Homeric Troy, crowned by the Pergamus of Priam, with its temple of the goddess. But the plateau, when tested by sinking shafts—the method by which the explorer shows his special skill in *taking samples* before committing himself to excavations—yielded nothing but remains of the Greek period alone. He was forced therefore, with his characteristic readiness to give up preconceptions for facts, to accept the strange conclusions that, instead of Hissarlik being the Pergamus or citadel, with the main city on the plateau, the primeval Troy was confined to the hill alone, and that the city which held an empire in Asia Minor, and withstood the united force of Greece,

was no larger than Trafalgar Square or Lincoln's Inn Fields! This little hill-fort must have been expanded by Homer's imagination into the lofty Pergamus, with the well-built city of spacious streets on the ground at its foot.

It is to Dr. Schliemann's repeated meditation on this paradox, after he supposed his work to have been finished by the publication of "Ilios," that we owe his crowning labours of 1882, described in the splendid volume now before us. Besides other fruitful results, they have furnished a complete and satisfactory solution of the problem. Besides the one gate of the "burnt city," leading down from the citadel to the plain, which was exactly suited for a small fortress confined to the hill, two others were discovered, leading out from the hill on to the plateau, the only possible use of which would be to connect the citadel with a lower city. Moreover, six large edifices were brought to light upon the hill, of such a character as to suggest that it must have been the sacred and royal quarter alone, just as we know the mounds of Nimrud and Kouyunjik to have been. Nor does the resemblance cease here. Some of Dr. Schliemann's shallower critics heap contempt on a Troy of brick, the universal material of early Asiatic architecture in regions where it was available. They might have remembered a passage in which Vitruvius (ii. 9, *seq.*) recites a long list of palaces and other great buildings of this material; nay, even the trite saying of Augustus, that he found Rome of brick. But now Dr. Schliemann has revealed at Troy a striking comment on the primeval method of the Babel builders: "Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly;" for the walls of the gates and other edifices are constructed of *crude bricks* (on stone foundations) which have been *burnt in situ* after their erection, like one of the stages of the "Temple of Lights" at Borsippa, and the "vitrified forts" of Scotland.

The Pergamus, thus restored to its dignity as a citadel, seemed to prove the existence of a lower city, for which Dr. Schliemann renewed his search on the plateau. We cannot stay to describe his interesting discoveries of a great theatre and other remains of the *Greek* age; but speak here only of the primitive Troy. From the nature of the case, just as at Nimrud and Kouyunjik, no remains of the frail houses of the common people could be expected; and the more substantial materials, especially of the city walls, would be, and in fact are distinctly said by tradition to have been, carried away by the builders of neighbouring towns. There remains, however, an evidence of ancient habitation, fragile but indestructible in its fragmentary state, the *pottery* which Dr. Schliemann justly calls "the *cornucopiæ* of archæological science." Yes, *science* in the strictest sense; for the material and forms, the manufacture, whether by hand or on the potter's wheel, the glazing, painting, and burning of pottery, are all to the qualified student tests of age and race, the discussion of which belongs to experts, and has been ably conducted by our own archæologists, such as Birch and Newton. When, therefore, Dr. Schliemann found beneath the surface of the plateau abundant potsherds precisely of the same character as those which belong to the two lowest strata in the hill of Hissarlik, the inference was irresistible, that this pottery had been made and used by people who dwelt on the plateau contemporaneously with those settlements on the hill; in other words, that the primeval Troy had a lower city, to which the hill of Hissarlik formed the citadel. The whole result can hardly be summed up better than in the words of Professor Jebb, who is a vehement assailant of other parts of Dr. Schliemann's views: "The large city, which extended over the plateau, and had only a few buildings on the mound, would, in this view, be *non-Hellenic and prehistoric*. We are,

as it seems to me, quite at liberty to suppose that *this was the city, the siege and capture of which gave rise to the legend of Troy.*"

Our limits have compelled us to avoid all needless detail, including many matters of exceeding interest. But one word must be added to call the reader's attention to Dr. Schliemann's exhaustive exploration of the "heroic tumuli,"¹ and of every spot of archæological interest on the plain of Troy and in the region of Ida. Besides many matters of great interest, such as the ascent of Ida and the identification of important Homeric and other ancient sites, the one great result has been to bring us back to Hissarlik as the site of Troy by a process like the mathematical method of "exhaustions." To cite once more the impartial authority of Professor Jebb: "Dr. Schliemann has proved that Hissarlik was a seat of human habitation from a prehistoric age. This has not been proved for any place which could claim to be the site of Homeric Troy. Assuming that 'The Tale of Troy' is founded on a central fact—i.e., that a very old town, placed as the 'Iliad' roughly indicates, was once besieged and taken—the claim of Hissarlik to be the site of that town is now both definite and unique. Thus far, Dr. Schliemann's argument is unanswerable." This is like the "Iliad" in a nutshell.

Short Notices.

Granite Crags. By C. F. GORDON CUMMING, Author of "At Home in Fiji," "Fire Fountains," "In the Hebrides," etc. With illustrations. Pp. 382. W. Blackwood and Sons. 1884.

We once heard a friend at an anniversary of the Church Scripture Readers' Society make mention of a fact in connection with the work of ladies among the poorest of the middle class. A good lady in his parish called to see a sick person who was lodging in a sort of attic, and represented as very badly off indeed. The District Visitor mentioned her desire to the lodging-house mistress, who came to the door; whereupon the maid-of-all-work was summoned in a loud tone of voice to tell "the lady at the top of the house that a woman was come to see her." We were reminded of this story as we read an anecdote in the volume before us. Miss Gordon Cumming, with a friend, was leaving some country hotel in California:

Seeing our baggage lying in the dust (she writes), Mr. David, with marked politeness, signed to the conductor to have it stowed away; whereupon the latter, also most politely, turned to an exceedingly shabby-looking hanger-on, saying

¹ The so-called tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, Ajax and the rest, turn out, to be mere cenotaphs or monuments, of an age much later than the Trojan War; and at the moment when we write we learn that Dr. Schliemann has discovered the tumulus at Marathon to be of the same character: a monument containing no human remains. For the special results given by the tumulus of Protesilaus on the Thracian Chersonese, as tending to prove the origin of the Trojans from Europe, we must refer to the work itself.

"Mr. Brown, will you be kind enough to hand up *that man's* baggage?" Whereupon Mr. David told me of a gentleman who had said to a ragged, wretched-looking man that he would give him two dollars if he would carry his portmanteau. "You will?" said the man. "I will give you an ounce [gold dust] to see you do it yourself!" which he immediately did.

The book before us contains several capital stories, some of a similar cast to the preceding, others simply illustrative of American life and character. For instance, an Englishman clad as a sportsman, with a sensible suit of tweed, was riding in a tramcar at Francisco. A man got in, and quickly his eyes were riveted, first by the stout-ribbed woollen stockings, and then by the strong shooting-boots with a goodly array of large nails. Not a word did he utter till he was on the act of leaving the car, when he slowly and emphatically exclaimed, "Well, sir, I guess I'd rather not get a kick from *your* boots!" The next morning a small boy, regarding the Britisher's knickerbockers, remarked, apparently not with cheeky intention, "I say, mister, are not your pants rather short?"

But "*Granite Crags*" is in every way an excellent book. It is not only thoroughly readable, bright, chatty, and amusing, but it is in a high degree informing. Here is an account, for instance, of a service in one of the Episcopal churches at Francisco. "It was pleasant in this far country," writes the accomplished author, "to hear the old familiar liturgy, like a voice from over the wide waters, bringing with it a flood of home memories and associations. Moreover, it was quite unexpected, as during the last two years I have been thrown in company with so many regiments of the great Christian army, that I suppose I had assumed that this Californian Church would prove one more variety. Certainly I had not realized that America has preserved the old book of Common Prayer almost intact, with only a few minor changes, every one of which seems to have been dictated by good common sense; as, for instance, after the Commandments, where we so abruptly introduce the prayers for the Queen, the American priest adds, 'Hear also what our Lord Jesus Christ saith,' and sums up the Old Law by pronouncing the New Commandment, in the words of St. Matthew xxii. 37-40. He then offers the closing prayer from the Confirmation Service, that we may be kept in the ways of God's law and the works of His Commandments. All vain repetitions are avoided. Either the Apostle's Creed or the Nicene may be said both morning and evening, but never both during one service. The frequent reiteration of the Lord's Prayer is avoided. In the Canticles, such portions as seem inapplicable to ourselves (such as the last half of the Venite) are omitted, and verses of praise from the Psalms are substituted. The Magnificat is replaced by the 92nd Psalm; the Nunc Dimittis by the 103rd, 'Praise the Lord, O my soul.' Some advantageous verbal alterations occur, as in the Litany. 'In all time of our wealth' is rendered 'all time of our prosperity.'"

Sketches of life in California and the pictures of scenery are exceedingly well done. Like all Miss Gordon Cumming's books of travel (we have often recommended them), "*Granite Crags*" is graphic and lively. It is clearly printed on smooth paper, and has a very tasteful cover.

The Epistles of St. John, with Notes, Introduction, and Appendices. By the Rev. A. PLUMMER, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham. C. J. Clay: Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 17, Paternoster Row. 1883.

This is a volume of the "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges" series (a very generally useful series, with a modest title), and a very good volume this is. It forms an admirable companion to the "Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John," which was reviewed in

THE CHURCHMAN as soon as it appeared. Dr. Plummer has some of the highest qualifications for such a task ; and these two volumes, their size being considered, will bear comparison with the best Commentaries of the time. They are scholarly and suggestive ; and though in regard to doctrine one may not endorse every expression, one must admire the reverential tone and the unmistakable candour and carefulness of treatment. For ourselves, we prefer, in some respects, the volume on the Epistles. To some of its interesting notes we should gladly refer, did space permit ; as it is, we must limit ourselves to a brief comment and a brief quotation.

First, on v. 18, instead of the Authorised Version, "*he that is begotten of God keepeth himself*," Dr. Plummer reads, "*the Begotten of God keepeth him*." Herein is a question of text and a question of translation. Now, as to the interpretation, the change of tense is indeed remarkable. Recipients of the Divine birth are spoken of by St. John (in Epistle and in Gospel alike) in the perfect participle (ὁ γεγεννημένος or τὸ γεγεννημένον), iii. 9, v. 1-4 ; John iii. 6-8 ; also the first clause here. In the present clause St. John changes to the aorist participle (ὁ γεννηθεὶς), which he uses nowhere else. This interpretation, "*The Begotten of God*" keepeth the believer, produces another harmony between Gospel and Epistle, for the Son of God, we read in the Gospel (xvii. 12 and 15, the same verb), "*keepeth*" His own. But how about the text ? Why is αὐτὸν (him), instead of ἑαυτὸν (himself), to be preferred ? There is "high authority," says Dr. Plummer. But let us turn to a more recent utterance. A passage in the incomparable book of Dean Burgon (the most interesting and the most valuable work of the kind), in which this matter is handled at some length, should be seriously studied, as to Copies, Versions, and the Fathers. All the Copies except three (A*B 105), says the Dean, read "himself ;" so do the Syriac and the Latin, the Coptic Sahidic, Georgian, Armenian, and Ethiopic Versions ; so Origen, Didymus, Ephraem Syrus, Severus, Theophylact, Œcumenius. So indeed Cod. A ; for the original scribe is found to have corrected himself. "The sum of the adverse attestation, therefore, which prevailed with the Revisionists," says the Dean, "is found to have been *Codex B* and *a single cursive copy at Moscow*." The Authorised Version, "*keepeth himself*," we conclude, is right, and the Revised Version is wrong.

Second, a quotation. Here is a fair specimen of the learned author's style :

No one tells us so much about the Nature of God as St. John : other writers tell us what God *does*, and what attributes He *possesses* ; St. John tells us what He *is*. There are three statements in the Bible which stand alone as revelations of the nature of God, and they are all in the writings of St. John : "God is spirit" (John iv. 24) ; "God is light," and "God is love" (1 John iv. 8). In all these momentous statements the predicate has no article, either definite or indefinite. We are not told that God is *the* Spirit, or *the* Light, or *the* Love. . . They are probably the nearest approach to a definition of God that the human mind could frame or comprehend ; and in the history of thought and religion they are unique.

A Popular Commentary on the New Testament. Edited by PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. Vol. IV. Pp. 500. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1883.

The three preceding volumes of this Commentary have been reviewed and recommended in THE CHURCHMAN ; and we are pleased to invite the attention of our readers to the volume before us, which completes the work. That the fourth volume is of the same interest and value as the second, or the third, is more than we are able to say. Nevertheless, the exposition is in most respects exceedingly good, and the Commentary, as a whole, apologetic, critical, and exegetical, shows careful and judi-

cious labour. The term "Popular" is perhaps specially applicable to this volume. As regards illustrations, however, there is a woful falling off. The printing, as in the other volumes, is excellent. The contributors, or commentators, are Dr. Angus, of the Regent's Park College; Dr. Gloag, Galashiels; Dr. Salmond, of the Free Church College, Aberdeen; Dr. Pope, of the Wesleyan College, Didsbury, and Dr. Milligan, an eminent Professor of the University of Aberdeen.

That portion of the work which many will read with particular interest is Professor Milligan's Introduction to and commentary on the Book of the Revelation. What the learned Professor advances is always worthy of careful consideration, inasmuch as he is not only a scholarly, but a singularly suggestive writer, whose independence of thought is as plainly to be noted as his research and balance. In regard to such a portion of Holy Scripture as the Book of the Revelation, few critics of ability, perhaps, are likely to agree; but many earnest students, at the present time, will be glad to follow the lead of a reverent commentator who calls no man Master; to follow his lead, at least, so far as to examine the mysterious portions of that Book without prejudice, in the light of fresh suggestions advanced in the method of induction. Anything in the way of originality, no doubt, is by some students of prophecy regarded with disfavour and suspicion; but, after all, the main question for honest seekers after truth should surely be this, whether the groove in which they have been moving is really right. In making these remarks we do not endorse the criticisms on the systems of prophetic interpretation in the volume before us; but we are certainly of opinion that to many reverent students of God's Word, students who, though thoughtful and painstaking, have been unable to accept the system in such works as the late Mr. Elliott's, Dr. Milligan's Introduction and Commentary will prove a real help. They may not be satisfied with his expositions of certain passages; but the work, on the whole, its principles of interpretation, and its leading thoughts, may serve to stimulate their studies. Against the continuously historical interpretation of the Book Dr. Milligan writes strongly. The school of historical interpreters, he says, has been irretrievably discredited by its explanations, hopelessly divergent from and contradictory of one another. To the Præterist system he objects mainly on exegetical grounds; "the Apocalypse bears distinctly upon its face," he says, "that it is concerned with the history of the Church until she enters upon her heavenly inheritance." The Futurist system is also set aside. The Book is regarded throughout, in this Commentary, therefore, "as taking no note of time whatever, except in so far as there is a necessary beginning, and at the same time an end, of the action with which it is occupied. All the symbols are treated as symbolical of principles rather than of events; and that, though it is at once admitted that some particular event, whether always discoverable or not, lies at the bottom of each."

Ecclesiastical Dilapidations. The History and Operation of the Act of 1871. By the Rev. J. W. MOORE, M.A., Rector of Hordley, Salop. Pp. 30. Parker and Co.

This pamphlet is ably written, and for many of the clergy will have a special interest. The subject should be fully discussed; but somehow it has been shunted. The Act of 1871, according to Sir Edmund Beckett, ought to be called *An Act for the benefit of Diocesan Surveyors*. It was condemned by a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1876; and we may quote a few of the Committee's remarks. They were of opinion that "the present Act has failed to accomplish the objects for which it was enacted; that it has provided no remedy for the most important

complaints under the old law ; that it has deprived the clergy of all power of acting in their own matters, of choosing their own advisers, and of all practical appeal against the Official Surveyor appointed under the Act." The Committee are of opinion, it was added, "that some legislative alteration is needed to remove the well-grounded complaints of a large body of the clergy." The machinery of the Act was condemned by the Committee as "cumbersome and expensive." In the pamphlet before us, illustrative cases are given. Here is an extreme case of hardship :

A. enters on a living in the year 1865 ; its value is £110 per annum derivable from land, on which are two cottages and some buildings suitable for a small farm. On his entrance he receives for dilapidations £38 5s. He spends, during his occupation, between £500 and £600 on these buildings, etc., and on his parsonage-house. On vacating the benefice in 1872 he is charged, under the recent Act, £737 ! After an infinite deal of trouble, anxiety and correspondence, protracted through several months before he could get any redress, in consequence of the Bishop not having time to attend to the matter, a final arrangement is arrived at by which, from permission given to sell the cottages, the dilapidations are cut down to something under £100. Yet even then, for the privilege of giving his services to the cure of souls, A. received a very minus quantity indeed.

The Bishop of Manchester, it seems, is a great upholder of the Act, but he has deemed it necessary to put a curb on the exaggerated requirements of his Surveyor. "I have instructed," he said, in one of his Charges, "the Diocesan Surveyor to be satisfied with putting house and buildings in substantial repair. I have requested him not to order a cracked hearthstone or window-sill to be renewed when a little cement, which will make the present stone last, in spite of the crack, for perhaps a century, can be effected for half-a-crown. I have told him, in regard to glebe lands, that so long as the ring-fence is in good order he need not order the replacement of old interior fences ; and by *common-sense* action of this kind we have endeavoured to make, and I think I have succeeded in making, the Act work with as little friction as possible." This is all very well, adds Mr. Moore, if the Diocesan Surveyors will exercise that "common-sense" which the Bishop advises. But will they ? Certainly if such instructions as Bishop Fraser's became general, and were, in fact, generally regarded as binding, much objection would be silenced. Other Surveyors, however, ought to be called in, if the clergy desire it.

The Gospel History for the Young. Lessons on the Life of Christ adapted for use in Families and in Sunday Schools. By WILLIAM F. SKENE, D.C.L., LL.D., Historiographer Royal for Scotland. Vol. I. Edinburgh : David Douglas.

It is a healthy and cheering sign of the times that a layman eminent for his learning and ability should present to the public a series of Lessons on the Gospels for use in families and Sunday-schools, particularly when, as in the present case, it appears that the author has for many years been a Sunday-school teacher. We learn this fact from a modest prefatory note, and gladly record it. Anyhow, this "Gospel History for the Young" is one of the most valuable books of the kind ; we are not aware of any better, nor, indeed, of any so good. The title-page, like the preface, is modest ; but if we understand by "Sunday Schools," those of the upper classes, the character of the book will be more accurately described, or at least be better understood. Some culture is necessary, speaking broadly, in order that these very able and suggestive lessons may be really enjoyed. The style, however, is singularly clear ; and neither foot-notes nor references to authorities mar a single page.

The distinguished writer, it appears,

has for many years taught at a Sunday-school open to children of all Churches. The teaching is, therefore, unsectarian, and consists in the main of scriptures only, chapters in the Bible being read and then explained in conversation with the children. . . . He found, however, that though they thus became well acquainted with separate chapters of the four Gospels, and their meaning, they did not acquire any clear conception of the order of the events, or of the course of our Saviour's life. He, therefore, during the last few years, gave the senior class a course of lessons on the life of Christ.

Many teachers will be glad to have these lessons, and, for the matter of that, many students too. The book supplies a want. It is truly said that recent "Lives of Christ" are not likely to prove of much use to the young; and of recent Commentaries, which consist of annotations on individual verses, the same remark should be made. For thoughtful young men and young women, the plan of the present work has been happily chosen; it has great advantages. Many who will not follow, verse after verse, a detailed exposition, will appreciate sequential and readable "lessons" like these.

We thoroughly agree with Mr. Skene in regard to Dr. Abbot's "ingenious theory" of the origin of the Gospels. The Gospels as we have them now are the first written Gospels, and are the work of the authors whose names they bear, and were preceded by oral teaching only.

We may add that this volume is well printed in clear type, and contains a good map, and an illustration of the interior of a synagogue in Prague (the oldest in Europe).

Lectures, chiefly Expository, on St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians.

With Notes and Illustrations. By JOHN HUTCHISON, D.D., Bonnington, Edinburgh. Pp. 369. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1884.

We are pleased with this scholarly and suggestive book, and can strongly commend it. We do not remember the author's work on the "Messages to the Seven Churches;" but if it be as good as this it deserves to become known. "Lectures chiefly expository" are always welcome, provided that the exposition is fresh and pointed; and all "general readers" in theology, perhaps, will prefer a volume like the present to a formal commentary. Dr. Hutchison has been mindful of Bengel's direction: *Te totum applica ad textum; rem totam applica ad te*. We thoroughly agree with him that the mingling, within due limits, of the homiletical with the expository is the most profitable way of studying Scripture. Not a slight portion of these lectures, and not a few of the many choice sayings quoted in them, will be found helpful in time of trial, or in other experiences of the Christian career.

Two or three brief passages may be given here. On verse two, "in our prayers (*ἐν* τῇ, at the time of; definite seasons)," Dr. Hutchison writes:

In the distribution of his busy hours he had his seasons for private devotion. This with him was "a very deliberate and serious business—he had rules on the subject, and he strove, by God's help, to keep those rules." (Howson, *Character of Paul*, p. 161.) In a word, his religion was a life, and the heart of it was prayer.

On flattery (ii. 5) and covetousness, we read:

"A man that flattereth his neighbour spreadeth a net for his feet." Not only this most degrading and loathsome form of flattery is here disclaimed, but also that other and less hateful kind of it, which at first sight may even appear the outcome of goodness of heart—that thoughtless insincerity of men who—

"Paint their talk

With colours of the heart which are not theirs."

This, too, though it be not deeply tinged with malice, or selfishness, or spurious friendliness, and as such it is disclaimed by Paul. . . . It is a short and natural step for the Apostle's thoughts to pass from flattery to that which is the essence—

the very soul of all flattery—covetousness; that form of self-interest which is sure to show itself in “flattering words.” He disclaims, that is to say, in regard to his former ministry in Thessalonica, all prettexts such as avarice employs,—that master-lust of the human heart which is never satisfied—

“That satiate yet unsatisfied desire, that tub

Both filled and running”—

(Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, i. 6; compare Plato, *Gorgias*, 493, where the desire of man is compared with a sieve or pierced vessel, which he is always trying to fill, but which is never full),—that vice which potentially includes all others. (Cato, *De Moribus*, ‘Avaritia omnia vitia habet.’)¹

On God’s faithfulness (v. 24) Dr Hutchison writes as follows :

God is faithful in the matter of His people’s sanctification, and that is the main point with every regenerated soul. God’s faithfulness, further, is declared in relation to His own gracious covenant. “He that calleth you;” the present participle represents the calling as being a continuous work of grace. He who gives this calling from on high will prove faithful to His own purpose, His design in making His people “meet for the inheritance of the saints in light.” He cannot suffer His own calling to become null and void. There lies, therefore, in His calling a blissful guarantee of their final sanctification, for His faithfulness is allied with infinite power.

In his comments on 2 Ep. i. 7-10, the description of the future of the ungodly, Dr. Hutchison protests against the suggestion of Dr. Farrar that here, in almost the earliest Epistle, are words “written at a moment of extreme exacerbation against the Jews of Thessalonica.” Did St. Paul ever turn his back on the teaching of his “early” Epistle? Have we not here the teaching of the Holy Ghost? Besides, as Dr. Hutchison says, the “exacerbation” extended to the Gentile foes of the Thessalonian Church as well as to the Jewish.

Our limits are passed. We can only add that this book is well printed in large type.

Day-Dawn in Dark Places; a Story of Wanderings and Work in Bechuanaland. By Rev. JOHN MACKENZIE, Tutor of the Moffat Institution, Kuruman. Pp. 278. Cassell and Company.

IN THE CHURCHMAN, Vol. IV., on page 200 and on page 271, appears a reference to the author of the book now before us. Major Pinto, in his “How I crossed Africa,” mentions Mr. Mackenzie as deserving special honour among devoted missionaries, and Dr. Holub, in his “Seven Years in South Africa,” writes in the warmest terms of Mr. Mackenzie, then working at Shoshong, as a noble-hearted and accomplished man, thoroughly a messenger of love. The testimony of the Portuguese traveller (“good Catholic” as he was) with that of the German doctor and explorer, has been amply supported in many ways by men of different creeds and classes. Even while we were reading Mr. Mackenzie’s book a meeting was being arranged in London to do him honour. Having been appointed by the Colonial Office Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland, he was entertained by Sir W. McArthur, M.P., at a farewell breakfast. The Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P. (Under-Secretary for the Colonies), Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir Henry Barkley, and many supporters of missionary work in South Africa were present. The Chairman said :

¹ The learned writer, in commenting on the “cloke of covetousness,” uses a word which many of his readers, in *England* at all events, will not understand. “To KYTHE in its real colours,” means “to APPEAR in its right colours.” The transitive verb may be found in Burns—

“Their faces blythe, fu’ sweetly *kythe*
Hearts leal, an’ warm, an’ kin’.”

When Mr. Mackenzie succeeded Dr. Moffat, he carried on the good work in the spirit which had characterised the efforts both of Moffat and of Livingstone to raise the Bechuana in the social scale. For twenty-five years Mr. Mackenzie had lived far beyond even the advanced posts of civilization, in the very heart of the African wilderness, and the estimation in which he was held by the natives was seen in the fact that when the negotiations for the Convention just concluded with the delegates from the Transvaal were about to begin, Mankoroane, one of the Bechuana chiefs, telegraphed to Lord Derby to allow "his teacher," as he called Mr. Mackenzie, to represent him at the Colonial Office, and the ability which Mr. Mackenzie displayed in that capacity prepared the way for his appointment to the important office which he now fills.

The volume before us is mainly on pioneer work in Bechuanaland. Other work has since engaged the author's attention, both at Shoshong and at Kuruman, "the story of which," writes Mr. Mackenzie, "may be told elsewhere." It was in 1876 that he removed from Shoshong to Kuruman, where an institution has been erected in memory of the honoured veteran, Dr. Moffat. At Kuruman, there is a boarding-school for boys, under Mr. Wookey, and another for girls under Mrs. Cockin. The theological students and boys are taught gardening and field-work as practised by Europeans, while cultivating the gardens which have been set apart for the Moffat Institution. Mr. Wookey, whose health failed on the East African Mission after he had successfully performed the journey to Ujiji, has returned to Bechuanaland, in which he had previously laboured. With a stable Government in the land, says Mr. Mackenzie, the educational work at Kuruman could be indefinitely extended. Speaking of the Bamangwato tribe at Shoshong, our author affirms that in little more than twenty years the trade of the country has entirely changed; the clothing of the people has also changed; and so, to a great extent, have their domestic and other implements. There is great promise. The successes achieved in the Bechuanaland Mission, says Mr. Mackenzie, "should lead to aggressive work in the regions beyond."

We heartily recommend this interesting book. It is thoroughly readable, full of incident, bright, eminently *real*, with many graphic sketches of life and custom. It is, in short, one of the best missionary books of the time, and to its other attractions are added a large number of good illustrations. Young people will enjoy it.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Extracts covering a comprehensive circle of religious and allied topics. Edited by Rev. Canon SPENCE, M.A., Rev. J. S. Exell, M.A., Rev. C. NEIL, M.A. I. Christian Evidences. II. The Holy Spirit. III. The Beatitudes. IV. The Lord's Prayer. V. Man, and his Traits of Character. With Introduction by Very Rev. J. S. HOWSON, D.D. Pp. 540. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1884.

We are pleased with this volume; it is a very promising portion of a great work. The selections are wise and well arranged. Some such undertaking was really needed. Our notice of Volume II. must, as far as length goes, be worthy of this work.

Biblical Geography in a Nutshell. Containing many of the most recent identifications; with an elementary map of Bible Lands. By M. SHEKLETON. With an introductory note by Rev. A. W. LEET, D.D., Incumbent of Bethesda Chapel, Dublin. Edinburgh: James Gemmel.

A good hand-book for teachers, and for conductors of Bible-classes.

The "Legal History" of Canon Stubbs; being the Basis of the New Scheme of Ecclesiastical Courts proposed by the Royal Commissioners of 1881-3. Reviewed by J. T. TOMLINSON, Lay-Member of the Manchester Diocesan Conference. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross, S.W. 1884.

This is an ably-written pamphlet, and for many of our readers it will have an especial interest. Our review must be deferred. In the second edition of Sir E. Beckett's vigorous pamphlet, after a reference to Convocation, occurs this paragraph:

I am glad to find that this substantially agrees with the conclusion of another Oxford Professor of History, Mr. Montagu Burrows, in his "Parliament and the Church of England." Mr. Tomlinson's lately published "Review of the Report" proves still more than I have, that when Professor Stubbs has a theological object in view his historical object-glass is not only far from achromatic, but so defective that vision through it is altogether distorted, and its "images" altogether imaginary. He seems to feel at liberty to "read" anything "into" Acts of Parliament, and anything out of them, according to his own theories or any contemporary gossip as to what was intended to be done by somebody. The *Edinburgh Reviewer* evidently thinks the same of him.

The River of Golden Sand. The narrative of a journey through China and Eastern Tibet to Burmah. By the late Captain GILL, R.E. Condensed by E. C. BABER, Chinese Secretary to Her Majesty's Legation at Peking. Edited, with a memoir and introductory essay, by Colonel H. YULE, C.B., R.E. With portrait, map, and woodcuts. John Murray.

This is a very readable book; more, it is one of those "first-class" books of travel which one likes not only to read but to keep. A handy volume, well-printed, with many pleasing illustrations, and a good map. We can well understand that Miss Gill desired that an illustrated edition of "*The River of Golden Sand*" should be prepared as a memorial of her deeply-lamented brother; and Colonel Yule's brief memoir gives to the book a certain completeness. Mr. Baber, who has abridged the narrative, was one of Captain Gill's most valued friends, and was his companion on the ascent of the Yang-Tzu.¹ William Gill was born in 1843 at Bangalore; educated at Brighton College, and from the Royal Military Academy he passed out with his commission in the Royal Engineers in 1864. The remembrance of his journeying in China, and of the closing scene of his daring and devoted life, is still fresh. With Professor Palmer and Lieutenant Charrington, he was murdered in the Wady Sadr, August, 1882. He was one of the many "fine fellows" of Brighton College. This volume contains many passages of exceeding interest.

St. Peter and Rome. A Link Missing, as shown in a Correspondence with a Priest of the Church of Rome. Edited by the Rev. R. W. KENNION, M.A., Rector of Acle, Norfolk. Pp. 120, Church of England Book Society.

This is a very welcome addition to an important controversy. It demonstrates, in the author's usually clear and lucid style, how slender and unsubstantial is the foundation upon which the Church of Rome builds one of her weightiest theories. The substance of this interesting little volume is an epistolary correspondence carried on in a courteous and friendly spirit between Mr. Kennion and a Romish priest whom he

¹ "*The River of Golden Sand*" is a translation of the name Kin-Sha-Kiang, or, (in the new orthography) Chin-Sha-Chiang ("*Gold Sand River*"), by which Chinese geographers style the great Tibetan branch of the Yang-Tzu.

had casually met in his travels abroad. It is gratifying to note, by the way, a signal instance of the good use of opportunity, and, in the contents of the book itself, a model illustration of the manner in which even acute differences should be handled by the Christian controversialist. The line taken by the Romish priest, in support of the pretensions of the Papacy, is highly significant. We are to receive the disputed fact of the presence of St. Peter at some time in Rome on the "authority of the Church," which "authority" is itself based on the disputed fact. The "Church" is the majority of the Bishops who have remained in union from the beginning. It is to the Church so constituted that such promises as those in St. John xiv. 17, and St. Mark xvi. 15, 16, were made, and, by consequence, submission to its decision becomes submission to that of Christ. To all this Mr. Kennion gives a crushing refutation. His argument respecting the differences between *real* and *official* authority is well worth attentive study. Any assumption of infallibility, whether by an individual or a Church, is shown from Scripture and history to be alike false and dangerous, and the Word of God to be the only legitimate final court of appeal for every true Protestant. There is some very convincing writing about St. Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians. The suppression of this Epistle (called by Irenæus "a very powerful Epistle") for many centuries, and then its re-appearance in the Eastern instead of the Western Church, is shown to be probably due to the fact that its contents were found to be altogether inconsistent with the pretensions of the Mediæval Church of Rome, and that they pointed inferentially with sufficient clearness to St. Peter's travels and martyrdom being entirely unconnected with Rome. The arguments on both sides of this question are interesting and able. They will be found on pp. 25, 26, 58 *sqq.*, 74, 75, 92, 99. Mr. Kennion's suggestion about the tendency to look to St. Peter rather than St. Paul being due to the growth of Ebionite opinions amongst the Jewish Christians seems not unreasonable, and his remarks about the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions are cogent and forcible. This romance was evidently, he considers, the fruit of those opinions, and its acceptance a most remarkable circumstance. In a footnote on p. 69 he draws attention to an article on "Clementine Literature" in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, from the pen of Dr. Salmon, which will repay careful perusal. His antagonist meets him on this ground also. His arguments will be found on pp. 67, 68. To the impartial reader of this excellent little work, we think that the "missing link" in the chain of evidence whereupon rests the Pope's claim upon belief and obedience will be shown to be still "missing," and that, whether we regard the time in which the alleged witnesses to the presence of St. Peter at Rome lived, or the way in which they gave their evidence, or the possibility of their statements being otherwise explicable, he will arrive at the conclusion that the case of the Romish Church is "not proven,"—nay, more, that the balance of sound argument tells overwhelmingly against it. We heartily commend the book as sound and convincing in argument, written in a clear and taking style, and in every respect worthy of the author's reputation as a skilful and courteous controversialist.

M. A.

The Clergy Directory and Parish Guide. T. Bosworth and Co., 66, Great Russell Street. 1884.

This volume reached us too late for notice in the March CHURCHMAN. We are pleased to repeat our commendation. Two or three new features, we observe, have been introduced.

In the *National Review* appears a paper signed "JANETTA MANNERS," a sequel to "Rich Men's Dwellings," and a thoroughly admirable paper. The *National Review* is doing good service, as we lately remarked, in calling forth and publishing such "sermons" (to quote the *Saturday Review's* epithet) as these ; social science sermons, which the luxury and self-indulgence of the times require. It is probable that the heads of many households would gladly follow the suggestions put forward in the December *National Review*, and diminish their expenditure on superfluities in order to provide their poorer neighbours with opportunities of earning necessities ; but it appears to them hardly possibly to do so, as they have fallen into the grooves of custom. Habit has become second nature. Within the last twenty years there has been a growth of culture and of self-indulgence. The so-called requirements of society have been increasing. Fifty years ago the machinery of daily life was less complicated, less costly than it is at present. A hundred years ago still greater simplicity prevailed.

Lady John Manners, at the outset, refers to shooting parties : "Men of the old school," we read, "seldom troubled themselves to take more than a biscuit or a sandwich when they rode across country, or had a hard day's shooting. It is true that the great battues that are at present the fashion, which are, indeed, very serious undertakings, had not then been heard of. Country gentlemen considered shooting more in the light of a recreation in those days, whereas now that vast sums are spent on preserving, the organization of a 'great shoot' is a matter of importance, involving the destruction of, perhaps, three or four thousand pheasants. Now, when parties are entertained in well-appointed sporting country houses in England, or in shooting-lodges in Scotland, a succession of meals, each partaking more or less of the character of a dinner, occupies the attention of the guests, with brief intervals for rest, from morning hours till long past dewy eve.

"Before the ladies—indeed, before most of the gentlemen—leave their bed, dainty little services of tea and bread-and-butter are carried to them. Sometimes the younger men prefer brandy-and-soda. Fortified by these refreshments, the non-sporting guests come to breakfast about ten. Four hot dishes, every sort of cold meats that might fitly furnish forth a feast, fruits, cakes, tea, coffee, cocoa, claret on the sideboard, constitute a satisfactory breakfast, often prolonged till within two hours and a half of luncheon. The shooters have probably breakfasted earlier. The important institution of luncheon begins at two. Again the table is spread with many varieties of flesh and fowl, hot and cold proofs of the cook's ability ; plain puddings for those who study their health, creations in cream for those who have not yet devoted themselves to that never-failing source of interest. Coffee is often served after lunch, which is usually over soon after three. If a shooting-party has gone out, Norwegian stoves, crammed with hot dishes of an appetizing character, have been despatched to the scene of action. Though champagne is sometimes sent, your crack shot, as a rule, sticks to the whisky or to claret ; unless, indeed, he prefers some happy thought of his own, such as a mixture of curaçoa and brandy in his flask. If hunting is the order of the day, good-sized cases have been prepared, which the second horsemen carry slung on their backs. The ladies gather round the tea-table about five, usually showing much appreciation of any little surprises in the way of muffins, or tea-cakes, provided by a thoughtful hostess. When the shooters come in, some will probably join the ladies, perhaps a few may like a little champagne, but tea and talk tempt the majority. One or two who have shot very steadily, and

"are themselves wise old birds, will retire to their rooms, and, perhaps, get between the sheets for an hour or two. About half past six the hostess will probably withdraw to see that there is a menu written out for each guest, unless it has been printed. At eight, or half-past, dinner will be served. The floral arrangements are probably elaborate, and have generally been carried out by the head-gardener, or the groom of the chambers: the saying, 'C'est le trop qui nuit,' is sometimes forgotten, for occasionally the table-cloth is almost hidden by masses of greenery, or literally strewn, like a forest path, with fading autumn leaves. Sometimes baskets of flowers are sent from Paris, or from Nice, to form the centre of a group. The art of decorating a table is now studied by professional experts in that branch." In what are called "good houses" the dinners are of a moderate length. "By ten, or half past," writes Lady John Manners, "dinner is generally over. Coffee is brought into the dining-room, while the gentlemen smoke. It is whispered that some of the ladies enjoy a post-prandial cigarette. Liqueurs and tea are offered during the evening, and keep up flagging energies till the ladies ostensibly go to bed, after a little money has changed hands at poker or loo:

Then the serious business of the night begins for the gentlemen, who dive into the recesses of the smoking-room—recesses formerly sacred to them; but it is rumoured that the rustlings of tea-gowns have sometimes been heard in those hitherto inviolable retreats, and that if a billiard-table is to be found in the smoking-room, its attractions draw ladies thither. Brews of many kinds are prepared—effervescing waters, whisky, brandy, claret, lemons in profusion must be at hand, for the saying, "So many men, so many minds," may be rendered, "So many men, so many tastes."

"If, when the party breaks up," we read, "the complicated arrangements essential to the working of the commissariat have been successfully carried out, if the shooting has been first-rate, if the wine has been so good that no one has felt particularly jumpy or chippy, the host and hostess will be rewarded. For several of the guests will probably observe, 'So-and-so really does you very well.' But, in order to obtain this encomium, the host and hostess, the butler, the groom of the chambers, the housekeeper, the cook, in fact, the whole staff indoors, the head-keeper and his myrmidons, the different heads of the out-door departments, and, if in Scotland, the fishermen and the gillies, must each be first-rate people in their respective lines, who know their duty, and are determined to do it."

"The increase of expenditure on the table," writes Lady John Manners, "has extended to other branches of household finance:

Much more is spent by ladies on dress than was formerly the case; yet good, useful, and pretty materials may be had for very moderate prices. When, however, the home-spun tweed, or the cambric, is made up by a tailor, or a first-rate dressmaker, ten or twelve pounds will be charged for it. This sum used to be the price of a silk-gown. Many ladies at the present time, whose fortunes cannot be considered large, spend six hundred a year on their toilettes; and it is not unusual for a thousand to be expended by those who go out a great deal. Sixty guineas for a Court dress is a not uncommon price. Though brocades and satins now rival in richness those in the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth, they do not seem to possess equally lasting qualities. At all events, many of their wearers are "constant to a constant change."

"There are now costumes for every variation of the barometer, specially adapted for every occasion. At five-o'clock tea the most glowing velvets and rich laces may replace the sensible serge suit for an hour, until the tea-gown has to be changed for the less comfortable but equally costly dinner dress. Young unmarried girls were formerly

"dressed with the utmost simplicity. White draperies, like those Sir Joshua Reynolds used to paint, were considered in every respect most suitable for them; but now, too often, three, four, or five hundred a year are spent on the dress of a girl whose fortune may never exceed that amount. How much kinder it would be, instead of letting the money dissolve into clouds of filmy net, to lay aside a part of it to increase her marriage portion. It has been said that, no matter how humble the dwelling, wherever a young man and a young woman who love each other make their home, *there* is Paradise. But, with the expensive habits of our days, it requires some courage for a young couple who have passed their early years in luxury to marry on small means. Experience, however, shows that those who determine to live with simplicity, and to exercise self-denial for the sake of each other, may enjoy the perpetual feast of mutual affection without spending largely. But it is easier to begin married life in an economical manner than to retrench later."

The *Fortnightly Review* for March is an average number. The editor gives a capital sketch of Mr. Hayward, and Lady Gregory's "Glimpses of the Soudan" is just now very welcome; but the most important contribution to the number is undoubtedly Mr. Justice Stephen's article on "Blasphemy and Blasphemous Libel." It is a severe and closely reasoned criticism on Lord Coleridge's summing up in the case of *R. v. Foote and Others*, and it is scarcely too much to say that the Lord Chief Justice's arguments are here simply pulverised. Mr. Justice Stephen's view of the present law is the same as that given by "A Barrister-at-Law" in our pages (*CHURCHMAN*, July, 1883). But we deeply regret to say that the learned judge gives his support to those who are clamouring for the repeal of the law. Without a particle of sympathy for those who have lately outraged society by their blasphemies, Mr. Justice Stephen contends that since the law does not permit even decent and serious attacks on Christianity, and that a law which leaves it to juries to say whether the "decencies of controversy" have been violated in any case of this kind would never work, it would be best to abolish the blasphemy laws altogether. "You cannot," he says, "distinguish between substance and style." Further, he urges very strongly his dislike of the law as he interprets it, and contends that it is based on the principle of persecution. He suggests that blasphemy and blasphemous libel should cease to be offences at common law at all, that the statute of William III. should be repealed, and that it should be enacted that no one except beneficed clergymen of the Church of England should be liable to ecclesiastical censures for "atheism, blasphemy, heresy, schism, or any other opinion," and alternatively that it should be enacted that Lord Coleridge's doctrine should prevail. With all due deference to the opinion of the learned judge, we must express our unqualified dissent from these conclusions. As he has lucidly put it, Lord Coleridge's doctrine is untenable and unworkable, while, on the other hand, there is nothing to show that the law as it stands is productive of injustice. Christianity is the national religion, and must be protected against attack, for the good of the nation. It is wholly beside the question to say that those who are not Christians are entitled to all the privileges of Christians; and the blasphemy laws are framed so as to at once protect believers and to defend aggressive unbelievers from the consequences of their own acts. Further, nothing has happened to render the maxim that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land" of less vital importance to the well-being of the community. We must acknowledge that religion and morality need no longer be maintained as the foundations of government before we can consent to open the floodgates to the tide of atheism and

agnosticism which are surging against and seeking to sap the foundations of the Constitution. It is indeed very significant that while Mr. Justice Stephens urges the abolition of the blasphemy laws in the *Fortnightly Review*, Lord Shaftesbury, speaking at the Mansion House, should give us the dark side of a picture of our own times which affords much ground for hope :

There never was in my experience a time when there was so much unbelief. There never was a time when there was such a succession of hideous opinions, which although they passed as rapidly as they came, yet certainly distracted and perverted the public mind. These agents, whatever be their title—atheists or agnostics—are concentrated and disciplined. They are aggressive, they are marshalled : and children even now are trained to be missionaries of evil and to go out and mislead all the little ones whom they may chance to find in the courts and alleys.

Yet this is the time when many are crying out for license in the name of liberty !

The *March Quiver* is a good number. There is always wholesome reading in this magazine.—In the *C. M. Intelligencer* appears an account of Mr. Mackay's voyage across the Victoria Nyanza, in July, and of the subsequent movements of Messrs. Mackay, Wise, and Gordon at the south end of the Lake. The article, "Bishop Ridley and the North Pacific Mission," will have been read by many with a painful interest. It will call forth prayer.—In *Light and Truth* (S. W. Partridge), the rumour of Bishop Riley's resignation is contradicted. The treasurer of the Mexican Church writes : "Bishop Riley has not resigned, nor has he any thought of doing so—nor would his resignation be accepted by the Church here were he to present it." This periodical deserves to be supported.—The *Sunday at Home* has a good paper on General Gordon, with portrait.—In the *Foreign Church Chronicle* is an interesting article on Padre Curci's new book "Vaticano Regio." It is curious to see how Curci has been gradually growing in enlightenment since his constant association with the Jesuits has ceased, and how he has involuntarily moved further from that edifice which he now contemplates with mournful discouragement. Still a Romanist, Curci declares that there is in the Italian clergy "an abasement of the moral sense unexampled in history, and produced by the Curial terrorism which hoodwinks them." The reviewer in the *Chronicle* (an Italian) says :

He speaks of the worst of Roman wounds, namely, that we see those who belong to the Church occupied all their lives with everything else, and especially with gaining riches, and leaving all matters of religion "till twenty minutes before their death, often till arrangements are already being made concerning the sick man with the grave-digger." He declares that "in the conscience, the spirit, the life of almost all (Roman) Catholics, Jesus Christ is wanting" (p. 113), so that instead of finding faithful believers amongst those who look to the Divine promise as a rule of life and faith, the Vatican prefers those ever open [literally, "grinning trap-doors"] mouths of whom there will never be a scarcity as long as it has honours and coppers to hire them" (p. 116).

The *Church Worker* well says :

The large donation of £10,000 made to the Church Missionary Society by its Honorary Secretary, as the nucleus of a Fund for providing the Church Missionaries' Children's Home at Highbury with a suitable building in the country, is, combined with the circumstances of the gift, an appeal which must prove irresistible. Nor will the whole of its effect be confined to the religious world. An act of the kind inspires feelings which the freethinkers of the age will not object to share with Christians, and who can tell what rooted prejudices, on the side of the former, may not be shaken thereby ? The knowledge that the

Society under whose auspices they work is intent on fulfilling its obligations to them in the best possible manner, will lighten the hearts of many in the harvest-fields abroad, who, in the suggestive language of the donor, "have to entrust the bringing up of their children to the Committee." The gift is in the names of the Rev. F. E. and Mrs. Wigram.

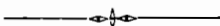
Vol. III. of *Present Day Tracts* (Religious Tract Society) is an excellent portion of a very good series. The essay by the Dean of CANTERBURY on the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch is the best thing of the kind we have ever read. Little is said about Professor Robertson Smith's book, but its weakness is well brought out. Sir WILLIAM MUIR and Dr. WACE are among the contributors.

We are pleased (and by no means surprised) to see a second edition of *Stepping-stones to Higher Things*, by Captain CHURCHILL; an excellent little book, bright and earnest, some months ago recommended in these pages. The gallant Captain's writings are always thoroughly sensible as well as sound.

Messrs. John F. Shaw and Co. have commenced a sixpenny edition of some of their excellent Tales and Stories. We have received No. 4 and No. 5 of "Shaw's Home Series," Miss HOLT's *Sister Rose*, a tale of St. Bartholomew, which we strongly recommend, and *The Boys' Watchword*.

Twelve Simple Addresses, by a Workhouse Visitor (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), may be found by many very useful; simple, earnest, and affectionate.

In reply to a correspondent, we strongly recommend "The Revision Revised," by the Dean of CHICHESTER (J. Murray). He will find it a deeply interesting book, one which will richly repay careful study. From each of the three *Quarterly Review* articles we quoted several passages at the time; but these articles have been revised, and have a permanent interest and value. As to the translation of the Revised Version, we have no desire to withdraw anything that we wrote; upon the text, as everyone knows, Dean BURGON has thrown fresh light. His book exhibits a combination of research and literary power rarely equalled. Our correspondent is mistaken, we may add, in supposing that the text of Dr. Hort's book, or his textual theory, has ever in anywise been defended in THE CHURCHMAN.



THE MONTH.

THE question of a real Diaconate in the Church of England has of late been worthily discussed, and the movement with which, to a great extent, the Convocation of the Northern Province is identified, is evidently gaining strength. The resolution proposed by the Bishop of Winchester, at the last sitting of the Convocation of Canterbury, seconded by the Bishop of Exeter, and carried unanimously, marks distinctly an advance.¹ The resolution ran thus:

This House is of opinion that, in view of the overwhelming need of increase in the number of the ministry and the impossibility of providing sufficient endowments for the purpose, it is expedient to ordain to the

¹ The March CHURCHMAN was being printed when the reports of this very interesting debate appeared.

office of deacon men possessing other means of living, who are willing to aid the clergy gratuitously, provided that they be tried and examined according to the Preface of the Ordinal, and in particular be found to possess a competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, of the Book of Common Prayer, and of theology in general; provided also that they be in no case admitted to the priesthood unless they can pass all the examinations which are required in the case of other candidates for that office, and that they shall have devoted their whole time to spiritual labour for not less than four years, unless they are graduates, before they present themselves for these examinations.

The Bishop of Winchester, after referring to lay-readers,¹ said :

From the debate which they had had already, it was quite clear that much was needed in the way of additional ministrations in the Church. His own feeling had been for a long time that unless they could find some other expedient than those they had already tried, it would be inevitable for them to lower the standard, socially and intellectually, of the clergy. By adding to the diaconate a certain number of persons in the way proposed in the resolution, he thought they might be able to keep the priesthood at the same high level as at present, if not at a higher level. He was sure they were all pressed often to admit to holy orders persons whom they felt they should like in many ways to have in the ministry, but whom they did not think of the mark socially and intellectually that they desired. He had had a number of people come to him whom he felt that he should be very glad to admit to the diaconate if he could have a certainty that they would not proceed to the priesthood, at least for a considerable time. But he did not think it right to admit persons to an extended diaconate unless agreed upon by the Church generally.

The Diaconate movement, as our readers are aware, has been supported in *THE CHURCHMAN* from the first. In particular, articles by Dean Fremantle, Canon Jackson, and Mr. Sydney Gedge, have appeared in our pages. We thankfully record the resolution of the Upper House of Canterbury.

In the Lower House, the result of discussion on the Church Courts was the acceptance by an overwhelming majority, of course, of the resolutions of the committee.²

¹ The Bishop of St. Asaph spoke of the great danger of doing away with that deep sense which now pervaded the public mind as to the importance of ordination. Great inconvenience would arise if unordained men were allowed to preach in consecrated buildings. It appeared to him that it would not only be at variance with usage, but contrary to the law, to allow such men "to take upon themselves the office of public preaching in the congregation," and he believed that a building licensed by the Bishop for divine worship stood on precisely the same basis in that respect as a consecrated building. And if they were to allow persons who had not been duly ordained to preach in consecrated or licensed buildings, they would be setting aside the provisions of the law.

² The Dean of Peterborough said : Lord Coleridge was of opinion that the discretion of the Bishop had been abused. He (the Dean) would not raise that question, but he asserted that there was very great danger of the abuse. He would instance a case which was not a fictitious one.

An address has been presented to Bishop Jacobson by the clergy beneficed and licensed in the diocese of Chester.

Bishop Lightfoot's Church Extension Fund has reached the sum of £30,000. At a meeting of the Bishop of Rochester's Ten Churches Fund, the Archbishop of York made an admirable speech.

In reply to the Memorial on the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, the Dean of Canterbury received a letter from the chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, acknowledging the receipt. The Archbishop of York wrote as follows :

Bishopsthorpe, York, 21st February, 1884.

MY DEAR MR. DEAN,

I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the Memorial which you have sent me, recommending that legal effect should be given to the Recommendations of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, reserving, however, two important points on which the memorialists differ from the conclusions of the Commission.

As far as I can gather, there is no prospect of advantage from an attempt to legislate on these Recommendations at present, the differences of opinion, especially on the constitution of the Court of Appeal, are so great ; but the opinion of a body so important as that which is represented by this Memorial, cannot fail to exercise a material influence upon public opinion in arriving at its conclusions upon this matter.

I am, my dear Mr. Dean, with much respect,

Yours truly,
W. EBOR.

The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury.

The venerable Earl of Shaftesbury has been entertained by the Lord Mayor ; at a very remarkable gathering of ministers of religion, philanthropists, and men of mark in religious and social movements, the illustrious guest spoke with his wonted power.

In moving for a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the poor in populous places, the Marquis of Salisbury

They might go into a parish and find a very earnest clergyman who adopted practices which had been, over and over again, decided by the Ecclesiastical Courts to be illegal. The clergyman carried the whole parish with him. The Bishop, of course, had no representation made to him at all. Apparently the parishioners were perfectly content. Why should the clergyman be interfered with ? It subsequently happened that there came into the parish a gentleman of large property with a very large household. He went to the church, and he was shocked at what he saw. He said, " I cannot attend my parish church. I must either go to the Dissenting meeting-house, or I must drive to another parish church several miles distant." If he went to the Bishop and made a complaint, the Bishop would say, " I find that the parish is admirably worked. I find that the clergyman is a most zealous and most devoted man, and I decline to interfere." Surely the House ought to consider the rights of the Christian laity. He sympathized with every word which had fallen from Archdeacon Farrar.

made an excellent speech. The Prince of Wales spoke with effect, and Lord Shaftesbury was listened to with marked deference.

Mr. Marriott emphasized his defection from the Government ranks on the Vote of Censure by an appeal to his constituents. Brighton re-elected him by a great majority.

The return of Mr. Bradlaugh for Northampton by an increased majority is a very regrettable fact.

In regard to Archbishop Tait and the Ecclesiastical Courts Report, Sir Edmund Beckett has addressed a letter to the *Record* :

Every recorded fact, he says, in those two Blue Books tends to refute and not to support the conjecture that the late Archbishop would have signed such a report either as to its history or its recommendations.

At the London Diocesan Conference the attendance was extremely good ; the speaking was lively and practical ; some of the reports presented are of much interest and value. We note with pleasure the election of Mr. Eugene Stock, a man of ability and judgment, as one of the three representatives to the Central Council.

The proclamations of General Gordon, in reference to the Mahdi and the slave-traffic, are not yet explained. His position at Khartoum, we fear, is full of danger.

It is almost impossible to make out what is Mr. Gladstone's policy in regard to Egypt. There are rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet. Of the two victories over the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Suakim, with a sad loss of life, what is to be said ? Five or six thousand Arabs were killed.

Some of the most telling speeches against the Government of late, have been made by their own supporters. Mr. Goschen and Mr. Forster, for instance, have spoken with effect on both the Egyptian and the Franchise questions.

The question of the franchise as regards Ireland, it is felt by many Liberals, ought not to be considered apart from that of redistribution. Mr. Gladstone, in introducing his new Reform Bill, seemed to address himself particularly to the followers of Mr. Parnell.

The thoroughly loyal people of Ireland, and particularly the Protestants outside Ulster, may well feel uneasy.

Mr. Stanhope has spoken well on the annexation of Merv.

Sir Henry Brand, now Viscount Hampden, has received a very general and well-merited tribute of regard. The new Speaker is Mr. Arthur Peel.

Mr. H. Scott Holland has been made Canon of St. Paul's. He was ordained in 1872.

The new Convention with the Transvaal has been signed.