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JULY, 1890.

THE

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# LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1890.

## ART. I.—PROFIT-SHARING.

1. *Profit-Sharing between Employer and Employé.* A Study in the Evolution of the Wages System. By NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN, Boston, U.S.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.
2. *La Participation aux Bénéfices.* Par le Dr. VICTOR BÖHMERT, Dresden. Traduit de l'Allemand et mis à jour par M. ALBERT TROMBERT. Paris: Librairie Chaix. 1888.
3. *Bulletin de la Participation aux Bénéfices.* Paris: Librairie Chaix, 1889.

SINCE we last adverted to this subject* considerable progress has been made both in the study and in the practice of profit-sharing. The French Society, formed in 1879 for the purpose of collecting and diffusing information on the methods and results of *Participation aux Bénéfices*, has continued its labours, and, largely through its influence, many new experiments are being made throughout the Continents of Europe and America. One of the most remarkable and significant features of the Exhibition in Paris last year was the provision made for the practical study of social questions, and especially for the diffusion of useful ideas on the organisation and remuneration of industry. In this

* In our number for January 1887.

"Exhibition within the Exhibition," established on the *Champ de Mars* under the inspiration of the French Government, the Participation Society occupied a conspicuous position, and obtained the *Grand Prix* from the International Jury. The President of the Republic, accompanied by M. Léon Say, paid a prolonged visit to the pavilion of the Society. Over the central panel of the pavilion these distinguished visitors would see the names of more than 130 firms which have adopted the system of participation, and, before they left, they were presented with a little library of books, and pamphlets, and reports. Two of these books received gold medals, and will furnish the substance of our remarks. Professor Böhmert's 700 pages teem with facts, the most relevant and significant of which have been utilised with rare impartiality and skill by Mr. Gilman in his more popular, but not less methodical and able work. The interest and value of the latter volume are much enhanced by the descriptions it contains of the more recent experiments now being made and multiplied in the United States.

Should the information garnered in these volumes be disseminated, it will fall on ground prepared by constant agitation, and can hardly fail to spring up in increasing harvests both of peace and plenty in the time to come. How widespread and disastrous the incessant struggles between men and masters in the recent past have been may be gathered from the careful estimates that we are now about to quote. According to the 16th volume of the *Annuel* of the Bureau of General Statistics, there were, in France, during the decade 1874–85, no less than 804 strikes, 629 of which involved a loss to the workmen of 5,509,367 days; and only 43 per cent. of these succeeded in their aim. Still more startling are the statistics for America, that "paradise of labour." In his Third Annual Report, the United States Commissioner of Labour, Mr. Carroll D. Wright, fills 1000 pages with the details of 3902 strikes and lock-outs, involving 22,304 establishments, which occurred between 1881 and 1886. In these six years it is estimated that the loss to the strikers amounted to 51,814,723 dollars, and the loss to the employers to 34,163,814 dollars. To this must be added nearly four and a half million dollars

given in aid of the workmen, and over eight millions lost by the masters through lock-outs, making a total loss to the community of close upon 100,000,000 dollars, or, say, £20,000,000 sterling. The figures for 1887 are given in *The Age of Steel* for February 1888, as follows:—

"Bradstreet figures out that 10,000,000 days' time has been lost by 350,000 men; which points to nearly one month's wages sacrificed *per capita* as the average by strikers in 1887, or 8½ per cent. of the annual wages lost by probably one-tenth of the total number of industrial workers. . . . . The loss in wages was no less than 13,500,000 dollars, with which must be considered the heavy losses to employers."

Of England, Belgium, and Germany, the same sad story might be told. Unrest, dissatisfaction, armed truce or open war—these are the rule in the industrial world; contentment, peace, and harmony are the exceptions everywhere. How are we to account for this? Is this state of tension, varied only by the outbreak of hostilities, normal and inevitable? That it is normal, a glance at the existing industrial *régime* will show. That it is not inevitable, it is the object of the present article to illustrate and prove.

That the recent "labour troubles" in this country have been fostered and fomented, if not instigated, by the Socialists, who, though not so numerous in England and America as in Germany and France, are vigilant and active everywhere, admits of little doubt. Mr. John Burns, a prominent member of the Social Democratic Federation, tells us* that he and his companions had been "openly agitating and spreading discontent" among the London "dockers" for many years before the famous strike occurred in August last; and it is evident to all who are familiar with the tactics of the Federation that that gigantic and successful operation was only part of a skilfully planned manœuvre, directed in the first instance against the docks, as apparently the most vulnerable point of attack, but designed eventually to embrace all branches of the trade and industry of the metropolis.

But these professional agitators would be powerless if they did not find a fulcrum for their lever in the system they are

* *New Review*, October 1889, p. 414.

seeking to upset. In all trades and industries there are two great evils of which those employed in them complain. They are dissatisfied with the amount of remuneration paid to them, and with the methods followed in making that remuneration. Losing sight, to a large extent, of the risks run, and the losses incurred, and the exceptional abilities required in business, they complain that all the profits earned are appropriated by the employer; and they complain, though not so loudly, that their wages are calculated, not with reference to the value created by their individual toil and skill, but in an altogether arbitrary and haphazard way. And it is obvious that, with all its advantages to the great body of workmen, who are not able, at present, either to command the capital or to furnish the ability and enterprise and skill required, or to take the risks involved, or even to wait for the fruits of their industry, the wages system is full of drawbacks and defects. Most persons will agree with Mr. Gilman in declaring that "we cannot do without it, and we cannot endure it as it is." Under the system as commonly practised, instead of rewarding each one, according to the quantity and quality of his services, the employer is obliged to offer an average remuneration for a certain class of work. The natural consequence is indifference and lethargy, accompanied by a keen sense of injustice on the part of the best workmen, whose earnings are kept below their natural level by the indolence and inefficiency of less active and less able men. The system offers no inducement to a man to do his best.

Numerous modifications have been made in the wages system by means of piece-work, sliding scales, prizes for diligence, and excellence of workmanship, and for economy and care in the use of materials and machinery, and much has been done by means of arbitration and conciliation to lessen the friction between employers and the employed; but the mere fact that arbitration is still needed is a proof that these modifications of the system have failed to harmonise the discords incidental to, and apparently inseparable from, the prevalent industrial *régime*. Not one of these improvements is without its drawbacks; piece-work, for example, where it is practicable, usually increases the quantity of the product, but it does not

always improve its quality. The principle of the sliding scale is an admirable one, and it has been applied with excellent results in the English coal and iron industries; but it has hitherto been confined to those industries, and has not invariably been successful when applied to them. Prizes for economy and excellence, if they act as a stimulus to some, are apt to excite the jealousy of others. Of all these palliatives of the wages system it may be said, as Mr. Gilman says of arbitration: "Applied to the part where inflammation is most violent it is an excellent poultice, but a poor *regimen*."

What is needed is some plan by which the advantages of the present system can be retained and its deficiencies supplied; and, for the present, no plan seems so feasible and promising as that which, whilst remunerating all the factors in production—capital, direction, labour—at the current market rates, divides the surplus between them in defined proportions and according to mutual agreement. Broadly speaking, this is what is meant by profit-sharing. It is not a work of philanthropy, much less of charity; it is a plain, straightforward business arrangement for the mutual advantage of all concerned. It starts from the patent fact that a man's energies are usually exerted in proportion to his interest in the success of the enterprise in which he is engaged. Philanthropic motives often turn the scale in favour of the adoption of the scheme, but it is soon discovered that "it is an act of commercial policy conditionally to purchase the workman's interest as well as definitely to purchase his labour." Opinions differ greatly with respect to the application of the principle in particular cases; but there is a vast consensus of opinion in favour of the soundness and the excellence of the principle itself. After the most careful and exhaustive study of the system, and in full view of the objections urged against it, those who have earned the right to speak with authority on the subject agree with Mr. Gilman that "profit-sharing, the division of realised profits between the capitalist, the employer, and the employé, in addition to regular interest, salary, and wages, is the most equitable and generally satisfactory method of remunerating the three industrial agents." This plan has been cordially recommended

by most modern economists, and it has been shown to be practicable by a large number of firms in widely different circumstances, in a great variety of industries, through many years. So far from being "mere theory," it has been proved to be pre-eminently a practical, and, when worked with a fair amount of intelligence and mutual goodwill, a thoroughly successful plan.

The most valuable chapter in Mr. Gilman's book is that in which he gives detailed analyses, first, of the experiments made by six-and-thirty houses in which, for various reasons, most of them extraneous to the principle, profit-sharing is no longer practised; and, secondly, of a much larger number of experiments now being made. In almost every instance, past and present, the conclusion is warranted that, when heartily adopted and thoroughly worked, the system "advances the prosperity of an establishment by increasing the quantity of the product, by improving its quality, by promoting care of implements and economy of materials, and by diminishing labour difficulties and the cost of superintendence." These are not the only advantages of profit-sharing, its moral and social being quite as marked and beneficial as its economic effects; but, leaving these aside, we shall perhaps best meet the wishes of those who may be disposed to try the system if we condense and summarise the evidence in favour of its feasibility and economic soundness derived from instances in operation at the present time.

The "list of present cases" given by Mr. Gilman is not by any means complete. More than twenty additional cases in France and Germany are reported in the Parisian *Bulletin* for 1889; and it is well known that many firms both in Europe and America prefer not to publish facts until the system has been tried by them more fully and for a longer time. Still, the list contains the names of 135 houses engaged in a considerable variety of trades. In all but six of these, the plan has been in operation more than two years. In sixteen instances it has been tried for three years; in twenty-one for four, and in the same number for five years; in fifteen for eleven years; in thirty for sixteen; in fourteen for twenty-one; in five for over thirty; and in seven for more than forty years. Insigni-

ficant as these numbers may appear amid the mass of modern industry, the experience of these firms has much more weight than the not always well-informed and *à priori* adverse judgments of those who have not tried the plan. Their favourite maxim that "an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory" should lead business men, at all events, to examine for themselves the principles and the procedure of these varied and experienced profit-sharing firms.

They would find, in the first place, that the size of the establishment in not material. "Business concerns employing ten or a dozen men stand here in line with great establishments like the *Papeterie Coöperative* of Angoulême, the Chaix Press of Paris, the Pillsbury Flour Mills of Minneapolis, the Steinheil Cotton Factory, and the *Bon Marché* of Paris, with hundreds and thousands of men and women in their employ."

In the next place, they would discover that the nature of the occupation, though an important consideration, is not an infallible criterion as to the probable success or failure of profit-sharing. Some industries, of course, lend themselves more readily than others to the system, and contain a greater potency and promise of success. If profits depend more upon the business ability of the heads of the house than on the diligence and care of the employees; or if machinery plays the chief part in the enterprise, and the value of the plant is very great; or if the business is a precarious one and liable to frequent fluctuations; or if a considerable time elapses before the profits can be realised and estimated—all these things must be borne in mind, and be allowed full weight in organising each particular trade upon the profit-sharing, as upon the ordinary, plan. But where due care is exercised in allotting the profits to the various factors engaged in producing them; where, by means of a reserve fund, provision is made for the vicissitudes of trade; where the quickness or the slowness of returns is taken into account when fixing on the mode of distributing profits, it is found that in most industries the system can be worked with general, but not, of course, with equal or with uniform success.

Nor is a high degree of training and intelligence in the workmen essential to the working of the plan. Considerable

intelligence is necessary on the part of the employer. He needs to understand the system thoroughly if he is to approach it without exaggerated expectations, and to prosecute it perseveringly; but, with reasonable pains, he should not find it difficult to make his people understand the principle and appreciate the benefits which its successful application is calculated to confer. That there is no insuperable obstacle in the men themselves, the facts before us prove. In Mr. Gilman's list there are more than fifty different kinds of occupation, ranging in their intellectual demands, from the low degree required in agriculture and the iron industries, through the skill and training needed in the various handicrafts and manufactures, to the quick and disciplined intelligence displayed by banking and insurance clerks and literary men—and in not a single occupation has the system failed through the mental incapacity of the *personnel* engaged therein.

The two chief *forms* that profit-sharing has assumed may be described as the gratuitous and the contractual. The former is an elementary and paternal method, but it has many advantages over the simple wages system. It is especially valuable as a means of transition to the more elaborate and direct method presently to be described. Examples of this patriarchal system, as it is sometimes called, are to be found in almost every land. No agreement is entered into, but there is an understanding, tacit or expressed, that if the business prospers, bonuses on sales and salaries and wages will be paid. It was in this way that M. Leclaire began to interest his workmen before the bright idea occurred to him to enter into definite arrangements with them, whereby eventually they might become participators with him in the management as well as in the profits of his business, and by which, step by step, he might transform a private firm into a model co-operative association.

The principal reasons assigned for preferring the "indeterminate" to the "determinate" method of participation are the natural shrinking from publicity, and the possible injury to their business standing, felt by many firms; and these reasons have some weight. But the system is a very imperfect one, and is open to many objections. The motive it brings

to bear upon them is not definite enough to fully stimulate the efforts of the participators; the bonus looks too like a charity; it often fails to remove suspicions of bad faith or partiality, and frequently it comes to be regarded, not as a gratuity, but as a right. A remarkable report was presented to the Social Economy Section at the Paris Exhibition, a few translated and abbreviated extracts from which will illustrate the drawbacks to this system, and point out the advantages of substituting the direct and complete for the roundabout and rudimentary method of distributing the bonus granted by the masters to the men. We refer to the Report of the Blanzy Mining Company of Monceau-le-Mines, in the Department of Saône-et-Loire, some years ago the victim of a violent and disastrous strike. From the year 1877, the Company had made generous and self-sacrificing efforts to improve the condition of the miners. It had founded several benevolent institutions for their benefit. But all their efforts were met with coldness or hostility, until they boldly took advantage of a disposition they had noted in the men to combine for various purposes, and changed their system from an optional and gratuitous to a contractual and statutory one. The results are described by the owners, Messrs. Jules Chagot & Co., as "marvellous." The mines employ about 1000 men.

"We cannot say that our benevolent institutions, great as were their services, produced results at all commensurate with the sacrifices made by the Company. People do not usually value that which costs them nothing; they soon come to regard favours as rights, and are only too ready to suspect that those who do good are actuated by self-interest; and, worse than all, when a sort of Providence supplies all his needs, the labourer ceases to rely on himself, he loses the taste for foresight and economy, his initiative is weakened, his self-respect is undermined, he is ripe for Socialism. These results of well-meant but excessive patronage made their appearance at Monceau many years ago. On the other hand, by a sort of natural reaction the spirit of association began to awake. This spirit took the form of revolutionary Socialism, it is true; but there it was, and the Company thought it prudent to take account of it, to utilise and guide it. . . . . One fact dominates the situation: the tendency towards combination and association is irresistible. If they are not with us, they will be against us. We chose to enlist these forces on our side, and we cannot too much felicitate ourselves on the new path upon which we have entered. Everything works smoothly, products are

increased, the miners work together for the common good, and in the year 1887–8 the sum to be distributed amongst them, in very varied forms, in addition to their wages, had risen to 1,118,996 francs (£44,760)."

Profit-sharing according to agreement is practised in the vast majority of the cases brought under review. In this more perfect form, however, the principle which underlies and animates it does not operate in any uniform and rigid way. The proportion in which the profits are divided varies in each industry, according to the relative importance in them of the factors engaged in production. The employer still retains control, and takes the risks of business, the employés, as in ordinary firms, remaining free from all financial responsibility, and having neither part nor lot in the direction of affairs.* An objection, more specious than valid, is often made to this arrangement on the ground that all who share in profits ought to share in losses. But this is quite to misconceive the *rationale* of profit-sharing, technically and currently so called. Profit-sharing is not partnership; and where there is no partnership there can be, and there ought to be, no joint responsibility. The employés could not fairly be expected to share in the losses of a business over which they have no control. The objection also loses sight of the fact that under this system employers make provision in their regulations against losses. They start with a "reserve limit," and until such limit has been reached no profits can be shared. Moreover, when profits are realised beyond this limit a part of them is placed in a "reserve fund," to be drawn from should the surplus profits fail or be diminished in less prosperous years. All these are matters of arrangement and agreement, and, of course, require much thought and care. Experience has taught what prudence might have suggested, that in periods of

* In industrial partnerships, such as the one conducted by the Messrs. Thomson, at Woodhouse Mills, near Huddersfield, and in co-operative productive societies conducted by the working men employed therein, the profits and the losses are shared in common, though in varying proportions corresponding to the varying degrees in which the members have acquired a monetary interest in the concern; and in both these forms of association the workers have a voice in the management—in the former by means of a committee for consultation with the heads of the firm; in the latter by means of an executive appointed by themselves.

exceptional prosperity, when surplus profits swell abnormally through a rise in prices rather than through increased exertion and economy, the reserve fund should be proportionately increased. This wise and just arrangement would have done much to avert the failure of the famous experiment made by Messrs. Briggs & Co. at the Whitwood Collieries from 1865 to 1874. Another provision for promoting confidence is the appointment of a public accountant year by year, to examine privately the accounts, and certify that all the terms of the agreement have been kept. This wise arrangement has been made by nearly all successful profit-sharing firms.

The profits in excess of reserve are divided in a great variety of ways. The usual plan, according to Mr. Gilman, is "to fix beforehand the percentage which shall go to wages at the end of the year. This figure varies from 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 per cent. up to the 50 per cent. paid in the *Maison Leclaire*. The nature of the business, the proportion of capital to wages, and the ratio of capital and wages to product are factors taken into account." The amount of wages earned by each individual is the basis on which the sum allotted to the workmen is divided amongst them. "The variations from this principle for the purpose of rewarding length of service and exceptional merit are comparatively few, and no specific instruction on this head is to be derived from the tables. . . . . The length of time required to qualify an employé for participation varies from no time at all, as in the *Maison Leclaire*, where the most casual workman receives a bonus on his one day's work, to seven or ten years in firms which pay large pensions. The usual limit is a full year's service."

Still more varied is the mode in which the employé's share of profits reaches him. Some houses pay the whole in cash; others pay part in cash and part to various benefit funds; others reserve the whole for payment in various forms at periods more or less remote. When payment is deferred in whole or in part the portion thus reserved is invested, either in connection with the house itself or in some public fund, and is applied to various purposes—to the encouragement of thrift; to insurance against accident, sickness, dis-

ability, and death ; to providing life-annuities at a certain age or after so many years of service; to building workmen's houses; and, in some cases, to the promotion of technical education. American houses almost invariably, and, as it would seem, unwisely, pay the bonus in cash. French and German firms almost as invariably provide for the workman's future. A mixed method has proved itself to be the best. It gives an immediate and practical illustration of the benefits of the system ; it tends to promote stability and permanence in the working force; and, best of all, it trains them in the wholesome and essential habits of endurance, thrift, economy, of mutual confidence and mutual hope. Some companies give their servants the option of investing their bonus, or some part of it, in the company's stock. In industrial partnerships such investment is obligatory; and these establishments, if so desired, may, by this means, be transformed in time and by degrees into purely co-operative concerns. Into the nature and working of these more highly organised forms of industrial and commercial life we must not enter. Our end will have been gained if we have succeeded in deepening the interest already widely felt in the earlier steps and stages in that peaceful evolution which, if we are not mistaken, will avert the Socialistic revolution feared and threatened in the world of labour and of trade.

For the convenience of those in search of further information we append a list of British Profit-sharing Firms, compiled by Messrs. Thomas Bushill & Sons, manufacturing stationers, Coventry, and taken from a pamphlet describing the scheme adopted by them "under the invaluable counsel of Mr. Sedley Taylor, of Cambridge."

The Parliamentary Report promised by Sir M. Hicks-Beach, the President of the Board of Trade, at the close of a most interesting discussion in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April last on a motion for a Committee of Inquiry into the practical working of Profit-Sharing, will also be anticipated by our readers with eagerness and hope.

# LIST OF BRITISH PROFIT-SHARING FIRMS.

## AUTUMN, 1889.

| System commenced. | Name. | Address. | Business. | No. of Employés. | Bonus. How treated. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1886 | J. W. Arrowsmith | Quay Place, Bristol | Printer and Publisher | 53 | C |
| 1888 | Binns & Co. | Market Place, Derby | Corn Factors and Seedsmen | 12 | C P |
| 1884 | Blundell, Spence & Co., Limited | Beverley Road, Hull (and London) | Colour and Varnish Manfctrs. | 330 | C |
| 1886 | Burroughs, Wellcome & Co. | Snow Hill Buildings, London, E.C. | Manufacturing Chemists. | 200 | C |
| 1888 | Thomas Bushill & Sons | Coventry | Printers, Mftg. Stationers, &c. | 150 | C P |
| 1878 | Cassell & Co., Limited | Belle Sauvage Works, London, E.C. | Printers and Publishers | 1100 | P |
| 1889 | Coventry Gas Fittings Co. | Hertford Street, Coventry | Gas Fitters, &c. | 13 | C P |
| 1886 | Edin. Co-op. Printing Co., Limited | Bristo Place, Edinburgh | Printers, &c. | 69 | C P |
| 884 | *C. Fidler | Friar Street, Reading | Seedman, &c | 50 | C |
| 1869 | Fletcher & Son | Castle Works, Norwich | Printers and Publishers | 200 | |
| 1876 | Goodhall & Suddick | Cookbridge Street, Leeds | Stationers and Printers | 300 | C |
| 1876 | *Hamilton & Co., Limited | 326 Regent Street, London | Dress and Shirt Makers | 56 | C |
| 1884 | *Harpers, Limited | Albion Iron Works, Aberdeen | Engineers, &c. | 160 | C |
| 1888 | W. P. Hartley | Aintree, Liverpool | Preserve Manufacturers | 250 | C |
| 1886 | Hazell, Watson & Viney, Limited | Offices:—1 Creed Lane, London, E.C. | Printers, &c. | 1000 | C P |
| 1889 | Hepburn & Co. | Hele Works, Cullompton, Devon | Paper Makers | 170 | C P |
| 1877 | J. H. Ladyman & Co. | King's Lynn | Wholesale Grocers | 20 | |
| 1889 | New Welsh Slate Co., Limited | Festiniog | Quarry Owners | 200 | |
| 1889 | Robinson Brothers | West Bromwich and Knottingley | Tar Distillers | 209 | C P |
| 1883 | *Tangyes, Limited | Cornwall Works, Birmingham | Engineers | 2100 | C |
| 1888 | J. Walker & Co. | Colombo and Candy, Ceylon<br>London Office—72 Bishopsgate Street, E.C. | Engineers and Merchants | 500 | P |
| 1887 | J. Bruce Wallace | Limavady, Ireland | Printer | 5 | C |
| 1882 | *Waterlow & Sons, Limited | Office:—Winchester St., London, E.C. | Printers, Mftg. Stationers, &c. | 3400 | P |
| 1887 | Waterman & Co. | Brigstoke Road, Bristol | Boot and Shoe Manufacturers | 46 | C |
| 1887 | H. D. Young & Sons | 60 and 62 High Street, Edinburgh | Leather Merchants, &c. | 14 | C |

C — Paid in Cash. P — To Provident Fund. C P — Part in Cash, part to Provident Fund.

* In these cases the Profit-Sharing is either indeterminate, or indirect, or partial in its application.

## Art. II.—RECENT DISCUSSIONS ON THE ATONEMENT.

1. *The Redemption of Man. Discussions Bearing on the Atonement.* By D. W. Simon, Ph.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

2. *Lux Mundi. The Atonement.* By Rev. and Hon. A. Lyttelton, M.A. London: John Murray. 1889.

3. *Essays towards a New Theology.* By Robert Mackintosh, B.D. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Sons. 1889.

4. *The Continuity of Christian Thought.* By Alex. V. G. Allen, Professor in the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge (Mass.). London: Ward, Lock & Co.

THE volumes named above bear ample evidence in different ways to the widespread interest felt at present in the central doctrine of Atonement. Dr. Simon, earnestly maintaining an objective Atonement, but dissatisfied with the forensic idea and feeling after some more acceptable theory; Mr. Lyttelton's essay, as scriptural as it is thoughtful and devout; Mr. Allen, impatient of all development on the subject since the early Greek Fathers; Mr. Mackintosh, to whom Atonement in the old sense is an offence—are all witnesses to this great interest. We rejoice unfeignedly in the fact, because we have no fear that truth will suffer in the end from earnest discussion. Dr. Simon's interesting volume does not claim to be a complete treatment or to propose a complete theory. It is rather a contribution to the discussion, intended to pave the way for a more finished statement. The several essays in it are only loosely connected together, and the bearing of some of them on the main question is somewhat remote.

There is no doctrine on which it is more important to distinguish between theory and fact than this one. Nothing could be more admirable than Dr. Simon's putting of the distinction (p. ix.). He quotes with just approval Dr. Dale's words: "It is not the theory of the death of Christ which constitutes the ground on which sins are forgiven, but the

death itself."* Doubtless the word "fact" in this connection is indefinite. Happily it is defined for us by Christ Himself. "This is My blood, which is shed for the remission of sins." No statement which stops short of this, no bald statement of the fact of Christ's death, of His death as a witness to truth or as a demonstration of Divine love—is enough. All theories are nothing more or less than attempts to find the connection between Christ's death and the forgiveness of sins. The distinction between theory and fact is one common to theology with science and philosophy. The Positivist contention that knowledge of bare sensible phenomena is enough is as true in regard to every-day life as it is false in regard to the purposes of philosophy and science. From the beginning of the world philosophy has been held to include knowledge of laws, causes, principles; and for Positivism, which limits all knowledge to facts, to call itself philosophy is a huge misnomer. In the same way the fact of Atonement is enough for practical Christian life. The ordinary Christian need not trouble himself about theories on the subject any more than about theories of sin, God and incarnation. Knowledge of a theory, even though it be the true theory, is not necessary to salvation. The Church has always been more anxious to exclude false than to propound true theories, understanding by false theory or dogma one which is incompatible with the facts. Of course, particular churches have a perfect right to make acceptance of a dogma a condition of union with themselves.

Here we come upon another interesting point—the absence of any universally received theory or dogma of Atonement. It is otherwise with the Incarnation. The whole Church is substantially agreed in receiving the Trinitarian and Christological definitions of the early Creeds. There may be demur to particular phrases and sentences, but the substance of the Creeds is universally received. It may seem strange that such precise definitions are wanting in the case of the more practical and better known doctrine. The probable explanation is twofold. The rise of controversy and error has been the

* It is needless to commend Dr. Dale's admirable work, *The Atonement*.

usual occasion of dogmatic definitions. But for early heresies, the Church would probably have remained content with the simple, unsystematised teaching of Scripture about Christ's person. There has never been serious, widespread error and controversy respecting the Atonement at all comparable to errors relating to the Incarnation such as Arianism, Nestorianism, or Eutychianism. Strange as it may sound, the Holy Church throughout all the world is much nearer agreement in faith and teaching on the great practical doctrine of the nature and means of redemption by Christ than controversialists allow. There is less room for metaphysical distinction and discussion than with respect to the nature of the Godhead. Fathers, scholastics, reformers, Catholics, and Protestants are virtually one. There are two spots at which all Christians kneel together—the Manger and the Cross. Another reason for the absence of dogmatic definitions of Atonement is the clear and full teaching of Scripture on the subject. The Nicene and Athanasian dogmas are implied in Scripture, not directly taught in it. On the other hand, Scripture is so explicit and full about the Atonement as almost to do away with the necessity of anything further. What is said about Christ as priest, sacrifice, and propitiation, almost renders theory superfluous. Accordingly, we find that deniers of Atonement through the death of Christ come into collision with Scripture itself, which has to be got rid of by dexterous evasion. The usual refuge of accepting the words of Scripture, but excluding human theories, will not avail here.

In our own day two evil tendencies are observable: one against any doctrine of objective Atonement whatever, the other against the forensic form of the doctrine. The former, of course, is far the more serious error, contradicting the explicit statements of Scripture, and rejecting the substance, while retaining the name, of Atonement. While not proposing to discuss the first of these, we may note a few signs of its presence. First, a word as to terminology. With Dr. Simon, we think that the terms *objective* and *subjective*, while open to criticism, best denote the classes into which theories on the subject fall (pp. 6–8). Objective theories acknowledge and put first a God-ward aspect of Atonement, some effect or influence

on God; subjective theories deny all such influence, and make the sole purpose to be the working of a change in man. We certainly object altogether to "moral" as a substitute for subjective, as if the opposite theory were not moral. It must by no means, however, be overlooked that the traditional objective doctrine has a subjective side also. It provides the most powerful motives to repentance, and contemplates the renewal of man's whole nature. The living apprehension of Christ's love in the work of expiation cannot but react on mind and conduct. The phrase "objectivo-subjective" (Simon, p. 9) might be a convenient and allowable description, were it less uncouth.

All writers who, like Maurice, Young, Bushnell, make the work of the Atonement to consist solely in giving an example of self-sacrifice and a proof of Divine love, are, of course, subjectivists pure and simple. On this point of classifying writers, Dr. Simon gives some remarkable judgments, crediting Maurice with an objective doctrine (p. 34), and inclining to put Dr. Crawford,* Josiah Gilbert,† and even Anselm (p. 58), in the other class. The point is not worth debating at length, but such a judgment cannot be accepted. Certainly the latter writers would protest most energetically against the company they are forced into. If the passage of Maurice, which is the only one quoted, contained all Maurice's teaching, an objective element might, perhaps, be credited to him. But it cannot be right to judge so many-sided and often ambiguous a writer by a single passage. We think that Dr. Crawford is far more accurate in ascribing to Maurice at least three separate theories,‡ the drift of which is decidedly subjective. Maurice's explanation of Jewish sacrifices as mere symbols of consecration marks his position. Dr. Simon seems to us to be more than fair to writers like Maurice, and less than fair to writers like Crawford and Hodge. He may be right in ascribing an objective view of a sort to McLeod Campbell, though we confess it never occurred to us to place Campbell in this class. On his theory sacrifice and

* *Scripture Doctrine of Atonement.*
† Congregational Lecture on *The Christian Atonement.*
‡ *Scripture Doctrine of Atonement*, pp. 303, 318, 327.

propitiation are reduced to a confession and acknowledgment on Christ's part of the world's sin. In this case sacrifice and propitiation, and the words of Scripture on the subject, mean very little. Christ only did perfectly what good men are doing every day; He sorrowed for and confessed the sin of the world. Is this what is meant by Christ bearing sin, taking away sin, dying for sin? If the New Testament writers had thought with the Scotch divine, must they not have written very differently?

There is more reason for classing holders of the Governmental or Rectoral theory (Grotius, Wardlaw) with subjectivists, as Dr. Simon does, the sole purpose of Atonement according to this theory being to uphold the honour of the Divine justice and law in the eyes of men. Here, no doubt, the direct end is a certain impression to be made on men. Dr. Simon does not condemn this view more strongly than Dr. Crawford. The latter says: "It represents the Atonement as nothing more than a hollow and unreal exhibition of principles, which are not truly and substantially involved in it." At the same time, in the recognition of Divine justice at all, and of its vindication in any way, there is an objective element. For this reason it seems to us that this theory occupies a middle position.

All the theories just named founder on the rock of Scripture, involving as they do either the renunciation of Scripture authority altogether, or a non-natural interpretation of its leading doctrines. It is not a question of a few detached texts and passages, but of many converging lines of teaching. The doctrine of expiatory sacrifice can only be got rid of by tearing to pieces the whole structure of inspired doctrine. Dr. Crawford's very complete induction of Biblical teaching on Christ's sacrificial work (pp. 19–187) is quite conclusive.

Mr. Mackintosh makes short work of Scripture authority. He relies on it as long as it agrees with him, and when it does not, so much the worse for Scripture. St. Paul is no more to him than to Matthew Arnold. "In the New Testament the work of Christ is generally spoken of as having been a sacrifice; more exactly, a sin-offering. To Jews, and even to Pagans, accustomed as they were to animal sacrifice, this

language must have seemed more satisfactory than it proves to us. If St. Paul thought sacrifice meant penal substitution, he was in error; but it is very doubtful whether St. Paul made any such error. . . . . The theory seems inconsistent with the natural elements of the religious consciousness. . . . . The orthodox tradition is not ethical, not legal, it is simply a commercial view. Law knows nothing of the transference of accountability from one subject to another." The "penal example" or governmental theory is thus travestied. "It may be stated as follows: That, in order to persuade us of the invariable connection between sin and punishment, God inflicted something which was not punishment upon one who had not sinned, before proceeding to remit punishment in the case of those who had sinned. This appears to me the most extraordinary of all extraordinary theodicies. I shall not, however, criticise it further than to say that, if God had chosen so to behave, He would not, I think, have allowed himself to be *found out* by Dr. Wardlaw and Dr. Pye Smith." This is certainly "extraordinary" language for a Christian scholar and gentleman, and still stronger language might be quoted (p. 464). Mr. Mackintosh has evidently smarted under the yoke of Calvinism, and writes bitterly. In truth, like many other writers, he confounds Calvinistic peculiarities with the Church doctrine of Atonement. Nor does he find Arminianism more palatable. His chief criticism of it is that "it does not connect Christ's work with the gift of the Holy Spirit;" not a very intelligible remark. Much of his criticism is both pungent and just, but a great deal is pungent without being just. In one place, he says: "It has struck one ingenious writer to base an apologetic argument on the fact that Calvinism regards grace as a 'natural law in the spiritual world.' Precisely. It is the most damning criticism that has ever been passed on Calvinism, and it is richly deserved. Almost all the blows aimed at Professor Drummond fall in the first instance upon John Calvin; and they also are richly deserved. Unfortunately, the discussion is not allowed by dogmatists to exert any influence on their doctrinal systems. They abjure Drummond and all his works with the apologetic fraction of their minds, while they glorify and extol Calvin with

the doctrinal fraction." There is some interesting criticism of Wesley's combination of total depravity with human freedom, the discussion of which would divert us from our proper subject (pp. 448–450). The author is a disciple of Ritschl on this doctrine. We wish he were the only one in this country. It is significant that the disciple speaks as disparagingly as the master of emotional religion and religious revivals.*

Another class of writers, while maintaining to the full the objective character of the Atonement, looks askance at the legal or forensic form of it. This shyness is seen in quarters and springs from various motives. It arises sometimes from Calvinistic associations. Predestinarianism, reprobation, imputed righteousness, the most extreme statements about substitution and wrath, are treated as part and parcel of the doctrine. Nothing could be more unjust. These are no more than isolated, separable adjuncts. Professor Allen like Mr. Mackintosh, writes as if, when arguing against Calvinistic additions, he were arguing against the ideas which are the kernel of the Catholic doctrine of Atonement. Roman Catholic and Anglican writers are glad of anything which tells against the Reformers. Mr. Oxenham in his luminous and eloquent but not always impartial work, *The Catholic Doctrine of Atonement*, writes in the same strain as Professor Allen. We should think better of his emphatic references to Luther's and Calvin's extreme views of original sin and man's state of depravity if he had mentioned that these views came from Augustine, "the greatest Father of the Church." Such omissions are not fair controversy. It is just as unfair to press strong statements of Protestant theologians about Christ being punished for us and having suffered the torments of the lost, as if these were essential parts of Protestant teaching. It is easy in this way to prove that "the Lutheran view of the Atonement is directly calculated to discredit the whole doctrine in the eye both of reason and religion." Angelic brightness is ascribed to "Catholic" doctrine, and non-angelic darkness to everything else. The fact is that the essentials

* The best notice of Ritschl's views on Atonement is still the one given by Dr. Bruce in his *Humiliation of Christ*, the last Lecture.

of Catholic and Protestant doctrine on this subject are identical. It is easy to produce local and individual peculiarities on both sides.

The disposition in some Anglican and Catholic writers to shift the incidence of the Atonement from the death of Christ to the Incarnation is a curious and almost inexplicable phenomenon of our days. Professor Allen advocates this view as that of the early Greek theology. "The leading principle of Greek theology," he says, "is that the Incarnation does not differ from the Atonement as the means from the end, but that in the Incarnation itself is manifested the reconciliation of man with God, and the actual redemption of humanity from its lost estate" (p. 10). Why, then, did the Passion take place at all? How explain the prominence given to it in Scripture in comparison with the reticence about the Incarnation? We have spoken of this tendency as inexplicable, because we cannot reconcile it with the central place given to the Passion in Catholic teaching and worship. According to the Trent Council, "Christ made satisfaction to the Father for us." The Communion Office of the English Church speaks of the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction made for the sins of the whole world" on the Cross.

There cannot be a greater mistake than to suppose that the forensic view came in with the Reformation. Even if it did, it might still be a valid development of thought, just as much as earlier developments on other subjects. Surely growth did not stop when the Greek Fathers or the Latin ones passed away. Writers of Mr. Oxenham's school give the impression that the judicial theory was never heard of before Luther and Calvin's days, and many others say so; but it is otherwise. It is easily explicable why the Reformers gave such prominence to the theory, elaborating it more fully than had ever been done before, inasmuch as it fitted in with their doctrine of justification. But they only followed in the track of previous thought. Professor Allen justly says, "Calvin accepts, like the other Reformers, the mediæval idea of an Atonement, as Anselm had given it expression." He then, like Mr. Oxenham, goes on: "He modifies the view of Anselm in one important respect, he looks upon the sufferings and death of Christ as a

veritable punishment, in which the Saviour bore vicariously the wrath and condemnation of God," an extension of thought in no way modifying the essence of the doctrine. Satisfaction is not more to the Reformers than it was to Anselm; and Anselm was no more an innovator than the Reformers. He simply carried on the development of thought another step. It is incredible that Anselm in the eleventh century should strike out a new path on a cardinal doctrine. Shedd's elaborate survey* proves beyond question that the substance of Christian faith and teaching on this subject has never varied. He somewhat exaggerates the advance made by Anselm on the patristic age (vol. ii. p. 273), but he is right in holding that the difference between Anselm and Protestants is "formal and not material" (p. 336). Shedd's account of the earlier teaching of the Church proves the continuity of thought. If Shedd, as an Augustinian, may be thought to be prejudiced, let us go to Friedrich Nitzsch, a thoroughly competent and impartial judge. Speaking of the views of the Fathers, he says: "They find the security for redemption and reconciliation partly in the fact of the Incarnation itself as the means of restoring unity between God and the sinful race of men, partly in the acts of the God-man, and especially in His death. Redemption was generally viewed as a real ransoming by means of a legal transaction (vermittelst eines Rechtshandels)." After alluding to the ancient notion of the ransom paid to the devil, he continues: "But, as a rule, reconciliation was regarded as effected by the death of Christ as a sacrifice, with which the idea of substitution was already linked. So Athanasius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Cyril of Alexandria." † All this is supported by ample quotations. Ambrose, who is early enough, says, "Christus accepit mortem, ut impleretur sententia, Gen. ii. 1, *satisfieret* judicato per maledictum carnis peccatricis usque ad mortem." Augustine, "Suscepit Christus sine reatu *supplicium nostrum*, ut inde solveret reatum nostrum et finiret *supplicium nostrum*." ‡ All that Mr. Oxenham and Professor Allen censure so strongly

* *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. ii. pp. 203–386.

† *Grundriss der Christlichen Dogmengeschichte*, p. 371. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 376.

in Luther and Calvin is implied and partly said in these sentences.

Dr. Simon's attitude towards the traditional doctrine of Atonement and the forensic theory in particular, is peculiar, not to say unique. On the one hand, he is faithful to an objective Atonement; on the other, he is dissatisfied with the forensic scheme, though not prepared at present to suggest another in its place. We are thankful that he takes the first position. He has some true, strong utterances on the Hegelian garb now being forced on the doctrine. "Ideas of the Hegelian philosophy are being quietly substituted for the concrete actualities accepted by the Christian Church. . . . . The soul of man—that is, the inward man—can no more be fed by ideas than the outward man. It needs spiritual actualities, even as the body needs material actualities. Preaching of this order is in reality the presentation of ideas, and nothing more." The experiment has been tried in Germany with blighting effect.

Dr. Simon raises the usual objection against the forensic view that it is external, official, fictitious. He speaks of "the false juridical idea that God's claims on men, the neglect or violation of which is recognised by means of sacrifice, can be met by the punishment, that is death, of either the offender or a substitute" (p. 191). Elsewhere there are some curious arguments against the idea that the suffering of punishment or penalty is a due owing to God or God's law. It is due to the sinner, but not to God. "Punishment is the due of sinners; but the sinners themselves are His due, with all their powers of body and mind. His due is to be loved with all the heart and mind, and soul and strength, and to be served through service rendered to our fellow-creatures, human and non-human" (p. 30; also pp. 25–27). We confess this seems to us somewhat strained. How would the argument work out? Unless universalism be accepted, it would follow that Christ's obedience is a substitute for the obedience of the impenitent. Is it not according to all analogy to say that if punishment is due to the sinner, its endurance is also due to the law? The correlative to what is due to the sinner is some right of God or the law. Otherwise, where is the obligation to suffer on the wrongdoer's part? Our author is

too clear-sighted and candid to oppose the legal to the moral, and to speak of it as non-moral; but he somewhere speaks of it as a "lower" form of the moral. He seems to trace the prevalence of the judicial theory to a decline of spiritual life in the period of orthodox dogmatism which followed the Reformation (p. 289). No doubt the theory took a harder, more rigid, form during that period, the days of Chemnitz, Gerhard, Ursinus, Turrettine. But it remained the same in substance as in the days of Luther and Calvin, when there was a "great outburst of life." What is said about an externalising of God's relation to man following on an externalising of man's relation to God, about an "official" God, and its being "easier to appreciate the relation to a monarch, whose claims are met by the payment of a debt, or the endurance of a penalty on men's behalf, than the personal relation to a God who is displeased or angry because of sin, whose anger is turned away by the intervention of Christ," is scarcely borne out by facts. "Most Christian believers are too carnal to enjoy divine fellowship, to appreciate its supreme value and profound significance."

We cannot understand the aversion to the legal or juridical idea which pervades so much of the theological writing of our day, and which doubtless underlies the teaching of Bushnell and Campbell, not to speak of Mr. Mackintosh. We think the prejudice arises largely from the associations of human law and administration with its imperfections and blunders. The rule on other subjects in transferring ideas from the human to the divine is to think away their imperfections. It is constantly overlooked that, while human law has practically only to do with the bad, the divine law and the divine judgment include both good and bad. In Matthew xxv. we see the righteous and the wicked equally dealt with by the King. The blessing on the one is as much legal or judicial as the condemnation of the other. The question whether the righteous stand in a legal, or only, as Dr. Simon contends, in a "personal" relation to God, depends on the other question whether God holds to us the relation of King and Judge as well as Father. How either question can appear doubtful in the light of Scripture we fail to see. Dr. Simon's position is

specially remarkable because his first chapter discusses "The Atonement and the Kingdom of God." Are the relations between sovereign and subjects rightly designated "personal"? What of the laws of the kingdom and the relations arising from their observance and violation? Our author argues very forcibly that the immediate purpose of redemption is to establish normal relations between God and man, to make the *de facto* correspond with the *de jure*. And yet he assumes or asserts that the only relations in a kingdom are personal ones. In the first chapters of the Romans the Apostle is moving in a legal sphere. Is that sphere not ethical as well? Is it not the form which the ethical necessarily takes when law is broken? The legal state would have existed apart from the fall alongside the moral; but in a state of sin it comes to the front. It is significant that the volume speaks of "forgiveness" only, on which there is a chapter. "Until this question of forgiveness is thoroughly grappled with, it is hopeless to look for a truer estimate of the doctrine of the Atonement, and of the article of Justification by Faith, and Faith alone" (p. 291). We shall be curious to see the new reading of Justification. In the Reformers' doctrine there was the closest connection between forensic justification and forensic atonement.

We are not sure that the ambiguity of the term "personal" does not here and there throw a haze over some parts of Dr. Simon's work. Sometimes he seems to use it as opposed to impersonal, sometimes to public, official, legal. It seems to have the former sense as opposed to what is called the "dualistic" and "crypto-dualistic" tendencies of Dr. Dale, Dr. Crawford, and others. The latter term is applied to the sharp distinction drawn between God and law, as when we speak of honouring law and satisfying justice, as if these were independent existences. Of course nothing of the kind is meant. We need not explain or defend Dr. Dale. The point scarcely concerns us here. We are thankful for any protests against impersonal abstract ways of apprehending God. But when Dr. Simon goes on to argue that the juridical or forensic theory resolves itself after all into a personal one, the latter term is used in another sense, standing for one relation of a

person in contrast with another relation. "The laws which God has to uphold are either laws independent of Him, laws which He no less than His subjects is bound to obey; or, they are simply the modes of His own being, life, and activity, self-prescribed indeed, but still a part of Himself." In the latter case, to speak of satisfying law is "only a roundabout way" of saying that God is satisfied. "God *qud* Ruler or Judge is still God and God alone." "Dr. Crawford confesses that to satisfy the justice of God is to satisfy a just God, or to satisfy God in respect of His justice." Quite so. Dr. Crawford never meant anything else, nor does any one who holds the forensic theory. But we fail to see the point of this line of argument. The distinctions are real and well understood. Dr. Simon, indeed, says that we can separate man in one capacity from himself in another capacity; but we cannot so separate God. We fail to see the reason of this. A difference of relation is not a mere abstraction. A man does in one character what he cannot do in another. Unless we totally misunderstand our author, he denies that God is satisfied by Atonement *qud* Ruler or Judge just as much as that abstract justice is satisfied. If he admits the first, he agrees with Dr. Dale and Dr. Crawford, for they mean nothing else. The difference is only one of words. But we fear that to substitute *qud* so and so on every occasion would be a "roundabout way" of speech. There is a difference of substance, not of phrase merely, between Dr. Simon and holders of the forensic theory.

Dr. Simon has, as yet, no complete theory to put in place of the one he dislikes. On p. 191, there is this note: "In order to make clear this somewhat enigmatical statement, I should have to expound a view of the Atonement which is at present not clear enough to myself to fit me for presenting it to others." But one feature of the coming theory is abundantly clear—anger will take the place of justice, propitiation of satisfaction, and the anger will be personal, not judicial. This is the aim and drift of the whole work.

On this point we have two observations to make—one of unqualified commendation, another of criticism. We altogether admire Dr. Simon's vigorous and timely exposition of the divine

anger, to which he devotes a fresh and stimulating chapter (pp. 217–262). In this chapter, after dwelling on the teaching of the Old and New Testament, he shows how afraid theologians of all ages from Origen and Augustine, down to Reformers and modern writers, English, Danish, German, are of ascribing real anger to God. It is a metaphor, an accommodation, anything but the sentiment existing in us. God is said to do what would be the effect of anger in us, but is not so in Him. Then follows an acute psychological analysis of the affection. Finally, he replies to objections. The outcome is that anger is in God what it is in us, without our imperfections. Our author is not afraid of the bugbear of anthropomorphism. Of a God unmoved by what men do it is said, "What a God would He be! But if He rejoices, sorrows, is pleased with men, must He not be displeased with their bad conduct?" So at an earlier point (p. 33), we read, "While I thoroughly hold by the reality of the anger of God, and of the relation of Christ's work thereto, I do not accept the traditional exposition of either as adequately Biblical. Formally justifiable, its content has been wrong. The divine anger is ethical in quality," in contrast to legal, "is of the nature of that of which even men have some experience." "As being essentially ethical, it can only be acted upon by that which is essentially ethical. This is in harmony with a great Cosmic law. It is the oversight of this that has given rise to the confusion that has prevailed. God is angry, but His anger is moral; God can be propitiated, but the propitiation must be moral."

Our criticism is, not of what is said, but of what is denied or omitted. We fail to see the gain in the new line of distinction either to the exposition or defence of the Atonement. Certainly the anger of God propitiated by Atonement has been generally regarded as judicial, perhaps too exclusively. Crawford says, "His wrath against sin is not personal, but judicial." The purpose of Atonement is "not to quell wrathful feeling," but to harmonise forgiveness with justice. Perhaps it would be more accurate to speak of the Divine anger against sin as both personal and judicial. If God is both a Father and a Judge, He must be angry with sin in both characters. Per-

sonal anger and love may possibly co-exist in the same person. Dr. Crawford's way of putting it, which is the usual one, no doubt makes this co-existence more intelligible. But to our thinking nothing is gained and much is lost by dropping the forensic idea altogether. Opponents will not be conciliated. If they like justice little, they like anger less. The very thought of an angry God is intolerable to them. The sentiment is resolved into love. And if anger is simply personal or fatherly, Pauline theology is certainly a difficulty, if not superfluous. The parable of the Prodigal is then a complete account of man's relations to God. It is hard to see where the need of propitiation comes in. The necessity of Atonement has always been grounded in justice. Putting this on one side, how will the necessity be proved? Dr. Simon would have done well to deal with this point.

Mr. Lyttelton's remarks on this subject are so excellent, completing and correcting, as we think, Dr. Simon's view, that we wish we could quote them in full. His exposition of the nature of God's anger and its analogy to ours is substantially the same as Dr. Simon's, although more simply expressed.* But we must quote what follows this exposition. It will be seen that Mr. Lyttelton gives anger the twofold character hinted at above. "God's anger is not only the displeasure of an offended Person; it is possible that this is altogether a wrong conception of it; it must be further the expression of justice, which not only hates but punishes. The relation of the Divine Nature to sin is thus twofold: it is the personal hostility, if we may call it so, of holiness to sin, and it is also the righteousness which punishes sin, because it is lawless. The two ideas are intimately connected, and not unfrequently, when we should have expected to find in the Bible the wrath of God spoken of, the language of judgment and righteousness is substituted for it." It is then pointed out that anger must rest on justice, and so we get back to the need of satisfaction. "Anger, so we think, is but a feeling, and may be ousted by another feeling; love can strive against wrath and overcome it; the Divine hatred of sin need raise no obstacle to the free

* *Lux Mundi*, p. 287. The whole essay has much in common with Dr. Schmid's masterly discussion of "Atonement" in Herzog's *Encyklopädie*, xvi. 363–410.

forgiveness of the sinner. So we might think; but a true ethical insight shows us that this affection of anger, of hatred, is in reality the expression of justice, and derives from the law of righteousness, which is not above God, nor is it dependent on His Will, for it is Himself. 'He cannot deny Himself'; He cannot put away this wrath, until the demands of law have been satisfied, until the sacrifice has been offered to expiate, to cover, to atone for the sins of the world." This seems to us as admirably said as it is profoundly and comprehensively true.

The whole essay of Mr. Lyttelton is the finest exposition and vindication of the Christian Atonement which we have seen for many a long day. The essay is so closely reasoned and tersely expressed that condensation is impossible. The starting-point is man's sin, its consequences, the needs thence arising, our inability to meet them; then the correspondence of Christ's sacrifice to them is argued at length. The consequences of sin are twofold—a sense of guilt, of ill-desert, of having offended a Power above us supremely righteous—and of distance, separation from God. Atonement must therefore both propitiate and restore to union with God. The final witness to which the writer appeals, is always human experience. We may notice a few salient features. Maurice's reduction of sacrifice to a symbol of self-consecration is well known. Mr. Lyttelton (p. 279) acknowledges the partial truth there is in this view. No doubt sacrifice is in the first instance an expression of duty and service, and also—which Maurice omits—of union with God. "But this is only the original ideal meaning, for with the intrusion of sin another element appears in sacrifice, and men attempt, by their offerings, to expiate their offences, to cover their sins, to wipe out their guilt, to propitiate Divine wrath." Still the original intention is retained. Men sought to recover the union with God which had been destroyed by sin. The restoration of union and propitiation were both typified in the burnt-offering and sin-offering. "A careful study of the Mosaic sacrifices" will show the twofold character impressed on them. Before God can be approached by a sinner he must expiate his sin by suffering, must perfectly satisfy the demands of the law,

must atone for the past, which has loaded him with guilt: and then, as part of the same series of acts, the life so sacrificed, so purified by the expiatory death, is accepted by God, and being restored from Him, becomes the symbol and the means of union with Him." The way in which the Mosaic institutions are shown to express universal needs and longings is excellent. "Every man who has once realised sin can also realise the feelings of the Jew who longed to make an expiation for the guilt of the past, to suffer some loss, some penalty that would cover his sin, and who therefore brought his offering before God, made the unconscious victim his representative, the bearer of his guilt, and by slaying it strove to make atonement. We feel the same need, the same longing" (p. 283).

The reference to the moral elements in Christ's work of expiation (pp. 289–294) is also exceedingly valuable. One distinct gain in our day is the preferenee given to the moral over the physical in Christ's passion. But we know how this is perverted. Campbell, as we have seen, makes it everything, ignoring the death itself as a mere incident. Mr. Lyttelton rightly acknowledges the truth in Campbell's theory. St. Bernard said, "Not His death, but His willing acceptance of death, was pleasing to God." In other words, Christ's perfect obedience gave this sacrifice its propitiatory valne; and we see the force of this when we remember that disobedience is the essence of sin. Irenæus speaks of Christ's obedience "recapitulating" our disobedience. But then the question inevitably occurs, Why need the obedience take the form of death? Why ought Christ to suffer these things? Why did it behove Him to die? The moral elements alone "are not enough to account for the Scriptural facts which we call the Atonement. We cannot ignore that His death, apart from the obedience manifested in it, occupies a unique place, and that stress is laid on it which would be unaccountable were it *only* the extreme trial of His obedience." "We cannot ignore the necessity of death as the appointed form which the obedience took. Had He not obeyed, He would not have atoned; but had He not died the obedience would have lacked just that element which made it an atonement for sin." Perhaps we have here to do with the ultimate mystery of the Atonement.

Still some light is given in the thought that spiritual death is complete removal and alienation from God. And the "cry of dereliction" on the Cross shows that the shadow of this fell upon the Divine sufferer's soul. A complete statement goes far beyond Campbell's, and runs, "The propitiatory value of Christ's sacrifice lay in His absolute obedience, in His willing acceptance of suffering which was the essential form of both, for death is the culminating point of the alienation from God, which is both sin and its punishment" (p. 294).

The aspect of the Atonement in bringing us back to God is discussed. "It has been the fault of much popular theology to think only of our deliverance from wrath by the sacrificial death of Christ, and to neglect the infinitely important continuation of the process thus begun. The Gospel is a religion of life, the call to a life of union with God by means of the grace which flows from the mediation of the risen and ascended Saviour."

The alleged inconsistency of Atonement with man's responsibility is excellently replied to. If Atonement relieves us of the consequences of our evil doing, so does all forgiveness, Divine or human. There is no more mystery or impossibility or immorality in the one than in the other. Here comes in the solidarity of man with Christ and of Christ with man. "If this is mysterious, irrational, transcendental, so is all morality; for at the root of all morality lies the power of self-sacrifice, which is nothing but the impulse of love to make a vicarious offering for its fellows, and the virtue of such an offering to restore and quicken." But the operation of the Atonement is not independent of us. Faith, which is an act of appropriation, is necessary to the experience of its benefits. Thus personal responsibility is fully safeguarded.

We will only notice two other points in this suggestive essay. The notion of a divergence and even opposition between the Father and the Son is set aside as a "terrible misconception." "The whole Godhead shared in the work." "If the death of Christ was necessary to propitiate the wrath of the Father, it was necessary to propitiate His own wrath also; if it manifested His love, it manifested the Father's love also." The other point is the reference to the phraseology

which speaks of Christ being punished in our stead. There is undoubtedly truth in the representation. As we saw above, Augustine adopted the idea. The phrase seems to us nothing more than a succinct way of saying that for the sake of what Christ suffered the penalties of sin are remitted to us. The bald statement leads to the commonest of all objections, "that the punishment of the innocent instead of the guilty is unjust." "It may be true that 'punishment cannot be borne by any one but the sinner,' and therefore it may be right not to call Christ's sufferings punishment, especially as the expression is significantly avoided in the New Testament. But it is certainly not true that the sufferings which result from sin cannot be borne by any one but the sinner; every day demonstrates the falsity of such an assertion."

Let us not be supposed to maintain that the forensic aspect, about which so much has been said, is a complete theory. It is only one aspect, but in our belief a fundamental one. We do not think that the larger theory, to which the best thought of the Church is perhaps feeling its way, will be satisfactory without it. We count the prominence given to it by the Reformation one of the glories of that movement. It is no reproach to the Reformers that they even gave exclusive prominence to it. It is by such means that all the great advances of thought have been made. Adjustments with other doctrines come in due time; and such adjustments on this vital subject seem to be the task of this century. In every age the rise of error has eventually served the cause of truth. The air is cleared, positions are defined, weak points are strengthened. It is becoming increasingly clear that this will be the issue of the present discussions. Middle courses are seen to be impracticable. Between the doctrine of redemption by an atoning death which Christ taught and Paul preached and which the Church has always held to its heart, and natural Deism, there lies no choice, as the teaching of Ritschl proves.

## Art. III.—THE CONTROL OF INEBRIATES.

THE important representative gathering of medical men on November 16, at the Grand Hotel, Birmingham, to consider some proposed modifications of the Inebriates Acts, was presided over by Mr. Lawson Tait of that town, a surgeon whose reputation is among the most splendid in his profession. The meeting passed a resolution demanding an immediate extension of the Acts, so that habitual drunkards should be compulsorily dealt with for their own sake and that of the community. Under these circumstances the time is opportune for an exhaustive treatment of the whole subject, so that it should be put on a sound basis at once and for all. Fortunately the medical profession is actively exerting itself, and the besetting error of temperance workers, who too seldom approach a subject practically, but are apt to be content with much talking, will probably be avoided. In our opinion temperance gatherings fail of their object unless they lead to something useful. The great meeting of eminent medical men in Birmingham was not a temperance one—it was a gathering of scientific and practical men, who knew the requirements of the unhappy class of sufferers for whom they proposed to legislate, and they had the support and presence of some eminent clergymen who, like their medical brethren, were thoroughly acquainted with the subject, and could and did approach it in a statesmanlike way.

It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the Temperance Congress, held in Birmingham last October, did not approach the Inebriates Acts. As far as we know, and the present writer was at all the meetings, this really serious and urgent matter was only casually alluded to. As the Congress brought together hundreds of influential men from all parts of the three Kingdoms, and was presided over by the Bishop of London, and graced by the presence of Archdeacon Farrar, Canon Ellison, Dr. Richardson, and Mr. Sheriff White of Norwich, it would have been reasonable to look for practical results in connection with the treatment of inebriates. Some of the

papers and addresses could have been spared, and a question of such importance and practical utility should have been approached in an earnest and resolutely practical spirit, more particularly at a time when those Acts were on the point of lapsing, or, if renewed, would probably undergo many important modifications in their passage through Parliament. It is generally understood that those Acts have not been so elastic and useful in practice as was hoped by their promoters, and attempts are being made to introduce clauses which will greatly increase their value. We shall endeavour to point out the radical changes imperatively demanded if real good is to come from the Acts. On submitting our proposals to a physician of long and varied experience, a gentleman who has seen a vast amount of practice for forty years over a wide area, and who has for half a lifetime been a county magistrate, besides being several times mayor of an important county town, he writes that such an extension of the Acts would immensely increase their value, and he cannot see that any difficulties would arise in carrying them out. He adds that our suggestions would give a power, often urgently called for, and which would be hailed by innumerable families as just what is needed. Our suggestions were made and, indeed, extensively published before the November meeting mentioned above, and have, as they have become widely known, brought us many letters from physicians of eminence endorsing them. We mention this to show that there is a strong feeling in members of the medical profession that an extension of the Acts is urgently called for in the interests of all classes; indeed, the Birmingham gathering of November 16 was a proof of this. A brilliant address on the subject was given by Professor W. T. Gairdner, Physician in Ordinary to the Queen in Scotland, and the resolution was moved by Dr. Francis Willoughby Wade, President-Elect of the British Medical Association; it ran as follows: "That this meeting is strongly in favour of further legislation in the direction of compulsory provisions for the detention and treatment of well-defined cases of habitual inebriety in the interests of the individual and of the community at large."

Many estimates have been attempted of the number of

habitual drunkards of both sexes in the United Kingdom; all place it very high. We shall not venture to frame a fresh one nor to formulate any definition of what constitutes habitual intemperance; for our present purpose it is sufficient that a very large number of persons habitually drink to excess, and by so doing injure themselves in health, morals, and pocket, while they are a constant source of anxiety, sorrow, and expense to their relatives. Whether the temperance movement is advancing or not, whether drunkards are more or less numerous is now immaterial; our object is solely the restraint of inebriates, not only for their own sakes, but still more for the sake of their friends and of society. We have three great agencies at work to control drunkards—the police, who take charge of a large number and release them after detaining them a few days; retreats under the Inebriates Acts, which receive a very few victims of this vice, and guard them from mischief, and so far good, but before admission can be obtained the drunkard must voluntarily surrender his liberty, and the magistrate must make him clearly understand the full import of his action; and, in the last place, there are a certain number of wealthy drunkards who, with infinite pains and usually at enormous expense, are confined in the private houses of personal friends or in those of medical men, and relays of attendants, whose duty is to watch over them, succeed one another night and day. The first system is good, and as far as it goes, effectual, but it is only temporary; the second is expensive, and only reaches a very small number, one objection to it being that the drunkard must voluntarily surrender his freedom of action and movement, and to *that* he will seldom consent; the third plan is only suited to the very rich, for medical practitioners will not trouble themselves with inmates who cannot pay heavily, and when it comes to one or two attendants to each patient the expenses range from £300 to £600 a year; besides this the patient's clothes, books, and miscellaneous requirements have to be provided for, and a grand total of £500 to £800 a year is reached. These estimates will seem high, but are based on facts. A surgeon, a friend of ours, expects £105 a quarter, paid in advance, and this does not include extras; two others got

£400 a year from resident clients; in another case £800 was actually paid; in still another £300; in another £10 a week. There are cheaper homes, but not many, and £10 a month is a very low figure, and far below the average—so that our contention holds good, that the medical managers of these establishments get, as a rule, sums enormously beyond the means of most well-to-do families, and this prevents many inebriates from having the advantages of supervision. It is only fair to add that no work is more harassing and trying than looking after an inebriate, and the medical man who enters on such a task seems weighed down by pre-occupation, and hardly able to shake himself clear of the weight upon him. Unfortunately the managers of ordinary homes for inebriates are sometimes totally wanting in principle, and, in their desire to keep their clients, pander to their worst appetites. In one instance, well known to us, the worthlessness of the manager, a broken-down medical student, was a great scandal. This man received £10 a week, and was suspected of supplying his clients with alcoholic beverages; he was often seen to take them to races, and to places of still more questionable character, where they were exposed to great temptation and excitement. In at least three other retreats we have heard of inebriates, confined at great cost to their relatives in so-called homes for inebriates, being unsparingly supplied to keep them in good humour, with stimulants, and in one of these houses the moral tone was understood to be very bad; such are the risks of sending relatives to advertising retreats for inebriates.

Our strictures may seem strong; we do not mean them to be unjust, but can any one, who has been behind the scenes, as we have for years, deny that most of the people engaged in the management of retreats for the intemperate think rather of their own profit than of the great reformatory work in which they are engaged? When we first thought of writing this article, we actually wrote to many managers and proprietors of these homes, and in no single case did we receive any information of the kind we urgently needed and for which we courteously asked. Most of the persons addressed did not reply; one or two sent prospectuses; while others

favoured us with brief and not particularly courteous answers. On writing to one apparently more polite a second note of inquiry, he, with exquisite courtesy, recognising our handwriting, did not open our letter, but forthwith returned it. We are glad that this gentleman was not a member of our profession, nor in holy orders; most of our brother doctors were satisfied with not replying to our letters, though we fully explained the points on which we desired information—their silence confirms the suspicions which some knowledge of these places had aroused. Frankly, we would not send any inebriate to an establishment of which we did not know something favourable; but every experienced physician knows half a dozen which are models of propriety and good management.

But we have long had Inebriates' Acts in full operation, and what have they done for the community? Let us see. The inspector under the Inebriates Acts reports that there has been an increase of 50 per cent. in the admissions to the seven retreats licensed for the treatment of inebriety. The admissions during the ninth year of the Acts reached 95; altogether there were 200 cases in licensed, and probably 200 more in unlicensed houses, a grand total of 400. When any one looks about him and sees the many inebriates whom he must know, it is unsatisfactory in the extreme to learn that there are not over 400 people undergoing careful supervision and efficient treatment in public institutions. Germany and Norway have now homes for the treatment of these cases, and the former, it is thought, will before long pass a Bill for the compulsory detention and treatment of suitable cases, while in France great attention has been drawn to the subject, and the International Congress on Alcoholism proposed thorough-going legislation: it recommended detention in a State-managed hospital rather than confinement in gaol. Whether intemperance is a crime, a sin, or a disease, our present laws do not effectually grapple with it, and do not seem greatly to check its prevalence. But what is the value of restraint in an unlicensed or private house? We once saw an officer, whose parents had put him in the house of a country surgeon in Gloucestershire, at the patient's own request; indeed, in a house of his own choice. The

terms were high, £300 a year, but there was no effectual restraint, nor from the circumstances of the case could there be. The next day the young man gave his keepers the slip, and was not found for some time; when we first saw him professionally he was lying on the floor of a room in a large hotel, screaming and struggling frantically, and quite drunk. We succeeded, with some trouble, for he was a mere stranger to us, in restoring him to his friends, who had lost sight of him; that young man was the relative of a former Cabinet Minister. In another case, in which we were consulted, that of a profligate officer in South Devon, money was squandered—no other word is strong enough—in getting attendants said to be experienced, but who were under no real discipline. At last we got the services of a retired corporal-major of the Royal Horse Guards—but no permanent good was done, for the inebriate used to drive to one of the many small towns near his residence, and order this man to get him bottles of spirits. In short, the master had the command of money and servants, and was a free agent, and, under the circumstances, attempts to control him were like trying to empty a pond with a sieve. Such cases are unfortunately very numerous, and, from our own experience, we could give particulars of a very large number.

Perhaps it ought to be made clear before going farther, that by inebriety should be understood habitual excess in any narcotic, or narcotico-irritant, such as chlorodyne, chloral, cocaine, Indian hemp, ether, spirit of sal volatile, laudanum, and bromide of potassium. Dr. Richardson, in the pages of the *Contemporary Review*, once handled with his wonted ability chloral and ether intoxication. Since then the increase of ether drinking in London has been enormous. It is said that a man can get drunk three times on ether at the same cost in money and with the same expenditure of time as is required to get once drunk on alcohol. Ether drinking was, till recently, mainly confined to a certain district of the North of Ireland, but the cheapness of this form of intoxication soon got widely known, and in all the large towns cases are becoming more and more frequent. As not altogether irrelevant to the present subject, Dr. J. C.

Reid, an elderly medical practitioner, now we believe deceased, once mentioned in a paper read before the British Medical Association, that at one time inebriates could be confined in a lunatic asylum for three months. This power is taken away. That able practitioner, in the same paper, stated that, though when he wrote it he was sixty-three, he had only known four victims of this vice, who were ready with their own consent to go into an inebriate asylum; in other words, a busy and experienced practitioner might not oftener than once in ten years meet with an inebriate, willing, for his own good, to sign away his liberty; that shows the very small value of permissive legislation.

What we want is establishments to receive and detain inebriates, on the representation of their friends and in return for moderate charges. While in the home the patient should be absolutely unable to get out or to obtain stimulants, and his detention should be a matter over which he would have no control: no declaration on his part should be necessary; promptly, cheaply and certainly, the magistrates should, in suitable cases, have power to commit to a State-managed establishment the inebriate for not less than one month, nor more than six, not so much for his protection as for that of his friends.

A Birmingham guardian, a man of great influence, assures us that our scheme would not work; in that town, he says, outdoor relief is not now granted, and to commit scores, perhaps hundreds of drunkards to inebriate asylums would fill the workhouse with their wives and children, and arouse a perfect storm of opposition. Was ever any great reform popular; is it not notorious that opposition meets every unaccustomed measure for the public weal? In very many cases the removal of the husband would be an actual benefit to his family, and many drunkards are women. But let it be distinctly understood that our remedy does not apply to occasional drunkards, but to inebriates.

Some time ago a physician of standing in the Metropolis read a paper, in which he thought that he proposed a satisfactory solution of the difficulty by suggesting that written notices, according to a given form, should be served upon the

neighbouring publicans warning them, at their peril, not to supply stimulants to the inebriate named in the notice. This gentleman's paper was favourably received and commented upon: in a reply we endeavoured to show that in a small village such a notice served on the two or three local publicans might be useful, but that it would be useless in a large town, where the inebriate would not be known to one publican in twenty, and where beershops and grocers supplying stimulants number hundreds. Nor would such notices prevent the inebriate from getting a supply for home consumption from grocers and brewers at a distance from his residence.

The way must be cleared before approaching the discussion of our plan. In the first place, an immense amount of nonsense and pseudo-religion—cant, in short; no milder expression is permissible—is talked on the temperance platform: the drunkard is held up to public sympathy as a poor deluded creature, longing for reformation, and society is often represented as arrayed against him, tempting him to drink, overcoming his scruples and ridiculing his efforts to lead a sober and religious life. The fact often is the very reverse of this —thousands of drunkards are notoriously persons of low moral type, with no good resolutions, no pure purpose; they crave for drink and will have it; shame they no longer feel, and it is sheer nonsense to sympathise with them and talk of them as suffering angels. We say this advisedly, and after much reflection, though no one can feel greater horror at intemperance and the degradation accompanying it. Whatever his original position in society or his education, the drunkard is a miserable object—his own deadliest enemy. As long as we treat inebriety as a failing, we shall do little good. Nor is much gained by looking upon confirmed intemperance as a disease, except in a very small percentage of cases; it may modify our estimate of the sufferer's guilt, but can hardly change the treatment adopted or reconcile his friends to his follies, and, nevertheless, it is becoming the fashion to describe inebriety as a disease; in some few cases, this is undoubtedly correct, but not often. "You know my failing," said to us, the other day, a miserably degraded lady, who for twenty

years has been a torment to her family. Her failing, forsooth! her low, degrading vice, indulged in in spite of good influences and excellent surroundings. "Don't let her know that you think she drinks, it would vex her," once said a young lady to us, when we were called in to see her mother, a confirmed drunkard, who had got through a bottle of brandy that very morning before her breakfast. "Don't scold me; I can't bear it; I am very naughty, I know;" we have again and again heard drunkards say. Do these people, we ask, and thousands of others like them, feel their position? do they long for self-control? do they try to resist temptation?

The drunkard can or he cannot control his appetites. If he can and will not, he is vicious, and should be punished. No doubt the effort would be severe, but in most cases the control, given a sufficiently powerful motive, can be exercised, and Dr. Bucknill, in his admirable paper on "Habitual Drunkenness—a Vice, Crime, or Disease," has made that pretty clear. If the drunkard knew that every act of self-indulgence would be followed, in due course, by a sound flogging, outbreaks would be comparatively rare. If a drunkard cannot restrain himself, he is practically a lunatic and a danger to society, and should be treated accordingly. We have seen hundreds of drunkards and closely followed the career of many of them for years, and the depraved tastes, indifference to the feelings of others, untruthfulness, and craving for present self-indulgence at whatever future cost have well-nigh dried up our sympathies. The drunkard too often does not care who pays the penalty of his vices.

"But you ought to bring good moral influences to bear," people retort. "Talk to them; reason with them; cheer them; help them to keep their good resolutions." This is hardly practical advice, speaking generally, as the wretched relatives of these unhappy beings know to their cost. Most confirmed drunkards should be shut up in proper homes and made to feel that they are a positive menace to society, and must be protected from themselves for the sake of their friends. When we fully understand the heinousness of drunkenness, its penalties in this world and the next, its loathsome character

and its dangers, we shall adopt effectual measures for the restraint of its victims, but till then we shall work to little purpose.

Then the lawyers interpose: "The liberty of the subject must be respected; it would never do to lock up a drunkard unless with his consent. What would be done with his property? Trustees must be appointed, a court of inquiry must sit." In short, if the lawyers are listened to, such complicated, costly and tedious machinery would have to be set in motion, that for the compulsory treatment of inebriety all the Amended Acts in the world would be valueless in the case of thousands of inebriates, whose circumstances do not admit of vast sums of money being squandered. Is the law usually so merciful? Is the liberty of the subject so religiously guarded? When a man enlists he learns that any trifling misconduct means three months' imprisonment, and absence without leave is not often overlooked or quickly expiated. A summons can be taken out against the highest persons in the realm, and they must obey it, at whatever cost. It is only the drunkard whose liberty we treat with such scrupulous consideration; as soon as he is mentioned we express deep commiseration for him; but we have no chivalrous regard for his friends, he may drink, waste his and their substance, and cause them years of bitter suffering, and we give them no redress, no protection.

"What! punish a man for drinking!!! Punishment should be reformatory; you should reclaim, not punish." And are the friends to be left out? are they to suffer, as we have known them, a world of misery extending over many years, with no improvement, no prospect of reformation? Are parents to pay thousands of pounds to meet bills wantonly run up, in bold defiance of peremptory injunctions to the contrary, by drunken sons?

What we have is something of this sort—a large number of drunken working men and women, who deliberately set themselves to drink when they can get stimulants; they are too poor to be taken into the present inebriate asylums under the Acts, nor would they consent to enter, nor would the managers of those institutions receive them if they would. We have

also a large number of men, and, unfortunately, a fair sprinkling of women of the middle classes, who are ruining themselves by intemperance: as a broad rule, these people are irreclaimable, and it is mere waste of time to induce them to sign the pledge, and to attend temperance gatherings. Now and then they restrain themselves fairly well for a time; then comes a disastrous and startling relapse. The history of these cases is usually one of rapidly accelerating degradation until the end comes. For all we know to the contrary, the number of these people may be as small as 10,000, or it may reach 100,000; it is probably nearer the latter. Every medical practitioner knows this miserable, degraded type, and has seen scores, perhaps hundreds; unfortunately we certainly have. Do the friends find the custody of a drunkard a light matter? To them it is misery, anxiety, and worry, which no words can adequately convey. A young man we have heard of sells, when in the humour, everything he can lay his hands upon—clothes, books, boots, and college prizes, and borrows a couple of shillings from any one who will trust him. His father buys him a handsome coat, which speedily finds its way to a second-hand dealer's and fetches three shillings; a waistcoat brings eightpence, and a pair of trousers a florin, while a costly book is only worth a shilling. But he would not for the world go into an inebriate asylum, and the liberty of the subject must be respected, so that he cannot be forcibly detained unless by the police, who occasionally finding him drunk, give him a night in the lock-up; but his friends have to pay in fines and costs for the accommodation thus provided.

The *British Medical Journal*, some months ago, had the following remarkable paragraph, bearing on the subject of our article: we have freely abridged it; it is positively appalling to read it:—"The records of our police courts, with their enormous mass of frequent offenders or 'repeaters' charged with drunkenness or offences connected therewith, are striking. The remarkable figures published by Dr. J. Francis Sutherland, relating to Glasgow, are a lay sermon of ominous significance. We learn that there are 10,000 commitments of women in that city every year. Each of these women is, on an average, convicted three times, and the mean

period of imprisonment is seven days. About forty per cent. of these Scottish gaol birds have had from 11 to 800 previous convictions recorded against them. What does this mean? Simply that, so far from cure or reformation, or even deterrence, these short sentences enable the prisoner to recover from the exhaustion of the last 'drinking-bout,' and send him forth recruited, invigorated, and fit to recommence his vicious indulgence. Such treatment of a pathological condition confirms rather than cures the inebriate habit. The establishment of homes, at the public charge, for the scientific care of these police court *habitués*, would be more economical and effectual." The sentence calling drunkenness a pathological condition is open to argument, though it can pass.

We have already said that we must have a simple, quick, and easy method of dealing with these deplorable cases; what could be better than the following? Let any person, standing in the relation of parent or child, brother or sister, guardian or trustee to an inebriate—whether the latter is of full age or not—have power to apply at the nearest police office for a form, on which the name, address, and occupation of the applicant and of the inebriate, should, in due order be set forth. A summons should be issued in accordance with these particulars, and be served on the inebriate. When the case came on for hearing, the magistrates should have absolute power to ask for and obtain information as to the defendant's history, habits, and circumstances. The application would of course have to be supported by unprejudiced witnesses and trustworthy evidence. The magistrates would easily eliminate the cases in which malice or dishonesty was the instigating motive; moreover, the defendant would make his defence, and, if possible, clear himself. But, unless we are singularly in error, the inebriate would in nineteen cases out of twenty express contrition, be abjectly frightened, and promise to amend; very rarely indeed would he plead that he was the victim of a conspiracy. Then, according to circumstances, the defendant should be detained from one to six months to begin with; when indigent, the expenses should be met by the rates; when better off, he should have greater comforts, and be charged a moderate, a very moderate sum. As for places

of detention, what could be easier than special departments in gaols or lunatic asylums? At first such special departments would only need to be added to a few prisons or asylums; but after a time, if necessary, to more, and finally, special institutions could be built and confined to this class.

An objection that will certainly be urged against our scheme is that educated inebriates would prefer the refined surroundings of private homes, but we have already described the insufficient control, the large expenditure, and the occasional venality of managers in such homes. We are not blind believers in the superiority of Governmental management, and we are aware that some of our prison officials are not models of temperance and morality, but they are under strict discipline and subject to a most admirable system of mutual checks and supervision; the governor of the gaol might perchance himself drink freely, and some of the warders might be intemperate, but none the less certainly would the inmates be effectually guarded and compelled to submit to discipline and obey rules. Here, in short, is the advantage of the method we propose—it would do just what nothing else could so cheaply and certainly carry out.

We do not propose to treat inebriates as criminals or lunatics, but as persons detained primarily for the protection and relief of their friends; while in the institution they might be supplied with books, papers, and letters, and receive frequent visits from their friends, but they should be unable to leave till their sentence had expired. We are certain that were such institutions opened they would soon be crowded, and thousands of families would in consequence be relieved from a load of misery.

The fact that the applicants would mainly be relations would obviate the necessity of outsiders interfering, and it would also protect the defendants. A father could, for example, set forth that his son had for six years been an inebriate, incurred heavy debts, neglected his occupation, and caused great anxiety. In many cases we can speak positively that the evidence of guilt would be overwhelming and unanswerable. Occasional acts of intemperance would be totally different, and would not be held to justify incarceration. It might happen

that occasionally the charge would not rest on sufficient evidence; sometimes, too, malice might instigate it, but the magistrates would eliminate such cases.

As for property, little difficulty could generally arise, for to commence with, very few drunkards have any. A leading insurance company, indeed, reports that only one person in twenty succeeds to property. As the inebriate would not be a criminal, he would be at liberty to see letters, documents, and lawyers, and while under restraint could transact any necessary business, so that his friends would not have the unrestricted control of his property, though they might use some of it. If the wish to appropriate his property was the motive of the action, the defendant would be the person of all others most likely to know this, and the services of a clever lawyer would be retained, who would not fail to make the most of any information given him by his client. But the property difficulty would not often occur, for in the vast majority of cases the very ground of the application would be the extravagant and bad habits of the inebriate, and detention would be demanded for the protection of his friends. At most, it could only be a question of the use of horses, books, and house for a short time, and even that would in great measure be got over by the inebriate being able to give directions as to their management. If he refused to do so, and, as might occasionally happen, would not make proper arrangements, his friends might apply, at his expense, for the temporary control to be entrusted to a lawyer, relative, or friend, though as soon as the magistrates were satisfied as to his habits his detention might commence. This question of property is just that one, however, on which the lawyers will do their best to wreck the scheme: why should this be? No one who is sent to prison for a few weeks for a trifling lapse from the right path is allowed to demand acquittal because he has a horse or a house; and yet we greatly fear that the custody of a little property, in one case in fifty, will be regarded as a serious matter, and will wreck the proposed reform, unless the detention of inebriates is approached on sound, common-sense principles. When the property is considerable, and the inebriate has been confined several times, the Acts might make provision for

appointing trustees, with almost absolute control, but their assistance would seldom be necessary.

One class, and a very large one, we have not dealt with—that of confirmed, low-class inebriates, whose friends would not trouble to move, or there might not be any friends to take the initiative. Here we think the local police authorities should have power to move, and instead of sending a person to prison 200 times, as frequently happens, they could apply, in due form, to the magistrates for an order to commit the inebriate to an institution for six months, and when necessary the expense should be defrayed out of the rates. A friend of ours has, in a few years, sent a woman to gaol thirty-six times for being drunk and disorderly. We contend that the law urgently needs alteration, and that it is disgraceful to see the same wretched inebriate in the dock, time after time. Something more effectual and dignified should be attempted.

A great deal will be made of the disgrace to the family, and we shall be told that forcible detention in an inebriate institution of the sort advocated in this paper would be insufferable. We ask whether any one can suppose that a man's habits are a secret to his friends, servants, employers, and neighbours?

The need for such institutions is admittedly urgent. The present Inebriates' Acts could go on; private medical practitioners, with relays of highly-paid attendants, could be resorted to in proper cases; and the police might continue to look after the occasional riotous drunkard; but we require something more comprehensive and effectual to reach the overwhelming masses of inebriates, who cannot afford to pay a medical man large sums for very imperfect supervision.

Mr. W. Armstrong Willis, in a paper on "Inebriety," of singular excellence and thoughtfulness, in the *Provincial Medical Journal*, suggests that in cases of inebriety sympathy and firmness are most important, and that rural seclusion and deprivation of money are essential to successful treatment. Mr. Willis admits that these cases require most skilful and able treatment and constant supervision, and that few people are competent by training and natural capacity to take them in hand, but he evidently thinks that compulsory detention has not the value we have attributed to it in the case of the more

fortunate and opulent classes. Any opinion of this able writer is entitled to respectful attention, and his suggestions are undoubtedly very valuable, and are based on full knowledge of the subject. But we do not suggest that all inebriates should be compulsorily detained; our intention rather is that the power should exist; the relatives need not resort to it should they be satisfied with the other measures which they have adopted; at present they have absolutely no power.

Were some of our powerful temperance associations to turn their attention to the matter, and promote the passing of an Act to meet the public requirements, they would do a great and useful work, and, perhaps, in the long run, promote temperance more effectually than by a crusade carried on chiefly among people who have already signed the pledge, and have no temptation to break it. Temperance meetings, however valuable, seldom reach inebriates.

Much would have to be left to the magistrates, for any attempt to frame an Act so comprehensive that it would cover the whole ground, and deal with all possible difficulties and complications, would not protect the public, though it would find employment for many lawyers. Moreover, by giving the magistrates power to dismiss the application on the ground of insufficient evidence, unsuitability, or malice, the liberty of the subject would be sufficiently protected. Lastly, in fraud or malice the penalties attaching to perjury would necessarily be incurred by the applicants, and conspiracy need not often be feared.

Such an extension of the Acts as we have here roughly sketched would give them the necessary elasticity and completeness, and make them a boon to the nation, instead of, as at present, a delusion.

## Art. IV.—DAY TRAINING COLLEGES.

1. *Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts (England and Wales)*, 1888.

2. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education (England and Wales)*, 1888–9.

3. *Minute of the 10th March 1890, establishing a New Code of Regulations, by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.*

THE Code recently presented to Parliament contained the following definition of a training college:—"A training college is an institution either for boarding, lodging, and instructing, or for merely instructing students who are preparing to become certificated teachers in elementary schools. The former are called Residential, the latter Day Training Colleges." This new definition coupled with provisions found later in the Code permits the establishment of a new description of colleges; and as this proposal received the unanimous approval of the Royal Commission, and no voice has been raised against it, we may regard it as certain that day training colleges will be set up. We propose to inquire into the need for such colleges, the work they will have to do, and the conditions essential to their success. We think we can show that their establishment, for a number of students strictly limited to the national need, will be a benefit, and may introduce into the profession a desirable class of teachers. We shall argue that the arrangements of such colleges must be carefully adapted to the special class of students for which they are intended, and that while their usefulness would be increased by distribution in many different localities, such distribution cannot go far, because day colleges cannot succeed either financially or educationally if the number of students in each is too small. Finally, we shall point out that while the need is rather an additional number of trained women than

trained men, day colleges are not so suitable for women, whose case requires special consideration.

Before considering the proposal presented to the country, it is necessary to refer to the reasons which have led to it. The most obvious is the large proportion of untrained teachers now holding certificates. The rapid multiplication of schools which followed the legislation of 1870 led to the extensive employment of such teachers; and the last Government returns show that of 44,565 certificated teachers in England and Wales, 16,809 have not passed through a college. If the sexes be taken separately, of the certificated masters more than one-third are untrained, and of the certificated mistresses more than one-half. The statement that these teachers are untrained requires, however, considerable qualification. In the words of the last Blue Book, "of the teachers, who from whatever cause have not attended a training college, a considerable number cannot, except in the technical sense of the word, be classed as *untrained*—having, under the superintendence of some of our best teachers, passed through the pupil teacher's course, and served as assistants in large schools, before passing the examination for a certificate and undertaking independent charges." It may be added that among them there are many excellent teachers, well reported of by Her Majesty's Inspectors, and showing as good results in their schools as the average of those who have received what is technically called training. Yet the advantages of training are so obvious as to be universally recognised, and there is practical unanimity in the opinion that we now employ too large a proportion of untrained teachers. The argument is strengthened by the fact that teachers see the value to themselves of this fuller equipment for their work, and so many candidates apply that for the last few years the number who have passed the scholarship examination, and become eligible for admission to colleges, has been nearly double the number the colleges could accommodate. It will be seen as we proceed that to train all who apply, or any considerable number beyond what are now trained, would be folly, as the nation does not need them, and would only excite hopes that could not be realised. But the fact that too many teachers are untrained, joined to the

fact that hundreds each year vainly seek for training, naturally suggests a need that facilities for training should be increased. If this argument stood alone, we do not think much would be made of it; the circumstance that most of the existing colleges are denominational is in many quarters the strongest reason for desiring colleges of another description. In the words of the Report of the majority of the Royal Commission: "The number of undenominational colleges, counting those connected with the British and Foreign School Society, is quite insufficient, it is maintained, to meet the demand for training on the part of those Nonconformist pupil teachers who have been apprenticed in Board Schools, and who may find the door of entrance to the training colleges of other denominations closed against them." The minority Report puts this still more strongly, and draws a comparison between the number of scholars in Board and other undemoninational schools, and the number of places in undenominational training colleges. The fallacy of this argument is apparent. To assume that pupil teachers engaged in undenominational schools are themselves of no religious denomination, or that they or their friends object to denominational colleges, is an example of the same kind of reasoning which says, "Free men will have free schools," or "Who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." But as the Report of the majority puts the argument it has a certain weight, and we cannot entirely ignore even a fallacious form of argument which comes with the authority of Dr. Dale and the Honourable Lyulph Stanley. Reasoning which imposes on Dr. Dale will have weight with multitudes, and if Mr. Lyulph Stanley can scarcely be believed to be entirely blind to its weakness, no one knows better that even a man of straw, carefully accoutred and supported by two stalwart living friends, may do excellent yeoman's service, if only by looking formidable. Let it be added that there are those who have long believed that teachers will be saved from narrowness and pedantry if the special work of training colleges is carried on in connection with colleges of another type, where the students will come into contact with men of wider culture preparing for various walks in life, and it is not surprising that the Royal Commission should recom-

mend, or that Parliament should be asked to sanction, the establishment of Day Training Colleges.

Having set forth the reasons of this proposal, we proceed to inquire for how many students provision may safely be made. The importance of this inquiry will be seen when it is remembered that all students receiving training have been, and, according to the scheme presented, will hereafter be, required "to sign a declaration that they intend *bonâ fide* to adopt and follow the profession of teaching in a public elementary school or training college." The requirement of such a declaration binds the Department to see that no more teachers are trained than may reasonably expect to find speedy employment. This is the more imperative, because residential colleges receive no payment towards the cost of training students till, "as acting teachers continuously engaged in the same school, they have received two favourable reports from an inspector, with an interval of at least one year between them;" so that if the doors of the profession were so crowded with trained teachers that those leaving college could find no employment, a wrong would be done to the colleges as well as to students, many of whom are so circumstanced financially that they could not afford to wait years or even many months before seeking other occupations, however anxious they might be honourably to carry out their engagement. These considerations, as we suppose, led the Royal Commission to mention this as one of the questions requiring the serious attention of Parliament, "the means of securing that the supply of day students shall not exceed the probable demand of the country."

What, then, is the probable demand? On this subject there is room for great difference of opinion. It does not appear to be the intention of the Education Department that all elementary teachers shall be trained at college. No Continental nation requires this; and as to America, Dr. Fitch says, in his *Notes on American Schools and Training Colleges*, "of the whole number of public teachers employed in the States, it is computed that not more than ten per cent. have received any normal training at all; and 'normal training,'

it must be remembered, is very differently interpreted, meaning often twelve months, six months, or even three months, attendance at a training college." The last Blue Book contains such observations as the following:—"A considerable number of teachers who have not passed through the training colleges will always be required for the service of the country." "The salaries obtained even by female teachers after two years of training are beyond the means of the managers of a large number of small schools. During the year 1885, out of 18,820 schools inspected, 5180 had in each school an average attendance of less than 60 scholars. Our returns for the past year (1888), show that the number of such schools is now 5312." This reference to schools with an average attendance of less than 60 scholars seems meant to remind us that in such schools no pupil teacher is required, and therefore, under present arrangements, an untrained principal teacher can be employed. It will generally be conceded that *some* teachers "who have not passed through the training colleges will always be required"; as to the proportion they should be as to the whole number, opinion will be divided. We think we do not misrepresent the mind of the Department when we say that from five to six thousand untrained teachers may be necessary, and that most of these should be women. It should be added that a very high authority has appended to the Report of the Commission the following additional reasons why the doors of the profession should not be absolutely closed against untrained teachers:—"It would tend to place the country at the mercy of a 'Union'; it would seriously hamper school managers in their choice of teachers; and would keep out of the profession many of a class who, especially in the case of women, are amongst its most valuable and efficient members."

The number of certificated teachers is now 44,565, and we shall be well within the hint suggested by the Department if we assume that not more than 40,000 of these need be college trained. What number, then, should annually leave college in order to secure this supply of trained teachers? The Department suggests that the supply should be such as to fill up an annual waste calculated at six per cent. It has

long been believed that this calculation of waste is excessive. Training colleges can supply figures as to the length of service rendered by their students, which prove that if the waste on the whole number is as alleged by the Department, there must be, as might well be expected, a much greater waste among untrained than among trained teachers. It has further been argued repeatedly that the calculations of the Departments were made a good many years ago, and that the improved position and prospects of teachers make it probable that they now remain longer on the average in the profession. The matter is set at rest by a statement which Sir Francis Sandford, than whom there could be no higher authority, appends to the Report of the Royal Commission. It is shown by careful calculations that during the years 1882–6, the annual waste of trained teachers of both sexes was 3.3; the annual waste of untrained teachers was exactly double, 6.6; and the annual waste of all certificated teachers, trained and untrained, of both sexes, was 4.8. It is further shown that, among untrained teachers the waste is practically the same among men as among women, the difference being only 3 per cent.; but when we turn to trained teachers, there is a considerable difference between the sexes, the waste of trained men being only 2.5, while that of trained women is 4.2. Other calculations prove that, if we assume that fifteen years hence the country will need 50,000 teachers, and that all of them should be trained—and if we further assume that the annual waste among trained teachers will remain as at present—the existing colleges would within the fifteen years have sent forth a supply of trained teachers adequate to the nation's need. The difficulty arises when we look at the proportion of the sexes. In 1869 among the certificated teachers 48 per cent. were women; in 1886 the proportion of women had risen to 60 per cent., and the Department speaks of a tendency that the proportion will rise still higher. Sir Francis Sandford's figures prove that if we look simply at the nation's need no additional training colleges are required, but only a rearrangement, if that were possible, by which fewer men shall be trained and more women. Yet he does not object to the proposals made. For men, he approves of "an experiment

on a limited scale of a system of non-residential training in connection with institutions for higher education." For women, he "would advocate the establishment of a few new residential colleges, and their admission as day students to existing colleges."

In the wisdom of Sir Francis Sandford's suggestions we entirely concur, though we think there is little hope of the establishment of new residential colleges for women in face of the alleged "Nonconformist grievance." But as we agree with him in the desire to see the experiment of non-residential colleges tried, and tried especially for men, we hope we are not driven to the conclusion his figures suggest, that there is no room for the training of additional masters. Presumptuous as it may seem to differ from so eminent an authority, we would point out that Sir Francis Sandford's calculations assume that there will be no greater waste among trained masters when all are trained than there is now, when we train only two-thirds. We suggest that one of the reasons why untrained teachers leave the profession more quickly than trained, is that, on the average, their position and prospects are less satisfactory. But if all teachers were trained, a certain number of trained teachers must occupy these less eligible positions, and the same pressure would come upon them which untrained teachers now feel, while they would be apt to think they had more talent to carry to a better market. We think it safe to assume that if the waste among trained teachers is now 2.5 per cent., if all, or a much larger proportion were trained, it might rise to 3.5 per cent. Such a waste calculated on 20,000 teachers, and we anticipate the employment of a very small number indeed of untrained men, would need an annual supply of 700; and that number the present colleges provide. We will imagine a waste of 4 per cent., which seems incredible, we admit, since the present average waste on all teachers, male and female, trained and untrained, is only 4.2. Yet it may become possible, if through the crowding of the profession salaries are reduced and the prospects of teachers seriously injured. With such a waste the training of 100 additional male students will be proper. As to women, accepting Sir Francis

Sandford's figures, 30,000 may presently be required; and of these, perhaps 25,000 should be trained. The waste among trained women is now 4.2; we will suppose that it might rise to 4.5. At this rate we should require 1125 trained women annually, of whom residential colleges can furnish 885; so that it may be desirable to train about 250 more. We have looked at this question in many ways, and are persuaded that from whatever point of view the subject is approached, the result will be this, or nearly this. We do not contend that these figures are exact; on some points which enter into the calculation there is room, as we have said, for difference of opinion. But we are glad to find that the new Code aims at carrying out the suggestion of the Royal Commission, that Parliament should see "that the supply of trained day students shall not exceed the probable demands of the country." The Code presented in 1889 left this absolutely unguarded. For aught that then appeared, any day training college, once recognised by the Department, might receive as many students as it pleased from the large number who pass in the first and second classes of the scholarship list. The matter is now set at rest by the regulations: "No more than 200 day students may be recognised at one and the same time as Queen's scholars. The number of day students to be admitted to each training college will be fixed by the Department upon receipt of an application from the authorities of such college, dated not later than the 1st of June in each year." We are persuaded that for the present the entrance into the profession of a hundred additional trained teachers per annum will be an abundant supply; and that it would be convenient to begin by training a hundred this year, and adding another hundred in 1892.

Having seen why day training colleges are desired, and the extent to which they are needed, we proceed to examine the scheme for their establishment, suggested by the Department. The proposal is to utilise existing educational institutions, universities, or colleges "of university rank," in which lectures may be delivered covering to a considerable extent the ground of the syllabus at present in force, and which shall include, "either on their premises, or within a convenient distance, a practising school, in which the students may learn

the practical exercise of their profession." With one exception the witnesses examined before the Royal Commission did not look so high as the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for educational institutions suited for this purpose, but rather to local colleges like Owens College, Manchester; University College, Liverpool; the Yorkshire College, Leeds; and Mason's College, Birmingham. With such colleges the Code proposes that the Department shall deal in the following way: "In day training colleges, a grant will be made annually, through the local committee, of £25 to each male, and of £20 to each female Queen's scholar, and a grant of £10 to the committee in respect of each Queen's scholar enrolled for continuous training throughout the year."

It is evident that there is nothing in the financial part of this arrangement which is unfair or likely to be injurious to residential colleges. It may confidently be assumed that the Department has no wish to injure them, since there is a unanimous agreement that for the class of candidates now presenting themselves no better arrangement could be made. The late Mr. Patrick Cumin distinctly stated this in his evidence before the Royal Commission: "These day students I look upon as being rather exceptional. They would be rather from a higher class, and a great many people who would make very good teachers would not be in the least degree fitted to attend these lectures." The Hon. Lyulph Stanley agrees with this. Speaking at the Mansion House on occasion of the Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign School Society, he said: "Do not let it be supposed that the day training colleges are to be back doors through which the ignorant and inefficient, who cannot pass high enough to get in to the residential colleges, are to be allowed to sneak into the teaching profession. The students who pass low in the scholarship examination are least fitted to take advantage of the day training colleges. In the residential colleges, you have a whole staff associated with the work and history of elementary education, and they will drill and discipline and drive the backward students till they place them, at the end of two years, in no discreditable positions on the certificate list. But in the day training colleges professors will be teaching with a love of their subject, and in comparative in-

difference to the requirements of the Government, so that students who are not fit to take advantage of the liberal education offered will prove failures." The Report of the majority of the Royal Commission says: "While unanimously recommending that a system of day training for teachers and of day training colleges should be tried on a limited scale, we would strongly express our opinion that the existing system of residential colleges is the best both for the teachers and scholars of the elementary schools of the country." Even the Report of the minority, while preferring "for all, the wider intellectual range of thought which may be expected from contact with a university," agrees that "the existing system may be continued side by side with the new schemes," and adds: "In reference to the question of boarding or day training colleges, we are of opinion that so long as pupil teachers are drawn from uneducated homes, and come to college so badly prepared as they now are, the undivided influence of a good boarding college will probably be of advantage to them." On the basis of this remarkable consensus of opinion the proposed financial arrangement seems to rest. The present class of students will not be bribed away from the colleges which are admitted to be the most suitable for them. No one will contend that the £25 offered to male students, or the £20 offered to female students, is more than an equivalent for forty weeks' board and lodging in a residential college. "Assuming," said Mr. Cumin, "that a student can board himself during the forty weeks of training for £28, or 14*s.* per week, he will have to pay £3 towards the cost of his maintenance. In English training colleges the fees now paid by men vary from £10 to £20 for two years' training, and the average fee in 1886 was £8 2*s.* It may therefore be assumed that a Queen's scholar would be able to pay £8 a year towards his maintenance and education. Deducting the £3 required for his maintenance, he could pay the local committee £5 a year towards their expenses. This would enable the committee to spend £15 a year, that is to say, the £10 and the £5. I should suppose that where a fair number of day Queen's scholars are trained, the above sums would meet the class fees and the other lecturers' salaries, for which the local committee would be responsible." Mr. Cumin then

went on to show, by calculations drawn from the experience of residential colleges, that the fees asked from day students need in no case exceed £14 a year; and added: "That is taking a very liberal estimate; and I am only putting it in order to show that even at that liberal estimate it would not be outside the class of people who, I think, would be induced to become teachers by the superior education which they would get and the superior lectures they would attend." It should be observed that in all this nothing is allowed for the erection of buildings. It is assumed that these already exist, or will be provided by private enterprise. The question was raised before the Royal Commission whether the establishment of day colleges should be helped from the rates; but it was felt that there could be no better test of the reality of the desire for them than to leave something to be done by their promoters. This is an excellent principle. We should not hear much about Free Education if its advocates knew that they would be required to raise by voluntary contributions one-thousandth part of what it would cost the nation in one year. The passion for hobbies will increase rapidly if it is once understood that not only the whole animal, but its stable and fodder and the very whip required to make it go, will be provided at the nation's expense.

We agree with Mr. Cumin in believing that if facilities for training such as he describes are provided in various cities and towns, a certain number of students of a "somewhat higher class" will be found. We do not believe they will be graduates of English universities. It is true that in Scotland many day schoolmasters are graduates, but there is an essential difference between the universities of England and Scotland. Scotland has no system of intermediate education, and boasts that boys from elementary schools pass direct to the universities; which they may readily do, as the doors are open to all who ask admission and will pay the prescribed fee. Residence is not required in the sense in which it is required at Oxford and Cambridge; all the arrangements are less costly, and the final examinations are less severe than either at those universities or at London. Hence the class of men from whom elementary teachers are mostly drawn can graduate in Scotch universities and become teachers, many of them only for a time while they

look out for openings into other professions. English university men come for the most part from quite another class. They set a high value on social position, and they know that society does not accord the same status to teachers in elementary schools as to briefless barristers or assistant masters in grammar schools. Perhaps if a few university men of good family would lead the way others would follow. But they show no such intention. The way into the profession has been open to them for some years, through the provision that university graduates may become assistant masters, and so prepare for the certificate examination; but though every profession is crowded, and we have known graduates apply for situations as clerks with small salaries, and even with no salary, we have heard of no graduate of Oxford or Cambridge who has sought the comparatively well-paid work of master in a public elementary school. But without looking for university graduates, there are many youths who have taken a high place in our great public schools, and thus gained an excellent education, whose fathers are sorely perplexed to find openings for them; and if these young men could continue to reside at home, and complete their preparation for the work of teaching, with such pecuniary assistance as the scheme before us provides, we have no doubt a supply of candidates will be found quite adequate to the demand. Such an introduction into the profession of a small proportion of teachers who had lived amid social surroundings different from the majority, and received a different kind of education, would be a distinct advantage. At present, pupil teachers who have spent their youth in public elementary schools come to the colleges in numbers so preponderating, and, speaking generally, with such superior preparation, that they are little impressed by the small number of students of another class with whom they come in contact, and they return to the schools to carry out the old traditions with little of the variety and breadth that would flow from an experience of other systems of education. At the same time, we do not believe it would be to the advantage of national education that there should be any considerable change either in the origin or training of our teachers. As a national system nothing could be better than what we now have; teachers

taken from such surroundings that they are not out of sympathetic touch with the home life of their scholars, and apprenticed to the work while intellect and habit are flexible, so that they gain skill in teaching and school management while still young. Perhaps the ultimate advantage of introducing teachers of a different class will be to make the nation more thoroughly satisfied with the teachers it has, since it will certainly be found that the "somewhat higher class" is neither superior on the average for practical purposes, nor, except in rare instances, able to take the highest prizes of the profession.

We think we have justified our opening statement that day colleges are desirable for a number of students limited to the nation's need, and may introduce into the profession a new and desirable class of teachers. We proceed to show that college arrangements should be adapted to the class of students for whom the colleges are specially suited, and that this will necessarily limit their number. It will be observed that the Code allows day students to live either at home or in approved lodgings. The great moral advantage to students of residence at home, and the certainty that a better class would accept this arrangement than would consent to live in lodgings, makes it desirable, from one point of view, to provide facilities for training in as many different localities as possible. Doubtless this will be pressed on the Department for other reasons by members of School Boards who would like their pupil teachers to be trained in their own neighbourhoods, and by local colleges which may desire to take part in the work of training. But other considerations make it necessary to watch carefully against an undue multiplication of day colleges. The present Code clearly insists on work in practising schools. The Code presented and withdrawn in 1889 only prescribed attendance at lectures; but attendance at lectures is not training. We hold—and in this Mr. Oakeley and Dr. Fitch, the late Mr. Cumin and the Hon. Lyulph Stanley concur—that this experiment is adapted to a class higher in educational attainment than the average of our present students. But the more highly educated the new students are, the more will attendance on lectures be unimportant in comparison with instruction in the theory and

practice of teaching accompanied by work under competent supervision in practising schools. It would be a disastrous outcome of the new arrangement if it led to the employment in elementary schools of men of high scholarship who had not been trained to teach. Students in residential colleges are required to spend in practising schools at least three weeks of each year of training. A large majority of these have been pupil teachers, and thus served an apprenticeship to the work. Practice for three weeks would be absurdly inadequate in the case of those who have never taught, and whose higher acquirements would leave leisure for much more. It is probable, however, that the Department will treat all colleges alike, and not require more than three weeks in practising schools as a minimum. In that case, during the forty weeks of the college year, at least four out of every fifty students must be in the practising schools. There can be no proper training without a farther arrangement for criticism lessons, which all students should attend. As college lectures are generally given in the morning, these lessons would be taken in the afternoon, and of course the lecturer on method would attend. On this lecturer, it is evident, a good deal of responsibility would rest. Lecturers in university colleges, like those at Liverpool, of whose readiness to engage in this work Dr. Fitch speaks in the Blue Book, could do little more than allow students to attend their lectures. Some one must be responsible to advise which courses of lectures each student should take, and to arrange absences from lectures for work in practising schools at times the least disadvantageous. Some one must prepare the students for recitations, and give instruction in elocution and reading. If to this be joined lectures on school management, a general supervision of work in practising schools, presence at all criticism lessons, and some oversight as to private study, a very diligent and methodical tutor would find that about thirty students would provide ample occupation for his time. The competent discharge of such duties would require a rare combination of ability and experience, and without it the college must fail in its specific work of training; so that there is weight in Mr. Cumin's hint that such colleges will pay their way "where a fair number of day Queen's scholars are trained." If it is suggested that

there might be only from six to a dozen students, and the head-master of some high-class elementary school might act as lecturer on method and supervise the practice in the school, we ask careful attention to the work just described as essential to adequate training, and to the impossibility of combining this with the toils and responsibilities of a day schoolmaster. All experts will agree that the success of the new system depends on giving those students of superior scholarship a thorough training in the theory and practice of teaching. Where thirty students are together, and each gives three criticism lessons in the presence of the rest, every student hears ninety lessons and the comments on them. If there are only six students working in the same way, each hears only eighteen lessons. It is not therefore a mere matter of finance, but an essential condition of the success of day training, that a "fair number" of students shall be together. On this subject the Department will require to be very firm. With only about a hundred additional male students to be trained, there will be a wish to supply training in London, and Liverpool, and Manchester, and Nottingham, and Leeds, and Birmingham. "Gallant little Wales" will ask for a college in the Principality; nor will it be easy to resist appeals, or to decide between contending claims. But the project will be ruined if its promoters are not content with at most three or four colleges for training men.

In our advocacy of day training we assume that the moral character of students will be strictly inquired into, and safeguarded during training in every possible way. It cannot be supposed that in this particular any carelessness would be allowed by the Department, and we are glad to note that its extreme importance is recognised by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Colleges, on whom much responsibility will devolve. On condition of these moral safeguards, we think that for men day colleges may answer. We find it difficult to believe that it is a suitable arrangement for women, except it be for students of the "somewhat higher class," and for those it is much to be desired that they should live in their own homes. Under such conditions the experiment might be tried at some suitable centre, as Mason's College, Birmingham. But we

strongly urge that, at least as regards women, residential colleges should avail themselves of the permission given in the Code, and add to their present students some who shall be non-residential. It is for the college authorities to determine whether this can be done without lowering the high moral tone which now prevails, and which, the Inspectors testify, has so much to do with their success. If it can, and we do not think the difficulties are insuperable, then not only are the existing colleges better adapted to train the class of students now seeking admission, but their natural desire to maintain the moral tone of their resident students will be a constant stimulus to watch over and protect in every possible way students who are non-resident. It will be an additional anxiety, and will bring no financial gain, since, in the case o residential colleges, the Code provides that any additional payment in respect of day students will be subject to the existing provision that the total grant must not exceed 75 per cent. of the expenditure of the college. But it would be an advantage to the country, and a most welcome arrangement to candidates and their friends. Of the scores eligible to enter college in January who were excluded for want of room, how many would have accepted thankfully a place as non-resident students on the conditions stated in the Code.

We are quite aware that no such provision will meet the probable demand for additional trained women, and we think attention should be drawn to Sir Francis Sandford's hint as to some rearrangement by which residential colleges should train more women and fewer men. Our figures show a prospective need of 700 trained men and 1100 women, and a supply from existing colleges of 700 men and 880 women. If these figures are correct, the establishment of day colleges for men is unnecessary, and therefore undesirable. We have sought a way out of the difficulty by suggesting that more than 700 trained men may be needed, but we are not fully convinced, though we greatly desire to be convinced, by our own argument. We ask then, Is it possible to resist the demand for day colleges? Clearly not. The question has been discussed at length before the Royal Commission, than which it is impossible to imagine any tribunal more competent to

decide it, or more sure to give equitable consideration to existing interests; and knowing all the facts, the Royal Commission unanimously recommends the experiment. Is it possible to limit day colleges to women? Clearly not. It is for men chiefly that their advocates desire them; it is only for men that their opponents think them permissible. There must be day colleges for men; and yet to train more men than are needed would, for reasons already given, be not only unjust, but demoralising. Meanwhile additional room in residential colleges is greatly needed for women, while no more denominational colleges are likely to be allowed, and we have no faith whatever in residential colleges which are not decidedly religious. If by any rearrangement residential colleges could train a hundred fewer men and a hundred additional women, it would be a great boon to female candidates, and would give fairplay to the experiment of day training for men.

We hope this is not impossible; and there seems no injustice in saying that if a change be made, it must be among Church of England training colleges. We have seen that of trained teachers about 60 per cent. should be women. Of the students in Roman Catholic colleges 72 per cent. are women, and of the students in undenominational colleges 68 per cent., while Wesleyan colleges provide for a majority of men, and in Church of England colleges the numbers are nearly equal. The Wesleyans cannot change. Their smaller college is not adapted to the training of men, and as they only send out about sixty men annually, it cannot be said that they take an undue share in providing teachers for the nation. The Church of England sends out annually about 500 trained men, the total national requirement being about 700. We are aware that there may be reasons which make the change impracticable in Church of England colleges, as it is certainly impracticable in Wesleyan Methodist colleges; but we are convinced that the setting up of day colleges for men will lead ere long to many embarrassments and perplexities, unless some such change as we have suggested can be brought about—more women and fewer men in existing residential colleges. We think we have established the last position taken in our open-

ing sentences by showing that day colleges are not so suitable for women as for men, and that the training of women deserves special attention.

This experiment will be tried. There will no longer be a monopoly in the mode of training teachers for elementary schools, and the abolition of monopolies is commonly an advantage. Where only one method of procedure is allowed, it is always open to restless imaginations to assert that better methods could be suggested; and in this particular instance men's imaginations are made morbidly restless by the persistent clamour of that fictitious but troublesome monster, called variously "religious difficulty" and "Nonconformist grievance." If, by giving a sop to this Cerberus, we can temporarily silence even one of his noisy mouths, the nation will be grateful. We much prefer the existing institutions, because even if day colleges should equal them in educational results, they cannot approach them as to moral and religious safeguards. But we do not believe any permanent injury will be done to residential colleges. Only let the Department hold the balance fairly, and in the long run candidates, school managers, and the nation generally, will prefer the colleges that serve them best.

[See note on page 358 with reference to circular issued by Education Department on the subject of Day Training Colleges.]

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## Art. V.—THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

1. *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages.* By W. Cunningham, D.D., University Lecturer on Political Economy, and Lecturer in Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1890.
2. *Society in the Elizabethan Age.* By Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Third Edition. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1888.

NOTHING is more characteristic of recent advances in many departments of knowledge than the increased application of the historical method. Instead of theories

elaborately developed to explain existing facts, the records left behind by past waves of the human sea are industriously collected, and from them it is sought to reconstruct bygone times, and to live over again in thought the struggles of our predecessors, their joys and fears, their temptations and their victories. And whatever other gain there may be, this certainly represents an advance in sympathy with mankind, which must have its reflex influence on efforts to understand and to improve the present condition of things. Theory does not breed sympathy; rather it excludes it. The study of the facts of human life, of the true subject matter of thought, touches the springs of human emotions as well as of intellect, and gives at least a starting point, an opportunity, a foundation for those efforts at amelioration of the human lot, all of which are rightly to be included within the scope of Christian philanthropy.

It may be urged that on many most important points it is impossible to obtain historical evidence; that, like the shell-less molluscs and other soft-bodied creatures in geological time, they are of such a texture as to have left no trace of their existence behind them, despite the important part they played in their day and generation. This is true, and there will always be an unexplained and undiscoverable residuum in the infinite life of the universe. But that does not free us from the duty, or deprive us of the advantage of assiduously accumulating knowledge for profit, and learning the lessons which are waiting, secreted as it were in the records of the past, in order that men might have the gratification as well as the mental discipline of unveiling them for themselves by the "sweat of their brow," and the more exhausting efforts of their brains. And who will venture to say that historical research has not been full of fruit? What stores of unexpected evidence have been brought to light, more abundant often than the energies of the workers have been sufficient to work out, and inspiring confidence that much more yet awaits discovery. On all sides we see growing up fair structures founded on fact which cannot be gainsaid; the true gradually emerges above and outlasts the false; and we begin to realise something of the fulness of meaning contained in

the words, "there is nothing covered that shall not be revealed."

The works named at the head of this article represent in diverse ways the best recent investigation into the earlier history of those forms of industry, commerce and society, which must have the greatest interest for Englishmen, whether as patriots or as students. Dr. Cunningham's qualifications are far wider than those ordinarily implied by being a lecturer on political economy. He is a theologian of no mean attainments, a zealous worker in connection with various beneficial and philanthropic agencies, and has studied the natural as well as the mental and moral sciences with results which are certainly advantageous to his modes of inquiry and exposition. Instead of the dry bones of political economy, he gives us a philosophy of flesh and blood, without losing his regard for logic and evidence. Mr. Hubert Hall's work in the Record office has borne fruit not only in the present, the best known of his books, but also in divers volumes of much value, and especially in his introduction to the study of the *Pipe-Rolls*, and in his history of the Custom Revenue in England.

Dr. Cunningham's method is first to ascertain, and secondly to explain the economic institutions and ideas of successive periods by full consideration of their political and social environment. This is the one sound method, and after adopting it the only question is as to the success with which it has been carried out, and the literary skill with which the results are presented. We must congratulate the author of *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce* on the results of his unwearied search on all sides for evidence bearing on his subject, and on the wealth of authorities which he quotes, a list of which, with precise references, occupies nearly twenty pages; and he has our thanks for supplying exhaustive means of reference in an index of nearly thirty pages. With such a number of unimpeachable historical data, an author occupies a strong position, one which can only be overthrown, if at all, by those who have made a special study of particular areas or periods; and their criticisms will always need correcting by

the light of broader views based on general surveys of history and society.

After an introductory essay dealing broadly with the contrast between past and present in England, and with the scope of economic history, Dr. Cunningham divides his treatise into five books, dealing respectively with (1) the early history of the English both in Frisia and in England; (2) Feudalism; (3) Early representative government, and the rule of the Edwards; (4) The period of the Civil Wars; (5) The Tudor period. The apparent inadequacy of treatment in the last book is explained by the fact that the period reviewed ends with the accession of Elizabeth, which marked a new departure in industry and commerce, to be treated of in a later volume. Under each heading we find a survey of political and social conditions during the period, with careful expositions of such subjects as the craft guilds, royal charters and inquisitions, manorial economy, shipping, the royal revenue, and the gradual rise of economic doctrine. The method, as well as the literary style of the exposition, is, in general, excellent, and on few points does Dr. Cunningham give cause for criticism as to facts; it is only on his interpretation of the facts in certain cases that there is room for much difference of opinion. Our object in this article will be to survey in a somewhat different fashion from his some of the main currents of life and thought which he brings into view.

The contrast between the circumstances of ordinary life in the days when our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had settled down into peaceful possession of the land and those of the present time is startling, almost inconceivable, except, perhaps, by those brought up in an out-of-the-way Welsh or Scotch mountain district. The almost complete absence of manufactured articles, excepting such as could be made on the spot or within a short distance by the people of the place, the existence of great forests and undrained marshes, the non-use of coal, the very scanty supply of metals, the lack of books and of book knowledge, carry us back into a condition of things which, though it might be much higher than that of the savage, was almost as far removed from that of civilised

modern Europe. The slightest consideration will show that more than 95 per cent. of modern occupations could not then exist, and that those which did exist were combined and mixed together in undeveloped forms, which forbade the perfection of any. Of industry there was no doubt much, but commerce scarcely existed. It scarcely could exist until peace was established between man and man for considerable periods, so that quiet possession and undisturbed occupation were made probable; and the leaders of men had but a small share in first bringing this about. It was not the ravaging Thanes who established commerce or improved agriculture, although due credit must be given to rulers like Alfred, who, to some extent, kept down their tyranny; but it was the growth of the free towns in places less controlled by lords, at the junction places of neighbouring jurisdictions, or in localities naturally adapted for interchange, that first demonstrated the possibility and proved the convenience of commerce in our land. And it was the Christian communities which, more than any early influence, favoured the evolution of crafts, maintained the peace within which they could exist, and began that accumulation and diffusion of book knowledge, which, however limited at first, led to the gradual though slow widening of the mental horizon of mankind. The civilisation which rested on the imperfect religious faith of the Romans had failed and disappeared; that which adapted itself to the faith of the Gospel, which believed in, if it did not largely assimilate, its truths, which dreaded God and judgment to come, furnished an adequate basis by aid of which the magnificent results of modern industry and commerce have been made possible. The prayers of priests, appreciated at too high a rate, were secured by grants of lands, and the terrors they wielded sufficed to make their domains in most cases sacred from spoliation. Thus, on the one hand, monasteries, on the other, free towns, became the nurseries of English industry and commerce.

The immense influence which the Danes and Northmen had upon English commerce is vividly depicted by Dr. Cunningham. They are so largely regarded as cruel warriors and plunderers, that their really beneficial effect upon international intercourse

and national growth is not realised. Previously to their rivals' settlement in England, the Anglo-Saxons had been declining in enterprise, seamanship, and warlike power; internal feuds tended to keep them down, and they had comparatively little trade with the Continent. A certain amount of internal trade went on, there were slight markets and small fairs, assemblies at the annual celebration of local or patron saints' days. But, as Dr. Cunningham says:

"There is little evidence that the Christian English of the ninth century had advanced on their heathen forefathers in any of the arts of life, except in so far as they were subject to foreign influences. Some new forms of skill had been introduced by Christian missionaries; writing and illuminating on parchment . . . . occupied the monks in the scriptorium, and some found employment in lock-making and other forms of working in metals. Glass beads had probably been used for ornament long before, but the use of window glass seems to have been due to Benedict Biscop in the seventh century. . . . . The importation of vestments from abroad would give a considerable impulse to the feminine arts, as they then were, of weaving and embroidery. Aldhelm describes most gorgeously woven brocades, though he does not speak of them as of native manufacture; but the art of embroidery soon took root, and the English rapidly attained a high degree of skill which was maintained all through the Middle Ages" (pp. 77, 78).

A sad feature, with which the Church was yet battling, was the extent of actual slavery, in addition to the compulsory attachment of the labouring classes to the soil of a particular estate. Captive enemies and slaves were so numerous that payments came to be reckoned in terms of slaves or their value; and the horrors of the slave-trade existed at Bristol at the time of the Conquest, the slaves often being brought from Ireland. The Danish influence was not antagonistic to this; but in other respects they introduced a salutary and valuable spirit of enterprise. They and the Northmen knew the Northern seas and countries as no other people did. Their navigation was the most skilful and scientific; they had discovered Iceland and Greenland; and the Baltic, the Irish Sea, the Russian rivers, and the Caspian as well as the Mediterranean were included in the range of their voyages. To England they brought knowledge of foreign lands as well as commodities, and their townships, in the large part of England in which they settled, soon grew to importance. Their kings, too, had a notable share in

producing that development of social and economic conditions which made the feudal system established at the Conquest rather a natural growth on prepared soil than a violent innovation.

It is of much interest to learn that our ancestors before the Conquest had in established use many weights and measures which have now become obsolete, as well as those which remain; and they "had accurate terms by which payments of all sorts, whether in money or in kind or in service, could be defined; indeed, there were several distinct metric systems, which were apparently prevalent in Welsh, English, and Danish districts respectively." Whether or not Dr. Cunningham is correct in his speculations as to the origin of all these terms or measures, it is obviously natural that they should arise out of some feature early or easily observed, such as the length of a nail, hand or foot, the day's ploughing, the length and breadth of an ordinary acre, &c. The use of accurate measures and of legalised coins facilitated such foreign trade as took place; but this was hampered by limitations, such as tolls, or presents to the king, higher rates of purchase than natives paid, and the requirement to stick to wholesale trade. King Alfred, in his translation of "Boethius," shows that he is keenly alive to the advantages of encouraging a variety of tradesmen and craftsmen in his kingdom, and Archbishop Ælfric, in his "Colloquium" (written before A.D. 1051), describes the varied classes of merchants and artisans whose labours are of profit to the realm, and shows a keen appreciation of the division of labour and the interconnection of employments. But, after all, the amount of trade, internal or foreign, before the Conquest, was scarcely more than a drop in the ocean compared with that which now occupies our fleets of merchant steamers, our railways, and our armies of middlemen.

Dr. Cunningham judiciously lays stress on the fact that the feudal system was not suddenly introduced into England by the Conqueror, but had been gradually growing up in the land for generations. The fashion of our historical development made stability and progress depend remarkably upon the power of a strong ruler, and Canute took advantage of a status already established to claim military service of every man as the holder of so much property. Gradually men ranged them-

selves in grades according to their property. The freeman attended the manorial court of a lord, from whom he received protection, and to whom he rendered certain services; and the lord answered for his inferiors to the king. Before the Conquest, the king could claim service in defence of the country, work on roads and bridges, and the use of teams on public service generally. The Danegeld became changed into a more or less regular tax for the maintenance of a mercenary army, and lasted long after the Conquest. The energetic Norman rulers utilised what they found already existing, and where they granted forfeited fiefs made the new tenants feel their personal obligation to them. But this system depended so much on the strength or the weakness, the goodness or the evil-doing of the king, that its effects varied greatly. The English Chronicle gives many a testimony on either side.

Yet in the best times of feudalism there was at work an element of disintegration, in the heavy exactions which the kings or their watchful and often greedy officials levied, which made all accumulations impermanent, or at best insecure, and rendered impossible the foundation of capital from which alone modern industry and commerce could develop. In the royal domain the king set the example of rack-renting and extortion, and often cared not how iniquitously his sheriffs extorted money from the miserable people, nor how many unlawful things they did. The rights of pre-emption and purveyance, the feudal incidents and aids, tended powerfully to check individual enterprise; and in taxing and oppressing the Jews, the kings found their own profit in a still further check to mercantile or monetary progress. "The feudal system of taxation was that of giving aid as occasion demanded, and the art of the crown advisers consisted in making occasions." With the changes of rulers "there was a constant change from anarchy to irresponsible monarchy, and from irresponsible monarchy to anarchy." Possibly it was for this reason, as well as the great admixture of diverse races, that the feudal system in England contained within it the seeds of early dissolution. A self-assertion and a sturdy feeling for freedom and independence were in the English blood, and gradually grew stronger and spread farther. Use was made, for the time, of the measure

of protection and security afforded to property and commerce by the patronage of a lord or a monastery, but fortunately neither king, lord, nor church ever gained entire supremacy over the free instincts of the people, though the church longest held sway, owing to the "power of the keys," the terrors of purgatory and hell, and the temporal boycotting which priests and popes knew so well how to employ.

The Normans and the Plantagenets made England part and parcel of the Continent, and continually introduced foreigners, craftsmen as well as others. Gradually every new art and discovery on the Continent came here, to produce antagonism or to stimulate thought and invention as the case might be. Unexpected as it may appear, this foreign intercourse, brought about by the kings, stimulated the growth and importance of the municipalities which were arising by the grant of royal charters. Far more than we can now conceive, local trade was conducted according to local customs, and without some assembly or legal body to decide between strangers and townsmen, trade could not be securely or satisfactorily carried on. The greatest diversities existed between parts of England, and "the Norwich merchant who visited London was as much a foreigner there as the man from Bruges or Rouen." In either case, commendations of traders from one municipality or gild to another were of extreme value, and some which exist show in a most interesting fashion the conditions of middle age trade intercourse. The Flemish weavers who followed William the Conqueror's Queen, and were by Henry I. settled in Tenby and Gower, the Norman merchants from Rouen and Caen, the great builders and their artisans who built the Norman cathedrals, abbeys, churches, and castles, the German and Italian merchants, many of whom bought the wool which our people grew but manufactured little, and above all the Jews, introduced new conceptions of manner and custom, and insensibly widened the native horizon.

It was a very striking instance of their importance as well as of their subjection, when the Exchequer of the Jews, a special court, was set up in 1194, both to try lawsuits in which they were concerned, and to audit the accounts of their taxation for the royal treasury.

The kings claimed absolute disposal of them, assigned them quarters to live in, kept registers of their bonds, and were always able to measure their squeezeability by their registers, which contained the only transactions the law would recognise and enforce. At first tolerated both as to these religious rites, and to a certain extent as to intercourse, they were even employed to farm the revenues of vacant sees and to manage estates for great lords, but Stephen and Henry II. set the example of fleecing them shamelessly, thus indirectly authorising their extortions. The preaching of the crusades with its incidental references to the Crucifixion and Jewish persecution of the early Christians stirred up great popular enmity against them, which combined with their system of business to produce at last a state of social war against them. As Dr. Cunningham says, the unscrupulous manner in which utterly inadequate evidence was accepted against them and the shameful cruelty with which they were treated, are striking instances of the credulity and the ruthlessness of the times. He rightly insists on the objectionable qualities in the Jews which partly accounted for this enmity, but it is perhaps scarcely necessary to trace these to characteristics dating as far back as the times of Solomon and the prophets, and their ill-treatment by erring Christians is by no means condoned thereby. Still, when keen logicians and ecclesiastics like St. Thomas Aquinas had not yet grasped the idea of the rightfulness of paying interest, it can scarcely be wondered at that the people grumbled at all exactions of "usance" for borrowed money. The church encouraged Christian men to make gratuitous loans for definite periods, and all usury was strongly prohibited. But the needs of the growing community would assert themselves, and even those who raved against usury found various pretexts on which the reality could be permitted while the form was denied. Thus certain merchants of Cahors in Guienne bargained that if certain money which they had lent without interest was not repaid by a fixed date, interest was to begin then at 10 per cent. every two months, the interest being charged nominally for the expense of sending for the money again and again. Sometimes lands were leased at a mere

nominal rent to a lender of money, the creditor gaining the difference between the rent and the real value of the lands. Payments were thought right when a lender incurred the risk of losing all he had, or was inconvenienced by the failure of the borrower to return the money or goods at the right time. As real needs or cases arose, in process of time they created their own law or code. Laws against usury had their place when modern commerce had not yet been established, and when the chief circumstances under which money could be borrowed were urgent personal or family need; there is still need for them when usurers fleece ignorant minors or young men in prospect of large fortunes, to the tune of 60 or 100 per cent; but the common wisdom of our forefathers at last—perhaps when the Jews had been banished—perceived that the loan of money for use as capital in trading was one of the most valuable means of spreading all kinds of benefit, and that it was fair to pay, according to the nature of the scheme and the risk of the lender, a proportion of the gains of trading for the loan of capital. Next to the inventions of our mechanics and the enterprise of our seamen, the perception of this truth more than any other influence contributed to the building up of our commercial system.

It is remarkable how long it took for the national idea to arise and become powerful all through the concerns of life. At first there was merely the subjection to a ruler who forcibly claimed, or sometimes willingly obtained, the submission of numerous clans or tribes; the idea of a definite English people took centuries to form, and was disturbed again and again and again by Danish, Norman, and Angevin domination. The people in general only knew their immediate lords or tyrants; the people of the towns sought their individual prosperity, and chiefly took cognisance of national affairs by the exactions of service or money to which the national requirements subjected them.

We think that the nation owes most of all to its towns, as they grew and developed their ideas and practices for municipal success, and then, in defence of or to secure their rights and to prevent undue royal exactions, found themselves compelled more and more to claim a place at the councils of

the nations, and a voice in the disposal of that wealth which they did so much to create. In a sense wider than we are wont to think of, the municipalities of our country have been the nursery of our national power, of our national liberties. The barons and the Church did their best, and achieved much in limiting the arbitrary power of the Crown; but they did not, they could not, develop the national commercial system. It was not until the representatives of the boroughs took up their share in the national councils, and dared to act freely, that the national idea could have free play, and could allow of the founding of our national commerce.

It is most interesting to note how the early municipalities were concerned with the same problems which have been perplexing our London County Council and School Board. "A fair day's work, and a fair day's pay," these were aimed at by our predecessors six centuries ago. They thought they could settle a just price for everything. The most obvious subject for this settlement was the price of bread, which could be fixed within certain limits when the price of corn was known. The Assize of Bread is certainly as old as Henry II.'s time, and it was not till William IV.'s reign that the Act regulating the Assize of Bread was formally repealed. Later, numerous other articles of common need were subjected to assize, their price fixed, and, as far as possible, their quality regulated; and this not by tyrannous imposition, but by reason of common conviction, that fixity should and could be obtained by regulation. Thus it is throughout life and history; we are left free to arrive at results by the rough-and-tumble of events, and by using our own judgment, fighting our own battles, establishing our own character in the struggle for existence; and we straightway long for fixity, wish we had not the pain and trouble of the struggle, and attempt by iron rules to cramp free action.

Is it possible to fix a just price? We have in modern times given up the attempt, and have, perhaps, relied too much on free bargain and free competition to give us the only attainable test of price. We have found this too often to result in gross injustice and tyranny, grinding and beating down, "sweating," and all the concomitant evils. In the reign

of capital free competition certainly does not discover a just price. It sometimes arrives merely at a minimum slave-driving price, a price which often means the destruction of body and soul. Trades-unionism, often a tyranny in its turn, is largely a reaction against the tyranny of capital. We sometimes seem to be beginning to realise the view that a just price ought to include a supply of wholesome food, and the possibility of clean, healthy rooms, and of some care for the mind and soul of the worker; but how terribly far we are from the attainment of any such ideal. All honour, then, to our mediæval ancestors, that they so largely contemplated a just price based on fair wages—that they reckoned the cost of materials, and then the time of the workman, and adding the two together, fixed a fair price. They thought it unjust, as Dr. Cunningham says, "to sell without conscious reference to what is now called the cost of production." They were equally suspicious with ourselves of the middleman; but our modern complexity of transactions has delivered us over into his hand; in mediæval times he was less ubiquitous, less necessary, and could be more jealously watched and more thoroughly controlled.

The legislation of Edward I., though so defective, really marks a most important stage in the progress of English industry. He had grasped the idea of commerce as a matter that concerned the whole State and not merely each particular locality. True, he limited various exports and imports to special ports, but as they were those best suited at the time to those particular trades, no great harm was done. He forcibly expelled the Jews from the country, but he was only acting on a common desire, and he took measures as far as possible to secure that their just debts should be paid to them before they left. The jealousy against foreigners of all kinds, if very natural, was less justifiable; but the exactions and limitations they were subjected to were not sufficient to keep them away, and it was found advisable in the reigns of the second and third Edwards to relax the bonds imposed on them, and to allow strangers to "freely sell the same victuals and wares to whom they would, as well to foreigners as English born," a truly great advance, the bearing and importance of which we can scarcely realise now-a-days. But there were various partial

recoils after this. The citizens of London successfully asserted a right to forbid all foreigners to sell within the city and suburbs. But on the whole the times of the Edwards were marked by great advances in material welfare and in commerce. Magnificent buildings, sculpture, glass painting, metal work, embroidery, and good roads and bridges remain as permanent signs of the achievements of the time. With all this the ordinary householder had but few of the comforts and conveniences of life as we now understand them.

"A dwelling with an earthen floor, with no carpet, and in which there was hardly any furniture, where meat was served on spits for want of earthenware plates, and there was no glass for drinking out of, would seem to imply the lowest depths of squalid poverty; but royal palaces were little better provided till after the time of John, and well-to-do burgesses lived in some such fashion at the end of the thirteenth century. As a matter of fact, life in the middle ages was far more social than it is now; the churches and the halls were the places they frequented; occasional pageants provided them with instruction and amusement; there was little privacy, and hardly any attention was given to private comfort. This is one of the chief difficulties which confront us if we try to compare the condition of the people in different ages; if we merely consider what he could get to eat the mediæval labourer was often better off than the unskilled labourer of the present day; but he seems to have been worse housed and worse clad. After all, in regard to all such comparisons we must remember that the life is more than meat; it is probable that a mediæval workman who awoke in the present generation would greatly miss the social gatherings in which he had taken part, and that if a modern artisan could be transplanted into the thirteenth century he would find little to compensate him for the loss of his tea, his newspaper, and his pipe" (p. 275).

Here we may pause to remark that one of the most inestimable benefits accruing through the growth of home comforts in later centuries has been the developed home life of the people, the nursery of many virtues, and much strength of character. Much as the life of the market-place and the public gathering may do when it has a sound basis of family and individual character to work upon, without family affections nurtured by habitual intimate association in acts of kindliness, consideration, sympathy, and practical rectitude, it partakes too much of savage life and animal passion and enjoyment. And in this connection we cannot look with unmixed pleasure upon the revival of "carnivals" in some parts

of the country, excepting where there is a tendency to make them occasions for the exhibition of local crafts and interesting pageants.

We are taken by Dr. Cunningham in successive stages through the whole process of the organisation and decay of the gilds which played so large a part in mediæval mercantile and industrial life. Producers of commodities in each growing town early found the necessity and advantage of association to fix and enforce reasonable customs, and were fortunate in being able to obtain royal authority for the gilds which they formed; and at first, except in London, the gild was not special to a particular trade, but was general, taking account of all the trade in the town. Already in the charters of Henry I. permission was given to many towns (no doubt for a good consideration) to form a "hanse" or gild merchant; and Dr. Gross, in his important forthcoming work, the *Gild Merchant*, to be issued by the Clarendon Press, gives a list of more than 150 towns in England and Wales where such a body existed, for the most part as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

As was natural, these gilds sought to establish an exclusive right of dealing in their towns, for their own members, free of toll, and those who infringed their privileges were made liable to fine. Members of the gild could claim a share in their brother members' successful bargains, aid in poverty, defence and assistance when unjustly accused or imprisoned. Membership gave a status in dealing with other towns, which facilitated business, by increasing credit and responsibility. The customs of the better governed towns gradually established themselves through wide areas. Thus the custom of London obtained over an extensive area, being further disseminated through its adoption by Bristol and Oxford. Wales largely accepted the practice of Hereford, the South-West followed Winchester, which by transmission to Newcastle even affected Northumberland and Scotland. The men of Derby offered King John sixty marks for a charter like that of Nottingham, and the men of Gloucester not less than 200 marks for the customs, laws and liberties of Winchester. In some cases the members of the gild merchant were the same as the borough

authorities; in others they differed somewhat. When Ipswich received a royal charter, one of the first steps taken was to form a gild merchant; while Leicester had one long before it escaped from the jurisdiction of the lord of the manor.

London alone appears never to have had a distinct gild merchant, and here as well in some other large towns the aggregation of considerable numbers of tradesmen of each craft led to the formation of special craft gilds to protect the master tradesmen, to prevent the too rapid increase of journeymen, and their too ready setting up as masters, and to make and keep the trade reasonably profitable, and sound as to workmanship. In numerous cases it was the gild merchant itself which took steps to form these lesser gilds; in other cases, the association of alien artisans and tradesmen, such as the Flemish weavers, seems to have suggested similar organisations. In London the mayor and corporation either assisted at their birth, or soon asserted a general control over them, which has bequeathed to us those magnificent, if for a long time wasteful institutions, the corporation and the city companies. The loriners or forgers of bits and other smith's work for harness-making are among the earliest crafts whose regulations (in 1261) were approved by the mayor and other "barons" (*i.e.*, aldermen) of the city, providing for the abating of all guiles and trickery, against the enticing away of apprentices, and fixing the conditions of work for apprentices and strangers. The cordwainers in 1303 were concerned to prevent the mixing of basil leather (of sheepskin) with cordwain (imitation of genuine cordova or morocco leather), and calfskin with cowskin, and took power to make search for improper materials and unlicensed tradesmen. In all cases the main endeavour appears to have been to secure satisfactory conditions for production, skilled workers and honest materials, and to fix a reasonable price without excessive profit.

The origin of the craft gilds was not, as has frequently been said, through the artisans banding together in self-defence, or through quarrels between capital and labour. Far more important were the difficulties which arose between burgess and alien, and the burgesses were sturdy, if not always tolerant or reasonable in their opposition to undisciplined

aliens during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, till their limitations were swept away before the rising tide of international intercourse, and that freedom of trade was granted which has placed England first in the ranks of mercantile nations. We cannot follow up the various interesting details Dr. Cunningham has accumulated about the condition of apprentices, journeymen, yeomen, &c., in these mediæval times; and we can but note with some surprise the decay of the craft gilds as the Tudors came upon the scene, and maritime enterprise began to occupy the front place in the national mind. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, after the cessation of the wars of the Roses, there was a considerable increase in our population without any corresponding improvement in the means and methods of production. The gilds became overstocked with journeymen who could scarcely hope to become master tradesmen, as had formerly been almost universal; and in various trades brotherhoods of journeymen were formed because of their grievous condition. The craft gilds were accused of limiting their numbers and making various regulations for the profit of their members and the public damage; and they grew so strong that they could exist side by side with the merchant gilds, which grew rich by combined profits and the legacies of deceased members, largely, however, devoted to the saying of masses for their souls. At the same time many towns decayed which had no gilds, and others grew by the migration to them of journeymen in order to avoid the evils of which they complained. Most of the gilds gradually ceased to serve any useful purpose, and fell into that condition of dormancy from which they have only in our own day been awakened. Many of them, however, received their death-blow in 1547.

The chief new towns which were springing up were Manchester, which in 1542 was spoken of as a flourishing centre of textile manufacture. Birmingham, which, though as yet hardly more than a village, had active forges and ironworks; and Sheffield, where the lord of the manor in Elizabeth's reign permitted the formation of a company of cutlers. Henry VII. set on foot the woollen manufacture in Wakefield, Leeds, and Halifax. It would be most interesting, if we had space, to follow out in detail the history

and distribution of the woollen manufacture in England, the influence upon it of the settlement of foreign weavers, the conditions of the export of wool, the importance which the foreign demand for our manufactures began to have with the revived continental intercourse of the Tudor monarchs; but we must pass on to consider the influence of travel and the rise of our mercantile marine on the fortunes of England.

Though this is an oft-told tale, it acquires fuller meaning in Dr. Cunningham's pages, as we read of the successive steps taken to put down piracy in the adjacent seas—piracy in which Englishmen as well as foreigners were concerned—the organisation of convoys for merchant vessels, and the like. Readers of the Paston letters will remember that in 1442 piratical marauders kidnapped young and old on our eastern coasts, and that in the same century towns like Sandwich and Southampton were burnt by their incursions. Henry IV. and Henry VI. organised means "to keep the seas," and Henry V. devoted himself to the improvement of English ships in size and construction. The Hull and Bristol merchants also showed enterprise in this direction, and large ships capable of taking 200 pilgrims to visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella, were built. But the great mass of trade centred in the Mediterranean until the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded by the Portuguese, and Columbus and Cabot found their way to America. It was only the former which had any considerable effect within our period on English shipping. The consolidation of Spain, the growth of Portuguese power, the recovery of France, all stimulated the development of the English nationality, and a desire to strengthen the power of England against all rivals, affected every particular of legislation. Private tastes and desires were compelled to give way, in order to increase the national power. It began to be realised how vitally essential was the accumulation of treasure in the country, and this was promoted by all possible means; but unfortunately the early Tudors sought this largely at the cost of their subjects, who suffered accordingly. The shipping trade was encouraged by Navigation Acts; treaties were made in 1490 by which trade with Iceland and the Mediterranean was largely promoted.

Arrangements were made for consuls for English merchants in the Levant. The Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Deptford, better known as the "Trinity House," were incorporated in 1514 for every purpose relating to the Mariners' Act, and in 1566 were empowered by Elizabeth to erect beacons and sea-marks wherever they were required. The fisheries were encouraged in order to keep up the supply of able seamen. Besides the beginnings of American and South Sea voyaging, a Russian company was founded to seek a north-east passage to the Indies, and though foiled in this object, an opening was made for the Archangel trade, the Whale fisheries at Spitzbergen, and a considerable trade with Moscow, and thence with Persia and the East. What with the growth of trade with the Continent, and especially the export of wool and woollen yarn, and the increase of knowledge of the world's surface, Englishmen had begun to take a real interest in the outer world, to be fired with hopes of great profit, to feel capable of holding their own in the great world-wide struggle for existence, in which in Elizabeth's reign they were destined to engage.

We may refer readers interested in that widely varied struggle in Elizabethan times to Mr. Hubert Hall's most interesting work mentioned at the beginning of this article. In it he has reconstructed for us the daily routine and year-to-year history of a landlord and tenant, merchant, burgess, courtier, churchman, and other prominent figures, giving from undoubted records something like a complete picture, though all the details cannot be vouched for in every given case. The stories of George Stoddard, the burgess and successful money-lender, and of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange, as told by Mr. Hall, are painted in truthful but by no means flattering colours. The valued foreign agent of the Crown, the financial adviser of Ministers, the merchant prince and benefactor, appears also as the successful usurer, extorter of enormous interest from Government, and manipulator of public accounts, and from this and similar cases we discover that Elizabethan finance paid tax to the "promoter" and the financial agent more heavily even than the companies of recent years.

Through the vista of centuries we can see that past times, though they founded the present, were by no means worthy to be compared with it. Home comforts were possessed by a much smaller proportion of the population; the clothing of the masses was foul and uncomfortable; oppression frequently abounded; crafts were painfully endeavouring to organise themselves, and to get free from vexatious restrictions; the Crown, served by extortionate officials, was made the cloak, too often with knowledge, for heartless grinding of the poor or the merchant. Still, there were sturdy men of good devices who resolutely set themselves to better their crafts and their country, and without them we should not have been all that we are. But more is attributable to that slow grinding of countless small events, that slow combination of multitudes of small influences, that interaction of many human interests, in which the influence of the Providence of God is as strikingly manifested as in the grander scenes, catastrophes, and triumphs of human life. By the guidance of that Providence our ancestors were led into that path of mingled enterprise and reformation which has, since the accession of the Tudors, placed our race upon a pinnacle of power almost appalling in its responsibilities. May it strive ceaselessly to show itself not unworthy to exercise such surpassing functions!

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## Art. VI.—PENTATEUCH CRITICISM.

1. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel.* By Julius Wellhausen. Translated by J. S. Black and A. Menzies. London: A. & C. Black. 1885.
2. *The Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch.* By A. Kuenen. Translated by P. H. Wicksteed. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

IN a previous article of this Review,* we undertook to give some account of the present controversy concerning the authorship, date, and composition of the Pentateuch. The

* *The Pentateuch Controversy.* London Quarterly Review, January 1890, p. 261.

Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis on the subject was described at length, and examined in detail under one section only, the supposed development perceptible in the three codes as regards plurality of sanctuaries. The position taken up on the whole question was briefly this: Modern Biblical criticism must be welcomed by all real students of the Bible, whether supporters, or not, of traditional views. Its value must be recognised, many of its methods fully approved, and its well-established results frankly accepted, at whatever cost to opinions previously held. But the working of this new and very potent engine of investigation needs to be carefully watched, and its conclusions scrutinised in the light of considerations by no means always present to the minds of eager theorists. In the case of the Pentateuch we endeavoured to show that there is no *primâ facie* reason, either in the statements of the books themselves or in the language of the New Testament, to close the door against full investigation, while, on the other hand, even a cursory examination conducted with care points to a composite structure of the narrative. Granted, however, that the Pentateuch in its present form was not as a whole the work of Moses, but that it contains embedded in it some documents probably earlier than Moses' time, together with some marks of subsequent legislation and indications of the work of an editor or editors, there is no sufficient ground for denying that the body of the work is essentially Mosaic, or for regarding the whole as anything but historically trustworthy. We ventured strongly to oppose the hypothesis at present chiefly in vogue amongst scholars, which assigns the great body of the legislation recorded in the middle books to the period after the exile, and which virtually pronounces this portion to be a priestly fabrication arranged in a setting of fictitious history. We gave some reasons for holding that this theory is based on altogether insufficient evidence, while it is hampered with special difficulties of its own, and it was further pointed out that it so discredits the whole authority of the Old Testament that Christians ought not to be prepared to accept it without an overwhelming body of evidence in its favour, of which at present there is little trace.

In the previous article, however, we were only able to illustrate in brief the arguments by which the contentions of Wellhausen and his school may be met on the one subject of Places of Worship. It remains in the present paper to illustrate the arguments and evidence adduced on either side under the further heads of Feasts, Sacrifices, and the Priests and their Maintenance, and then to point out somewhat more fully the improbabilities implied in the Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis, even supposing a *primâ facie* case had been made out for it. It will then be needful to indicate briefly the position in which, according to our view, a student of the Old Testament and believer in Christianity finds himself to-day, who is neither prepared, on the one hand, to denounce modern criticism and all its works, nor, on the other, to accept the Wellhausen hypothesis and reconstruct Old Testament history in accordance with it. As we hinted in the former article, the time may well be considered not fully ripe for definite decision on many controverted points, but it is not hard to find a satisfactory position for reverent faith during a period of suspended judgment on questions of detail.

We have seen that Wellhausen claims to have marked out three stages in the legislation concerning Israel's places of worship, corresponding to the three codes, the Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Code, represented by the documents J E, D, and P respectively; and further to have shown that a corresponding development is traceable in the historical and prophetical books. A similar claim is made as regards the Jewish Festivals, the sacrifices and the office and dues of the priests. We have shown ground for declining to accept the conclusions in the former case, and proceed to show how the argument is conducted on either side on the latter topics. But as the discussion is highly technical, we shall be obliged to content ourselves with a bird's-eye view of the conflict.

The Kuenen-Wellhausen theory of the three great Jewish Festivals is that they originated in three popular agrarian feasts: *Mazzoth*, or unleavened bread, at the beginning of harvest, *Kazir*, at the close of the wheat harvest, and *Asiph*, the ingathering of oil and wine, when the people dwelt

in booths, whence its other name of *Succoth*. In J E, the critics tell us we find this view of the feasts in its simplicity; D uses the name *Pesach*, or Passover, for the first time, and specifies the dates more particularly. Here begin, we are told, the traces, gradually introduced, of the substitution of an historical for an agricultural basis of the feasts. P marks many peculiarities and developments, amongst which we may mention the still more definite fixing of dates, such as would be impossible if the festivals were purely agricultural. As regards the Passover especially, the whole significance of the festival is made to depend upon the deliverance from Egypt, and this to depend upon the symbolic passing-over of the doors of Israel, an historical fable devised at a late date to account for the peculiar name, while the name Succoth is supposed to be accounted for by the fact that the people dwelt in tents in the wilderness. A number of additions were also made by P to the festivals of the year; an eighth day was added to the Feast of Tabernacles, and a Feast of Trumpets and Day of Atonement, of which nothing is heard till post-exilic times.

In reply, it is admitted at once that there is a connection between the three Jewish Feasts and the natural seasons, such connection by no means interfering, for example, with the historical origin which all authorities alike attribute to the great Festival of the Passover. Long before the time of Moses the religious observance of the recurring seasons can be traced in the customs of most nations, and it is by no means unlikely that a similar recognition of the course of the natural year obtained among the patriarchs and their descendants. Christianity, in later days, adopted similar Pagan festivals, giving to each a significance unknown before. There is nothing inconsistent in the co-existence of the natural and the historical, the serious objection comes in when Wellhausen says that a fictitious history was devised in order to give a national significance to what had hitherto been purely agricultural. "After [these Festivals] had lost their original contents and degenerated into prescribed religious forms, there was nothing to prevent the refilling of the empty bottles in any way accordant with the tastes of the period" (*Prolegomena*,

p. 102). As to the Passover, he says, "Not merely is an historical motive assigned for the custom, its beginning is itself raised to the dignity of a historical fact upon which the feast rests . . . . the shadow elsewhere thrown by another historical event here becomes substantial and casts itself" (*Ibid.*). What ground is there, we may well ask, for this unblushing discrediting of witnesses?

It may easily be shown that this vaunted "development theory" fails to establish itself throughout. For (1) to *Shabu'oth*, the Feast of Weeks, an historical origin is assigned in *none* of the documents or stages of legislation. (2) Historical associations are connected with *Succoth* only in P, but quite a subordinate place is assigned to them. Quite sufficient testimony that an historical significance was given to the Festival long before the supposed date of P is furnished by Hosea xii. 9, "I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt. I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the solemn feast." (3) The chief discussion is concerning the Passover. Here, therefore, it is necessary to mark that the historical origin of this festival is emphasised throughout *all our authorities*. See the account of J E (Exod. xxiii. 15 and xxxiv. 18), of D (Deut. xvi. 3), while in one account of the Feast in P (Lev. xxiii. 4–8) there is no mention of history at all. In D, *Mazzoth*, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, is subordinated to *Pesach*, the strict Passover Festival, showing that then the two sides or aspects of the feast must have been for some time united. Thus it is clear that, on this point, the supposed development altogether breaks down, a close connection being observed from the earliest times between the agricultural and the historical aspects of the great spring festival.

One serious difficulty has never been fairly faced by the critics. How, according to their theory, did the name Passover arise? All sorts of guesses have been hazarded; such as allusions to the passing over of the Red Sea or the Jordan, the passing of the sun into the constellation Aries, the passing of winter into spring, or of shepherds into open pasture, while Kuenen inclines to believe that it signified the release of the first-born by the Deity, who was appeased by the

offering of the Paschal lamb. In order to avoid an early attributing of this phrase to the sparing of the first-born in Egypt, the passage, Exodus xiii. 1–16, is taken out from its context in J E, and attributed to $R^d$, and the literally preposterous theory is started that a feast existing before (see Exod. v. 1) was the occasion of the Exodus, and that the original practice of sacrificing the first-born, both men and animals, required accounting for in after days, so the story was got up of the saving of the first-born of Israel, when those of Egypt were destroyed. There is no particle of evidence for this startling and unwarrantable inversion of order; but as *Mazzoth* must be separated from *Pesach* and a historical explanation of the name Passover found, there it is for those who are not credulous enough to believe the straightforward narrative of the documents, but, having strained out this gnat, are prepared to swallow a very large-sized German camel.

The chief addition supposed to have been made by P to the cycle of the Jewish Festivals is the great Day of Atonement, an account of the institution of which is given in Lev. xvi.; xxiii. 26; Numb. xxix. 7. Here we have a good opportunity of seeing the working of the argument *e silentio*. It is true that there is no mention of the keeping of that day through all the historical books, and, at first sight, that furnishes a plausible argument for the theory. But then, unfortunately, neither is it mentioned in post-exilic annals. Josephus is the first to make reference to it (Antiq. xiv. 16. 4), where he describes the taking of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius "on the solemnity of the Fast," and even then it is only the coincidence of calamities that had happened on that day which causes its incidental mention. Further, the Feast of Weeks is mentioned in all the books of Scripture once only before the exile (2 Chron. viii. 13, a reference, of course, not admitted by the critics), and the Feast of the Passover only twice. Throughout the Legislation of Deuteronomy there is no mention of the weekly Sabbath. Are we therefore to infer that the institution was unknown to the writer? On the other hand, is it likely that there was no such solemnity as that of the Day of Atonement—recognising as it does the sinfulness of the nation and the imperfection of its holiest services—

throughout the whole religious history of Israel till the return from captivity? Does not the very mention of the scapegoat "for Azazel," the meaning of which was obscure to the Jews of later time, point to an origin in remote antiquity? And are we to suppose that the solemn rite of cleansing the Temple was left to be instituted till the Temple itself lay in ruins, that at the time when there was no ark and no mercy-seat, then the touching solemnities of the day when one High Priest approached the mercy-seat and sprinkled it with the blood, were for the first time originated? It is much more likely that the deep spiritual significance of this day was not fully entered into by the people, as were the simpler festivals of rejoicing, and that accordingly we find scanty mention of it in the annals. The whole argument from silence, however, is exceedingly precarious in such a case as the present, and at best can only be admitted with many reserves and limitations.

Again, the new criticism proposes to introduce a revolution into our ideas of Sacrifice. It claims to show that there is a marked difference between the earlier and later documents in the way in which sacrifice is regarded. According to J E and D sacrifice is a primitive and universal custom, the earliest conception of it being a sacrificial meal, at which the Deity was the host and the offerer a guest. The only question asked in early days was, To whom is the sacrifice offered? In later times the important questions were, When, Where, By whom? In other words, a programme of ritual was made to overlay the simplicity of early devotion. The development of the germ-idea may be traced, according to the critics, by the words used, at first זֶבַח, a general word for sacrifice, then עֹלָה, the burnt-offering, last of all אָשָׁם and חַטָּאת, trespass and sin-offerings, through the stages at which the sacrifices began to be specially instituted by Divine command, a part at first being consumed by the offerer, part by the priest, the priest's share becoming larger and larger, till at length no flesh was offered on the altar, but the priest consumed the whole. Many details of minor importance are supposed to confirm this general theory. Incense and the altar of incense were "unknown to" the early parts of the code. A different word for flour is used in the later documents.

The early codes were content with קָמָח, common corn, P demands סֹלֶת, fine flour. Also, the old custom of boiling the meat made way for roasting, implying a refinement of taste.

The theory as it stands is very plausible, and Wellhausen has worked it ont with ingenuity and care. But it is not difficult to show how slender is the foundation on which the whole rests. The hypothesis takes various parts of what is professedly one system of legislation and one continuous narrative, separates these and then contrasts them with one another because of the presence or absence of certain features. For instance, take the primitive view of sacrifice. How do we know what P originally contained on this head, seeing that according to the theory it covered the whole ground of the early history, but parts of it have been deliberately cut out by the redactor, and its fragments pieced out with parts of J E? Either it agreed with the representations of J E or it presented the subject from a different point of view; in either case, what is supposed to have been proved? Is it insinuated that a different set of ideas was presented by P, that it reflects on the mistakes of J and E, or that there is any decided inconsistency between them? There is no evidence whatever of this in the books before us, and no need thus to set one part of the legislation in opposition to another. In J E the subject of sacrifice is by no means prominent, and there is no real difficulty in the idea that sacrifice was a primitive custom, adopted and used by Moses, to whom a definite and systematic revelation was given by God on the subject, in order that Israel might be more fully taught certain elementary truths of religion and thus moulded for the high destiny that lay before them as a nation, to prepare the way for a more spiritual religion yet to come. The references in Lev. xvii. 5, which speak of sacrifices hitherto offered in the open field, henceforth to be brought to the entrance of the tent of meeting, seem distinctly to imply sacrifice as a pre-Mosaic custom which was regulated and brought into due relation with a divinely appointed system.

No steady development such as the theory requires can be traced as between J E and D. The critics in some sort

admit this, and say that the difference is one of point of view. Precisely; and such a description holds good throughout all the stages of Old Testament history. That there is development of a kind, we should not only not deny, but earnestly believe. But there is no development such as would necessitate our setting one part of the Mosaic legislation in any kind of opposition to the rest and post-dating the bulk of it by about 1000 years. It is true that the sin and trespass offerings are seldom mentioned. The authors of Psalm xl. and Isaiah liii. both allude to them, but to these compositions a late date is assigned by the critics. Incense, again, is not often referred to in the writings of historians and prophets, though such a reference as Isaiah i. 13 is significant. But is it likely that in such narrative and prophetical books as are admittedly pre-exilic we should find many specific references to points of ritual? The chief references to ritual are in the books of Leviticus and Chronicles, both of which are just the books excluded from consideration by the hypothesis. The *general* references in the prophets to sacrifice are by no means scanty, and these are sufficient to show that a more or less elaborate system of sacrifice prevailed throughout their day, a system which it was not their business to denounce, as it certainly was not their business to refer to it in detail, but which they always strove to set in its right place in relation to the spiritual worship of God. Are we to expect to find detailed allusions to sacrifice in the brief narratives of royal accessions and deaths, and concise accounts of national wars, which compose the books of Kings? When a record of the history from a different point of view is given us, as in Chronicles, we are not allowed to receive its evidence. We are not concerned to deny that there may have been modification in the course of history, but the records at our disposal are scanty, and we object to the wholesale dismemberment of the Mosaic code as it has come down to us, without sufficient cause shown, such sufficient cause being certainly not found in the silence of certain books on ritual questions. Additions may probably have been made to the original nucleus of Mosaic legislation, the arrangement of some of the chapters in Exodus and Leviticus pointing in this direction. Modifi-

cation and the editing of a substantially Mosaic code may, however, be admitted without reconstructing the whole edifice and assuming the invention of history in order to account for the existence of laws.

One of the chief "points" which the critics claim to have made is the existence of development in the case of the priests, their office, privileges and maintenance. They say that in the early periods of Israelitish history no distinction was made between priests and laymen, any one might sacrifice anywhere. J E, we are told, has nothing to say about priests: in Exod. xxiv. the "young men of the children of Israel" offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings unto the Lord. D makes no distinction between priests and Levites, and in the Book of Deuteronomy the name, "the priests, the Levites"—the two words understood to be in opposition—predominates. The hereditary principle, according to which the priesthood was rigidly confined to the descendants of Aaron, was of altogether late date, and it was only carried back by the priests themselves to the time of Moses, in order the better to establish its authority and sacredness. The bridge between D and P is to be found according to the theory in Ezekiel—see especially ch. xliv. 6–11. There we find the priest Ezekiel trying to put in a moral light and give retrospective validity to what had long ago become the real fact, brought about through the centralisation of worship. The mass of the Levites had been already degraded from their former position of privilege to that of mere temple servants, the sons of Zadok had gradually acquired all the rights and privileges of a priestly caste, and Ezekiel seeks to find a religious explanation of this. He reproves the majority of the Levites for their share in idolatrous ministrations, and failure to keep holy the House of GOD, and in the name of the Lord degrades them to be mere keepers of the house and servants of the priests. P afterwards fixes as an eternal statute, ante-dating it by 1000 years, what Ezekiel by Divine authority justified as an innovation. Last of all, the critics tell us, an apex was added to the elaborate pyramid of priestly caste and a high priest instituted, a personage so lofty and important that his authority could not have co-existed with that of the Kings.

When Israel was robbed of civil independence and possessed only an ecclesiastical organisation, then and then only was it possible for this final stage of sacerdotalism to be reached, and accordingly we do not read of a high priest in the history until some time after the exile.

On examination, however, a great part of this imposing fabric of theory collapses. What are the facts about J E? The book of the covenant is so brief that we can hardly expect more than a passing reference to the subject. It recognises, however, three Feasts; were there to be no priests to officiate in connection with these? Might any one sacrifice anywhere? The parts of these books that refer to the priests are by the hypothesis cut out, then how do we know what they contained? One distinct reference is, however, found in Exod. xix. 22, "And let the priests also, which come near to the Lord, sanctify themselves, lest the Lord break forth upon them." Of this passage, Wellhausen merely says, "It cannot have belonged to the original Jahvistic sources." Here is one more illustration of the resolute determination, if the facts will not fit the theory, to cut and shape not the theory, but the facts. As regards D, we admit at once that the distinction between priests and Levites, their office and work, is by no means clearly drawn. The language used, according to one interpretation of it, will fit the theory, but, on another, it is not inconsistent with the traditional view. The perpetually recurring phrase הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם "the priests, the Levites," or "the Levitical priests," is not altogether easy to explain on any theory. It is to be observed, however, that it is to be found in the latest books, when all are agreed that the distinction between priest and Levite was strongly marked; see Jer. xxxiii. 18–21; 2 Chron. xxiii. 18, xxx. 27. The verse, Deut. xviii. 1, seems, according to the best interpretation, to contain three clauses, including two subdivisions of what is afterwards described as a whole—"The priests, the Levites, even the whole tribe of Levi," the priests being dealt with in vers. 3–5, and the Levites in vers. 6–8. If it is objected that we should have expected a connective particle in this case, an answer is to be found in the fact that in Hebrew such particle is frequently omitted. Of many examples, let one stand as a specimen—Neh. xi. 20,

where we read, "And the residue of Israel, of the priests, the Levites," where the distinction between the classes is plain, though no "and" separates them.

There is, however, a considerable measure of doubt attaching to some of the arguments used in reply to the critics on this head. The fact seems to be that as regards some parts of their duties, there is no very clear line of distinction between the two classes, and in a popular and hortatory application of the law, it perhaps was not necessary that such a line should be accurately traced. But the language exhibits lack of precision rather than actual confusion, and the best reply that can be given to the argument which the critics wish to draw from the indistinctness of the language of Deuteronomy is to point to 2 Chron. xxix., a chapter written, as the critics allow, at the latest stage of development strongly in the interest of the priests, and those who would emphasise the distinctness of the priestly office. In an address to the priests and Levites there given, we find the two classes closely associated together, and of both it is said, "My sons, be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him and burn incense" (ver. 4, 5, 11, 12). Should we be at liberty to argue from this passage that the writer "knew nothing" of any distinction between the priests and the Levites? Yet it is a fair specimen of the general tenor of the language used in Deuteronomy.

As to Ezekiel's "programme," the subject is far too complex for discussion here. The passage in ch. xliv. is not free from difficulties on any hypothesis, difficulties which arise mainly from our ignorance of the whole facts of the case. We may say, however, without hesitation that the probabilities are not in favour of the theory that makes Ezekiel's address a kind of retrospective justification of a state of things which had previously grown up, giving a kind of pious colour to accomplished facts. One objection to the theory that lies upon the surface has never been met. If Ezekiel restricted the priestly office to the sons of Zadok, how comes P at a later date to extend its privileges to all the descendants of Aaron? The attempt to show development in the office of the High Priest

is also a failure. Wellhausen magnifies the position of the High Priest of later days, with his "royal purple and diadem," in order to show that such an office was incompatible with monarchy; the facts, of course, being that purple was not a royal colour among the Jews, and the only diadem the High Priest wore was a white turban. Wellhausen tries to show that, before P, no high priestly office was recognised, the phrase "the priest" simply being used, while in and after the time of P the term הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, "the great priest," was used. The facts in this case are that in the earlier times the phrase הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ was used as a synonym, the phrase "the great priest" is found only three times in P, while in it, "the priest" is often used as a synonym, and the Chronicler, whose function it is supposed to be specially to magnify the office, never uses this special phrase. Further, it may be said that the position occupied in earlier times by such priests as Abiathar, Zadok, Jehoiada, Hilkiah was very great, they wore the ephod, consulted the Urim and Thummim, and were called, as the High Priest often was in later days, "the priest." What more could we expect? Yet the influence of these men was not incompatible with monarchy. It has been well said, "The post-exilic High Priest is no more imposing a figure beside Ezra and Nehemiah than Samuel beside Saul." It is only by depressing here and exalting there, lowering the tone of colour in one direction and heightening it in another—a process unconsciously carried on probably by most of us when we are arguing, but by German critics no less than other mortals—that this imposing fabric of speculative theory has been built up and maintained.

We had promised further to deal with the subject of the Maintenance and Revenues of the priests. But we spare our readers. There is no little danger lest in an article like the present we should lose ourselves in technical details, and readers should hardly be able to see the wood for the trees. There is the less necessity for us to enter upon this subject, because the arguments on both sides are very similar to those we have already set forth, and the whole subject has been dealt with at length by Professor Ives Curtiss, in his *Levitical*

*Priests*, one of the many books on different branches of this controversy for which we are indebted to American scholars.* Some difficulties arise on the traditional theory, with reference to the details of legislation respecting tithes, firstlings, and the Levitical cities, difficulties which we are not disposed to slight or ignore, but which it would be folly to remove by means of a theory like that of Wellhausen, which itself raises such a host of difficulties of another kind, well-nigh insuperable to the reverent student of the Bible.

Before passing to examine those difficulties, we wish to make it clear that in the foregoing remarks we have tried to prove one thing and one thing only—that the documentary theory of Kuenen and Wellhausen is not warranted by their analysis of the legislation. They claim to have established their account of the relative dates of J E, D, and P, by exhibiting a progressive development of ecclesiastical laws and ritual under several heads. In briefest outline we have tried to state that claim and to show that it has no adequate foundation. That none of the suggestions made in the process of criticism are worth considering we should be foolish indeed to say; we earnestly hope that orthodox theorists will carefully examine and learn what is to be learned from the erudition and acuteness of these as of all other Biblical critics. But what we claim to have shown—or to have gone some way towards showing—is that only by dint of unlimited excision and unbounded license of hypothesis can the "development" be made out at all, and then with such serious gaps and flaws as to leave the fence a ragged hedge, through which any passer-by can make his way. The difficulties and discrepancies attending some parts of the history of Israel, according to the traditional view, are removed by the theory, only to reveal much more serious difficulties and discrepancies in the legislation and history as read in the light of the proposed reconstruction, even if all the large assumptions of the critics be granted them.

* *The Levitical Priests: a Contribution to the Criticism of the Pentateuch.* By S. Ives Curtiss, Jun. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887. See also *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes.* By G. Vos. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886. Chap. x. pp. 104–129.

But now, for a moment, let us suppose that the line of argument adopted in our reply has proved insufficient. Let it be granted—as we certainly could not grant—that a *primâ facie* case for the theory has been made out by the analysis, and that on the several subjects of the sanctuaries, the sacrifices and the priests, some such development as has been contended for may be traced. Is the coast now clear for the adoption of the hypothesis? On the contrary, its chief difficulties are only just beginning. If we appear to discern an evolution of legislation from the times of the earlier prophets (J E), through the times of Josiah (D), reaching to the time of Ezra and later (P), what follows as to the history of Israel, civil, religious, and literary? We propose to show that the plausible sketch of Wellhausen, when closely examined, involves the most serious difficulties, at all events to those who believe in the Divine guidance and sacred mission of Israel, as a people chosen by God for high ends in the revelation of Himself to the world. We proceed to point out a few of these.

1. It is exceedingly unlikely that the whole early history of Israel was the religious and literary blank which the theory would make it. When Israel came out of Egypt that country, as recent discoveries have shown, was already very far advanced in civilisation and religious institutions. Readers of Renouf's Hibbert Lectures will remember his description:—"At least 3000 years before Christ there was in Egypt a powerful and elaborately organised monarchy, enjoying a material civilisation, in many respects not inferior to that of Europe in the last century. . . . . The earliest monuments which have been discovered present to us the very same fully developed civilisation and the same religion as the later monuments."* Without multiplying quotations or developing this argument, is it likely, even if there were no revelation of God to Israel, if the scene at Sinai be a myth and its legislation a dream, that Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, found and left his people the ignorant, barbarous horde the critics describe, with religious ideas hardly above those of Moab and

* *Religion of Egypt.* By Le Page Renouf. Pp. 81 fol.

Ammon, as we read of them at a later day, virtual polytheists, believing only in "the cruel, partial, rancorous Jahweh," as Renan describes him, a tribal god hardly removed from the level of the gods of the Canaanites round about them? It is unlikely, it is inconceivable, that for centuries Israel remained in this darkness, and that the rise of ethical monotheism is only to be found in the writings of the early prophets, in the eighth century before Christ. It is unlikely, it is incredible that the literary history of the people was the blank required by the theory during the times of Samuel and Saul, of David and Solomon. Wellhausen bases his views largely on the assumption that in the history of the world religion begins with fetishism, develops into polytheism, from which monotheism is gradually evolved, an assumption now generally discredited, even if it cannot be said to be utterly and finally disproved. It is unlikely, moreover, and contrary to all analogy, that in the "development of religion" we should find first prophet, then priest; but on that point we must not linger.

2. The theory takes no sufficient account of the exceedingly numerous marks of early date in the legislation of the Pentateuch, particularly in the case of Deuteronomy, on the assumption that the book was a composition of the date of Josiah. It would require a whole article to show the strength of this one argument, and we shall be obliged to exhibit a brick or two as specimens of a house, the force of the argument lying, of course, in its cumulative character. What meaning is there in a hypothesis which assigns to the reign of Josiah an injunction to exterminate the Canaanites (Deut. xx. 16-18), and the Amalekites (xxv. 17-19), who had long since disappeared? An injunction, as Prof. Green says, "as utterly out of date as a law in New Jersey at the present time offering a bounty for killing wolves and bears, or a royal proclamation in Great Britain ordering the expulsion of the Danes." This no doubt, it is replied, is a fragment of earlier legislation. Precisely; and how many more such "fragments" are there, and what legislator in his senses, when "working over" earlier documents would embed such a quantity of antique fragments as a few chapters in Deute-

ronomy exhibit? See the law concerning foreign conquests (Deut. xx. 10-15), concerning Moab and Edom (xxiii. 3, 4, 7, 8), concerning the Egyptians (xxiii. 7), at a time when alliance with Egypt was denounced by all who had the fear of God before their eyes. Think of addressing to Judah in the time of Josiah, when threatened every moment with a terrible Assyrian invasion, the directions for besieging a city, and cutting down the trees contained in xx. 19, 20, or the description of the "elders" and their "measurements" in ch. xxi.! Are all these and a score more such passages interpolations, relics of early legislation? If so, what becomes of the acknowledged unity of style and composition in this remarkable book? But this line of argument might be prolonged to almost any length, and we pass on.

3. It is improbable, nay, incredible, that the process of "idealising," of which we hear so much, should have been carried to the lengths implied by the theory. For example, is it likely that any one would invent the details of a structure like the Tabernacle more than 1000 years after date, to serve as a kind of model beforehand of the Temple, and the whole of the description in Exodus prove to be the product of a pious imagination excogitating from its own consciousness what was not, but ought to have been, erected in the wilderness? It is quite conceivable that later legislation might be added to the Mosaic law without interfering with the Mosaic origin of the greater part. It is conceivable, though not likely, that a later writer composed addresses embodying the principles of Mosaic legislation, and put them into the mouth of Moses, with pious intent, as we read in the early chapters of Deuteronomy. It is inconceivable to us that a post-exilic writer should either take the trouble, possess the wit, or dream of its being considered a pious exercise, to devise an elaborate structure like the Tabernacle, and re-write early history in accordance with his own device, so as to make it appear that a mode of worship was customary in those early days which was utterly unlike the actual facts.

4. The period after the exile is in many respects a most unlikely period for the development which the critics attribute to it. Is it probable after rudimentary ritual and eccle-

siastical legislation had sufficed for the times of David and Solomon, Jeroboam II., and Hezekiah, that a period when an insignificant minority of the Jews had returned to Jerusalem, and found it hard to hold their own amidst jealous Samaritans and hostile tribes, should be the time for the elaborate development of legislation conceived in the interests of a class, only a small number of whom had returned to their native country, and that this sacerdotal legislation should be for the first time formulated when the majority of the Jews, the wealthiest and best educated, were living far from Jerusalem and the Temple? We know well the religious needs of that time, and the way in which they were met; they may be summed up in the one word—*Synagogues*, but the tendency of the supposed document P, and the tendency of the synagogue as an institution, are wide apart as the poles. The objection we are now urging is also a far-reaching and widely ramifying one. In order to illustrate its scope, let us content ourselves with a quotation from one of the ablest and most learned Hebraists of our time, the late Dr. Edersheim:

"To the period of the Exile we have to trace: the institution of the Synagogue, the real commencement of traditionalism, the development of certain doctrines, notably those concerning angelic and demoniac influences, and the wider application of the religion of Israel to the nations of the world, consequent on the new relation of the people to the world-monarchies. Such development would, as we can readily see, naturally commence during the banishment of the Jews in the Assyrian empire. On the other hand, the influence of these new elements proved in a sense entirely transforming in the religious history of Israel. And yet no trace of factors which so powerfully affected the nation can be discovered in the code of religious legislation, of which a large part is said to have originated at or after that period."*

The longer we study the post-exilic period, the more unlikely does it appear that the Priest's Code originated in it, or was largely due to its influences.

5. The critics appear to take it for granted that it was possible for alterations to be freely made in the legislation, that new laws should be added, passed off as Mosaic, and obeyed by all classes without hesitation or protest, or at least without any that has left any mark upon history. Is it likely

* Warburton *Lectures on Prophecy*, p. 282.

that the law-book discovered in the reign of Josiah contained entirely new legislation and was freely accepted by those who had been for centuries accustomed to freedom of worship at the "high places" under the sanction of the law of Jehovah? Would all classes tamely and easily accept the reformation with its stringent centralisation if the idea was then a new one, and among the elements of opposition to the purifying of worship which we know existed, were there none found to say, This is a burden our fathers were not called on to bear, why should it be imposed upon us? Prof. Strack holds that the injunction, Deut. xviii. 6–8, coupled with the fact that Hilkiah and the priests at Jerusalem co-operated to spread the authority of the book, "is a convincing proof that it already enjoyed irresistible authority at the time of its discovery."* Nations—especially some nations—are not given to obey quietly new and unwelcome laws. As Prof. Green says, "If Mr. Gladstone could but find some law-book in Dublin which had never been heard of before, how easily and amicably the whole Irish question might be settled!" The Jews throughout their history were hard enough to train when the word of the Lord came to them directly and indubitably, and to believe that they were ready passively to receive a series of fictitious laws, conceived not in the interests of the many but the few, is a much greater tax upon credulity than to suppose that laws were given them which for many generations they did not adequately understand or obey.

6. The improbability of the theory from a literary point of view has been illustrated in our former article. But we may say that if Kuenen and Wellhausen be right, the composition of these books of the Pentateuch forms a literary curiosity without parallel elsewhere. Compilation from existing sources, excision, interpolation, and editing we can all understand; but in the work of redaction as described by the critics there is a combination of minute and exquisite literary skill with startling and inexplicable lack of perception, such as nothing but the exigencies of a theory can account for. The thousand touches in D and P which indicate a contemporary

* Article, "Pentateuch" in Herzog's *Encyclopædia*.

or a very early writer appear to us altogether beyond the imagination of any skilful post-exilic priest or editor, while the irregularities, gaps, and apparent or actual discrepancies that have been allowed to remain by these ubiquitous redactors, who "worked over" each part of the narrative "in the interests of" this body or that class of ideas, is nothing short of amazing. If these locks have been so well, so carefully, and so often oiled as Kuenen and Wellhausen contend, it seems strange that they should still creak so much as we are perpetually told they do.

7. Another subject which would demand an article to itself is the effect of the adoption of the theory upon Old Testament literature generally. Take, for example, the Book of Psalms. It is chiefly the exigencies of theories concerning the law which induce so many critics to post-date the contents of the Psalter by several centuries; for the Psalms everywhere suppose and are based upon the Law. According to Canon Cheyne, none of the Psalms are David's, and most of them were written after the exile. This lands us in a host of difficulties. The date of the actual closing of the collection cannot, indeed, be fixed, and we see no reason to exclude the *possibility* of the existence of Maccabean Psalms, though writers such as Ewald, Dillmann, and Hupfeld are opposed to the idea. But the fact that the list of Psalms in the LXX. Version virtually corresponds with the Hebrew fixes a date for us *a parte post:* while some have thought that the doxology in 1 Chron. xvi. 36 proves that in the time of the Chronicler the division of the Psalter into books had already taken place. Considerable time is required for the formation of the earlier collections, and the fact that the inscriptions were not understood by the LXX. translators shows that they must have been already ancient in the third century before Christ. Those who would reconstruct the history of Israel have also to reconstruct the Psalter, so far as the whole view of the authorship and meaning of the Psalms is concerned. This many seem by no means unwilling to do. Renan laughs at those "pious souls who think they have been in spiritual communion with a bandit"—David; and though Canon Cheyne would not allow himself in such unseemly sneers, he none the less eviscerates the Psalms of their personal and historical signifi-

cance and, by the paradoxically late date he assigns to them, adds another to the many enormous improbabilities which the advocates of Wellhausen's theory are obliged to accept as best they may.

At this stage in the argument we pause. How cursory and insufficient our examination of this subject has been, none know better than ourselves. Scholars will wonder why we have said so little, devout and orthodox readers why we have said so much. But it seemed absolutely necessary to show in a brief and popular form the case for Wellhausen's theory, and the serious objections against it, when we were being told that all scholars had virtually accepted that theory, and the sooner every one else followed suit the better. If we have done anything to show that that theory is arbitrary in its assumptions, unwarranted in many of its methods, and inconclusive, to say the least, in its results, while it is weighted with grievous incredibilities and impracticabilities of its own; we have done all that we set out to do. But the Pentateuch controversy is by no means closed. Only one theory has been examined and reasons given for pausing before its demonstration is pronounced indubitable. The voice of criticism is not silenced. For our part, we have no desire that it should be silenced. The critics have studied their Bibles very much more closely than the orthodox, though not, as we think, to better purpose, and there is very much for us all to learn concerning Moses and the Old Covenant, God's dealings with His people and method of carrying out His purposes in the world, than we have yet learned from a discussion which has yet by no means ended. It almost seems as if the Christian Church needed these periodical attacks to keep her from going to sleep. Views traditionally held are very apt to be mechanically held. Evolution by antagonism is known in nature and not unknown in grace. God's children know themselves to be "from trials unexempted" in their spiritual life, for by passing through temptation we grow. And there is no reason why from every such controversy which arises round our sacred books and sacred beliefs our Creed should not be continually enriched and deepened.

Such is one result of the Pentateuch controversy for which

we confidently look by-and-by. But meanwhile great care is needed. There is no small danger, lest judgment in this matter should be allowed to go by default. The position is already being taken—*Bos locutus est, causa finita est*—the critics have spoken, and the controversy is settled. Canon Driver disdains to argue with Professor W. H. Green, misrepresents—unconsciously, no doubt—his position as resting mainly on the divergency of critics, and simply says: "When he has finished, the conviction that the narrative is composite remains as before." Canon Gore is content to say that "the modern development of historical criticism is reaching results as sure, where it is fairly used, as scientific inquiry"; and goes on to admit that a considerable part of the Old Testament is mythical and unhistorical. It is precisely this limitation, "where it is fairly used," that requires to be rigorously pressed in this country. Germany contributes by far the greatest amount of original work to theology and Biblical science; indeed, in comparison, other countries are nowhere in the race. But the results thus reached need most careful examination and sifting, and English good sense and sobriety of judgment must examine and test the abundant products of German industry and erudite speculation. This work has by no means been sufficiently done in the case of the Pentateuch. Principal Cave, whose work on the *Inspiration of the Old Testament* is a valuable contribution to theology, has entered a protest against the acceptance of the "Evolution Theory," and presses upon our consideration what he names the "Journal Theory" of the composition of the Pentateuch. According to this view, the books Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy represent a kind of prolonged journal of events written by Moses, or some of his attendants, the Book of Genesis—in which at least two hands, besides that of the editor, are traceable—being prefixed as a suitable introduction. We are not called just now to examine this theory, which has much to recommend it; but we think Dr. Cave has done good service in endeavouring to procure an arrest of judgment. And it is of essential importance to remember that the

principles on which judgment is to be given must first of all be ascertained and made clear.

Signs are not wanting that English scholars are not inclined to adopt Wellhausen's theory pure and simple, without mitigation or dilution. Canon Driver says, "With certain provisoes, the theory advocated by Wellhausen, or at least a theory approximating to that, would seem to be the one which harmonises most completely with the facts of the Old Testament."* There is much virtue in "provisoes" and "approximating"; very much depends upon what is therein included. For example, we read, "It is a mistake to suppose that those who follow Wellhausen imagine that everything in the Priest's Code is the *creation* of the exilic period."† There is no doubt, it seems, that Moses was the founder of the religious life of Israel; what is questioned is whether "he was the author of the Israelitish institutions precisely as they are set forth in the existing Pentateuch," and whether the system of the Priest's Code was only *completed* after Deuteronomy, and, in fact, after Ezekiel. We will not stay to debate how much share in the legislation Kuenen and Wellhausen would allow to Moses himself; our impression certainly is that both are much more destructive than Professor Driver represents. The latter, at least, will not allow that even the Decalogue in its abbreviated form dates from Moses' time, and throughout his pages Moses appears as an almost purely mythical hero. But let that pass. What is of importance is to urge that everything depends upon the extent and character of the Mosaic core or nucleus in the Pentateuchal books. If these laws are essentially and substantially Mosaic, there is comparatively little difficulty in allowing, on good cause shown, the addition of certain later elements and the work of an editor in preparing the record. Dr. Driver's admission that, however mixed the character of the composition, "the principles and the precepts of the Priest's Code must have been *inchoate* long before the exile," may cover a great deal. It is true, it may mean very

* "The Critical Study of the Old Testament," *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1890, p. 226. † *Ibid.* p. 227.

little, but the admission obviates some of the objections we have urged in these articles, and at least it requires thorough examination. It was by stipulating for a substantial Mosaic nucleus in the legislation that such a devout and justly revered scholar as Delitzsch reconciled himself towards the close of his life to a modification of Wellhausen's theory, though, as he himself said, with grave and important differences. These points require much fuller discussion than they have hitherto received in this country.

What we are chiefly anxious about at the present stage of this controversy is the tacit and perhaps unconscious admission of Rationalistic principles into the treatment of Scripture records. There is no danger of Bibliolatry to-day; we cannot say there is no danger of Iconoclasm. Time has been when Christian interpreters have unduly distrusted reason; men who, as Hooker says, "never used reason so willingly as to disgrace reason." Fear of rationalism must not drive us into fear of reason; but confidence in reason must not lead us into vain confidence in rationalism. The distinction between the two is to be found in the tacit but very potent assumptions which underlie all rationalistic arguments, in tendencies which lie out of sight of the reasoner, sometimes behind his very consciousness. Lecky, in his *History of Rationalism*, points out that "the success of any opinion seems to depend much less upon the force of its arguments than upon the predisposition of society to receive it," and that "the controversialists of successive ages are the puppets and unconscious exponents of the deep under-current of their time." Now, of the existence of such under-currents wise men should be aware, and as far as possible estimate their strength, if they would steer correctly. That such under-currents have in these days of evolution mightily helped an evolutionary theory of Old Testament composition, and in these days of unbelief in the supernatural have made the way easy for naturalistic explanations of history and revelation, is beyond all doubt. But is he the true leader of men who swims fastest *with* the current? Is a doctrine necessarily true because favoured by the *Zeit-geist*, and are the disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ following Him most closely when they walk "according to

the course of this age" in its mental habitudes or its moral tendencies? If the contentions of the critics are *true*, it is no objection to them that they are styled Rationalistic, and we are not pleading for any convenient hoodwinking of the reason, in order that traditional views may be comfortably maintained. But if it should prove that no improvement in Hebrew scholarship, no new discoveries, no more acute literary insight, but only a stronger bias against the supernatural is changing the fashion of Old Testament theories, the case is altogether changed. As the late Bishop Lightfoot hints, in his *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, it is barely possible that all wisdom in this matter does not dwell with the last half-century, and Christian teachers, at all events, ought not to be led away by a current, without knowing something of its origin, the measure of its strength, and the issues to which it will rapidly carry all who trust themselves to it.

It is the unconscious operation of these tendencies and the effect upon Christianity that we chiefly fear. The Oxford scholars, who are strongly advocating the acceptance of Wellhausen's theories, do not profess to be Rationalists; the editor of *Lux Mundi* is one of the ornaments of the High Church party. Canon Driver says, "It is of fundamental importance to disengage the religious from the clerical and historical problems. Critical investigations concern really not the fact of revelation, but its mode, or form, or course; upon Christian faith and practice they have *no bearing whatever*." Canon Gore admits with a light heart mythical and unhistorical elements into the Old Testament narratives, and seems to think that a belief in those of the New need take no harm. Now, granted—and it is a large concession—that all the references of our Lord and His Apostles to the Old Testament are virtually untouched by the proposed reconstruction of Old Testament history and literature, is it not plain that those who admit *without reserve* the critical methods used by Wellhausen and his school, the tacit assumptions and overt arguments that figure largely in this Pentateuch controversy, have laid bare an important line of defence in the bulwarks of the Christian faith? *Iam proximus ardet Ucalegon.* The whole case of the destructive critics who write now a popular story like

*Robert Elsmere*, now an able and powerful book addressed rather to thoughtful men of the world than to scholars, like Dr. Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion*, is that a critical study of the "sources" of the Gospel history and the times and habits of thought of the writers enables us to see how what appears to be an orderly, coherent narrative has "grown up" under the fostering care of favouring conditions. The discrepancies in the narratives, the variations of style, and the differences in point of view which are said to be characteristic of the Gospels can, when dexterously handled by those who tacitly assume that "miracles do not happen," easily be shown to indicate the development of myth in the minds of honest men, lovers of the miraculous, but entirely "uncritical" in their modes of thought. Doubtless, those who are trying to revive Strauss' exploded hypotheses are sorely put to it to gain the requisite time for the growth of myth round the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and in this, as in several other respects, they are at a disadvantage as compared with the Rationalistic critics of the Old Testament. It is comparatively easy to repel assaults made upon documents like the Gospels which come much more directly into the light of history than do the Books of the Pentateuch. But once admit, without reserve, all the methods and assumptions of the critics of the Old Testament, and it will soon be seen whether this admission has "no bearing whatever" upon a belief in the credibility and integrity of the Books of the New Testament. The one only conclusion we wish to draw from this is that Christian teachers must be more cautious than such able scholars and writers as Professors Driver and Cheyne, and Canon Gore seem at present inclined to be, in following the course of German speculation. The critical faculty of devout Englishmen would be best employed just now in very honestly and very thoroughly criticising the critics, and bringing ingenious hypotheses to the bar of that good sense and reverent faith which are at least as valuable in this controversy as erudition and speculative ability.

The issues of the controversy we may calmly and safely leave in the hands of One higher and wiser than we. At present all that has been clearly shown is that the Pentateuch

appears to be a composite narrative, the *substantially* Mosaic character of which has by no means yet been disproved or even shaken. Precisely what part in the composition, if any, was taken by Moses himself; what portion was actually written in his time; what pre-existing authorities were made use of; what subsequent additions made, at what dates these additions were made, and when the book in its present form actually received its last touch, are questions on which the last word has by no means been uttered. Devout students of Scripture may leave these matters to experts to decide, provided they will not follow either a fashion of conservative traditionalism or a fashion of destructive rationalism. Provided, further, that when they have done their best in theorising, they will remember their own ignorance and abstain from dogmatising either after the manner of the confident theologian or that of the equally confident critic. Light will dawn more fully on those who seek. It may flash in sudden splendour one of these days. A single discovery, less marvellous than many that have taken place in the lifetime of many now living, would end a host of doubtful and difficult questions. Meanwhile

"Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

The truth is His, not ours. The Spirit of truth will guide into all the truth those who fearlessly trust and follow Him; and "he that believeth shall not make haste."

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## Art. VII.—LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON.

1. *Labour and Life of the People.* Volume I.: East London. Edited by Charles Booth. London: Williams & Norgate. 1889.
2. *London Labour and the London Poor: The Condition and Earnings of those that Will Work, Cannot Work, and Will Not Work.* By Henry Mayhew. London: Griffin & Co.

TWO years ago, in January 1888, we drew attention to a paper on the "Tower Hamlets," which Mr. Booth had just read before the Statistical Society, and expressed

our hope that he would be assisted to complete his task. It is therefore with no little pleasure that we have seen Mr. Booth's book on "East London" receive on all hands the hearty recognition due to a standard work on one of the vital social questions of our time. It is, indeed, only a first instalment of a complete discussion of its vast subject, the *Labour and Life of the People*, but it contains so much matter of profound interest to all who are labouring for the uplifting of the masses, and will do so much to enlist, as well as to direct, popular sympathy, that we are thankful this volume has been published without unnecessary delay. One naturally compares such a book with Henry Mayhew's widely known work. His notable sketches of *London Labour and the London Poor* abound in facts taken direct from the lips of costers and street-merchants of every kind, whose friendship Mr. Mayhew cultivated so assiduously. In that respect it is still without a rival. Nor does it fail to give some statistics as to the number of Jews and street-sellers, their earnings and modes of life. The book, however, fails where Mr. Booth's volume has achieved a noteworthy success. It gives no comprehensive survey of the whole field; it has no philosophical breadth of treatment; it does not probe deeply into the causes or remedies for the squalor of the East End. It is really a mass of incidents of low life, told with dramatic intensity and simplicity by the actors themselves; but it fails to gather up its facts into any connected statement, or to point the way towards any solution of one of the gravest problems of our modern civilisation.

In these respects Mr. Booth's book has a far higher value. It is now indeed possible, almost for the first time, to measure the problem before us with some degree of accuracy. That is the highest praise one can give to such a book, and it is well deserved. This result has not, of course, been reached without a capacity for taking pains which makes every student of this subject feel himself laid under a personal debt to Mr. Booth and his co-workers. After careful discussion with competent advisers it was resolved "to employ a double method, dividing the people by districts, and again by trades, so as to show at once the manner of their life and of their work."

Large part of 1886 was filled with preliminary work; 1887 saw the district inquiry completed; 1888 was spent on the trades and special subjects. But Mr. Booth's work could never have been accomplished even in three years had it not been for the information supplied by the School Board visitors. Sixty-six of these officers are employed in house to house visitation of the district with which the present volume deals. "Every house in every street is in their books, and details are given of every family with children of school age. They begin their scheduling two or three years before the children attain school age, and a record remains in their books of children who have left school. The occupation of the head of the family is noted down. Most of the visitors have been working in the same district for several years, and thus have an extensive knowledge of the people." Mr. Booth found the picturesque details, as to families and streets supplied from this source, of the greatest service in his work. He was indeed embarrassed by the wealth of information put at his disposal, and by his resolution to make use of no fact to which he could not give a quantitative value. It is evident that his note-books were as full as Mr. Mayhew's of "materials for sensational stories;" but he wisely kept to his main purpose, "to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives."

A faithful statement of the problem of London labour and poverty, which is the distinctive feature of Mr. Booth's volume, is evidently the first step towards any satisfactory solution. If East London contains, as is generally understood, the most destitute population in England, Mr. Booth may justly claim that to state the problem here is to state it everywhere, and to solve it here is to solve it everywhere. This practical purpose lifts Mr. Booth's book entirely above the dreamland to which that startling and most improbable, but yet thought-stirring, story, "Looking Backward," introduces us.

Seventeen pages of entries from Mr. Booth's forty-six note-books enable every one to judge of the way in which

information has been collected. The employment, number of rooms, size of family, and the grade to which the workers belong are carefully noted for every house in the street. Any special circumstances are added. This is the description of a chairmaker, living in what is here called St. Hubert Street: "Also have a loft, where the wife, the wife's mother (who also lives with them), and the elder children all work together at making fish baskets out of old mat sugar bags. Dirty and low, but not so poor." There is a grim pathos in two other notes. One refers to the family of a casual labourer: "An awfully poor, low, and wretched lot—children almost naked—man is also in the Militia." The second is on a hawker's family crowded in one room: "All cripples—wife's mother, also a cripple, lives here—an awful lot, younger children like withered-up old men." The description of the street may also be quoted as a further specimen of Mr. Booth's method and his stores of information.

"*General character.*—An awful place; the worst street in the district. The inhabitants are mostly of the lowest class, and seem to lack all idea of cleanliness or decency. Few of the families occupy more than one room. The children are rarely brought up to any kind of work, but loaf about, and no doubt form the nucleus for future generations of thieves and other bad characters. The property is all very old, and it has been patched up and altered until it is difficult to distinguish one house from another. Small back yards have been utilised for building additional tenements. The property throughout is in a very bad condition, unsanitary and overcrowded; and it is stated (as a suggestive reason why so little has been done in the way of remedy) that until very recently the rent collector of the property was a brother of the Sanitary Inspector! A number of the rooms are occupied by prostitutes of the most pronounced order."

These particulars were furnished by the School Board visitors. In the Tower Hamlets division, with which the inquiry began, Mr. Booth and his assistants gave nineteen hours and three-quarters to each of the visitors. Much more time was given to districts afterwards. St. George's-in-the-East cost sixty hours' work with the visitors, when revised it occupied eighty-three hours. The streets themselves were carefully visited before or after the School Board officers gave their information. In this way from half to two-thirds of the whole population were

brought directly under schedule. An estimate based on these lines was then formed for the remainder.

Having given this sketch of the method pursued, it is now time to visit East London itself. The region to which Mr. Booth's statistics refer is, with the exception of Hoxton and De Beauvoir Town, which lie to the west of that artery, bounded by the Kingsland Road on the west and the Thames on the south. The City itself forms an inner circle, with a radius of nearly a mile, measured from Southwark Bridge. Outside of this circle "the greatest extension is at Stamford Hill, where the boundary is four and a half miles from Southwark Bridge, and the least at Bow, which is three and a half miles from the same point." A segment of a circle drawn three miles outside the City boundary thus includes the district which Mr. Booth deals with. This region is divided by the Regent's Canal into an inner and outer circle, each a mile and a half wide. The canal marks a real change in the character of the district. Inside this boundary lie most of Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Whitechapel, St. George's, Wapping, Shadwell, and Ratcliff. Here a few churchyards and burial-grounds form almost the only open spaces. The whole region is crowded with houses, workshops, and warehouses. "Space and light are everywhere at a premium." The same state of things prevails in Limehouse and Poplar proper; but the rest of the outer ring, which covers Bow, Bromley, the eastern parts of Mile End and Bethnal Green, with the whole of Hackney, shows a much less congested population. There are some large open spaces, such as Hackney Downs, London Fields, and Victoria Park. The streets are wider, gardens are attached to the houses, and fewer people are packed into them. We do not see, as in the inner ring, cottage property or workshops built on what used to be the gardens of large houses. Entrance is gained to these workshops through the house; in one case, indeed, workshops have been so built as to correspond with each floor of the house, a system of bridges leading between the house and the workshops.

The population with which Mr. Booth deals is thus distributed:—

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|---|---|
| East London: | |
| Shoreditch . . . . | 124,000 |
| Bethnal Green . . . | 130,000 |
| Whitechapel . . . | 76,000 |
| St. George's-in-the-East . | 49,000 |
| Stepney . . . . | 63,000 |
| Mile End Old Town . . | 112,000 |
| Poplar . . . . | 169,000 |
| Hackney . . . . . | 186,000 |
| Total . . | 909,000 |

St. George's is the poorest district, though Bethnal Green runs it very close.

The most valuable and original part of Mr. Booth's work is his estimate of the various strata of the population. The lowest class (A)—composed of some occasional labourers, street-sellers, loafers, criminals, and semi-criminals—he estimates at 11,000. One in forty of the people in East London belongs to this group.

"Their life is the life of savages, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. Their food is of the coarsest description, and their only luxury is drink. It is not easy to say how they live; the living is picked up, and what is got is frequently shared. When they cannot find threepence for their night's lodging, unless favourably known to the deputy, they are turned out at night into the street, or return to the common kitchen in the morning. From these come the battered figures who slouch through the streets, and play the beggar or the bully, or help to foul the record of the unemployed; these are the worst class of corner-men who hang round the doors of public-houses, the young men who spring forward on any chance to earn a copper, the ready materials for disorder when occasion serves. They render no useful service, they create no wealth, more often they destroy it."

This class seems to be to a large extent hereditary. The children are the street Arabs of London. The other classes also furnish recruits for this lowest stratum of society. Men and women who have lost character and position are always helping to swell it. Mr. Booth shows that the number of persons included here bears a very small proportion to the population of the East End. He dissents from the verdict of many leaders of philanthropy like the late Lord Shaftesbury as to the danger Society has to apprehend from this source. "The hordes of

barbarians of whom we have heard, who, issuing from their slums, will one day overwhelm modern civilisation, do not exist. There are barbarians, but they are a handful, a small and decreasing percentage; a disgrace, but not a danger." Such a verdict coming from so competent an authority may well encourage those who have set their hearts on the cleansing of our slums. This residuum is hard to deal with, but surely 11,000 people, however destitute and degraded, should not paralyse the zealous, enlightened, united effort of London philanthropy.

The "very poor" class number about 100,000. 34,000 of them are married men and women, 12,000 are unmarried, 6500 widows, 38,000 children, 9500 young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty. Most of the men are casual labourers, who have on an average about three days' work per week. The wives also work, but they are fortunate if they earn enough to pay the rent. "There is drunkenness amongst them, especially amongst the women; but drink is not their special luxury, as with the lowest class, nor is it their passion, as with a portion of those with higher wages and irregular but severe work." The children get employment without much difficulty. Girls are able to pay four or five shillings a week out of their earnings to their mothers, boys are likely to be turned adrift if they do not bring in enough.

In Class C Mr. Booth puts those who have intermittent earnings. The number is about 75,000. The men mostly work by the job. Sometimes they have full and good employment, but slack times often come. Besides those employed at wharves and warehouses, builders' labourers are included in this class. They are men sadly wanting in thrift. Great physical exertion is followed by excess in eating and drinking, so that often nothing is left for the proverbial rainy day which so often comes to these people. Burial clubs are indeed frequently subscribed to, and in some exceptional cases small payments are made to a tradesman in the summer, so that he may supply the family with goods in winter. The rule, however, is credit in winter, repayment in summer. Clubs are generally held at the public-house. "The publican is left too much in possession of the field as friend of the working man, and his

friendship does not practically pay the latter, who is apt to spend more than he saves."

Class D, with small but regular earnings, numbers 129,000. Men with wages not exceeding a guinea a week, labourers in gas-works who have not full employment in summer, and the better part of the dock and water-side workers fall into this group. The women work to eke out the family income, and both boys and girls bring in more than they cost when the schooldays are over. As a rule, the men are decent, steady fellows, who get through life with considerable comfort if their wives are sober and thrifty.*

The next class (E), which includes the best street-sellers, a large proportion of the small shopkeepers, carmen, porters, stevedores, and others, enjoys still greater comfort than D. Earnings here range from twenty-two to thirty shillings a week. The number of persons included in the class is 377,000, or over 42 per cent. of the population. "The bulk of this large section can, and do, lead independent lives, and possess fairly comfortable homes." They readily take gratuities, but will not stoop to accept anything like charity. This class is the recognised field of all forms of co-operation and combination, and I believe, and am glad to believe, that it holds its future in its own hands. No body of men deserves more consideration."

The next group (F) includes higher grade labour and the best paid artisans, amounting to 121,000. These men earn from thirty to fifty shillings a week, and form "the non-commissioned officers of the industrial army." Foremen, City warehousemen, first-hand lightermen are included in this group. They are men of integrity, who form the pillars of every large business. Some 30,000 are prosperous artisans, but they are a less contented class than the foremen, and look at things from the employé's point of view, whilst the foreman sympathises with his master.

* The Rev. W. Rogers tells a touching story in his *Reminiscences* (p. 53) of a coster whom he met when visiting at St. Paul's, Charterhouse. He was whistling merrily over his work, and told his visitor that God had been very good to him. "What has happened?" said Mr. Rogers. "Well, sir," he answered, "it has pleased the Almighty to take away my old missus, and I have been happy ever since. . . . . She drank, and was my ruin," that was his sad verdict.

The lower middle class (G), formed of shopkeepers, small employers, and subordinate professional men, is set down at 34,000; all above that grade are grouped together as the upper-middle or servant-keeping class. They are estimated at 45,000 persons, of whom "more than two-thirds are to be found in Hackney, where one-fifth of the population live in houses which, because of their high rental, are not scheduled by the School Board visitors."

We thus reach this general result. The four lower classes (A, B, C, D), where poverty sinks down to want, form 314,000, or 35 per cent. of the population of East London and Hackney. The four upper classes (E, F, G, H), in which comfort rises till we reach modest affluence, add up to 577,000, or 65 per cent. of the whole. For East London alone the figures are 270,000 and 440,000; for Hackney, 43,000 and 140,000. In Hackney 76 per cent. live in comfortable circumstances, in St. George's only 51 per cent.

As to the various trades, we find that for every artisan on or below the line of poverty there are two above it. In street trades there are three divisions: street performers, street-sellers, and general dealers. Organ-grinders, acrobats, professional beggars, newspaper hawkers, and the poorest of the costermongers come into this group. Many belong to the lowest class (A), others may be placed in B and C with the casual and irregular labourers, but a large number are fairly well off. "They include ordinary public musicians with regular work, billiard-markers, scene painters, and travelling photographers; costermongers, with capital in stock and barrow, and perhaps a donkey; coffee-stall keepers, cats'-meat men, and successful general dealers." The dealer is an itinerant merchant on a small scale; the street-seller is a shopkeeper who keeps his stock in a basket, barrow, or stall. These general dealers are nearly all Jews, who turn over large sums of money. The costers are sometimes very well-to-do, having both stall and barrow, or even a small shop which is managed by the wife while the husband goes round with his barrow. If a man manages to get a little capital together to provide against the loss of a donkey, or to set himself up with a new barrow, he can scarcely fail to get on. Those who borrow have to pay heavy interest. "There are

men in the East End who make a large income by letting out barrows to this class." On the whole, Mr. Booth says, "The street trades seem prosperous, and those who drive these trades are better off to-day than many skilled workmen, though of much lower social grade, and, in fact, a rough lot."

As to the separate districts, some suggestive remarks are found in the third chapter. In Whitechapel 18¼ per cent. are employed in tailoring, 6½ per cent. in making cigars and food, 8 per cent. are street-sellers and general dealers, 5¼ per cent. are poor employers—mostly "sweaters." All these are Jewish employments. The Jewish coat-makers occupy an area of less than a square mile, including the whole of Whitechapel with part of Mile End and St. George's. Here 30,000 to 40,000 Jews are massed together, at the rate of 227 persons to an acre, the highest in the East End. Stepney has only 7¼ per cent. of such trades to set against the 38 per cent. in Whitechapel. It is "essentially the abode of labour." Eleven in every hundred are casual labourers, but 24 per cent. have constant employment. Thirty-nine per cent. in Stepney are labourers, only 18 per cent. in Whitechapel. St. George's-in-the-East lies between these two districts, and shares the characteristics of both. On the side nearest Whitechapel it has many residents employed in making clothes, on the side near Stepney casual labourers congregate. Each district has its own "peculiar flavour." Whitechapel, with its tailors, boot-makers, tobacco workers, and traders of all grades, is the home of the Jews, of whom it is estimated that there are 60,732 in London, 57,120 being in the East End. Stepney and St. George's belong to the labourers; Shoreditch and Bethnal Green to the artisans; Poplar is a favourite quarter for sub-officials; Mile End has something of everything, whilst Hackney is the aristocratic quarter of the East End.

"Of all the districts of that 'inner ring' which surrounds the City, St. George's-in-the-East is the most desolate. The other districts have each some charm or other—a brightness not extinguished by, and even appertaining to, poverty and toil, to vice, and even to crime—a clash of contest, man against man, and men against fate—the absorbing interest of a battle-field—a rush of human life as fascinating to watch as the current of a river, to which life is so often likened. But there is nothing of this in St. George's, which appears to stagnate with a squalor peculiar to itself. Whitechapel, on the other

hand, with its colony, and its Jewish Petticoat Lane market, is a veritable Tom Tiddler's ground, the Eldorado of the East, a gathering together of poor fortune seekers; its streets are full of buying and selling, the poor living on the poor."

East London has some strong clubs for working men. Sixteen of these are religious or philanthropic, with about 2600 members; eighteen are social clubs with about 5530 names enrolled; thirty-two, with nearly 11,000 members, are political. It is a significant fact that three Socialist clubs have only 200 members among them. The large clubs, such as the United Radical, with 2000 members; the Borough of Hackney, with 1800; the Jews' Club and Institute, with 1400 members, offer many advantages to their supporters, and every evening are full of life. Beer, spirits, and tobacco are provided, games are played, entertainments, lectures, and discussions arranged. A children's Christmas party has become an established feature in the leading clubs. The United Radical alone entertained 4000 little folk in one such gathering. The clubs which keep closed doors, to conceal gambling or other vicious practices, are not enumerated here.

Friendly societies and other institutions for inculcating thrift are well rooted in the East End. The factory girls sometimes subscribe sixpence or a shilling a week, the whole sum being taken by members selected by lot. In this way a girl can buy herself a hat, or boots, or secure a holiday of some sort.

The significant paragraphs on public-houses in this book deserve attention. Mr. Booth says that actual drunkenness is very much the exception at hundreds of respectable houses. He does not, however, ignore the darker side of the picture. He thinks that public-houses are feeling the stress of competition. Changes of management and reduced prices are often announced. "Undermined by the increasing temperance of the people, and subject to direct attack from the cocoa-rooms on the one side, and the clubs on the other, the licensed victuallers begin to see that they cannot live by drink alone." They sell bovril, tobacco, and tea. Luncheons are provided, coffee and temperance drinks are on sale. Concerts and benefit clubs also form part of their programme. "No

doubt in all these things there is an eye to the ultimate sale of drink, but every accessory attraction or departure from the simple glare of the gin palace is an improvement. In order to succeed, each public-house now finds itself impelled to become more of a music-hall, more of a restaurant, or more of a club, or it must ally itself with thrift. The publican must consider other desires besides that for strong drink. Those that do not will be beaten in the race." Mr. Booth warns the licensed victuallers that if they are "content to find their principal customers among the depraved," speedy and well-merited ruin will fall upon them. He holds that it is becoming more difficult every day "to make a livelihood by the simple sale of drink." "Cocoa-rooms, and especially Lockhart's cocoa-rooms, have become an important factor in the life of the people." All this may be expected to awaken thought, and perhaps criticism, in temperance circles, but it is a side of the subject which should not be overlooked.

There are three theatres in the district, but the mass of East Enders prefer music-hall entertainments. The performances, Mr. Booth says, "are unobjectionable—the keynote is a coarse, rough fun, and nothing is so much applauded as good step-dancing. Of questionable innuendo there is little, far less than at West End music-halls, and less, I noticed, than at the small benefit concerts held at public-houses." His reference to one such concert shows that there is pressing need for reform in that direction. Mr. Booth speaks highly of the intelligence of the East End. "I believe keen dialectic to be the especial passion of the population at large. It is the fence, the cut and thrust, or skilful parry that interests rather than the merits of the subject, and it is religious discussion which interests the people most."

Mr. Booth's verdict on the work of the Salvation Army in the district is distinctly unfavourable. He does not fail to recognise the devotion of its workers, but maintains that the bulk of every audience "look in to see what is going on; enjoying the hymns, perhaps, but taking the whole service as a diversion. I have said that I do not think the people of East London irreligious in spirit, and also that doctrinal discussion is almost a passion with them; but I do not think

the Salvation Army supplies what they want in either one direction or the other." This verdict may be compared with that of the late Mr. J. R. Green, who says in his *Stray Studies* (p. 22), that his own experience among the poor agreed much with Edward Denison's that "high thinking put into plain English was more likely to tell on a dockyard labourer than all the 'simple Gospel sermons' in the world." John Wesley's protest against what was called Gospel preaching in his time shows that he was much of the same opinion (*Works*, x. 455, &c.). The great truths of the Gospel put into simple words—that was Wesley's ideal, which he urged every young preacher to make his standard.

From a careful analysis of the expenditure of thirty families, Mr. Booth estimates the average weekly outlay per adult man of the "very poor" (his Class B) at five shillings (food, costing three shillings; rent, &c., two shillings); C and D may spend seven shillings and sixpence; E, ten shillings; F, fifteen shillings. All the earnings of the "very poor" are absorbed by food and rent. They must evade payment of rent, or go short of food, if they are to get clothes or household things. The tables of expenditure show that the three Classes B, D, E live in much the same way, but with increasing liberality as you rise in the social scale, especially as to meat, green vegetables, and cheese. Class F can afford a more generous diet. Fish is used, not as a substitute for meat as in Class B, but in addition to it. "Eggs are a considerable item; while the amount for fruit, jam, and such things as rice is five times that for Class D, and ten times that for Class B." The description of the life of some of these families gives deeper meaning to these statistics. The poorest case was that of a sickly dock labourer in casual work with a consumptive wife. A son of eighteen, who earned eight shillings a week as a carman's boy, and two girls of eight and six, completed the family. They lived in two rooms, ten feet square, both patterns of tidiness and cleanness, for which they paid seventeen shillings a month. Firing cost about two shillings a week. The boy took twopence a day for his dinner. The neighbouring clergy sent soup two or three times a week—bread, margarine, tea, and sugar were the main items of food. Meat only occurs

once in the month's expenditure. For the first Sunday there is the entry, "Three pounds of meat at fourpence." Respectable, sober, thrifty though they were, life was nevertheless a hard fight for this family. The details of other cases are scarcely less instructive.

In the analysis of the causes of "great poverty"—A and B—four cases out of every hundred are set down as loafers, fifty-five have poor or casual work, fourteen are drunken or thriftless, twenty-seven are kept under by their circumstances. In Classes C and D employment accounts for sixty-eight cases out of every hundred of distress, habit for thirteen, circumstances for nineteen. It is a great tribute to the sobriety of the Jewish population to find that in Whitechapel only four per cent. of the very poor cases, and one of the poor, are attributable to drinking habits.

On the great problem of "the unemployed," a man who has conducted such investigations as those represented in this volume deserves a careful hearing. Those who stoop so low as to ask for charity "rarely stand the test of work." They are generally unfit for it, and cannot keep it if they get it. Sometimes a trade decays, and those who have no other work to which they can turn thus drop down into want. "Some unemployed margin" seems almost a necessity of modern industrial life, but Mr. Booth thinks this margin is exaggerated in London to-day, enormously exaggerated in the lowest classes of labour.

"I believe it to be in the interest of every employer to have as many regularly employed servants as possible, but it is still more to the interest of the community, and most of all to that of the employed. To divide a little work amongst a number of men—giving all a share—may seem kind and even just, and I have known such a course to be taken with that idea. It is only justifiable as a temporary expedient, serving otherwise but to prolong a bad state of things."

Neither Class B nor C work much more than half their time. If, therefore, B could be swept out of existence, Class C could do all the work, and add largely to their own comfort by their increased earnings. "To the rich the very poor are a sentimental interest; to the poor they are a crushing load. The poverty of the poor is mainly the result of

the competition of the very poor. The entire removal of this very poor class out of the daily struggle for existence I believe to be the only solution of the problem." Agitators and sensational writers may speak of "starving millions," but the facts show that the real pinch of poverty is felt by a comparatively small number. Mr. Booth has on three occasions taken lodgings, for several weeks at a time, where he was not known, and has shared the lives of the people who belong to classes C, D and E. His knowledge of their daily life has increased his respect for them. He thinks they only need to be freed from the competition of B (the very poor), and then self-respecting labour would be lifted on to a new platform of comfort. He would, therefore, like to put B under State regulation. They should "live as families in industrial groups, planted wherever land and building materials were cheap; being well housed, well fed, and well warmed; and taught, trained, and employed from morning to night on work, indoors or out, for themselves or on Government account; in the building of their own dwellings, in the cultivation of the land, in the making of clothes, or in the making of furniture." Government would have to supply materials, and bear any loss involved in the scheme. If a man or a family did well, the way might be open for their return to society; if they sank below a fixed minimum, they might be sent to the poorhouse, where they would cease to live as a family. This would act as a double incentive to exertion. This extension of "limited Socialism" might, he argues, be tried in some selected district, say, in Stepney. The Poor Law might be modified so as to make a working guild under suitable discipline; charitable gifts would be checked save where age or infirmity prevented any one from working for a living. Sanitation would be carefully carried out, and overcrowding would be suppressed. Mr. Booth thinks that by some such method Class A, no longer confounded with "the unemployed," might be harried out of existence; Class B would be cared for and its children receive a fair chance of making their way upwards; all the classes above B would then benefit from increased employment. Trades unions, co-operative and friendly societies would no longer float, as they do, "on the top of

their world," but would reach the lowest classes. The standard of life would rise, and all the grave problems of population would become manageable. Such is the conclusion to which Mr. Booth has been led by his unique study of the conditions of labour and life of East London.

We have as yet only discussed the first part of *Labour and Life of the People*, which is written by Mr. Booth himself. The second and larger part of the book is taken up by eight chapters on "The Trades." Miss Beatrice Potter's description of "The Docks" and "Tailoring" made a deep impression when they first appeared in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*. Mr. Schloss writes on "Boot Making," Mr. Aves on "The Furniture Trade," Mr. Fox on "Tobacco Workers," Mr. Argyle (one of Mr. Booth's zealous and efficient secretaries) on "Silk Manufacture," Clara E. Collet on "Women's Work." These chapters are crowded with details which show that East London is a hive of industry—"in manufacture, transport, dealing, and industrial service." Miss Potter's account of the docks gives a valuable epitome of the history of the vast development of London commerce. Skill is needed even for the work of a dock labourer. Two gangs of the same number of men were set to work under pressure of trade. The permanent hands discharged 260 tons in a certain time, the casuals only 60. This paper supplies, as also does that on Tailoring, many striking illustrations and confirmations of the principles discussed in the earlier part of the work.

In the chapter on "Silk Manufacture," Mr. Argyle gives a brief but suggestive sketch of the fortunes of the trade in England since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, when it was first introduced into Spitalfields. It is now sadly crippled, but finer specimens of weaving were never produced in its looms than at present. One or two London firms carry off the cream of the trade in damasks for hangings and furniture, while half a guinea is often paid in Bond Street for a tie made in Spitalfields. The demand for the best goods is, however, very limited. The bulk of the work is done in the weaver's home. Mr. Argyle gives an instructive description of a visit paid to one of these capable and industrious artisans.

The weavers "still retain the simple, kindly disposition and natural good taste characteristic of the French Huguenot."

The chapter on "Women's Work" abounds in detailed information. It will surprise many to learn that fur-sewing is the worst-paid industry carried on in workshops in the East End. The whole paper shows how much women need some sort of union. Even the indoor and outdoor hands employed by large City warehouses are often pitted against each other so as to make them accept the employers' terms. There ought to be a speedy cure for the state of things described. "The facility and readiness with which City firms take advantage of this hindrance to communication between workers is unequalled by anything in the East End." How true and how sad also are the words, "Life to large numbers of married women in the East End is nothing more than procrastination of death."

The third and last part of the book, on special subjects, is almost as valuable as the first. We are glad to have the question of "Sweating" treated by Mr. Booth himself. The term itself, which has become part of the social history of our times, seems to have been first used by journeymen tailors to describe those of their number who worked at home out of hours. They found helpers in their families, then began to do all their work at home, and to employ others whom they made to sweat. The word soon spread to other trades. Mr. Booth has not been able anywhere to find the monster sweating master familiar to us through the comic papers. The sweater, he has found, works hard, but makes little more, sometimes even less, than his best hands. He is generally on good terms with his workpeople. The evil of sweating is, in fact, due to the multiplication of small masters, overcrowding, irregular hours, low pay, and other miseries which are associated with it. A better system of registration and inspection of workshops would go far to secure some much-needed reforms.

Mr. H. Llewellyn Smith treats the thorny question of the "Influx of Population." He divides the immigration into London from the provinces into two parts. First, are the unsettled and restless spirits, including "not a little of the social wreckage of the provinces." Then come those, often the

pick of their counties, who seek a distinct economic advantage by settling in London. The counties nearest London send us our main body of immigrants; the largest number, however, considering distance, come from Devonshire, Somerset, Dorset, and Cornwall, which collectively send 24·7 per cent. of their migrants to London; the Midland counties only send 4·6. Seven policemen out of every ten come from the provinces. Carriers and busmen also are largely drawn from the country. It has been found at the Tower Bridge works that a Londoner "does not stick to his work so well as a man from Sheffield or the Tyne, and may be roughly said to be one-third less productive." As to foreign immigration, that of the Jews has now practically ceased, and the alarmists who feared that the bread would be snatched out of the mouth of the hungry Londoner may calm their fears.

Miss Potter's paper on the "Jewish Community" gives some interesting facts about the administration of law among the Jews. But the account of the Chevras, or associations which supply the social and religious needs of twelve to fifteen thousand foreign Jews, is the chief feature of her graphic chapter. The Chevras are benefit clubs and places of public worship combined. They are almost as badly ventilated and malodorous as the ordinary sweater's workshop, but they have a firm hold on the foreign Jews who meet there. The sketch of the origin and functions of the Jewish Board of Guardians shows that its title is a misnomer. The Board lends money for trade and business purposes, promotes emigration, and provides for sanitary inspection of the homes of the poor, besides giving relief to the destitute. Miss Potter says that their line of action fosters that artificial multiplication of small masters, which is one of the chief causes of mischief in East London. She is exceedingly severe on the unwise proselytism of some societies for promoting Christianity among the Jews.

In his closing chapter Mr. Booth states that, with few exceptions, those who have had a lengthened experience of East London agree that its condition is much better now than when they first knew the district. This also seems to be the case, so far as we can gain glimpses, of a remoter part. The outlook is therefore not discouraging. Class B is "the crux of

the social problem." If some system of "limited Socialism," such as he has sketched, could be applied to that class of the "very poor," Mr. Booth thinks we might lift up the whole of East London. Class A is composed of savage semi-criminals, who only desire to be let alone that they may form a colony of their own. The one way to deal with such people is persistently to disperse them, "for to scatter them is necessarily to place them under better influences. The chances for their children, especially, would be better; the hereditary taint less inevitable."

We hope to return to this subject when Mr. Booth's second volume is published. The mass of information stored up in the first make it an encyclopædia on all questions affecting East London industry. The great evil seems to be the multiplication of small masters who live from hand to mouth, and engage in a ruinous competition with other small masters. The Jews are the great offenders in this respect. But whilst it is desirable to guard against undue multiplication of such "garret-masters" by loans and grants from the Jewish Board of Guardians, and to see that proper sanitation is secured in their homes and workshops, we cannot fail to admire the pluck, sobriety, perseverance, and self-denial of the Jewish workers who begin at the lowest rung of the ladder with such cheerful courage. Mr. Booth's book is a memorable contribution to the study of East London life. We learn to take the measure of the great problem more accurately, but we become more hopeful of a solution. Dark as some of the conditions of life are there are brighter aspects. It is significant that this exhaustive survey of life in East London leaves a far more hopeful impression than Mr. Besant's sombre picture in *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*, and *Children of Gibeon*. There is evidently much true thrift and real comfort in East London. The women, taken as a whole, gain respectable wages by their industry. There are some abuses which cry aloud for redress, but no one can read this volume without feeling that there is a marked improvement in the conditions of life. The late J. R. Green, the historian, who was a curate in the East End, says that the sight which impressed him most in Stepney was the backyard

of a jobbing carpenter, into which he plunged by sheer accident. There stood a neat greenhouse full of fine flowers. The man had built the house with his own hands, and the sight of it had produced such an impression on his next-door neighbour, a cobbler, that he had left off drinking, and built a rival greenhouse with his savings. Both had become zealous florists, and thrifty, respectable men; but the thing which surprised them most was that they had been able to save at all. We are distinctly of Green's opinion that "in the roughest costermonger there is a vein of real nobleness, often even of poetry, in which lies the whole chance of his rising to a better life."

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## Art. VIII.—INDIAN MISSIONS.

1. *Report of the Centenary Conference of Protestant Missions held in London*, 1888. Two vols.
2. *Report of the Indian Education Commission*, 1888.
3. *Memorandum of some of the results of Indian Administration during the last Thirty Years. Parliamentary Blue Book*, 1889.

THE subject of this article presents a formidable array of subordinate or tributary topics which cannot be dispensed with in attempting an adequate treatment of the position of Christianity in India. As there is no condition of the people to which Christianity is not related, so there is no institution and no movement which may not find a place in the discussion of its missionary success. We have no sympathy with those who would circumscribe the work and the view of the missionary within the limits of a sectarian definition of "preaching the Gospel." The mission of the Gospel is the regeneration of life after the pattern of Christ; and the *new creature* in him is potentially the new community. No Eastern missionary who understands his calling can be indifferent to the government of India, because the doctrines he inculcates

establish a new order of citizenship; and while he disdains the *rôle* of a political partisan, he watches those elements that develop into political form. He stands in the midst of the several orders of society and without assuming any function of administration, his very enforcement of the heavenly principles of freedom, of equity, and of good-will, makes him the adviser of the powerful, the friend of the poor, and sometimes the liberator of the oppressed. It is now a part of the education of Englishmen to study the history of India; and those who have done more than survey the higher ranges of that history, who have followed the obscurer paths of executive rule which connect the loftier events of the narrative, must have observed that the missionary has played no mean part in helping the Government and accelerating the progress of the country. He has acquired this place, not by political service, not by party criticism on Government Acts, not by any influence inconsistent with the noble calling of a Christian teacher, but by an authority which has insensibly grown from his position. He dwells in the midst of the people; he has mastered the classics of their literature; he is familiar with the idioms of their common speech; he pours the light of his doctrine into their schools; he brings the truth, the purity, and the charity of Christ into contrast with the hollowness, the shame, and the tyranny of a false worship; and in this friendly controversy the last, the crowning argument is his life.

To appreciate the missionary's part in the government of India, for to this only are we now referring, it must be borne in mind that the authorities in ruling India, are changing India. Rulers do not propose to themselves revolution: but sometimes the tide of change is swollen by unforeseen currents; and it requires all the skill and resources of statesmanship to keep the violence of the stream within bounds. This is the problem that meets the Indian statesman to-day. It is a complication of opposite forces, intricate even to subtlety in their involutions, and covering the wide range of public life and the interests of family and personal association. The Government is educating an Eastern people on the foundation of Western learning. Let the reader pause to consider what this means. You disturb the apathy of ages by the intellectual stir of thirty

years! You send the great English tongue into the districts of the country, carrying with it the exact sciences of Europe, the historic treasures of Great Britain, and the best literature of England. The result is a popular excitement of almost perilous intensity. The new knowledge percolates into the native dialects and informs the masses of the people; it is in the school-book for the child, and in the journal for the adult. Meantime, the Government has initiated a new reign of commerce, chiefly by constructing a vast railway system. Provinces that lay apart, divided by mountains and rivers impassable to the people, with their products shut in, are now connected by the iron road; and tribes and nations that, a few years ago, were practically as remote from each other as the populations of Europe and New Zealand, are as closely neighboured as the counties of England.* But the relations between England herself and her Eastern Empire exhibit a more striking change than that which transit has accomplished for the intercourse of the races of India. The countries are drawn together by an identity of commercial interests, by the sympathies of intelligence and taste, by what is fast becoming a common literature, and by that mutual knowledge which can only be acquired by travel and observation. Englishmen journey to India more frequently than their fathers visited France; and Hindus, sacrificing the sacred scruples of caste to curiosity or ambition, are coming to England in increasing numbers. They graduate in our Universities, they study in our law courts, they are found in our houses of business. Some of these men represent the highest rank of their people: they cross the ocean to see those renowned islands which exercise so mysterious a sway over the millions of their own

* A recent 'Memorandum,' issued from the office of the Secretary of State, informs us that while in 1857 there were only 300 miles of railway in India, in 1887 there were 14,000 miles of open railway and 2500 miles under construction. From the same document we quote the following comment on this wonderful expansion of internal traffic: "It is hardly necessary to refer here to the incalculable benefit done by railways which, in time of need, carry food from prosperous districts to famine-stricken provinces; or to the impulse given to production and trade when railways carry to the seaports the surplus products, which otherwise would have found no market, and might have rotted in granaries."—*Memorandum of some of the Results of Indian Administration during the past Thirty Years*, p. 22.

continent: they study the greatness of England in her Parliament, in her industries, in her municipal institutions, in her scientific societies and literary circles, and in what most of all excites their astonishment, the inner life of an English home. Our Eastern visitors are not idle travellers. They read everything and survey everything in England with a parallel column in their mind for India; and they carefully note the analogies, the contrasts, and whatever else suggests comparison with the government, the usages, the religion, and the condition of their own people. When they return to India, it is not to idleness, even if their means should permit that indulgence, but to seek some way of giving practical effect to the lessons they have acquired. In former years it was difficult to imagine a Hindu following any other pursuit than that of gain. The rupee was the idol of his devotion; an idolatry not unknown among ourselves. But there are men even in India who love their country better than their income; who can distinguish not in an essay, but in their own breasts, the sentiment of a pure patriotism; who are not political fanatics, unable to recognise or unwilling to accept the sober facts of history. These Asiatics are the subjects of a Western realm; but they have no desire to unsettle an administration which has brought them so much more than government: and if they love their native soil, and cherish with some fondness the memory of a splendid past, this affection, so far from disagreeing with a loyal adherence to English rule, is rather a pledge that they will not be found wanting in any service which may contribute to the stability and glory of that rule.

If we allude here to *The Indian National Congress*, it is not for the purpose of discussing its merits, but to point out that this organisation is one of the forms in which the quickened thought of the country is beginning to assert itself. The eye of every Indian missionary has been fixed upon the Congress since its first meeting. Some of its features invited and obtained the ridicule of the English press. It found no favour in the government circles of India itself. It has now attained proportions too grave for satire. No Indian student can overlook it, no statesman can afford to disregard it, and every lover of India will watch its further growth with eager-

ness and anxiety. We pronounce no opinion on its aims or prospects, but we cherish the hope that the Government may be wisely directed in guiding the aspirations of a great people into those channels of service, co-operation, and mutual responsibility which will make the intelligence that education has inspired a defence and not a danger to the State.

In reviewing these facts and observations, the question will naturally occur, how are the Native faiths affected? The root of the changes we have described is the new teaching of the public schools. That teaching may be intended to produce other results, but it commences its work upon the religious convictions of the people. The dissemination of exact knowledge is a terrific force in a country where public faith rests upon fable, where doctrine and usage, law and rank, are founded upon unhistoric tradition, and administered by the *ipse dixit* of a priesthood. It follows that if we can ascertain the character and extent of the education which is now spreading in India, we shall obtain a clear view of the prospect of the Native faiths. The instruction imparted in the schools, as to subject, scope, and range, is necessarily graduated to accommodate the several classes of the community. But whatever the grade of the school, the faith of the scholars is set at nought. If the poorer children have simpler lessons, they have a ruder superstition. It is the correctness, the rigid truth, of the knowledge they receive rather than the measure of it, which is fatal to popular idolatry. In the colleges and high schools the student will bring a better defence of Hinduism, and his attachment to the faith of his fathers will not be easily relaxed by the refutation of science. But attachment as against conviction is the temporary hold of interest, of affection, of social repute, ties that snap in the next generation; conviction on the other hand may be inactive, or for a time overruled, but cannot be dislodged. There is already in India an ever-increasing number of examples of the frailty of attachment, and the patient and invincible life of conviction. Men who, twenty years ago, made an intellectual surrender of the credentials and authority of Brahminism, but were afraid to confess an apostasy which would have certainly cost them their position, and might have

cost them their life, have grown bold by numbers, are made secure by unity, and openly defy the spiritual powers which once imprisoned their will.

In estimating the effect upon the Native faiths of higher education in India, we must reckon the personal influence of the student. The youth who leaves college with a faith destroyed is a personal argument against it. His character will insensibly plead for the abolition of it, and when he can escape the restraints of home and the shadow of the temple, when he is in the midst of companions who think with him, or are prepared to follow his lead, the pent-up zeal of the young reformer finds a vent in the discussions of a club, in the correspondence of a journal, or in organisations of social reform. If he attains a position in the public service, and places of trust are now open to native talent and worth, his influence will have a corresponding weight. This is no picture of the imagination, but an exact account of the career of many thousands of native gentlemen.

The second point to be considered, in order to arrive at some intelligible view of the effect of education upon the native faiths, is the extent of the work. Before proceeding to give any returns which may indicate what has been accomplished, it is necessary to state that in British India the policy of the Government contemplates the universal education of the people, not proposing to interfere in any way with the institutions of missionary societies and other private bodies, but rather to include their work in the department, or as much of it as belongs to the secular training of pupils. It may be remembered that a few years ago great dissatisfaction was expressed with the manner in which the revenue grant of this branch of the public service was expended. It was alleged that the Education Dispatch of 1854 had been laid on the shelf, that the policy dictated by that document was not to restrict the benefits of education to the higher ranks of Hindus and Mohammedans, but to provide for the intellectual elevation of all classes. To spend large sums of money in giving an expensive culture to Brahmins, and neglect rural India, was felt to be an injustice to the people, and a perversion of the principles laid down in 1854. This

representation was brought to the notice of the Viceroy in Council, and the result was the appointment of a Special Commission in 1882–83 to undertake a careful inquiry into the state of education in every province. The Report of the Commission brought to light an appalling mental destitution, covering whole areas of population, and there followed a renewed enforcement, and an extension of the policy of Sir Charles Wood's dispatch. The Government is now fostering the elementary school, while the missionary societies, already in possession of important rural districts, and quickened by the action and recommendations of the Commission, are extending primary education in the villages. It must be added, moreover, that the Provinces surrounding British India, with a population of fifty-six millions, and under the protection of the Viceroy's Government, are opening their doors to the Western schoolmaster. Several of these States have educational departments of their own conducted on the basis of the Imperial policy, and having abundant help from the school literature of Indian colleges, and an ample supply of good teachers, they are striving to emulate the intellectual and social advancement of the Presidencies of the Empire.

A few facts will now put us in possession of the growth of the work. We have no complete educational statistics before the year 1865; but in 1858 the number of scholars returned as attending schools of all grades was 400,000. In 1865 this figure had advanced to 619,260. The latest return is that of 1888, when the total number reported from all institutions, public and private, was 3,460,844, of which 278,201 were female scholars. The popular eye will be at once arrested by the disparity in these returns of male and female pupils; but those who have watched the advance of female education from the beginning of its course some fifty years ago, a brief period in the history of the greatest social revolution of many centuries, and are familiar with the huge and steadfast prejudices which hampered its earlier steps, will regard this last item with far more astonishment than the return accompanying it, though that record is wonderful; for if we reckon the youths attending school as upwards of 3,000,000, and

the girls and women as under 300,000, the latter fact bears a greater significance in measuring the effect of education upon the Native faiths. Female education indicates a change in the home, in the training of children, and in that spring of family life, the conjugal law. The guardian of the native faiths will not care much what you do with the men, provided you leave him in charge of the home, for the home is the smaller temple of the priest.

Let us collect and carefully discriminate all these forces of teaching, of literature, of new ideas, of personal influence, of travel, of commerce, and of government, each of them having its place in the revolution of the country; let us remember that they are spreading over every Indian province, and through every class of the population; that in districts where they are not known to-day they will arrive to-morrow; that there is no pause in their operation; that, whatever the motive of their respective agents, there is no collision of powers; there is harmony in the onward sweep of the movement, a movement accumulating in force and now resistless, for the apparent ebb of a reaction is only a momentary retirement to collect a stronger tidal impulse. Is it possible for any man acquainted with these facts to doubt that the Native faiths are doomed? The cherished institutions of a great people are not quickly overthrown, but when they are incompatible with progress, if they fall slowly, they fall inevitably. There are men in India who are endeavouring to reconcile Hinduism with modern culture. They can sift its absurdities, they can revise its philosophy, they can cleanse its literature; but when they have done all this, when they have separated from the errors that invest them those principles and truths which their ancestors found in nature, and which are common to all faiths and to all ages, they have not saved Hinduism, for Hinduism is a *religion*. They may satisfy the thinkers, but they leave nothing for the people who do not think, who consign the task of thinking to their priests, and leave with them also the responsibility of their safety. If you demolish the credit of the priesthood, the authority of the priests must fall with it, and Hinduism as a religion perishes.

India without her faiths is a curious speculation for the

scholar; it is an interesting problem for the philosophic moralist; it is a tremendous prospect for the Christian. To train only the intellect of India, to disengage the confidence of her people from their gods, to dissipate all veneration, to liberate the passions from the restraints of an ancient worship, to leave that vast region of the mind intended to be the home of faith, of reverence, of self-control, absolutely untenanted, presents an issue of education, as now carried on, so appalling, that the Government itself seems to look upon the result with uneasiness. It could not well escape the notice of the Special Commission. While the members of that body confess that "the subject of moral teaching in colleges is replete with difficulties," they affirm without hesitation that "a system in which moral training was wholly neglected would be unworthy of the name of education." The subject both of moral and religious teaching is considered in their Report; and it is a remarkable circumstance that while religion as a branch of instruction in schools did not fall within the scope of their inquiry, they were obliged to discuss it, because several of the witnesses they examined raised the question,

"Whether another policy than the present be not equally consistent with the religious equality of Government colleges, the policy, namely, not of excluding all religions, but of giving equal facility for instruction in them all. This [the Commission goes on to say] has been advocated by several native witnesses, especially in the Punjab. The argument adduced in favour of such a policy seems to be that the minds of students are so filled with their secular duties that religion drops out of view and ceases to influence them, and that home influence has been found in practice too weak to counteract the anti-religious, or rather non-religious influence which exclusive attention to the subjects studied at college is exerting."*

One of the witnesses who pleads strongly for some change in the policy of the Government, expresses his views in very intelligible language:

"The unfavourable impressions which the children receive in the school for a series of years at the early part of their age sit deep in their hearts and exert a very demoralising influence upon them in after life, to the prejudice of themselves and of those who come in their way. Will Government tolerate such a state of things? Will it persist in a policy which excludes religion from the State education, but encourages something which is anti-religious, though in the most indirect manner?"†

* *Report of Commission*, pp. 295, 296. † *Ibid.* p. 296.

Not the least valuable of the results of the Inquiry undertaken by the Commission was the drawing out from the people themselves a testimony like this; and the reader will not be slow to apprehend its significance. Of course, the proposal, so far as it related to any change in the neutral position of the Government, was dismissed as impracticable, the Commissioners remarking that "the system of grants-in-aid was in part designed to meet the difficulty complained of." Their views on the necessity of making Government institutions centres of moral influence as well as intellectual training are embodied in two recommendations:

1. That an attempt be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges.

2. That the Principal or one of the Professors in each government or aided college deliver to each of the college classes in every session a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen.*

These recommendations have proved to be practically useless. A doubt was expressed at the time by the Government that appointed the Commission whether "a text-book of morality, sufficiently vague and colourless to be accepted by Christians, Mahommedans, and Hindus, would do much to remedy the defects or supply the shortcomings of a purely secular education." And the year before last a Government minute on the subject admits that State education in India had "in some measure resulted in the growth of tendencies unfavourable to discipline and favourable to irreverence in the rising generation." When the parents and guardians of young men who send them to college to improve their position in life, do not hesitate to avow their conviction that the advantage is obtained at the cost of their morals, it is time for Missionary Societies who have representatives and agencies in India to wake up to this clear and urgent call for the *moralist*. If we believe that Christ is the moralist of the world; if we are convinced that whatever principles of conduct may be deduced from natural

* *Report of Commission*, Recommendations 8 & 9, p. 591.

sentiments and the observations and experience of thinkers, the New Testament is the moral text-book of mankind, let us take our place in India as the teachers and exemplars of the only morality that on the one hand can balance and purify the culture of the higher classes, and on the other can renew into higher forms of unity and rectitude the life of the people.

But there are rival moralists who are also studying the problems which are now thrown up upon the disturbed surface of Indian life, and who dispute the rank which we assign to the moral power of Christianity. They are endeavouring to circulate through India a distrust of the Christian revelation; they are helping native hostility to assume a definite expression, and to fortify itself by speculative scepticism and by the names of the leading Agnostics of Europe. We credit these "friends" of India with the sincerity they profess; but they may take it for granted that the teaching which finds favour with the philosophical mind and literary taste of Europe will bear no moral fruit in India. In this country of England, the Agnostic position is supported by sentiments, customs, and laws which have only an arbitrary relation to it. They originate in the Christianity which the Agnostic impugns. In India, Agnosticism, which is the final despair of speculation, instead of being propped up and comforted as it is here by a Christianity unconsciously possessed, stands alone in its repulsive bareness and absolute impotence. There is no European philosophy related to morals which can touch India. The non-caste populations are not accessible to philosophic teaching; the Hindus have systems of their own, more ancient than the doctrines of the West, and indeed the source of several of them. Atheistic thought in England, alike in its coarser and more subtle forms, is an active and, in some respects, a powerful influence in literature and life: to send its illuminations to India awakens the ridicule of the Eastern thinker. He is our master in those realms of metaphysical imagination where the mind wanders in search of explanations of itself, and of some place of rest for its reason. The proposal to send missionaries from India to England to propagate among us the tenets of Sánkyha, or Buddhism, is a far more reasonable and

consistent proceeding than to take our pitiful imitations of philosophy to the Eastern home of speculative thought.

We may laugh at the announcement recently published on the authority of an Indian paper, that "a well-known Mahommedan missionary is coming to England to show off the excellency of his faith to the Christians, and to exhibit Islam in its true colours; and funds are being collected in Bombay for this gentleman's mission." But why do we deride the prospect of a Mahommedan mosque in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, and a Hindu shrine in Westminster? Why do we ridicule the dream cherished by certain Oriental propagandists of one day seeing English devotees crowding the precincts of a pagoda? What is it that makes such an anticipation preposterous and absurd? Not our learning nor our civilisation, but the reigning presence of Christianity, the inspiration of our national life, the fountain of our morality, the mother of those institutions that make men free and noble. If we can suppose the dethronement of Christianity in England, nothing in the way of belief can be ridiculous; temples, mosques, joss-houses, pagodas may lift up their domes and minarets with churches and chapels; and a monstrous dream becomes a rational probability. Hinduism on its intellectual as distinguished from its popular side, is more credible than Atheism, and Buddhism is a more intelligible exposition of life and a surer guarantee for morals than Agnosticism. The conclusion of all this is plain and irresistible: if the Christian faith through some grave uncertainty attaching to its credentials, or a want of breadth and comprehensiveness in its provisions, cannot supplant the religions of India and convert her races, India must be left to evolve her own regeneration. Any other form of philanthropy sent out from England to improve the moral condition of the East will be driven from the field as a mockery and an impertinence.

It may be said that we ought not to dismiss so lightly the possibility of India "evolving her own regeneration," because already there is an active spirit of reform among the native leaders of the people. We have noticed the recent attempt to modernise Hinduism; to clear away from the system the accretions of popular and temporary fiction which in a simpler age

found its use, but shrivels up in the light of science. We ventured to predict the failure of this experiment. There is, however, another movement which demands a sympathetic and respectful reference. The Theistic organisation known as the *Bramo Somaj* has existed for many years. It has had a succession of eminent guides who have been more anxious to await the development of doctrine than to fix it in the articles of a creed. The temper which has inspired their studies and researches commands the help which has been promised to sincerity, earnestness, and prayer. They have been *feeling after God*, and not a few of them have accepted the teaching of their Master and ours, "Neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him" (Matt. xi. 27). That the Bramo Somaj is not in any way associated with Christian Missions and would disclaim the designation of a Christian Church, cannot alter the fact that the movement is rather a current of Christian thought outside the churches, than a process of revision and transformation in the religion and philosophy of Hinduism. The aim and work of this Theistic denomination only strengthen the view for which we contend, that the regeneration of India can only be accomplished by the power of Christ.

Here is a prospect that transcends all historic experience: a people numbering two hundred and fifty millions, comprising several distinct races, and yet joined together by one government, united even more closely and surely by one system of education, and in respect of religion, whatever may be the relative credibility of their faiths, presenting a uniform condition of intellectual helplessness! In which period of the Church may we find a similar conjunction of conditions? We will venture to affirm that history offers no parallel whatever. It will be acknowledged by all that the events and forces which have united to make this crisis cannot be traced to human foresight; nor are they the result of any single agency: and can any man whose mind is in communion with the New Testament doubt that these circumstances have been marshalled by an unseen Commander, and are now entrusted by Him to the sagacity, the zeal, the energies, and the resources of the Church? Whether the Church is able to accept this charge; whether Chris-

tian missions exhibit a power, or the promise of a power, that shall master and appropriate the agitations which now distract India, and bring the changes already apparent in opinion and usage into the current of a Christian revolution, is a question not so much affecting the credit of foreign missions as the divine origin of Christianity itself! We may discuss among ourselves the narrower issues of policy and method; these are matters that concern missionary committees. But all Christian denominations must be reminded that there is a subject far higher than their respective claims to public support. They stand by doctrines which are common to them all. There are many thoughtful men in this country, not avowedly the supporters of missions, or even connected with any Church association, who are close students of the Christian faith, and are watching the trial of its strength in India. These men do not seek their satisfaction regarding its authenticity in the works of theologians and apologists. The learning of a treatise on Christian evidence may be deep, and its vindication of the faith masterly and triumphant. They will never read the treatise; or if they do, they will be apt to receive it as the special pleading of counsel "under instruction." The apologetic literature of the Church both in standard works and in current publications is an impregnable fortress within the limits assigned to its care; but in measuring its service and value, two things are frequently forgotten: 1, that it is only a part of the Christian argument; and 2, that evidence derived from records, and deduced therefrom by reasoning, cannot be appreciated without some antecedent sympathy on the part of the reader.

There is an evidence of Christianity which strikes the popular mind with the force of a demonstration; where the proof of its divinity is displayed upon the theatre of events rather than in the retired walks of learning. When the life of a whole people has been changed within a space of time so brief as to bring the revolution into contemporary history, it awakens immediate and universal interest; it is something more than a wonder attracting the fleeting glance of the public eye. The attention dwells upon it. The philosopher watches it as an experiment of the power of a new faith in expelling

existing beliefs; the merchant sees new openings for traffic; the traveller visits the scenes, and adds independent testimony to the partial narratives of the missionary; the journalist discusses the wider question of the political effects of the change; and these several features unite to exhibit a triumph of power far more conclusive to most minds of the truth of the Christian revelation than the apologetic treatises of the Church. Men who do not think it worth their while to bestow a thought upon written arguments are compelled to study the transformation of Madagascar and Fiji. Such a scene of moral and constructive force is without precedent and without answer. It may be suggested that in each of the examples cited the field is narrow, and that the abnormal degradation and illiteracy of these races presented no serious obstacle to conversion. Whatever may be the worth of this qualification in computing the success of the missionary in Madagascar, there can be no such abatement in any estimate of Christian advancement in India. The country is vast, its populations are severed by sharp distinctions of race, of language, and of religion; they represent in some of their divisions an ancient and polished civilisation, and a compact and indissoluble unity of belief, a belief administered by a splendid priesthood and informed by a copious literature. Without question there is no mission field in the world, not excepting China, which offers so severe a test of the strength of an invading intellectual force as India. We are now face to face with the religious and social revolutions of the East. It is predicted that Christianity will fail, but her more generous adversaries might applaud even the attempt to grapple with problems more intricate, and with powers of hostility more formidable, than she has ever encountered since the day she marched forth from Jerusalem to convert the world. If that attempt be crowned with success, if the Gospel of Jesus should conquer the Hindu mind, and, leading its faith to the basis of eternal truth, should open for the millions of Hindustan the era of a new worship, and discover a new spring of family life, no testimony deduced by theologians will match the cogency of this argument, and the world will ask no other proof of the divinity of the Faith.

In showing that the success of the Gospel in India is a test of its divinity rather than a missionary question, we have for the moment lifted the subject above the sphere of a department of Church enterprise. We are not just now concerned with the fate of a mission, but with the authority of all missions and all Christian work. It may be difficult for the leaders of churches in this kingdom, absorbed in the heavy tasks of their own duties, to escape the delusion of assuming that the rise or fall of the faith is marked by the register of the varying results of their own labours. But we venture to assure them that the battlefield of the faith is not England nor Europe. The hosts are gathering in the East, they are collecting upon the plains of India; science and empiricism, idolatry and theism, scepticism and faith, are arrayed against each other, and the wilder forces of political revolution are biding their time. Let it be remembered that the changes now pending in India, and rapidly approaching, will radiate as from a centre, and strike Persia on the north-west, Thibet on the north, and passing through Burmah will meet kindred elements in China, and a more advanced breaking with the past in Japan. We are anxious to secure for this subject the study of ministers and Christian laymen in England. Let them not hastily dismiss from their consideration this view of the position of India. There need be no relaxation of the work they have in hand, no abatement of the fervour of their local devotion. They and their churches will gain rather than lose enthusiasm by watching the alternations of the contest in remoter scenes of conflict, and if they know their business as standard-bearers of the faith, they will account it as among their chief duties to inspect the central position of the enemy, where the struggle will be critical and final.

We have described certain forces which are destroying the faiths of India; we have glanced at other powers which are bringing a new surface upon the country; we have maintained, not without adducing a strong proof of the position, that except Christianity no doctrine or teaching that may be sent to India will touch the moral condition of the people; that the Hindus themselves will not discover, in the old philosophy or in the new, a spring of moral energy that shall cleanse and invigorate

their life; and we have also shown that here in this vast scope and stress of need is the supreme opportunity of the Church.

What is the Church doing for India through her Missionary societies? The answer to this question is far more difficult than appears at first sight. Even statements in themselves accurate may lead to a conclusion wholly inaccurate when the view of the writer is narrowed by an enclosure of party considerations. It has been affirmed that as yet Christianity has failed even to command the respect of the Hindus; it has been held, on the other hand, with equal assurance that in no field has the Gospel of Christ won so conspicuous a triumph as in India. The assertion in each case may be sustained by the facts of a local illustration; but if our judgment is invited to extend itself beyond this limit, and to generalise from facts to speculation, there must be a precise account of the conditions under which the facts have taken place, otherwise the conclusion ultimately reached may be as false as the facts themselves are correct. A witness, writing from *Benares*, and with no experience to send his observation below the surface, proclaims Christianity a failure. Another witness, dating his testimony from *Nagercoil*, announces that Christianity is everywhere triumphant. If the races that crowd our Eastern empire were known by separate designations and studied apart, instead of being included and confused under the one title of *India*, the statistics of Indian Missions would be intelligible; as it is, they can be used to prove anything that may be desired. In its Report for 1889 the Church Missionary Society returns the number of its native communicants in the vast cities of Benares, Calcutta, and Madras, including suburban stations, as 1311, and the adult baptisms for 1888 as 36; but we learn from the same document that in Tinnevelly alone there were 12,112 communicants, and the adult baptisms for the same year were 456. The contrast is even more astounding if we take the number of those who are returned as native Christians and catechumens; this number in the three great centres mentioned above is 3519; in Tinnevelly they amount to 55,853. The missions were founded within a few years of each other. Tinnevelly is the youngest; and yet the work was commenced there seventy years ago.

It would be disrespectful to the common sense of our readers to inform them that these tables cannot be explained by a difference in the policy or methods pursued in these respective districts; and as for the missionaries, whose labours are partly represented in the results we have quoted, the men in the north are not less wise and enthusiastic, nor, we will venture to add, as leaders of a great Christian movement, less successful, than their brethren in the south. India is peopled by races whose separate faiths range from the rudimentary superstitions of primitive tribes to a philosophical religion formulated in literature and ceremonial, and supported by affluent endowments. The reception of a new faith will be governed, in large measure, by the intellectual prepossessions and social obligations of the particular people to whom it is offered. This law of preparation must not be dismissed from our estimate of results because the Gospel of Jesus is an inspired message, and accomplishes its work by miraculous energy. The course of Christianity has never been an even march; it has, to human observation, been swift and slow, arrested and resumed, although as conducted by Omnipotence the progress of its destiny has suffered no pause. Here is the secret of the swift success of the Gospel among the non-caste populations of Tinnevelly and Travancore, of Nellore and Orissa; it found a people poor, oppressed, and cheerless, destitute of education and literature; enslaved by beliefs and customs that ministered only to the elementary forms of passion and left half their nature untouched. At the call of the Gospel they trooped forth to listen, and when the tidings promised them sympathy, deliverance, and rest, multitudes followed the missionary into the Church. They have become "a people" as distinguished from a population; their collective life is founded upon equal public rights; it is honest, intelligent, and moral, and delivers to the surrounding heathen an eloquent testimony to the truth and power of the new faith. But when we carry the word of Christ to the great cities of India, peopled mainly by the Hindu race, properly so described, we encounter not the unreasoned impressions of a primitive worship, but an elaborate creed of ancient fame, covering within ample folds of priestly domina-

tion every human interest, defining the liberty of the person, constructing the order of the family, ordaining the laws of commerce, and even, in some respects, dispensing the authority of the State. Its dogmas are made tolerable, and even popular, by a ritual of unequalled splendour, and the glitter of its festive provisions keeps up a continual dazzle to conceal from the eyes of the people the remorseless tyranny of its exactions. For the multitude, every sentiment of worship has its idol; and in its stores of learning there is a wealth of thought, of knowledge, of story, and of song, to assist the pursuits and satisfy the taste of every mind. But more than this, and disclosing the secret of its matchless strength, there is a caste-fellowship pervading and informing this colossal organism, binding the members together in a unity compact and indissoluble. Those only who have studied caste in India itself, and studied it in the examples of its violation, can have any notion of the furnace heated for him who changes his faith. A Mohammedan missionary entering a devout English home, and winning for Islam a son or a daughter, is by no means a strained analogy of the shock and supposed infamy attending the conversion of a caste youth to Christ.

This will suffice, with what the reader has already learned from preceding paragraphs, to show how different are the conditions under which the missionary does his work in the strongholds of Brahminism from those that facilitate his success in the village districts of the South. The question whether the Gospel should be carried to those who are prepared to accept it at once, in preference to those who maintain against it an attitude of implacable hostility, may relate to the policy of a particular missionary society, or to the advancement of Christianity itself, to which all societies and agencies contribute their share of support. As affecting a missionary committee, the question is one of great importance. Their policy will be largely determined by the province they have deliberately selected for occupation, or in which, without deliberation, their first stations were established. Other considerations will also enter into the reason of their decisions on policy, such as the agencies at their command and the prevailing temper and judgment of their supporters.

But the question as comprehending Christianity for India can have but one reply. While each society chooses its own field, and prepares its instruments for the special work it undertakes to prosecute, all the churches are equally concerned in the onward movement of the Gospel among all the peoples of India. Happily for this consummation, there are two prominent facts which meet us here: First, there is not a race or class in Hindustan to which a mission has not been sent. There are millions of the people who, if they hear the Gospel at all, will hear it for the first time, but every main division is represented by those who have the opportunity of hearing it, and special missions are addressed to classes whom it is difficult to include in the ordinary field of open labour, or whose case, like that of the Mohammedans, is differentiated by national qualities and a social position that demand in some respects a corresponding diversity of treatment. The second fact is the good understanding that prevails among the societies and brethren who are pursuing different methods of work. The true missionary looks below the aptitude that marks him out for a particular class of service, and below the policy and administration under which he and his colleagues are doing their work, and sees the general advancement of the truth in which all policies and methods find their place. It is remarkable that disputes on plans of work are fading away in the missionary circles of India. The leading vernacular preachers are now ready to acknowledge that the brethren who labour in schools are also evangelists, and that what is called High education is not only an important auxiliary to the more direct methods of disseminating the Gospel, but is sometimes the only instrument by which caste families can in the first instance be reached. We advise all missionary committees who administer Indian work to procure and study the reports of the Decennial Conferences which have been held in India. In these assemblies nearly all the societies have been represented, and every class of labour considered upon its merits. The change in the tone of these successive discussions, and the extending breadth of view which from time to time has characterised the resolutions that concluded them, are results one may expect to find when honest men meet together to review

their work after an interval of ten years, during which theory has been tested by the touchstone of fact, and the impressions of inexperience have been corrected by practical knowledge.

But controversies, which ended in common agreement in India, have been reopened in England. A great change has befallen the position of our Eastern brethren. Not many years ago they were permitted to labour without notice, their field and their work were unknown: but sudden popularity has succeeded cold neglect, whether to the advancement of their missions remains to be seen. They are now overwhelmed with attention. They are visited by travellers, they are discussed in journals, they are criticised in drawing-rooms, and advice from all quarters rains upon them like one of their own monsoon torrents. In the sudden flood and downpour of critical attentions, or zealous but inexperienced counsels, they will do well, as under the literal monsoon, to close their windows until the storm be overpast. They know their work better than their counsellors, and we earnestly hope they will not be moved from the basis of their general policy by that ignorant impatience of results, which is the marked feature of this new-born zeal for the conversion of India. Policy is method evolved by experience. The men now in the field inherited the labours of the first missionaries; from these labours the cardinal principles of advancement have been slowly and painfully educed, and while the ever-changing aspects of India must determine the incidence of their application, the principles themselves are the abiding foundations of the work, and it is not likely that the brethren will be enticed to surrender them.

It must not be imagined that adherence to these principles means a slavish subjection to particular modes of labour. A slight acquaintance with the history of Indian missions during the last thirty years will be sufficient to prove that the missionaries have a quick eye, an elastic administration, and a ready hand to meet new needs, to appropriate new positions, and to change, to alter, to abandon, when old plans have lived out their day and threaten to fetter the work that has grown beyond them. They were the first to plead for the recognition of the Hindu woman's rights, and to follow up their

success by converting the Harem into a school of intelligence and a sanctuary of morality; they were the first to unite the medical art with the beautiful ministry of Zenana missions; they were the first to prove to the Hindu, by an education that knew no other distinction than merit, that the pariah is as good as the brahmin; they were the first to explore the districts of the aboriginal races, and to inspire them with courage to stand upright in the presence of their Hindu neighbours, by giving a literature to their dialects and a civilisation to their life. These words are soon written: but how strenuous the labour, how steadfast the patience, how fierce the conflicts, how momentous and far-reaching the results compressed in these outlines of a glorious missionary chapter! An attempt has been recently made to sully this chapter, to invalidate its record; but the record is on high, and the blot of aspersion will never stain it. The work of the missionaries will stand: but in overcoming the difficulties that confronted it they have exasperated the hostility that assailed it. The opposition to the gospel in India and to the men who are now proclaiming it was never so virulent in tone, never so systematic in assault, as it is to-day. The controversy is no longer an academic dispute in front of a temple or a pleasant *rencontre* of wits in a bazaar; it has become an earnest, a bitter, a deadly strife. The missionary finds his own weapons used against him:

"He nursed the pinion which impels the steel."

But he has to reckon not only with the enmity of the Brahminical hierarchy, with the skilled war of the Anglo-Indian press, and with the frenzy of the native mob, but with the more formidable onset of a hostile criticism in England. In India itself the growing antagonism to the Cross is a conclusive evidence of its power; and the missionaries hail this sign of advancement, although the local incidents of oppression and outrage involve the suffering and try the stability of native converts; for persecution is apt to wreak its vengeance upon the weakest. But to have their character vilified in England, their conduct impeached, and their work disparaged, is a new peril to be added to the other dangers associated with the

missionary's calling. In the days of our fathers, the cannibal oven of the Fijian tested the courage of the pioneer: and the poisoned arrows of the Wahuma await the daring of the African propagandist; but these are trifles compared with the terror which is now casting its shadow upon the missionary's path. He can face anything and endure everything but suspicion and distrust. To cut off the supplies of sympathy and confidence from the men you have sent out, is to leave your army without a base, and to ensure the wreck of your expedition. We do not believe, however, that the Christian people of England will readily abandon their missionaries to the assault of calumny and detraction; but, at this juncture, they must guard with a quickened jealousy a reputation which has ever been a precious possession of the Church, and give every practical expression of their resolution to shield it from reproach. Their Home churches and their Foreign missions have not a separate destiny; they stand or fall together.

But the space at our disposal will admit of no more than one or two concluding observations:—

1. The hope of the missionary churches is the Native Ministry. The material for raising a body of Hindu preachers and helpers is excellent and abundant. Some very high positions in the civil service of the Government are filled by native ability and well-sustained by native worth; and it is our conviction that there is no function appertaining to the Church, for which adequate gifts may not be found in Hindu converts. European missionaries must become in ever increasing proportion the training masters of indigenous talent, and they will never lack evangelists, pastors, teachers, writers, and intelligent and responsible Christian laymen.

2. We advocate for our Native churches the freedom which growth demands. Springing from the great principles of New Testament fellowship, they must reflect the genius not of the European but of the Asiatic mind. By insisting upon reproducing our Western pattern, we cramp their vigour, and distort and stunt their natural form. They will need, perhaps for long years to come, the eye and hand of European oversight; but it must never be forgotten that the habits to be corrected or planted, the wants to be supplied,

the customs of family and public life to be founded, are those of an Eastern people; and the foreign leaders of Christian thought in India must help by wise and necessarily gradual concession the problem of an Indian Church.

3. We have already dwelt at length on the vital question of Education in India. We will add a parting word. This is not the time for Missionary Societies to deliberate on the question, how far they can reduce, with safety to other departments of mission work, the number of their High schools, and the amount of their education grants. They may rest assured that if they allow their schools to decline, they will imperil the existence of their Native churches, they will contract to a pitiful narrowness the range of what they designate their Evangelical work, they will exhaust a prolific source of Christian vernacular literature, and they will strengthen the hands and gladden the heart of their enemies in India and in England.

## NOTE ON DAY TRAINING COLLEGES.

A circular just issued by the Department suggests a doubt whether, in the matter of examinations, the balance is held as fairly between day and residential colleges as in the matter of finance. In residential colleges the syllabus of study is prescribed, questions are prepared by the Department, an inspector attends to see the examination properly conducted, and papers written by the students are valued by independent examiners. It would seem that the Department will allow those connected with day colleges to draw out their own scheme of study, on condition "that the course of instruction corresponds in extent and difficulty with the course prescribed in the syllabus"; and will also allow them to prepare their own examination papers, and to value the answers of their own students. It will probably be said that this will be done not by the authorities of the Day Training College, but by the authorities of the University to which it is attached. But suppose it is attached to no University? We think it should be made impossible for those who give lectures to prepare questions for the subsequent examination, or to value the papers of their students. We are sure there would be more general satisfaction if examination papers were always prepared by examiners having no connection with the college, and if all the students' papers in both descriptions of college were valued by the Department itself.

# SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

## THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

*The Christian Ministry: its Origin, Constitution, Nature, and Work. A Contribution to Pastoral Theology.* By WILLIAM LEFROY, D.D., Dean of Norwich. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

DR. LEFROY has rendered real service to Christian truth by the publication of these Donnellan Lectures, delivered before the University of Dublin in 1887–8. The special interest of the book is that it furnishes an answer from the Evangelical school of the Church of England to the sacerdotalism of the High Church party, especially as represented in Mr. Gore's *The Church and the Ministry*, as well as a timely protest against Dr. Hatch's strange description of the secular character of the presbyter's office. The writer quotes and endorses the views expressed by the late Bishop of Durham in his excursus on *The Christian Ministry*. The matters in dispute are discussed both fully and clearly. There is no parade of learning, but the Dean is master of the literature of his subject, and allows no fact to escape him. The first and second lectures vindicate the claim of the Christian Church to the possession of a divinely appointed ministry, and show from Apostolic history that such a ministry was recognised in the Churches of the first century. After an eloquent sketch of priesthood, as common to polytheism and monotheism, Dr. Lefroy brings out the suggestive fact that "the pastoral office is the unique institution of Christ. In no other religious system does it exist. No other master requires of his servants that personal, individual search for souls, which is at once the expression of His love and of their infinite value." The third lecture develops Professor Harnack's theory as to the ministry of the "Apostle, prophet, and teacher." In 1 Cor. xii. 28, Dr. Lefroy finds a threefold ministry—that of proclamation ("apostles, prophets, teachers"), of power or of evidence ("miracles, gifts of healings"), of aid, administration, of guidance ("helps, governments, diversities of tongues"). This threefold division is illustrated from the Acts and Epistles, from which, as also from Patristic literature, we find the hypothesis of an itinerant as distinguished from a permanent ministry, not only workable but credible. In the *Didachè* we see the ministry of proclamation giving way to that of helps and governments. The fourth chapter

closes with some well-timed counsel to the Church "to do our Lord's work in our Lord's way, and on the lines of a ministry which can cite for itself everything short of His explicit appointment." Dr. Lefroy shows that eternal life does not always accompany baptism, but speaks of the "countless thousands" who "cannot point to a period of sudden change," yet say, "as with one voice, that in holy baptism the ministry of intercession prevailed." Lecture VII., on "The Apostolical Succession," deals trenchantly with Mr. Gore's claim that this is a "permanent and essential element" of the Christian religion. Dr. Lefroy argues with much acuteness that one might expect the Church of England to emphasise such an all-important principle, but her official documents maintain an impressive silence on this subject. The Dean shows, what Möhler clearly recognised and guarded against by dwelling on the primacy of the Pope, that "Apostolic succession is necessarily schismatic in its tendency. Who is to hinder any bishop from bestowing Apostolic prerogatives upon any one he chooses?" After a careful study of all the arguments, Dr. Lefroy reaches the natural conclusion that "Apostolic succession is a humanly devised theory." The closing chapter on Sacerdotalism proves, from a review of the Scriptures and the Fathers, that there is no "warrant for the presence in the Christian scheme of sacramental propitiation, or of a sacrificing priest." The importance of the moral argument for Christianity is brought out with much force and illustrated by many striking quotations from the Fathers. The lectures deserve, and will well repay, thoughtful perusal. They are written in a style which holds the reader's attention, and are throughout judicious, moderate and convincing.

*Christian Theism: A Brief and Popular Survey of the Evidence on which it Rests, and the Objections urged against it Considered and Refuted.* By the Rev C. A. Row, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

This volume is what it professes to be, and more. It is popular, but not shallow or flimsy. It is full of plain, deep thought—adapted in its expression to the intelligence of those who, though capable of close reflection, are not trained in scientific culture. It requires close attention, and will abundantly repay it; but any thoughtful person of a plain education will be well able to follow and appreciate its reasoning. It deals comprehensively with the whole subject of faith in God and Christianity. Such a book supplies a great need. Without committing ourselves to every argument expressed or implied in this volume, we very heartily recommend it.

*The Old Evangelicalism and the New.* By R. W. DALE, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

We come too late in our notice of this manifesto to do anything more than use our own privilege, by bearing the share it would discredit us to let go in

the general praise given to Dr. Dale's admirable sermon. The Church of England, it should be noted, has united with all Evangelical Nonconformity in recognising the remarkable wisdom and Christian nobleness, as well as the great ability, of Dr. Dale's message to the Churches, especially (but not exclusively) the Dissenting churches, as uttered in this discourse delivered in connection with the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the opening of Argyll Chapel, Bath, of which the late Wm. Jay was the first pastor, his pastoral term having extended over sixty-two years. We have seldom read any address more touching, more large in thought and goodness, more lovingly impartial, or more timely. It is golden throughout, and the chaste and manly purity and finish of the preacher's style well befit the substance of his teaching.

*The Sabbath for Man: An Inquiry into the Origin and History of the Sabbath Institution, with a consideration of its Claims upon the Christian, the Church, and the Nation.* By the Rev. WILLIAM SPIERS, M.A., F.G.S., F.R.M.S. London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

This volume won the first prize of fifty pounds offered through the Lord's Day Observance Committee of the Wesleyan Conference for the best essay on the Church's and the Minister's duty in relation to the Sabbath. We are not surprised that the judges pronounced Mr. Spiers's "beyond all question the best" essay sent in. Nothing bearing on the subject seems to have escaped him. The history of the Day of Rest in the three dispensations is fully traced; the various theories about the Sabbath and Sabbath observance are discussed in a clear and scholarly way. The chapters entitled "Rome's Perversion of the Sabbath Law" and "Sabbath Legislation" are full of facts which deserve careful attention. Another chapter contains an acute critique on some views held by Professor Beet. Such a complete, vigorous, and scriptural discussion of the Sabbath question cannot fail to do good. We trust it will have the success it deserves.

1. *Noon-day Addresses, delivered in the Central Hall, Manchester.* By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON.

2. *Mistaken Signs, and other Papers on Christian Life and Experience.* By the Rev. W. L. WATKINSON. Fifth Thousand. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1890.

1. Mr. Watkinson's first six addresses open up the riches of our heritage in Christ. "Christ and Thought," "Christ and Nature," "Christ and Life," "Christ and Death," "Christ and the Present," "Christ and the Future," are the titles of these sermons, which show how Christianity enriches and blesses

life on every side. We owe a debt of gratitude to the preacher who can develop such thoughts, and make them attractive by striking and apt illustration. The true blessedness of living is forcibly shown in the address on "Christ and Life," which should be carefully weighed by every young man. The other sermons are on various topics, but all are treated with the same freshness of thought, force of style, and wealth of illustration.

2. Practical, experimental, searching, elevating, pathetic; clear, succinct, and incisive, but full of the spirit of poetry; sober, grave, and sweet, but glistening with beauty, and flashing often with a chastened splendour. Mr. Watkinson has rare gifts, and a rare combination of them; and he puts them to the highest and best uses.

1. *The Mystery of God. A Consideration of some Intellectual Hindrances to Faith.* By T. VINCENT TYMMS. Fourth and Cheaper Edition.

2. *The Apocalypse considered as the Final Crisis of the Age.* By THOMAS RYAN. London: Eliot Stock. 1890.

1. Mr. Tymms has prepared a thoroughly readable, well-informed, and helpful book on Apologetics. His aim has been to "consider the chief intellectual hindrances to Christian faith which are prevalent in our day." He carefully avoids weakening his position by laying stress on dubious and non-essential points. In fact, his book is well abreast of modern controversy. The chapter on "The Oracles of God" is very suggestive. The part of it in which Mr. Tymms speaks of "the divine elements in the Bible" will repay careful study.

2. Mr. Ryan's book on the *Apocalypse* is really a series of notes on the chief difficulties which the Revelation presents. It is not easy to criticise such a volume, but it has the great merit of eschewing personal prophecy, and appears to us both sensible, moderate, and suggestive. The special feature of the book is its clear division and careful illustration of all metaphors used by St. John. The theories of Mr. and Mrs. Guiness Rogers are somewhat severely dealt with in an extended appendix.

*The Biblical Educator.* By the Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. *St. Luke.* Vols. II. and III. London: Nisbet & Co. 1889.

Here is an amount of matter for sermons, addresses, and lessons to Bible classes such as a preacher or teacher can scarcely find in any other work. Three stout volumes, with about two thousand four hundred pages, are given to the one Gospel of St. Luke. Quotations from sermons, biographies, and other books abound. Here are, indeed, as the title-page has it, "anecdotes, similes, emblems, illustrations, expository, scientific, geographical, historical, and homiletic." To have such books within reach, and use them judiciously,

will often set the preacher's mind on a fruitful track, and will enrich his discourses with apt quotations and incidents.

*Christmas Eve: A Dialogue on the Celebration of Christmas.* By SCHLEIERMACHER. From the German by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1890.

This little work forms a sort of key to Schleiermacher's character and writings. The various interlocutors in the dialogue represent, not the different movements of his day, but the different sides of his own character. The critical, speculative, religious, mystical Schleiermacher speaks to us in as many different voices. The dialogue is managed with great skill, the tones are natural, and the ornamental accessories elegant. The translator's Introduction, and a criticism of the work by Dr. Schwarz, himself a disciple of the great master, give a key to the dialogue.

*The Great Day of the Lord: a Survey of New Testament teaching on Christ's coming in His Kingdom, the Resurrection, and the Judgment of the Living and the Dead.* By the Rev. ALEX. BROWN, Aberdeen. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1890.

Mr. Brown holds that "the practical fruits of the most popular theory of the Advent are especially deplorable. The Church is harassed on every side by little sects that make a hobby of the subject, and vie with each other in creating feverish expectations which are never likely to be realised." He reaches the conclusion that prevalent methods of interpretation are condemned by their results. His own aim is to show that the Book of Revelation and other Scriptures are thoroughly in harmony, and must be interpreted according to the natural sense of the words. He protests against the notion of a corporeal descent of Christ in the twentieth century. For him "the coming of Christ to this outer world is but phenomenal and dispensational in the signs of a providential judgment and a quickened Church." He holds that the prophecy of a millennial reign is introduced to check utopian views, and to show that evil will still exist on the earth. We are now living, he says, in the thousand years. The book affords much matter for thought, and, in many parts, we cordially accept and endorse it, but it has the sin of most books on the subject. Mr. Brown is right: all who differ from him have gone astray.

*Word Studies in the New Testament.* By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Vol. II. Nisbet & Co. 1889.

This second volume of Dr. Vincent's *Word Studies* is concerned with the writings of St. John. We have already in noticing the first volume described the author's plan, and can only express our regret that in carrying

it out he has not confined himself to that which his title leads us to expect. Dr. Vincent has not attempted a continuous commentary, and in our judgment he would therefore have done better to confine himself to a study of the *words* distinctive of St. John—a fit occupation for years of thought—instead of producing a kind of commentary which is not a commentary, and interspersing a number of remarks on elementary grammar which in a work like this are out of place. Thus the great bulk of this cumbrous volume would have been reduced, and its value greatly increased. Dr. Vincent, however, gives a series of notes on St. John's Gospel, Epistles, and the Apocalypse, which will be full of interest and instruction to the beginner and some of which are well worth reading by the more advanced student of the New Testament. Dr. Vincent has freely, and on the whole wisely, made use of Westcott, Godet, Meyer, and the best known commentators on these books, and his contributions are here and there of value.

*Studies on the Epistles.* By F. GODET, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

These translated studies have appeared already in the *Expositor*. Not on that account alone should we be prepared to recommend them, for the net of that valuable monthly journal gathers in things both good and bad, but on their own account we do so heartily. They are excellent popular introductions to the Epistles, though, of course, they should be read with discrimination.

*Agnostic Fallacies.* By the Rev. J. REID HOWATT. Nisbet & Co. 1889.

Mr. Howatt deals with the practical issues of Agnosticism in a practical way. Originally delivered to a congregation on Sunday evenings, these five lectures were well worth republishing for use among those who are not so much led astray by reasoning, as practically influenced by plausible fallacies of current scepticism. Mr. Howatt's style is plain, homely and forcible, and his little volume is likely to be useful.

*Vox Dei.* The Doctrine of the Spirit as it is set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. By R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B. London: Nisbet & Co. 1889.

Mr. Redford discusses Old and New Testament teaching as to the Holy Spirit in six helpful chapters. The book is written in a forcible and attractive style. How it deals with Scriptural history will best be shown by a brief quotation: "The life of Jacob is more or less an inspired life throughout. He is an inspired dreamer, he is an inspired pilgrim. At the ford Jobbok, where he acquires his new title of Prince, after his successful wrestle with the mysterious angel, he is both a man of prayer and a man of faith. Again, as his grandfather Abraham,

the prophet, priest, and king in one. 'I have seen God face to face,' he said. He had entered, as it were, into the Holy of holies, and that not only on his own behalf, but on behalf of the two bands, which represent the whole Church of God, of which he was the high priest and ruler." Such a thoughtful, devout, and practical book on the Spirit's work in the Church deserves a hearty welcome.

*The Lord's Prayer: a Practical Meditation.* By NEWMAN HALL, LL.B. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

This edition has had the advantage of the author's latest revision. He says "Though the style is condensed, the whole substance is retained, with some additions." The seven petitions, the invocation, and the doxology are each discussed in a separate section, with an introductory chapter on prayer in general, and the surroundings of the Lord's Prayer in particular. Every point in the prayer is carefully discussed in a way to promote its devotional study and use. Mr. Hall has skilfully availed himself of the labours of many predecessors in the same field, so that his book is very complete. It almost forms a cyclopædia on its own subject. The style is worthy of one of the foremost expositors and evangelists of the time. It is clear and attractive throughout.

*The Gospel According to St. John, with Introduction and Notes,* Part I., Chapters I. to VIII. (11.) Part II. Chapter VIII. (12) to XXI. By the Rev. GEORGE REITH, M.A. Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

These two volumes are the latest addition to Messrs. Clark's *Handbooks for Bible Classes.* Mr. Reith's work will bear careful scrutiny. A mass of information as to the Gospel and its writer is given in the Introduction. It is arranged with great clearness, and has been well digested. The notes are singularly suggestive. Difficult passages are well handled, and much light is thrown on the thread of the argument in our Lord's discourses. The whole of Mr. Reith's work gives evidence of painstaking care and sound learning. We know no better handbook to St. John's Gospel.

*Stepping Stones to Bible History.* 1. Stories from Genesis. By ANNIE R. BUTLER. London: Religious Tract Society. 1889.

This is the first volume "of a series of books intended to cover the whole period of Bible History." The series is mainly intended for children, and for parents or teachers, who wish to have quiet Bible talks with the little people. This volume has thirty chapters, dealing with the chief features of

sacred history given in Genesis. It is a neatly got-up book, with clear type, good paper, and thirty-nine capital illustrations. The Bible stories are told in simple words, but are freshly put and presented in such a way as to hold he attention of very tiny folk. We hope that the Religious Tract Society will be much encouraged by the success of this promising and most useful venture.

*The Witness of the World to Christ.* By the Rev. W. A. MATTHEWS, M.A., Vicar of St. Lawrence, Appleby. London: Nisbet & Co. 1889.

In his twelve chapters, Mr. Matthews discusses such subjects as Science and Theology, Reason and Revelation, True and False Theology, the Supernatural, and kindred topics. His book aims to show that Christian truth is not shaken by science, or the course of discovery and thought; but that whilst we may find it necessary to revise some points in our science of theology, the foundation of God standeth sure. It is a modest, careful, judicious, and useful contribution to Christian apologetics. Mr. Matthews is not afraid "of the world of fresh facts bearing upon human life which the progress of modern investigation has ascertained," but is prepared to weigh all theological statements in their light.

*Beyond the Stars; or, Heaven, its Inhabitants, Occupations, and Life.* By THOMAS HAMILTON, D.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

We are glad to find a re-issue of this devout, suggestive, and sensible book on heaven is so soon called for. This is a cheaper edition, but it is well-printed on good paper, and very neatly got-up. Dr. Hamilton's is just the book to comfort a sick chamber or a house of mourning. It cannot fail to be useful to a wide circle of readers.

*Studies in the Christian Evidences.* By ALEXANDER MAIR, D.D. Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Edinburgh. 1889.

We are very glad to see that this useful and popular summary of the Christian Evidences has been re-issued in an enlarged edition. Besides some minor insertions and additions in the body of the volume and in the useful appendix of extracts, this edition contains a valuable new chapter, entitled, "Some Recent Reverses of Negative Criticism."

*The Key-note of Life; or, "Thy Will be done."* By J. E. PAGE. London: Marshall Brothers. 1890.

Mr. Page keeps closely to his suggestive title through his eighteen chapters. His book is enriched by many quotations in prose and poetry, which add force

to his own helpful words. He rightly lays stress throughout, but especially in his "Chorus of Many Voices," on Christian experience to show that submission to the will of God is the highest joy as well as the highest duty of Christian life. "It is to be chosen and embraced at any cost, rejoiced in and fulfilled. Herein consists the chief good of life; here lies the path of peace, the royal road to immortality." These words are the key-note of his book. It is thoroughly Scriptural and judicious, so that it cannot fail to afford instruction and help all devout-minded readers.

*Beata Spes. Some Reasons for the Blessed Hope of Everlasting Life.* By JOHN WATKINS PITCHFORD, M.A., Vicar of St. Jude's, Southwark. London: Nisbet & Co. 1890.

Twelve thoughtful chapters on death and the future life. Mr. Pitchford culls many apt quotations from Greek and Roman writers and discusses his solemn subject in a reverent, modest, and most way. It is a book which will comfort and set at rest many seekers after truth.

*Leaves from the Tree of Life: Discourses, Solitary and Practical.* By the Rev. J. RATE, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

These sermons are thoroughly evangelical in tone, and, though they have little either of quotation or incident to attract attention, they are chaste and suggestive. Bible truths are clearly put and carefully applied to the conscience and heart.

*How to Study the Bible.* By Revs. Dr. CLIFFORD, Dr. ELMSLIE, R. F. HORTON, &c. London: Nisbet & Co. 1890.

These papers are necessarily slight, but they form a suggestive little book, with some capital hints for study of the Bible, both devotional and critical. Mr. Dawson's vigorous paper contains some wise words on public and family reading of the Scriptures.

*Growth of Grace; or the Saved Soul Seeking Glory.* By the Rev. R. G. AMBROSE. London: Nisbet & Co. 1890.

Mr. Ambrose has written a spiritually minded and useful book, but there are some bad sentences which need revision. We find to "*battle* with *struggles*" on p. 56, "the bad tree will improve if *cared*" on p. 93, and "speculations *of* the advantages" on p. 108.

*Sound Doctrine and Christian Ritual.* An Address. By H. K. Lewis. London: T. F. Unwin. 1890.

It is somewhat hard to discover what Mr. Lewis' views are, or what useful end his pamphlet will serve. The earlier part of *Sound Doctrine* quotes Scripture texts somewhat plentifully, with a few running comments of no moment. These are prefaced by a protest against the convulsions and divisions of Christendom, and followed by some description of "Paul's ideal of a Christian Church." The second part, on "Christian Ritual," quotes texts still more freely. One or two notes show the writer's drift. On Hebrews viii. 4, he says: "Now, if He were on earth He would not be a priest at all. . . . A most noticeable expression, and involving the condemnation as Antichrist of all priestly pretensions of every church on earth." His note on "Holy Communion" is to the effect that what was material, and related to the senses in the early observance both of Baptism and the Communion, was completely abrogated when the dispensation of the Spirit was fully established." On the account of Christ's washing the disciples' feet in the Upper Room, he says, "This Christian institution has never been abrogated." Mr. Lewis' Sound Doctrine is "Christ Jesus—a personal, living presence;" His Church is purely spiritual. We suppose this pamphlet represents the views of Plymouth Brethren. It is a vague, weak production which is not likely to make many converts.

*The Sermon Bible.* Matthew i.–xxi.

*The British Weekly Pulpit.* A Companion to the *British Weekly.* Vol. II. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

The new volume of the *Sermon Bible* contains a mass of sermonic notes culled from the foremost preachers of the century: Deans Alford, Stanley, Vaughan, Phillips Brooks, Dr. Magee, and others, have been laid under contribution to form this cyclopædia of sermonic literature. The selections have been well made, and will often suggest thought and quicken a preacher's own mind.

The *British Weekly Pulpit* reports in extenso some of the best Sermons preached from week to week, such as Dr. Dale's missionary discourses last May, Canon Liddon's Sermon on "The Inspiration of the Old Testament," some of Mr. Spurgeon's and John McNeil's racy talks. Prayers are also given, with Sermonettes for children on the International Lesson. The book shows that the present-day pulpit is full of life, both intellectual and spiritual.

# BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

*Dictionary of National Biography.* Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN and SIDNEY LEE. Vol. XXII. Glover—Gravet. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1890.

To turn over the pages of this Dictionary is itself an education. Familiar names stand side by side with names little known to most readers. Some of these sketches of the less known characters are not the least interesting. Jonathan Goddard, M.D., Gresham Professor of Physic, son of a Deptford shipbuilder, deserves his place in this roll. His laboratory was always at the service of the Royal Society in its infancy. Wood tells us "when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge till they could obtain to the bottom of it." The same laboratory was used for preparing "Goddard's drops," which were made of spirits of hartshorn, spiced by such trifles as the skull of a person hanged, dried viper, and the like. They were to be used in fainting-fits, apoplexies, or lethargies. Charles II. is said to have paid five thousand pounds for the secret of their preparation. It is significant to find that Goddard himself died in a fit of apoplexy at the corner of Wood Street, as he was returning from his club at the Crown in Bloomsbury. Mr. Bettany's article on James Graham introduces the reader to one of the fashionable quack doctors of last century. His magnetic throne, celestial bed, and earth bath are all described here. His "Temple of Health" on the Royal Terrace, Adelphi, is said to have cost at least ten thousand pounds. Its entrance hall contained crutches, and other relics of that kind which his rejoicing patients left behind them. "Sculpture, paintings, stained-glass windows, music, perfumes, and gigantic footmen were among the attractions." Here Graham gave lectures, and received patients. Sightseers were allowed to come in to see the Temple. Horace Walpole, who went of course, calls it "the most impudent puppet-show of imposition I ever saw. And the mountebank himself the dullest of his profession, except that he makes the spectators pay a crown apiece." Earth-bathing, or standing naked in earth piled up to the chin, was one of his sovereign remedies. Graham was evidently both a quack and a madman, yet he had some ideas about hygiene which were in advance of his times. Mr. Lee's excellent sketch of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey shows that Macaulay, Green, and other historians are in error when they write the name Edmundberry. The two names were taken from the Christian name of one godfather and the surname of another. Godfrey was a noted woodmonger, with a wharf near Charing Cross. He was knighted for his services in maintaining order and relieving distress during the plague of 1665. The king also presented him with a silver tankard. He incurred the resentment of Charles by arresting the royal physician for a debt of thirty

pounds for firewood. His bailiffs were soundly whipped by the king's order, and he himself narrowly escaped the same fate. He was committed to the porter's lodge at Whitehall, but was released after six days' imprisonment. A careful account of his mysterious murder is given. Many readers will turn eagerly to the article on Godiva. As to her famous ride through Coventry, the oldest form of the story, given by Roger of Wendover, who died in 1237, represents her as riding through the market-place attended by two soldiers, her long hair streaming down so that no one saw her. Brompton's Chronicle, a century later, says no one saw her. A ballad in the Percy Folio, about 1650, first mentions Godiva's order that all persons should keep within doors. Rapin (1732) first states that one person broke this order. The name "Peeping Tom" finds a place in the city accounts on June 11, 1773, when a new wig and fresh paint were supplied for his effigy. Mr. Stephen's account of Margaret Godolphin will seem rather bald to lovers of Evelyn's panegyric on that accomplished young Englishwoman. His articles on Sydney Godolphin, Goldsmith, and Godwin are singularly full and instructive. Godwin appears here in his true character, and it is mean enough. The freak of young Lieutenant Goldsmith, who upset the Logan stone, forms the subject of a brief article. He was told that it was not in the power of man to move it, and unfortunately took it into his head to try. His nine men gave it such a rocking that it slipped off its pivot. He was happily able to replace it with tackle, sheers, capstans, and men lent him by the Admiralty. [By-the-by, can Professor Laughton justify his use of the plural "tackles" here?] The capital sketch of Sir Daniel Gooch, who only died last October, shows how carefully the Dictionary is brought up to date. Gooch's skill in the construction of express engines, his mechanical inventions, his work on the Atlantic cables, and his service in saving the Great Western Railway from bankruptcy, show how well he deserves his place in this volume. Mr. J. M. Rigg writes on Goodricke, and Gower, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and on that unlovely character, Henrietta Gordon. There is a good article on John Mason Good, the Unitarian physician, who afterwards became an Evangelical Churchman, and was the grandfather of Dr. J. M. Neale; on the noble Christian sailor, Commodore Goodenough, who besides his reputation as a scientific gunnery officer had found leisure to become a skilful and elegant swordsman, could converse fluently in seven languages, and enjoyed his Latin poets. Goodwin, the Egyptologist, brother to the present Bishop of Carlisle, is well described in a brief article. We should have liked to know whether Goodwin the architect, who also came from King's Lynn, was of the same family. The Gordons hold the place of honour in this volume. Eighty of them are deemed worthy of a niche here. Colonel Veitch gives an admirable sketch of Chinese Gordon, which contains all the important facts well put. The date when the British rescue steamers reached Khartoum is not clear, however. The sketch of Samuel Gorton, and his strange sect the Gortonites, will repay perusal. Nor should Edmund Gosse's articles on his father and mother be overlooked. The famous zoologist, Philip Henry Gosse, had a long, hard fight with poverty as a

schoolmaster up to his thirty-ninth year. Then he was recommended by the authorities of the British Museum as a proper person to undertake the task of collecting undescribed birds and insects in the tropics, and his position was secured. We are thankful also for the sketch of John Gould, the ornithologist, whose forty-one classic folios on birds, with 2999 plates, form a unique achievement. Gower the poet, Graham of Claverhouse, Grattan the Irish statesman, Groves the doctor—who introduced the practice of giving adequate nourishment to fever cases with such good results that he suggested the words: "He fed fevers" for his own epitaph—and a host of notabilities are described in this volume.

*A Biographical Dictionary: containing concise Notices of Eminent Persons of all Ages and Countries, and more particularly of Distinguished Natives of Great Britain and Ireland.* By THOMPSON COOPER, F.S.A. With a Supplement, bringing the work down to the end of the year 1882. London: George Bell & Sons. 1890.

The price of the *Dictionary of National Biography* puts that great work almost beyond the reach of any modest library. Mr. Cooper's two volumes, published at ten shillings, are, however, well within the reach of all students. Though they cannot compare in fulness with Messrs. Smith and Elder's dictionary, they cover a wider area. In fourteen hundred pages, with double columns and close type, a mass of information has been packed which is quite surprising. Mr. Cooper has availed himself of all the printed sources of information, but he has also used "the voluminous manuscript" collection of the Rev. William Cole, of the Rev. Thomas Baker, B.D., "Socius ejectus," and of Mr. Davey, preserved in the British Museum, and the University Library at Cambridge; as well as the MS. treasures in the library of the Vatican, and in various monasteries and colleges in Rome. Mr. Cooper and his father prepared much material to illustrate the biography of eminent men educated at Cambridge. This also has been laid under contribution, whilst Mr. Cooper's experience as editor of *Men of the Time* must have been peculiarly useful in the more modern biographical articles. A careful study of these volumes has only been able to detect one unimportant mistake. In the notice of James Hinton, *Miss* Ellice Hopkins is called "*Mrs.*" The articles are condensed, but they give all the salient facts. There is an admirable notice of Palmerston, a clear and full account of Christopher Wren's life and chief works [by the way, it would be well to modify the statement that he built Hampton Court, which is somewhat misleading]. Hone, of the *Every-day Book*, Thomas Hood, Theodore Hook, Hooker, and other sketches, may be named as samples of the careful work put into this dictionary. To us, however, the Supplement is the most interesting part. Some of the notices are singularly complete. The column and a half on Dean Stanley may be mentioned as a

good illustration. His works are enumerated with a few suggestive details. The notices of Archbishop Tait, Bishop Wilberforce, James Mozley, M. Thiers, Panizzi, and Professor Palmer are models of condensed statement. Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Street may be mentioned among the architects, and E. M. Ward among the painters. The care and skill with which the dictionary has been prepared grow upon us as we turn over the pages. There are more than fifteen thousand concise but adequate notices. It is a piece of first-class work, worthy of its place in Bohn's Library and of a corner in every other library.

*Popular County Histories. A History of Cumberland.* By RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A. London: Eliot Stock. 1890.

No man was better fitted to write this history of his county than Mr. Ferguson. As Chancellor of Carlisle, author of a valuable diocesan history, and of numerous books and papers on county history and archæology, the whole subject is at his fingers'-ends. It is needless to say that every page of this bears evidence of a lifetime spent in these congenial fields of study. The subject is divided into twenty sections. In the introductory chapter we have a careful account of the boundaries, the rivers, and the natural features of the county. The remarks on the early inhabitants of the district are very interesting. "Stone implements of the Neo-lithic period have been found at many places in Cumberland." Large celts or hatchets are most common, but perforated hammers and heavy stone axes have also frequently been found. The glaciers that covered Cumberland, most probably after the Palæolithic period, must have completely changed its surface. The bogs and mosses—one of which, called Solway Moss, gave great difficulty to the railway engineers a few years ago, represent the "vast morasses which once covered the alluvial flats bordering on the Solway, and stretched eastward from the vicinity of Rockcliffe along the north of Carlisle for many miles." The rivers seem, with few exceptions, to retain their original Celtic names, as also do Helvellyn (the yellow mountain), Blencathra (saddleback, or the seat on the peak), and Rivelyn (the red mountain). The whole of the latter half of the chapter is full of suggestive antiquarian details. After a *résumé* of the chief facts about the Roman Conquest, we have a valuable chapter on "The Roman Roads," which helps us to trace those great road-makers along the coast and over the county. Not less interesting is the account of "Roman Forts and Towns," put in popular form as a description of a supposed tour to these places in the year 300 A.D. The capital account of the Roman Camp at Maryport on the Solway Frith gives an opportunity for paying a well-merited tribute to the zeal for archæology and the courteous hospitality shown to archæologists by the Senhouse family. Mr. Ferguson now follows the Roman wall from Bowness on Solway to the Tyne, giving a careful description of its appearance, its course, and the remnants of the wall which still survive. Chapters on

Strathclyde and Cumbria carry on the history to the days of William Rufus. The section entitled "Cumberland" traces the facts as to the settlement of the county which are supplied by the names of places. Many "tons" bear witness to tribal settlements, the Saxon ending "ham" is rare, but the Danish "by" occurs in the names of sixty places, while there are a hundred instances of the Norse "thwaite," mostly in the high ground avoided by the bys and tons. All this and much other suggestive matter is found in this chapter. The account of "The Baronies" introduces us to some of the great Cumberland families, such as the De Multons of Gilsland. Matilda, the most noted lady of that house, sat on the bench at Penrith Assizes, and was even summoned to Parliament in 19 Edward I. The forest of Inglewood, the city of Carlisle, the church in Cumberland, the Scottish wars, border feuds, and the troubles of 1715 and 1745 furnish topics for other sections. Perhaps the last chapter, headed "Miscellaneous," will prove the most popular of all. It gives an excellent account of the opening up of railways, traces the history of coal-mining from 1620, when Sir Christopher Lowther opened the first pit at Whitehaven, shows how the iron trade has been introduced to the Solway coast, and agriculture pursued in more scientific methods. The frequent quotations which Mr. Ferguson makes from standard authorities, and the full list of books given at the end of his history, will be of much service. His work is done with great skill. There are some repetitions and infelicities of phrase, but these are trivial defects. The writer's stores of knowledge are used in such a way as to win and hold the attention of the reader. The book deserves an extensive circulation. Few can hope to possess the great county histories, but if any one has this volume with the same writer's Diocesan history of Carlisle, and Professor Creighton's valuable monograph of that city in the Historic Towns series, he will have abundant material for studying the history of Cumberland. We ought to say that the book is printed on antique paper with wide margins, and is very neatly bound.

*Ireland Under the Tudors.* Vol. III. By RICHARD BAGWELL, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1890.

This sterling history is now complete, and is likely, we think, to become a standard. It is not indeed either brilliant or exhaustive. It is well written, but without anything like eloquence, almost without feeling. It is colourless, impartial, matter-of-fact—it is careful, exact, and clear. There is no parade of research, yet the historian is evidently master of the original records and the best authorities on the period of which he writes. The result is a very valuable and interesting work. The descriptions of place and circumstance are singularly clear. Although details of raids and perpetual petty warfare—of tribal conflicts, faction fights, insurrection, and rebellious—are not allowed wearisomely to crowd the line of history, the outline of the sad story—so monotonous in the general character of its restless and ever-shifting scenes of barbarism and misery—is distinctly defined, and always held clearly in view.

In this third volume some of the larger issues and more famous episodes included within the Tudor period are brought into view. "The Desmond and Tyrone rebellions, the destruction of the Armada, the disastrous enterprise of Essex, and two foreign invasions"—besides glimpses of Raleigh and Edmund Spenser—are included in the contents. The two last chapters are entitled respectively "Elizabethan Ireland" and "The Church." Our space does not admit of quotation. We cannot, however, refrain, as it may be done very briefly, from referring to the very remarkable journey from Cork to Westminster of Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, where he carried to the Queen the first news of the famous battle of Kinsale, by which the Spanish invasion was brought to an end. "I left my Lord President," he said, "at Shandon Castle, near Cork, on Monday morning, about two of the clock, and the next day delivered my packet, and supped with Sir Robert Cecil at his house in the Strand." Mr. Bagwell says that he probably landed at Bristol. "With a south-west wind and a flood-tide in the Avon, the feat is possible; but it is probably without a parallel, and great must have been the endurance of the man who, after galloping from Bristol to London, sat up talking till two in the morning" (after his supper with Cecil), "and was on his feet again at seven" (to carry his intelligence to the Queen).

1. *The Life and Writings of Alexander Vinet.* By LAURA M. LANE. With an Introduction by Archdeacon FARRAR. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. 1890.

2. *Etude sur Alexandre Vinet. Critique Littéraire.* Par LOUIS MOLINES, Docteur ès Lettres, Pasteur de l'Eglise Réformée. Librairie Fischbacher, Paris. 1890.

An adequate and sympathetic biography of Vinet would be full of interest and instruction. He is very little known in England; indeed, he is comparatively little known in France. Yet as a mere literary critic he is, as Dr. Molines shows, entitled to a very high place, and if his centre had been Paris instead of Basle or Lausanne, and if his standard of literary excellence had not always included among the necessary elements to be regarded moral qualities and influences, as judged from a Christian point of view, no doubt his merit as a critic would have been more highly estimated than it has been, and his fame more widely known, although there have not, as it is, been wanting very distinguished literary judges, as, for example, Edmond Scherer, who have recognised in Vinet a critic of exceedingly high gifts and qualities. In England Vinet has been best known as a theologian, who held a position intermediate between the traditional Calvinism of his country and Lutheranism, avoiding, however, all tincture of Lutheran sacramental transcendentalism. His theological teaching has close affinities with Archdeacon Hare's views respecting faith, but it is altogether a mistake to link him in any sense with Maurice, as the English "Life" seems to do. He knew little of Neo-Platonism, and nothing

of the Coleridge and Cambridge Neo-Platonist school of Anglican theology. He was influenced partly by way of attraction, and partly of repulsion, by the teachings of Malan and Felix Neff; he was an admirer of Erskine of Linlathen. The influence of these teachers leavened in various ways the awakening Christian thought of what may be described as Latin Switzerland during the second and third decades of the present century. The resultant movement, the stirring of inquiry and desire towards experimental religion, a conscious life of peace and righteousness in Christ, was called Methodism, although it was not till a later period that Methodist missionaries, in any proper sense so called, visited Switzerland.* About the same time the Jesuits were, in revived force, organising and working out Roman Catholic propagandism in the Republic, chiefly from the French side. The so-called Methodists and the Jesuits alike were confounded by the populace under the nickname of "Momiers"—Mummers—and were, after a while, proscribed and persecuted by Church and State. In consequence of all this ferment Vinet's theological and ecclesiastical views were first deeply disturbed, and finally defined and decided. His sympathies were throughout more or less mixed and divided. But he took his side with liberty against State intolerance, and became in the end one of the chief, and no doubt the best known and most distinguished, of the founders of the Free Reformed Church. Theologically, he before long defined for himself a position equally removed from formalism and fanatical extremes. After the eminent Wesleyan missionary pioneer, Charles Cook, went to Lausanne—about 1841—a cordial friendship and a religious intimacy were established between Vinet and himself. Their neighbourly personal intercourse was continued for several years, and their friendship remained unbroken till Vinet's course came to an end in 1847. He had been a valetudinarian for many years, and died at a comparatively early age. But he has left behind him golden remains. His theological sermons are profoundly experimental, admirably balanced, and exceedingly suggestive, especially in relation to the subject which his early training as a Protestant Swiss pastor, and the son of a pastor, had made for him so central and so vital, and which his personal experience had brought home to him with large and varied spiritual illumination, the nature of evangelical faith and its relation to Christian life and practice.

The English volume which lies before us consists chiefly of extracts from Vinet's religious writings, including his private correspondence. It provides considerable material towards the elucidation of his opinions, and the illustra-

* The authoress says, at page 9, that it is incontestable that "English Methodism, passing by way of Geneva, played an important part in the history of the religious movement of the Canton de Vaud." This relates to a period dating from 1813. But Madame de Krudener, Robert Haldane, and Erskine of Linlathen had no link of connection with English Methodism in any sense of the word. It was not till a quarter of a century later that Wesleyan Methodism sent any missionaries into Switzerland.

tion of his life and character; but, as mere material, it is inadequate, and it is presented in a dry and fragmentary way. The writer has not set before us a living and moving personality, working out a critical and influential career. Nor has she painted in the surrounding scenery, or sufficiently explained the antecedents and influences which conditioned his development, or exhibited and illuminated the sphere in which her hero played his part. Dr. Molines, although his immediate concern is merely with Vinet as a literary critic, has, in three excellent introductory chapters, done more to bring before us the man himself in his engaging personality and high Christian character than is in any way done by his English admirer, from her religious point of view. We refer to Dr. Molines' chapters, entitled "Conditions Spéciales du Développement de Vinet," "Caractère de Vinet," and "Principes de Vinet." The work of Miss (or Mrs.) Lane contains, of course, much that is valuable and interesting, although it serves mainly to show the need of a special and fully informed biography of Vinet for English readers.

*Captain Cook.* By WALTER BESANT. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

The voyages of Captain Cook have been described and treated of repeatedly and at length; but of the man himself little has been known, and the most and best has not been made of that little. The present volume in the series of *English Men of Action* gives a slight, but sufficient, popular account of his voyages, and makes the most and the best in a proper literary and artistic fashion of the man. The circumstances and scenes of his parentage and boyhood—including what relates to Marton-in-Cleveland, his birthplace, Great Ayton, where his parents lived a few years later, and where he went to school—Staithes, not far from Whitby, where he was apprenticed to a draper and grocer—Whitby, where, having run away from the shop at Staithes, he went before the mast on a collier—are all excellently described. Most ingenious is Mr. Besant's device, when, in the absence of all records or traditions, he borrows page after page from the *Book of the Things Forgotten*, thus eking out knowledge by conjecture, or not improbable "fiction." We think he might have drawn a little more and more boldly on this book as regards Cook's self-education. For ourselves, we have no doubt that young Cook bought books on navigation, and practised nautical calculations whilst he was yet a collier's mate, and that he thus prepared himself, not altogether unconsciously, for volunteering on board a king's ship. It seems almost absurd to doubt whether in Whitby, so busy a seafaring place as it was even in 1740, with a commerce that went far beyond coasting, serviceable books on navigation were to be procured. Or, if not in Whitby, at all events in London, in the neighbourhood of Wapping, such books must have been exposed to view in shops and book-stalls frequented by seafaring men. Mr. Besant leaves the impression on the mind of his readers that Cook was an austerely unsociable man, and that, in consequence, he had no close personal friends, and has left no correspondence.

What we learn of his relations with wife and home, scanty as it is, scarcely, we think, goes to warrant this conclusion. Here, again, the little that remains as knowledge might, not unfitly, have led Mr. Besant to resort to the "book" he has introduced to the world. Let it be remembered what Cook's life was afloat, what he had to do both afloat and at home, what he had to study and to master, the very rare and brief intervals that he passed at home, intervals themselves filled up, of necessity, with official duties and strenuous business and care, and it will be no matter of surprise that he had no circle of intimate friends and no regular and confidential correspondents. The glimpses Mr. Besant gives us of his wedding, his home life, his provident care for his family needs, and especially of his wife and her home at Clapham, where she died in 1835, at the age of ninety-three, are very interesting. We have to thank Mr. Besant for an excellent account of the greatest of England's navigators.

*The Tudor Library. Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola: His Life.* By his Nephew, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO PICO. *Also Three of his Letters; his Interpretation of Psalm xvi.; his Twelve Rules, &c. &c.* Translated from the Latin by Sir THOMAS MORE. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by J. M. RIGG, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn. London: Published by David Nutt, in the Strand. 1890.

When this volume was published, the *Saturday Review* spoke of it as the "handsomest book of the week." It is superbly got up, in Mr. Nutt's daintiest style, and the edition limited to five hundred copies. It is not to be supposed that such a work could have a wide circulation; it is intended for students of the history of philosophy, and especially of the transition period between scholasticism and modern thought, when the Renaissance had brought a mixed flood of undigested ideas from the pre-Christian world to overwhelm mediævalism, and to confuse all landmarks of thought and all canons of taste. For such students this republication will have not only a special value but a peculiar interest, for reasons which Mr. Rigg has suggested in the very able and excellently written Introduction with which he has enriched this volume, and which has done more to define and explain the position of Pico as a thinker and to summarise his teachings than, so far as we know, has before been done, at least by any English writer. Having finally summed him up as "a mere syncretist forlornly struggling to weave the discordant utterances of rival schools into a coherent system," he adds: "His importance for the student of philosophy is that he made this attempt; made it with wider knowledge and more passionate zeal than any of his predecessors, and failed, and that with his failure scholasticism came to an end."

That Pico should have found a theology which reduces God to a *caput mortuum* of which nothing can be said but that it is above all things, and Christ

to a "great angel," the first of created beings, compatible with the simple and ardent piety of a Catholic saint, is an extraordinary fact. That Sir Thomas More should have translated some of the theological expositions and devotional writings of such a teacher into English as profitable reading for the devout, seems not a little strange. But whilst "no exercise of ingenuity would ever succeed in harmonising his theology with the Catholic or any form of the Christian faith, it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of his piety. It is all part and parcel of the peculiar, unique idiosyncrasy of the man's nature, a nature compounded of mysticism and rationalism, credulity and scepticism, in about equal proportions."

*Peterborough.* By WILLIAM STEBBING. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast in character between two men of real power and performance than between James Cook the navigator and Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, the hero of the siege of Barcelona in the war of the Spanish Succession. Cook was incarnate sobriety of judgment, and almost unrivalled for practical wisdom and steadfastness. Whereas it is a problem for students of history, never likely to be solved, whether, or in what proportions, Peterborough was genius or mountebank, paladin or charlatan. Certainly his is by far the most romantic and various career to be found among the life-stories of all the "men of action" in English history. It is correspondently the most crowded with incidents and adventures, and far beyond any other the fullest of perplexing questions and hopeless historical puzzles. Mr. Stebbing has been at due pains to master the literature relevant to his difficult task, and, balancing between opposite probabilities or improbabilities, has done his best to guide the reader to fair conclusions. We need not say that the volume is exceedingly interesting. It is also well written, although, we must confess, the carelessness of some of the opening sentences surprised us. To "pelt a character or a memory with attributes of praise" is very careless writing. Nor is it less so to say that any one is "a man of no true judgment and less virtue." It is unfortunate for such sentences to be found anywhere, but especially within the first ten lines of a modern book. This kind of blundering, indeed, almost any writer is liable to at first starting on a new subject. But a practised writer is supposed also to be a severe reviser of what he writes.

*Grimsby Methodism* (1743–1889) *and the Wesleys in Lincolnshire.* By GEORGE LESTER. Introductory Note by Dr. RIGG. London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 1890.

Dr. Rigg says with much truth in his introductory note that "well-written local histories of Methodism are full of interest and of suggestiveness. They

bring us back to 'fresh springs,' and refresh the monotony of modern life by the originality of ancient rural conditions, and of characters racy of the soil of provincial England before the smoothing-iron of nineteenth century civilisation had almost done away with local peculiarities." Mr. Lester's book will be highly prized by Lincolnshire Methodists. His somewhat extended quotations from John Nelson's Journal describe the introduction of Methodism to Grimsby, then the references to the place in Wesley's Journals are quoted *in extenso*. The third chapter contains a capital account of the "First Methodist chapel." It cost only £78, though it had room for two hundred people, and all the money was raised save twelve pounds. Mr. Lester next describes the spread of the work in Grimsby, and refers to the preachers appointed to the circuit and the chief lay-workers. Many interesting particulars are added as to the chapels in Grimsby and the surrounding towns and villages. The Circuit Directory for 1890 gives the names of many local officers. The three closing papers on "Samuel the Wesley," at South Ormsby and Epworth, and on "John Wesley's Curacy in the Isle of Axholme," have a wider interest. They not only contain many references to the past, but furnish some useful particulars as to the present appearance of the church and vicarage, both at Ormsby and Epworth. The volume is very neatly bound and well printed.

*The New World of Central Africa, with a History of the first Christian Mission on the Congo.* By Mrs. H. GRATTAN GUINNESS. With Maps, Portraits, and Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

The first third of this volume might be described as a cyclopædia of information on Central Africa. An excellent sketch of the region is given by help of extended quotations from Stanley's books and Drummond's "Tropical Africa." The two chapters which follow form a useful *resumé* of Stanley's travels through the Dark Continent, then the founding of the Congo Free State, the Berlin Conference, the claims of Portugal, the slave trade, the drink traffic, are discussed in separate chapters. A mass of useful information is here put in an attractive form. The larger part of the book is the simple but touching narrative of the Livingstonia Mission, which has had somewhat a chequered history. Mrs. Guinness, the writer of this book, became secretary, on Mr. Tilly's resignation, in 1880, and held the post till 1884, when the work was transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union. Since 1884 the mission has filled "with joy and praise the hearts that had so often groaned in heaviness." The earlier days had been times of heavy loss. Devoted young workers were cut down in the midst of their usefulness, and spiritual results were small. Now the tide turned. Candidates for baptism were gathered at every station. At one place hundreds were brought to Christ. Mrs. Guinness' volume is worthy of a place in every missionary library. It is one of the most tastefully illustrated books of the season.

# BELLES LETTRES.

*The Ring of Amasis: a Romance.* By the Earl of LYTTON. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

TWENTY-SIX years ago Lord Lytton published under this title a story in which he endeavoured to illustrate a psychological problem by mysterious incidents. It has, he says, long been forgotten in this country, but cheap reprints are still circulated in America, and readers sometimes communicate with its author as to his purpose and the origin of his tale. "Now the United States of America contain the largest and least sophisticated reading public known to me; and it has long vexed me to think that a child of my imagination should have been wandering for twenty-six years about so important a portion of the human world, disfigured by misshapen clothing of my own manufacture." Last year, moved by such considerations, Lord Lytton availed himself of a period of leisure to recast and rewrite his story. A young doctor, who studied medicine in Paris, meets a mysterious "gentleman in black," whose sad life it becomes his business to chronicle. The reader's curiosity is thoroughly aroused by the opening pages of the book which describe the rescue of a child from drowning by "the gentleman in black," who is a passenger on board a Rhine steamer. The brave swimmer presents himself before an impassive lady, who sits on the deck, as though to win from her forgiveness of some past wrong because of his heroic deed, but the lady is not to be propitiated. The young doctor gazes in wonder on this strangely painful scene. In Paris his path again crosses that of "the gentleman in black," till at last he becomes the confidant of the stranger. This Count Conrad was the elder son of Count Roseneck. He and his younger brother Felix fell in love with the same lady, but Felix won his suit. Conrad, in his travels, had visited Egypt where he found a mummy with a papyrus that represented important incidents in the earthly life of the dead man. He had evidently allowed his brother to be drowned in order to gain their father's throne. Conrad discovered a ring with a singularly brilliant amethyst, which he took back with him to his home. Juliet, the young lady whom he and his brother loved, wished to have this ring, which thus became strangely linked with the loves of the young people. Conrad, ever after his weird experience in Egypt, seemed to be under the spell of a fixed idea, and when one day his brother fell into the water he failed to stretch out his hand to rescue him. After the death of Felix, Conrad won the lady, but in the strange delirium which seized him on his wedding-day she learned his secret. Both lives were, of course, blighted. They lived together for many years, but, for Conrad, every day brought retribution till he broke down under the awful load. The psychological problem which the book illustrates, is the effect of a fixed idea in leading on to crime. The

book not only fascinates by its vigour of style and its air of mystery, but sets one thinking out the problem. We could not go so far as Earl Lytton, but there is more to be said for his theory than most of us are disposed to admit. The story shows that, however hard Conrad may wrestle with his temptation, mere will power is not enough to gain the victory. "We all need grace."

*The Makers of Modern English.* A Popular Handbook to the Greater Poets of the Century. By W. J. DAWSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

Mr. Dawson has endeavoured to provide in small compass a handy guide to the chief poetry of the century. He has aimed at some sort of continuous plan, and has divided his studies of the chief poets of the century, such as Tennyson and Browning, into special sections. Tennyson has eight chapters to himself, headed: "General Characteristics," "Treatment of Nature," "Love and Woman," "View of Life and Society," "Tennyson and Politics," "Idylls and the Idylls of the King," "Tennyson as a Religious Poet," "In Memoriam." This enumeration will show how wide an area is covered, and how exhaustive is the treatment adopted. Six chapters are devoted to Robert Browning, seven to Wordsworth, one each to Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Scott, Coleridge, Southey, Matthew Arnold, Rossetti, Swinburne, and Morris. Thomas Hood and Mrs. Browning are grouped together as representatives of the Humanitarian movement in poetry. The writer's purpose, to sketch in compact form the character and worth of writers who have made English literature glorious, is well worked out. It is unnecessary to speak of the force and finish of Mr. Dawson's style. Those excellences, for which he has won a high reputation as an essayist, are seen to advantage in his latest volume. There is much clear-sighted criticism in his sketches both of the men and of their poetry, and it is sound as well as high-toned criticism. Mr. Dawson is not blind to the failings of Byron and Shelley. There is much to condemn, and the censor's task is firmly and judiciously done, but all through the book one feels that these are a poet's words on poets full of sympathy and insight. Readers of the book will find it an admirable introduction to some of the best poetry of the century. The volume is most tastefully got up.

*The New Continent.* By Mrs. WORTHEY. Two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

The "New Continent" is Positivism. The two leading characters of the novel find their way through an evangelic faith to scepticism, and then ultimately find rest to their soul in Comtism. Columbus found his New Continent through faith, but through the lack of faith are we to find beyond the swelling flood the green fields of Positivism. There is no deep thinking in this book, hence it may be acceptable to a wide circle of readers; but we fail to

see any special good it is likely to effect. Such arguments as we find here will hardly prevail upon thinking people to find the solution of the great problem of life in Comtism. Readers of a sentimental order might be misled by it. The style of the book is pleasant, the plot not without interest, and the story as a whole furnishes a good picture of many men and women of our generation who are tossed about with every wind of doctrine.

*The Knight's Move, and other Stories for Boys and Girls.* By WILLIAM J. FORSTER. London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

A sheaf of short, bright stories, well told, and full of helpful lessons for young folk. Every boy and girl will be the better for Mr. Forster's little book.

*Demas: or, The Windings of a Pastor's Life.* By CLARION WEST. Manchester: Brook & Chrystal. 1890.

The author's preface shows that this is a story with a purpose. It is an attempt to show the worries and miseries of many Congregational ministers who have small churches, with sadly inadequate means of support. The writer says that his tale is in the main true to fact, and hopes that it may stir up some who will be able to rescue Congregationalism from the perils to which it is at present exposed. "The misery generated by the inadequate church funds is," he says, "positively beyond description. The popular men, with a large following at their back, have proved themselves utterly unable to take in the requirements of the situation. They are too positive and self-sufficient, and treat the sensitive poor with a want of consideration which is at once both unreasonable and disgraceful." Demas Munroe, the son of a tradesman, enters the Congregational ministry, where "waters of a full cup are wrung out to him." After a short life, crowded with troubles through the unchristian treatment of her husband, his young wife dies, leaving six little children behind her. Demas marries the widow of an old friend, who is able to provide a happy home for his children, builds a chapel of his own, and turns his back on his denomination. The story is both crude and exaggerated. Some parts of it, such as Demas's college sermon, are absurd. A man who talks about "ill-disguised promises of succour" scarcely knows the force of words. The poetry given "to assist the reader to form a better opinion of this singularly gifted man," is ridiculously feeble, and the pictures are very poor. But the book is, after all, suggestive. The writer knows and lays his finger on the excellence of Methodism in this matter of stipends. He says of Demas, "Thou hast been hankering after a smack of Methodism to bring thy rope-ends to a continuous circle of protection and progress. But Methodism knows no such figures as nine and eleven hundred per annum. True, and it knows nothing about eighteen shillings per week, and hosts of black apparelled cadgers, who scarcely dare tell their pitiful tale." That is true enough, and

we sincerely trust that the tone of the book, which is severely aggressive and sarcastic, will not prevent Congregationalists from giving it a candid reading. We should trust that the description of the bitterness of party spirit is also exaggerated, but it may convey a wholesome warning to some churches.

*An Hour with George Herbert, the Poet of Devotion.* By CHARLES BULLOCK, B.L. London: *Home Words* Office. 1890.

Mr. Bullock's dainty booklet, printed on rough paper, and with a parchment paper cover, is one of a projected series entitled *Leaves from the Old Divinity*. It is the outcome of a Sunday afternoon lecture on "Devotional Books," given in Holy Trinity Church, Bournemouth. After a bright and sympathetic sketch of Herbert's life, quotations are given from the *Devotional Poems*, interspersed with an introductory note or two. Then follows a wise and helpful account of "The Devotional Life in its Practical Issues," based on and illustrated by the poems. It is a good idea, and worked out in such a way as to yield both profit and pleasure.

## ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

ENGLISH readers of *L'Art** will find the first article in the second May issue of that admirably conducted journal peculiarly interesting reading. At the Paris Exhibition last year we remember the sigh of relief with which we turned from some garish acres of canvas which represented the latest development of Russian art, to the room in which were hung Mr. Leader's "At Eventide there shall be Light," and some of the masterpieces of Mr. Watts and Mr. Burne-Jones, and of Millais, painted in his earlier and better days, and asked ourselves with some anxiety what impression such art might make upon the crowd of curious and critical visitors from all parts of the world who thronged the greatest of world fairs.

The answer to that question is given by M. Paul Leroi, the accomplished editor of *L'Art*, in the article we have referred to, and this is his deliberate dispassionate verdict:—"At this centenary of 1889 it was to England that we owed the one note of free originality, boldly breaking the monotony common to all other nations. Her school, in fact, was for the cultivated 'l'enchantment de ce concours universel.'" Descending to detail, M. Paul Leroi has much to say that is interesting about some of our contemporary masters and their masterpieces. The painter of "King Cophetua" evoked, it appears, great enthusiasm, and was pronounced the Gustave Moreau of England. This M. Paul Leroi thinks excessive praise. Mr. Burne-Jones is an artist *à la suite*, a follower of Italian models. The "King Cophetua" has an undeniable charm of its own, but not the impress of a powerful individuality.

* *Librairie de L'Art.* Paris.

"In a word, the art of Mr. Burne-Jones is infinitely more curious than grand." Mr. Watts, on his ideal side, is evidently quite incomprehensible to the French critic, who, however, does ample justice to his portraits. Mr. Whistler is properly censured for his ridiculous "arrangements" and his impossible "nocturnes;" and Sir John Everett Millais' deplorable decadence is duly noted. Sir Frederick Leighton is, in our French critic's judgment, less of a painter than a sculptor. Mr. Orchardson he reckons our greatest master, in which judgment he would probably find few to agree with him on this side of the Channel. He is enraptured with Miss Kate Greenaway, and thinks Mr Henry Moore's sea-pieces unsurpassable. Among the sculptors, he gives the palm to Mr. A. Gilbert. This extremely interesting, and on the whole appreciative, study of the English school, of which a continuation is promised, is well worthy of attention. We do not agree with all M. Paul Leroi's criticisms—we think he does scant justice both to Mr. Watts and to Mr. Burne-Jones, and more than justice to Mr. Orchardson; but, on the whole, we have never seen anything on English art from the pen of a foreigner at once so generous, just, and discriminating.

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

*London, Ancient and Modern, from the Sanitary and Medical Point of View.* By G. V. Poore, M.D. London: Cassell.

Dr. Poore feels that the low London death-rate is no argument for its exceptional healthiness. "The diminishing birth-rate largely accounts for it; an enormous proportion of those who fall ill in London return to the country to die; the mobility of the population vitiates statistics; the work thrown on the hospitals is vastly on the increase, and two evils threaten in the near future, the rapid peopling of the upper Thames valley whence London gets more than half its water—Brentford, for instance, has over 102,000 instead of 72,000 ten years ago; and the possibility, thanks to the new sewage system, of building houses eight or more storeys high, with no curtilage whatsoever, thus throwing on the sewers more work than they are calculated for. The sewage system he calls "the greatest sanitary blunder ever committed in the world's history," and he laughs at the Thames Conservancy winking while the sewage ship drops its solid matter at the river's mouth, while it fines a man for throwing a bucket of rubbish over the bridge. Of old London was undoubtedly very unhealthy indeed. The turning point was the draining of Moorfields, attempted in the fifteenth century. It was first built on after the fire, many of those who used it as a camping ground having settled there in defiance of the Corporation. For the plague Dr. Poore refers us to Dr. Nat Hodges, son of

the Vicar of Kensington, one of the doctors who held their ground. His cure was generous diet—eggs, strong broths, good wines—especially sack, to his free use of which he attributes his own escape. The disease was, he says, "greatly aggravated by the wicked practice of nurses, who, out of their greed for plunder, would strangle their patients, and charge it to the distemper in their throats; others would secretly convey the pestilential taint to those who were well." Very interesting is the sketch of London doctors and doctoring, beginning with "the first severance of physicians and surgeons by Henry VIII.'s Act (1511)." Linacre, Caius, Sydenham, the Chamberlens, inventors of the obstetrical forceps, Sir Hans Sloane, are a few of the more famous names. Of early hospital practice he has much to tell. The first physician at St. Bartholomew's was Dr. Lupus, a Portuguese Jew, convicted of conspiring with the Spaniards to poison Queen Elizabeth, and hanged at Tyburn. Clowes, surgeon to Christ's Hospital (where scurvy *raged* owing to the diet of salt fish), describes a quack: "This miraculous surgeon, flering and gering, gloriously glittering with bracelets about his arms, his fingers full of rings, a silver case of instruments at his girdle, a gilt spatula sticking in his hat." The picture is matched with Harvey working at St. Bartholomew's for £25 a year. The little book is one that few who begin it will lay down till they come to the last page.

*Gleanings from Old St. Paul's.* By W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A., Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. London: Eliot Stock. 1889.

Nine years ago Dr. Simpson published his *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's*, full of racy details as to the staff of the Cathedral, the notable sermons preached at Paul's Cross, and other events associated with St. Paul's. In this handsome companion volume other topics are treated with true antiquarian zest. The most popular chapters will, perhaps, be those on the music and musicians of the Cathedral. Here are many biographical details as to such men as Tallis, Attwood, Sir John Stainer, and others. The opening chapter on "The College of the Twelve Minor Canons" is a welcome contribution towards the history of that ancient and little known body. The notes on "the Library," written by one who has held the office of librarian for twenty-seven years, are naturally full of interest. There are more than ten thousand printed books at St. Paul's with about the same number of pamphlets. Dr. Simpson himself has taken pains to gather a collection of Paul's Cross Sermons, of plays acted by the children of Paul's, and all that may throw light on the history of the Cathedral. Dr. Simpson's new volume is, perhaps, scarcely so attractive to the general reader as the former, but it will be more valuable to the historian and antiquarian. In fact, the two books are indispensable for all who wish thoroughly to understand the history of St. Paul's. They abound in quaint details which make them both pleasant and instructive reading.

1. "*Those Holy Fields.*" Palestine Illustrated by Pen and Pencil. By the Rev. SAMUEL MANNING, LL.D.

2. *London Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil.* By the Rev. RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. With 130 Illustrations. The Religious Tract Society. 1890.

1. We are glad to welcome a new edition of this standard book on Palestine. It has been carefully revised, so that it is now well abreast of the latest discoveries made by the Palestine Exploration Fund. Dr. Manning's notes are brightly written; they lay hold on all the salient facts of sacred history, and as we follow the writer from place to place in his tour through the Holy Land many familiar scenes seem to grow more real and distinct to us. Dr. Manning has rightly availed himself of all help he could gain from the writings of former travellers, but he has also sought, by a careful inspection of the sites, to arrive at independent and accurate judgments. This gives his work additional value. It helps us to see the Bible scenes as they now are, and supplies a living interest to Dr. Manning's pages. The book has some excellent maps, but it is literally crowded with pictures, which greatly add to the charm of the book. Many are from drawings made on the spot, but the greater number are from photographs. The views of the walls of Jerusalem, the Mosque of Omar, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Jews' Wailing-place, may be named as specimens of the excellent work of the artists. By means of these pictures the whole subject seems to live before the reader. Lieutenant Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine*, despite its force and brightness, often suffers in clearness and interest from the want of a map and illustrations. No one will have to make such a complaint here. Text and pictures throw light on each other, so that we almost seem to follow Dr. Manning over "*Those Holy Fields.*" We know no work more suitable for a present to any student of the Land and the Book than this beautifully got up, profusely illustrated, and brightly written volume, published by the Religious Tract Society. It is rather singular to find a statement that Jerome was a native of Syria. The great biblical scholar was, of course, born at Stridon in Europe.

2. The author of *Norwegian Pictures* and *Irish Pictures* has here taken up the subject of London, in itself a vast and intractable subject. He has wisely attempted only to deal with certain sections of London and its life, holding out a hope that in another volume he may deal with other sections. We have here "First Impressions," "Civic and Commercial London," "The Tower of London" (which has a chapter to itself), "Ecclesiastical London"—the longest of the chapters—"The Imperial Government and the Royal Palaces," "Legal and Literary London." This beautiful volume cannot fail to be popular. The illustrations are excellent.

*Quaker Strongholds.* By CAROLINE EMELIA STEPHEN. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.

The lady who has written this book is a "convinced Friend," who seventeen ago found among a small company of silent worshippers the spiritual help and rest of mind which she had sought in vain in the Church of England. "The questions with which at that period I was painfully struggling were stirred," she says, "into redoubled activity by the dogmatic statements and assumptions with which the Liturgy abounds, and its unbroken flow left no loophole for the utterance of my own less disciplined, but to myself far more urgent, cries for help." Her own experience has led her to write this account of the principles, the manner of worship, and the organisation of the Society in which she has found a home. Her first chapter gives a clear account of the organisation, which consists of "particular," monthly and yearly meetings. Each congregation—or particular meeting—forms a member of a group of five or six which meet together once a month for the transaction of business or for discipline. Readers of Fox's Journals will be glad to find that these monthly meetings on which he laid such stress for the preservation of the purity of the Society are still doing good work. The yearly meeting, held every May in Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, is the final court of appeal. Its clerk, with his assistants, performs the combined functions of chairman and secretary. "When any question has been fully considered, it is the duty of the clerk to interpret the sense of the meeting, and to prepare a minute accordingly." The minute may be modified at the suggestion of individual Friends, but when entered on the books it is accepted as embodying the decision of the meeting. No question is ever put to the vote. If there should be considerable difference of opinion, the matter is left over, if possible, to the next yearly meeting. Quakerism has become more tolerant than in Fox's day. "Dress and language, and other external matters are now practically left entirely to the individual conscience, as is surely wisest." It is not our intention to discuss the tenets of the Friends. Neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper are recognised as divinely ordained institutions of permanent obligation. The Friends claim an inspiration which is not different in kind from that of the Apostolic age. The doctrine of the inner light has, no doubt, as the writer admits, led some almost to transfer "the idea of infallibility from the Bible to themselves." Fox's distinction between the Word of God and the words of God, as he described it in his journal, always seems to us a mere quibble. The Friends' ministry is open to all, free from any pre-arrangement, and unpaid. Of late years, mainly through Joseph John Gurney and his sister Elizabeth Fry, Quakerism has been freed from the reproach of inactivity. Benevolent, philanthropic, and missionary work has been carried on with much zeal. Less attention has been paid to mere externals. What is called discipline, has largely broken down. Still more significant is another sentence: "The Bible, which, in their dread lest the letter should

usurp the place of the spirit, had amongst Friends been almost put under a bushel, was brought into new prominence, and so-called 'evangelical' views respecting the unique or exceptional nature of its inspiration began to be entertained." The number of members, which in 1862 was 13,844, in 1889 was 15,574, including children. The rapid growth of Friends' First Day Adult Schools, which now have 23,126 scholars, shows that the Quakers have won no small success in home missionary work. We are glad to have such a glimpse into the life and thought of the Society of Friends as this suggestive little book supplies.

*Modern Ideas of Evolution as related to Revelation and Science.* By Sir J. W. DAWSON. London: Religious Tract Society. 1890.

This book endeavours "to examine in a popular manner, and to test by scientific facts and principles, the validity of that multiform and brilliant philosophy of the universe which has taken so deep hold of the science and literature of our time." The time for such an examination may now be said to have arrived. "Sober second thoughts" may at length be formed, and Sir J. W. Dawson's acknowledged position as a scientist gives him a special right to be heard. He arranges his book under ten headings: Present Aspects of the Question; What is Evolution? the Origin of Life; the Apparition of Species in Geological Time; Monistic Evolution; Agnostic Evolution; Theistic Evolution; God in Nature; Man in Nature; General Conclusions. This list of topics will show how thoroughly the whole subject is discussed. The style is clear, and the tone of the argument moderate and temperate. The writer's abundant scientific knowledge supplies many light-giving illustrations. In the last chapter he shows that Agnostics themselves admit that man must have a religion, but that the current Darwinism and Neo-Lamarckian forms of evolution fall entirely short of what the Agnostic may "desiderate" as religion. The great body of the evolutionist men of science openly discard all religious belief, and teach their unbelief to the multitude. Sir J. W. Dawson draws attention to the radical difference between Darwinism and the theistic form of evolution, and urges that the safest course both for the scientific worker and the theologian is to avoid committing oneself to any of the current forms of evolution, which contain so much assumption and reasoning in a vicious circle that they cannot long survive. He then states some principles which may be held without fear of any assailant. The whole book will reward the thoughtful study of theologians and scientists.

*Blackie's Modern Cyclopædia of Universal Information.* Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D. Vol. IV. & V.

It is our duty to keep this excellent cyclopædia, unequalled for cheapness, handiness, and clear condensation of what may fairly be spoken of as "universal

information," before the view of our readers. The illustrations in volume IV., especially those of natural history and architecture, as well as the likenesses, are excellent. The maps also are very clear and good, as, for instance, that of France in the present volume.

Volume V., from "Image" to "Momus," includes valuable articles on Impenetrability, Iron, the Jacquard Loom, and Meridian. There are geographical and historical notices of Kansas and Manitoba; and biographical and critical notices of Kant and Molière. The latest volume is marked by the same characteristics—thoroughness, clearness, and conciseness—as former volumes. It is pre-eminently the handy Cyclopædia.

*Popular Objections to Foreign Missions Considered and Answered.* By Rev. EDWARD STORROW. London: John Snow & Co. 1889.

In this sixpenny pamphlet Mr. Storrow deals at length with eight leading objections to missionary work. He has gathered together a mass of facts and figures which are neatly arranged and used with complete success to meet present-day complaints as to foreign missions. Every friend and advocate of the great cause for which the writer pleads so well will find this a helpful pamphlet.

*The Annals of our Time. A Diurnal of Events: Social and Political, Home and Foreign.* From February 24, 1871, to the Jubilee, June 20, 1887. By JOSEPH IRVING. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Nothing is so soon, so easily, or so completely forgotten as the rushing events of the present time, as, from year to year, from day to day, they and we are sundered; they passing away into the deepening shadow of the past, we passing onwards into the stiffening grasp of the overmastering future. This plain, succinct, and modest *Diurnal* will help our short memories and help to prevent the past of our history from being quite forgotten by us. It will be a valuable record for the desk of every thoughtful person. It will preserve from many mistakes as to matters of fact.

*The Civil Service Geography.* By L. M. D. SPENCE. Completed and assisted by THOMAS GRAY, C.B., one of the Assistant Secretaries to the Board of Trade. Tenth Edition, revised and corrected to the present date. London: Crosby Lockwood & Sons. 1890.

A book like this, which has reached its tenth edition, has evidently met a real want in the best style. It is now somewhat enlarged, and thoroughly

brought up to date in a workmanlike style. We are only glad that we have not to study it ourselves, for a dryer list of names and facts it would be hard to find. There is not a word wasted. No doubt this is one of the excellences of the book for some much-to-be-pitied students.

*Life Inside the Church of Rome.* By M. F. C. CUSACK, "The Nun of Kenmare." London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

This book has too much padding. Four hundred and twenty octavo pages make too severe a demand upon a reader's patience, and we scarcely look to such a writer for the arguments and historical information which we have here; but, despite of its prolixity, the book could only have been written by one who knew the Church of Rome by painful personal experience. Some pitiful revelations of the drunkenness and unchastity of the priesthood are given. The small jealousies and bickerings of convent life also fill many depressing pages, and the way in which falsehood is condoned and commended by the doctrine of reservations is exposed. The general impression as to the inner life of Roman Catholicism left by a perusal of the book is one of profound shame and pity. "There is no such thing," says Miss Cusack, "as honour, conscience, or refined feeling in the Roman Catholic Church."

*Daily Scripture Lessons for Public and Private Use.* Prepared by Direction of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. London: C. H. Kelly. 1890.

This penny pamphlet of *Scripture Lessons* should be put into every pulpit and family Bible. It has long been felt that Methodism needed its own of lessons, and after much painstaking work this pamphlet for 1890 and 1891 has been issued. A few months' use of these lessons has shown us how wisely and aptly they have been chosen. We have, however, noticed two blots which might easily be removed. The lessons for Passion Sunday are not appropriate—it is strange, indeed, to have the story of the Nativity set down for such a day—and the great chapter on the Resurrection (1 Cor. xv.) is not read on Easter Sunday or any of the Sundays before Whitsuntide. A few alterations of this sort will greatly improve this much-needed and most acceptable table of lessons.

*Short Stories for Composition, with Lessons on Vocabulary* Second Series. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1889.

These stories have been prepared for use in elementary schools. Each takes up about half a page, so that they are fitly described as short stories. But

point and freshness have not been sacrificed. The anecdotes are such as children will enjoy and remember. We have had many a good laugh over them ourselves. The time spent on English composition with a selection of stories like this will be one of the most pleasant parts of the day's work.

*A Working Handbook of the Analysis of Sentences.* William Blackwood & Sons.

This book professes to have been written for the purpose of giving assistance to students proceeding to the analysis of difficult passages, by providing them with solutions of typical difficulties and well-graduated exercises. To these who are fortified with a good grounding in elementary English grammar, it will be found very useful. The exercises, which are very abundant and well selected, are almost all taken from our standard authors. The difficulties are dealt with in a thoughtful manner; the student is sometimes presented with alternate methods of analysing a difficult expression, with good reasons for the difference, and is encouraged to state very briefly his reason for any treatment that may possibly not strike the examiner and yet manifest thought. The explanations throw valuable light on the parsing of difficult words. At the end are given a number of miscellaneous examples which will be found very useful for tests and for revision. The whole arrangement of the book is good, and an intelligent student who had worked systematically through it could hardly make an error in the analysis of even very difficult passages. An excellent addition to the book is the chapter on paraphrasing an exercise, which is very often wretchedly done. We have no hesitation in recommending this handbook for the higher classes of our secondary schools, for those preparing for the University Local, the Scotch Leaving Certificate, and similar examinations, for pupil-teachers, and students in Training Colleges.

*The Birds in My Garden.* By W. T. Greene. Religious Tract Society.

The garden is a suburban garden, apparently somewhere near Peckham Rye. The birds described are not only those that frequent, but those who have ever visited, the garden—even to a chance canary. It is wonderful how many birds still visit, more or less frequently, the gardens of these London suburbs, which have for a good while become dingy, and ceased to grow any but quite hardy flowers. This book is unpretending, but very interesting. It would be very much better, however, without its "Introduction."

# RECENT EXPLORATION.

THERE is hardly anything nowadays that gets out of date sooner than the map of Africa. At the present time there is no map of Africa in existence which does justice to our knowledge of that Continent. The work of exploration is being carried on by experienced scientific travellers at so many points, and with such vigour that the work of almost any given six months would alter appreciably the appearance of the map. The Royal Geographical Society is doing its best to record the results of African research in its "Proceedings," "Supplementary Papers," and maps, and with all respect to the Geographical Societies of Berlin and Paris, it certainly leads the way, in making available for the general reader, the information constantly accruing from its able and enterprising agents not only in Africa, but in all quarters of the globe. It will be impossible with the space at our disposal to give more than a few notes on papers read before, or printed by the Royal Geographical Society, descriptive of journeys and researches of great interest.

The Chinde river and Zambezi delta have recently been examined by Mr. Daniel J. Rankin, ex-Acting Consul at Mozambique. The survey is likely to be useful from a commercial as well as from a scientific point of view, and the account of it is certainly interesting. The work was carried to a successful issue, in spite of difficulties of no ordinary character. "The rivers teem with crocodiles and hippopotami. These latter have many victims. Scarcely a week passes but some one is seen bewailing the loss of a relative devoured by a crocodile or crushed to death by a hippopotamus. Two or three people will sit in a canoe, so that the crank craft is almost gunwales under. Travelling thus, with stolid indifference to the ever-present peril, often there is a quick ripple, a shriek, a splash, and one passenger less, and the grim tragedy is repeated week after week. Then, too, it is very dangerous to get amongst a herd of hippopotami, especially on a dark night when it is so difficult to avoid them. Without the slightest provocation or warning an inoffensive water-party will be tossed star-wards and emptied into the black river." Such or similar adventures enter into nearly every chapter of African exploration.

Mr. F. C. Selous has traversed a portion of Mashona Land, and has furnished a sketch survey and letter in explanation of the topography of that region, which lies immediately to the south of the Zambezi.

A journey through the country lying between the Shire and Loangwa rivers, undertaken by Mr. Alfred Sharpe, has added considerably to our knowledge of that district. The ascent of the watershed between the Shire river, which discharges the waters of Lake Nyassa, and the river Revubwe which falls into the Zambezi, is through "very pleasant country, well wooded, and with plenty of water; but when the top is reached trees disappear and the gentle slopes on the western side are bare grass. While in the woodlands elephants were seen, and after entering the bare moor-like country the travellers were seldom out of sight of game." The inhabitants, though calling themselves Angoni, are really Achewa, who, by submitting to the Angoni, are suffered to live in peace. After crossing the Lifidzi, a tributary of the river Revubwe, Mr. Sharpe came upon the uninhabited belt which invariably surrounds the country of the Angoni. "Wherever these people have settled they have driven back the original inhabitants. They have a regular war season, commencing about August (when the crops have all been collected and the burning of the grass throughout the country has rendered travelling easy) and ending in November, when their gardens have to be hoed and planted. During this period of three to four months they travel in bands throughout the surrounding countries, harrying the weaker tribes and *collecting slaves*. Owing to this there is always found an uninhabited stretch of two or three days' journey on leaving any part of Angoni land. They always live in the high-lying country, and are rich

in cattle, while tribes living near the Angoni never possess any." Continuing his journey westward Mr. Sharp travelled for four days "through pleasantly-wooded and well-watered country, having an undulating 'ground floor,' out of which rise large granite peaks and domes in very direction."

Mr. H. H. Johnston, Consul at Mozambique, has sent an interesting account of a journey north of Lake Nyassa and his visit to Lake Leopold, which will be found in the "Proceedings" for April, and also Mr. J. T. Last's important map of Eastern Africa between the Rovuma and the Zambesi.

But the geographical interest of the last few months has been largely centred in Stanley's Expedition in quest of Emin, and, as the future will show, in quest of much beside. His reception by the Royal Geographical Society in the Albert Hall, on May 5, brought together one of the most brilliant gatherings ever assembled there. The Prince and Princess of Wales and their daughters, the Duke of Edinburgh, and other members of the royal family, were present to do honour to the distinguished traveller whose great achievements, wonderful address, and unstrained manly bearing commanded the respect and admiration of the vast audience. The last sentence of his address will probably be developed little by little during the next few months as the Foreign Office may permit. Mr. Stanley said, "and finally we have extended British possessions to the eastern limits of the Congo Free State, having acquired many a thousand square miles of territory for the assistance by force of arms and other considerations against their enemies the Wara Sura."

Among other noteworthy papers of the quarter may be mentioned "Search and Travel in the Caucasus," by Mr. Douglas W. Freshfield; "Journey to the Summit of the Owen Stanley Range, New Guinea," by Sir Wm. Macgregor, K.C.M.G.; and "A Visit to the Newly-Emerged Falcon Island," by Mr. J. J. Lister, M.A.

All who are interested in the exploration of the Holy Land will be glad to know that after years of Turkish promises and delays a firman has at last been obtained by the Palestine Exploration Fund granting permission to resume the work of excavation. It is to be feared, however, that the influence of Hamdi Bey (the despair of the P. E. F.) has had something to do with the manifold limitations and restrictions of the firman. All objects, except duplicates found in the course of the excavations, are to be sent to Constantinople. Squeezes, models, photographs, &c., may, however, be taken by the officers in charge of the work. Mr. Flinders Petrie, already well-known in connection with the successful excavations of ancient Egyptian sites, is now in the Holy Land as the representative of the "Fund," arranging for the commencement of the work, and by the time this Review is in the hands of the reader, excavation at the site known as Khûrbet-Ajlân (the Eglon of Joshua), will probably be in progress.

A few months ago two rock-hewn tombs were discovered north of the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem, one still having a stone door, while the other had been closed by a rolling stone. On the covering stone of the entrance of one of these tombs was a Greek inscription, but, unfortunately, the stone had been broken, and it was only when the pieces had been put together in a wooden frame that any attempt at reading the inscription could be made. Dr. Papodoculos, a learned man in the Greek Convent, has studied the inscription, and a copy has also been submitted to Dr. A. S. Murray, of the British Museum, who is a high authority on Greek epigraphy. So far they are practically agreed that the inscription involves the names of Nonus and Onisimus, deacons of the Church of the Resurrection. At present it may not be well to say more on this matter. Whether this and other discoveries made at the same place are likely to affect the question of the site of the Holy Sepulchre remains to be seen.

An important and deeply interesting paper has been written by Mr. F. J. Bliss, B.A., of Beyrût, on "Ma'lula and its Dialect." Ma'lula is a village lying twenty-five miles north-east of Damascus in the Anti-Libanus. "It has a three-fold interest for the traveller. Its situation and surrounding scenery are unique; its cave-dwellings and rock-tombs give evidence of an ancient but

active existence, while in its dialect we find a certain strange survival of the Aramaic which Christ spoke not 150 miles away.

Dr. J. H. Gladstone, F.R.S., has been making an examination of some of the copper and bronze implements, &c., of ancient Egypt and Assyria, and the results are embodied in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Archæology. Parts of a large hatchet, a round chisel, the handle of a mirror, and a knife, of the Twelfth Dynasty, were first analysed, and "proved to be copper mixed with a little of those substances which usually accompany its ores, especially arsenic." The presence or absence of tin in these very ancient tools was a point to be specially noted, and the result of the analysis showed in each case that it was present, but only in such small quantities as to preclude the idea of its being there by design. It is clear, therefore, that such implements are not brass, but as Dr. Gladstone says, should rather be designated "imperfectly purified copper." These tools are supposed to date from 2500 B.C. Two hatchets found at Gurob, belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1200 B.C.), were next examined, and a much larger quantity of tin was found, probably indicating that the value of tin as a hardening substance had been recognised. The bronze of the gates of the palace of Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 859-825), found at Balawat, gave the following percentages of the principal metals:—Copper 73.9, tin 9.04. Small specimens of mineral and slag from the ancient mines in the Sinaitic peninsula, worked before the Twelfth Dynasty and not later than the Eighteenth, did not reveal the presence of tin. The word "brass" in the authorised version of the Bible was used in 1611 to represent the various alloys of copper, and not, as the more modern word "bronze," to indicate compounds consisting mainly of copper and tin. When, therefore, we read in the book of Exodus of the ornaments and furniture in connection with the tabernacle, we have to remember that the artificers, who made these things, learnt the art of *bronze*-making in Egypt under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that among the Israelites at that time and later, bronze was used for many purposes, for which iron afterwards came to be employed. The "brass" of the tabernacle would in all probability strongly resemble in its composition the two hatchets of the Eighteenth Dynasty referred to above, while the Babylonian "doors of brass," mentioned in Isaiah xlv. 2, would have a close affinity in quality with the gates of Balawat, which were contemporary with King Jehu. The analyses of the Twelfth Dynasty implements seem to indicate "that in the latter part of the stone age there was what has been termed a pre-bronze age in which copper ores were smelted and the metal used for implements." The impurities being left in the copper would render it harder than refined copper, and no doubt it would gradually be found out that the superior tools were made from ores containing tin. From the accidental presence of tin in implements of the Twelfth Dynasty can be traced the growing appreciation of that metal until 9 per cent. of it is found in an Egyptian mirror of the Eighteenth Dynasty and 10 per cent. in a votive tablet from the palace of Sargon (B.C. 706). Dr. Gladstone's paper indicates "how the stone implements were gradually replaced by those of copper, and how by increasing the amount of tin, this was changed into the more valuable alloy of bronze."

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# SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May 1).—M. Gaston Boissier is contributing a series of Studies in Religious History to this Review which deal with the subject of "Christianity and the Invasion of the Barbarians." The present paper is entitled "The Day after the Invasion." The writer says, in order to form a correct opinion as to the part the Church took at the time of the invasion, it is sufficient to compare three historians of the period who succeeded each other with but a brief interval and took part in the events of

that time—St. Augustine in his later writings, Paul Orosius and Salvianus. The first section deals with St. Augustine. Whilst he was writing his *City of God* and answering the reproach of the Pagans, events followed each other very quickly. The capture of Rome, which seemed the crown of all disasters, proved in reality to be only the prelude to greater misfortunes. The anguish with which St. Jerome watched the course of events from his retreat at Bethlehem may still be seen from his own writings. Augustine's trouble, his designation of his successor in the bishopric, the way in which the tide of invasion swept on towards Hippo, the stout defence of the city, and Augustine's haste to finish the treatises he had begun for the defence of the Church, are all described. His prayer that he might die before the city was taken was answered. It was not till after his death that the Vandals took and burned Hippo. St. Augustine died a Roman as he had lived. Up to the last he set an example of devotion to his prince and country. The second part of the paper deals with Paul Orosius, the Spanish historian, whose works are invaluable for all who wish to understand that epoch. It is not only that he was himself a man of great talent and a profound observer of men and things, he was also one of the people who are born to be disciples—little capable of giving an impulse to others, but very susceptible of receiving impressions. One day, when he was thrown by chance into the presence of St. Augustine, fixed his course in life. In his haste to escape from some danger which threatened him in his own country, he got on board a ship without even asking its destination. It was bound for Africa, and thus Orosius was led to visit Augustine. After a careful *résumé* of his views, M. Boissier says that without expressly stating it, or even perhaps realising his own position, Orosius had resigned himself to the disappearance of the old *imperium romanum* as concentrated in the hand of a single man, the master of the world. Provided that Rome held a kind of nominal suzerainty, which might form a sort of bond between the separated nations, he hoped that the Roman spirit would survive—that was really all he desired. Scarcely twenty years passed from the publication of Orosius' history to that of Salvianus, but events had marched quickly. The old world had come to an end; a new world had begun. After giving some account of Salvianus, who was born in the north of Gaul, at or near Trèves, he speaks of his great work, *The Government of God*, which was written in the south of Gaul, where he had fled to escape the invasion, and where he discharged priest's functions, about the year 450. Gaul, Spain and Africa were then almost entirely in the hands of the Barbarians. He writes as one who does not seek absolute truth, but wishes to find arguments to support his own thesis. It is wrong to say that part of the population gladly welcomed the Barbarians and helped them to overthrow what remained of the Empire. The fact was that when the people saw that the Empire was doomed they resigned themselves to the course of events. Salvianus' condemnation of the old masters and his praise of the new-comers had at least this merit, that they made such submission more easy.

LA NOUVELLE REVUE (April 1).—M. E. Masseras, in a short paper on "Dearness of Living in Paris," says that four-fifths of the Parisians have a constant struggle to make both ends meet. Many are the regrets over the good old times, but they are gone for ever. During the ten or fifteen years which followed the discovery of gold in California, prices rose rapidly. The activity of commercial enterprise, the projection almost at one time of the chief lines of railway, all conspired to set an example of luxury, and increase the cost of living. Quieter times have come. The fall of prices has attained notable proportions. One journal has recently published a list of forty-five articles in common use, nineteen of them articles of food, upon which the reduction has reached almost thirty per cent since 1867. After referring to the cheapening of articles of dress and food, M. Masseras reaches the conclusion that the cost of the necessaries of life would be below rather than above that in the time of our fathers—if we lived as they lived. But the Parisians of to-day live in quite a different fashion. That is the secret of the excessive cost of living in the French capital. A glance at the transformation effected

in daily habits will show what expenditure it involves. The rent paid by a family is now much heavier than it was forty years ago, and many other expenses have increased in proportion. Furniture costs more; ornaments are necessary; table-linen, once little used, is now essential. Many articles, the price of which formerly put them out of the reach of ordinary purses, have, by becoming cheaper, grown indispensable. The same process has extended to other things. One hundred and twenty litres of wine used to be the average consumption for each person, now it is twice as much. The individual consumption of wine, spirits, tea, and coffee has doubled. Tastes, too, have become more refined, more costly to satisfy. The demand for bread of inferior quality has fallen off to such an extent that the bakers have given up producing it. Not less notable is the greater variety and taste in dress. The system of buying on credit, which is spreading rapidly in Paris, is very convenient, but a very dangerous temptation to expense. Travelling is also a much more important item than it was forty years ago. Telegrams, newspapers, photographs, and amusements all entail increased expense. Innumerable charges have to be met which are the inseparable consequence of progress and the transformation of the conditions of living.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (April).—M. E. de Laveleye has a brief but important article entitled "The Future of the Papacy." It is based on Mr. Stead's prophesy in the *Contemporary* that the Papacy will some day be able to realise the grand dream of the Popes of the Middle Ages and reign over the entire world; but on two conditions—that it shall set itself at the head of the movement in favour of social democracy which is now agitating modern society, and that, quitting Rome, it shall cease to be Italian and become Anglo-Saxon, because the future belongs to the Anglo-Saxons, who already rule the greater part of America, Africa, Australia, and even Asia. M. de Laveleye holds that the suppression of the temporal power of the Papacy is not likely to be reversed, but he points out that, as Count Arnim prophesied, since Leo XIII. became Pontiff the rôle of the Papacy has not ceased to expand. The Vatican, he says, is to-day one of the diplomatic centres of Europe, where the greatest State affairs are dealt with. The Pope takes part openly or secretly in the interior policy of all civilised countries. Illustrations are drawn from the Kulturkampf in Germany, and Prince Bismarck's reconciliation with Rome; from the Duke of Norfolk's embassy and other recent events which he sums up in the judgment that "the Pope is recognised as the arbiter of the situation in Ireland." In France, Austria, Spain, Holland and other countries he sees the same disposition to seek the intervention of the Pope. In America, Cardinal Gibbons has procured the withdrawal of the condemnation pronounced on the "Knights of Labour," and has prevented Henry George's book being put on the *Index Expurgatorius*. In Italy the Papacy seems to exercise less influence than anywhere else. The Pope's continued claim on temporal power is a standing menace to the unity of Italy. Many good Catholics and even priests refuse to go with the Head of their Church. Stone by stone the Church has reared again the edifice of her rule which had been destroyed by recent revolutions. The ancient monasteries were suppressed and their property sold, but new convents are rising which will soon become richer and more numerous than the old. The Papacy was formerly the most absolute autocracy in the world, but when it sees it has nothing more to expect from the Sovereigns it will turn to the people, and perhaps we may see some day a Socialist Pope denouncing the tyranny of capital as Cardinal Manning has done. But M. de Laveleye maintains that a system of worship which accords the unheard-of privilege of infallibility to a human being, which is surcharged with practices and superstitions opposed to the Gospel, which is as far removed from the teachings of Christ as darkness from light, and which condemns modern liberty, and especially liberty of conscience, such a mode of worship cannot possibly be the religion of the civilised peoples of the future.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (April).—Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, writes a short paper, entitled "My Life among the Indians." He says that in 1859

there were twenty thousand Indians in his diocese—Algonquins and Dacotahs or Sioux. The warlike Sioux lived on the prairies, the cunning Ojibways or Chippeways, in the forest. Nearly all the Indians words in *Hiawatha* are Ojibway. Names are descriptive and are often changed. A boy may be called "The Passing Cloud"; but as a man may be known as "The Wounded One." The inflection of the verb shows to what it is applied. In fact, "these unwritten Indian tongues are marvellous for their beauty and power, and are capable of conveying as nice shades of meaning as classic Greek." The Bishop's long experience has led him to form a high estimate of the Indian. He is not a gross idolater, but lives in a world "peopled with spirits. He recognises a Great Spirit; he believes in a future life. He has a passionate love for his children, and will gladly die for his people. He is a true friend and a bitter enemy. I have never known of an instance where the Indian was the first to violate plighted faith. General H. H. Sibley, the chief factor of the North-West Fur Company, says that for thirty years it was the boast of the Sioux that they had never taken the life of a white man." The Bishop gives a touching account of the American treatment of the Indians thirty years ago, which he describes as "a blunder and a crime." As soon as he was appointed to Minnesota he found his way among the tribesmen, whom he soon learned both to pity and esteem. He travelled every year from five hundred to fifteen hundred miles on foot or in a birch-bark canoe, going from village to village to help them and to take the Gospel to these poor creatures. The work seemed hopeless, but at last success crowned patient labour. Old Shah-dah-yence, the leading medicine-man of the nation, one of the Bishop's stoutest opponents, learned from his own boy, whom he had sent to the mission-school, to believe in Jesus. "I have never known," says the Bishop, "any man whose life was more thoroughly imbued with the Spirit of Christ. In his old age I have known him to walk to Red Lake, seventy miles, to tell his people of the love which filled his heart." The article reminds us of many passages in Mr. E. R. Young's recent book, *With Canoe and Dog-train among the Cree Indians*.—Mr. Bunce's paper on "English and American Book Markets," is intended to show how incorrect is the statement that there are twenty readers of books in the United States to one in Great Britain. He thinks that the prices paid to authors furnish a fair test of the reading activity of any people. George Eliot received £15,000 for *Middlemarch*, Longmans sent Macaulay a cheque for £20,000 within three months after the fourth volume of his History appeared. Tennyson at one time received £5000 a year for his copy-rights, whether he published anything new or not. "Some single books in this country, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Wide, Wide World*, *Ben Hur*, have yielded their authors a large profit; but I know of no author publishing rapidly book after book whose average receipts are at all equal to those of English authors of corresponding rank. And if we compare exceptional books, England still pays much more liberally than we do." The literary journals of England also bear witness to her greater literary activity. A copy of the *Athenæum* contained thirty-six columns of book announcements and advertisements, whilst the *Nation* of the same date had only seven such columns. Then the aggregate consumption of books by the public, circulating, and free libraries of America is much below that of Mudie's. "In truth, it is not uncommon for Mudie to take on the day of publication more copies of a book at a high price than could be sold throughout the United States at a lower price. . . . . When Froude's *History of England* was first published, Mudie subscribed for a thousand copies; yet no publisher here thought it prudent to make an edition for the market, although a thousand copies, at the usual price of works of the kind, would have ensured the publisher against loss." Mr. Bunce says: "I believe that the English library system, with its large body of alert and accessible readers, has been the means of building up an expansive and catholic literature." It is not fair to compare the sale of high-priced books in England with the same books published at very low prices in America. The States can show nothing to compare with 132,000

copies of Green's *Short History*, sold in England. Darwin's Life was published at half the price in America that it was published at here, but our sales were twice as large, and with us the greater number of copies went into libraries, so that each of them probably had ten times as many readers. Too much stress must not be laid on the greater sale of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in the United States than in England. "Several editions were published here at a much lower price, and the sale was pushed in each instance by an army of active agents. Had this work been published in this country at one-half the English price, and sold, as it was in England, through the regular book channels, the showing would have been very different. Nevertheless, the large consumption here of a work of so high a character is very creditable to our people. We are distinctively, as a nation, buyers of dictionaries and cyclopædias. There is abundance of money in the country, and a widespread thirst for practical information, even on the part of those who care nothing for literature." No American publisher has ventured on any series like Morley's Universal Library, Bohn's Libraries, the Chandos Classics, Canterbury Poets, or Camelot Library. "Editions that unite perfect workmanship with great cheapness are not made in the United States."

METHODIST REVIEW (May–June).—Professor Upham, of Drew Theological Seminary, writes an article on Dr. Roche's Life of John P. Durbin, one of the great American preachers, whose "impassioned eloquence charmed alike the learned and dignified members of the United States Senate and the humble dwellers in the frontier cabins of the West." Dr. Abel Stevens pronounced him to be the "most interesting preacher in the Methodist pulpit." But he was not only a popular preacher. He was an able college professor and president and his practical wisdom and great executive ability as Missionary Secretary gave to Episcopal Methodism its present efficient missionary administration. As a young man in rough country charges he spared no pains to improve his mind. Immediately after preaching, sometimes before all the people had gone out, he would sit down with his book. If any person wished to divert his attention on trifling matters he gave such careless answers that they soon left the young student to himself. Instead of being offended, the people offered him every facility for his work. They "lent me books, provided me candles, and, when this could not be done, provided dry wood or bark to give light, gave me a room to myself, or, when they had no room to give, ruled the children into silence that I might have an opportunity to read." No wonder such a man became a leader in his own Church.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH (April).—Mr. Harrison, in his "Walks in London," confines his attention to Cleopatra's Needle, City Road Chapel, which he calls the Mecca of Methodism—and the Sabbath peace which rests on London after the roar and din of the week. Our Canadian visitor's impressions will no doubt be welcomed in many homes across the Atlantic. The Articles and notes on American Methodism will have much interest for English readers. Dr. Samford contributes a second set of "Reminiscences of the Olden Time," which give an appreciative sketch of the life and work of Dr. Few, the esteemed Methodist President of Emory College, who joined the South Carolina Conference in 1828. A story told in this interesting paper shows that it was not without reason that the Presbyterians "for a long time taunted the Methodists in Georgia with the illiteracy of their preaching." Dr. Few presided at one Quarterly Conference where an earnest but ignorant man asked for a license to preach. Dr. Few heard the young man's statement, and afterwards walked out with him into the wood, where they sat on a log and talked the matter over. It was in vain that the aspirant was told that he was not qualified to become a minister. Importunity won him the license. He "became a member of the Alabama Conference, began spelling out his hymns and texts, devoted himself to study and work, and became a strong, zealous, plain, but powerful preacher, and after many years of service died in the faith." "Some Historical Memoranda" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, by Dr. Thrall, show the early steps towards independent organisation made by that Church, which has just held its eleventh

Annual Conference at St. Louis, and has 4700 itinerant preachers and a million and a half of members. On May 1, 1845, the Louisville Convention met to arrange the new organisation. Next year the first General Conference was held at Petersburg, Va. The membership of the new Church was under half a million. It appointed a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but he reported to the next assembly "that that body had turned the cold shoulder to him," and it was resolved that hereafter any proposal for fraternity must come from the other side. A record of the legislation and chief appointments of the first ten General Conferences is given. A notable change is being made in the Conference of this year: "Instead of being quartered among hospitable friends in the city, members will have their expenses paid by general collections throughout the Connexion."

CENTURY MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—"Friend Olivia," Miss Barr's Quaker story, still keeps its freshness and force of style. It is studded with bright sayings, which one feels inclined to jot down in a note-book, and forms a fine picture of religious life under the Commonwealth. "The Anglomaniacs," an anonymous story of the travelling American millionaire, opens well in the June number. Mr. Shaw's account of "London Polytechnics and People's Palaces," with its capital frontispiece portrait of Walter Besant, and smaller portraits of Mr. Quintin Hogg, who has spent a hundred thousand pounds on the Regent Street Polytechnic since 1882, and of Mr. J. E. K. Studd, who is one of Mr. Hogg's right-hand men, both in the recreative and religious part of his work, will be read with interest both here and in America. Mr. Le Farge gives some admirable sketches of Japanese architecture in his "Artists' Letters from Japan." "The Women of the French Salons," in the seventeenth century, tells the old story of the Duchesse de Montpensier, Madame de Sablé, and La Rochefoucauld with considerable grace and animation. The letterpress is set in an ornamental border and enriched by some capital portraits. Eugène M. Camp's brief paper, "What's the News?" gives some figures which are worth quoting. American papers spend about $1,820,000 for press despatches, $2,250,000 for special despatches, $12,500,000 for local news. The New York *World* pays $667,500 a year for its white paper, $6000 a week for compositors' work, $315 for proof-reading. "Most dailies in our largest cities realise an income in about the proportion of two-thirds from advertising to one-third from subscription and sales." The following ratio of sales of newspapers to every hundred of the population shows their enormous influence:

| | Morning. | Evening. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Boston . . . | 53.54 ... | 62.87 ... | 116.41 |
| New York . . | 64.28 ... | 31.17 ... | 95.45 |
| San Francisco . | 64.28 ... | 28.60 ... | 92.88 |
| Pittsburg . . | 53.23 ... | 33.50 ... | 86.73 |
| Cincinnati . . | 43.17 ... | 36.71 ... | 79.88 |
| Chicago . . . | 41.25 ... | 22.60 ... | 63.85 |

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—The June number of *Harper* is one of the best we have seen. Daudet's "Port Tarascon" is not to our taste, but there are two readable short stories: "Would Dick do that?" and "Two Points of View." Herr Wahl's paper on Bismarck has little that is fresh and is somewhat dull. There are four descriptive papers, however, of great interest. "Through the Caucasus," with its sketches of agricultural and nomadic life, both by pen and pencil; the American burlesque, with its amusing illustrations; the appreciative and instructive account of Birmingham under the flattering title, "The Best-governed City in the World;" and Mr. Pyle's sketches of old highwaymen and thieves, under the title "Chapbook Heroes," will all repay perusal. Jack Sheppard's wonderful escape from Newgate makes a stirring story, but readers of Mr. Pyle's article will see what a pest to society these "chapbook heroes" really were.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—The June number of *Scribner*, with Mr. Stanley's article on "The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition," will be

eagerly welcomed. It is, as the writer says in his first paragraph, no slight undertaking to condense into a few pages "a readable and interesting epitome of nearly three long years of toil, of anxiety, and of cruel suffering." But, burdened as he is from early morning till late at night, Mr. Stanley has not refused this fresh task. The grateful acknowledgment of Divine help in his travels is a happy feature of the article. Mr. Stanley says: "Constrained at the darkest hour to humbly confess that without God's help I was helpless, I vowed a vow in the forest solitudes that I would confess His aid before men. Silence as of death was round about me; it was midnight; I was weakened by illness, prostrated by fatigue, and wan with anxiety for my white and black companions, whose fate was a mystery. In this physical and mental distress I besought God to give me back my people. Nine hours later we were exulting with a rapturous joy. In full view of all was the crimson flag with the crescent, and beneath its waving folds was the long-lost rear column." At one crisis of the expedition, when the valleys seemed alive with warriors, he says: "The night before, I had been reading the exhortation of Moses to Joshua, and whether it was the effect of those brave words or whether it was a voice I know not, but it appeared to me as though I heard 'Be strong and of good courage; fear not nor be afraid of them, for the Lord thy God he it is that doth go with thee, he will not fail thee nor forsake thee.' When on the next day Mazamboni commanded his people to attack and exterminate us, there was not a coward in our camp, whereas the evening before we exclaimed in bitterness, on seeing four of our men fly before one native, 'And these are the wretches with whom we must reach the Pasha.'" Mr. Stanley sums all up in one sentence: "I feel utterly unable to attribute our salvation to any other cause than to a gracious Providence, who for some purpose of his own preserved us." After this significant opening, Mr. Stanley speaks of the services rendered by various members of the expedition. He pays a fine tribute to Emin Pasha, for whom he has never lost his respect, though he found him of less heroic mould than he had expected. The rest of the article consists of an extended quotation from the record of Mr. Stanley's expedition, which is so eagerly expected. "There is only one remedy," he says, "for these wholesale devastations of African aborigines, and that is the solemn combination of England, Germany, France, Portugal, South and East Africa, and Congo State against the introduction of gunpowder into any part of the continent except for the use of their own agents, soldiers, and employés; or seizing upon every tusk of ivory brought out, as there is not a single piece nowadays which has been gained lawfully. Every tusk, piece, and scrap in the possession of an Arab trader has been steeped and dyed in blood. Every pound weight has cost the life of a man, woman, or child; for every five pounds a hut has been burned; for every two tusks a whole village has been destroyed; every twenty tusks have been obtained at the price of a district, with all its people, villages, and plantations. It is simply incredible that, because ivory is required for ornaments or billiard games, the rich heart of Africa should be laid waste at this late year of the nineteenth century, signalized as it has been by so much advance; that populations, tribes, and nations should be utterly destroyed."

ST. NICHOLAS (April, May, June).—Mr. E. J. Glave, one of Stanley's pioneer officers, has been giving some account to the readers of this magazine of his "Six Years in the Wilds of Central Africa." The third paper in the June number describes the great forest which covered all the country to the south of his station at Lukolela. It was an intense relief to slip away into its solitudes when the curious strangers crowded from all parts to see the white man. Mr. Glave and his little servant Mabruki had to cut away the tangled undergrowth that spread round the roots of the teak and mahogany trees. Luxuriant creepers trailed from branch to branch or hung in great bunches from the highest boughs, almost shutting out the light of day. The woods abounded in game. The elephants' path might be traced by the broad trail of wrecked tree and shrub; deeply furrowed tracts in the loamy soil showed where the great herds of buffaloes had gone down to the river for their morning drink.

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TO

# VOLUME LXXIV.

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