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ART. I.—CHRISTIANITY AND GREEK THOUGHT.

The Hibbert Lectures, 1888: *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*. By the late EDWIN HATCH, D.D. Edited by A. M. FAIRBAIRN, D.D. Williams & Norgate. 1891.

IT is characteristic of our time, in the consideration of religious, as of all other questions, to vaunt the sufficiency of the "historic method," which is understood to be equivalent to the "scientific method" of investigation. It is too often assumed that to trace out the history of a doctrine, an institution, or a form of thought, is to explain it and that to furnish an outline of its growth and development, is to account for its existence and set it in its right place in the general order of things. The historical method is understood to be a potent *organon*, whereby many old problems are at last to be satisfactorily solved. Now, we have not a word to say against the historical method in itself. We have no objection to admit that until very lately the value of this method in theology has by no means been fully recognised. Its significance has been under-estimated, and in practice it has been almost entirely postponed to the dogmatic method. Now, however, there appears to be some danger of a reaction to the other extreme. The application of historical analysis in matters theological requires especial care. Not only is it necessary for the

historical theologian to see to it that he takes into consideration: first, pure facts, unalloyed by personal or sectional bias; secondly, *all* the facts that are accessible; but, thirdly, he must be sure that his deductions are drawn with the utmost care and freedom from prepossession. For the historical method needs the historical temper, and that is rare indeed, especially among theologians. Further, if bias and prepossession be altogether laid on one side, it must not be forgotten that for the historian of religion essential materials are often lacking. When, therefore, any great problem of religious history is to be attacked by the historical method, while the investigation is one of the highest interest and may be of the highest value, it is especially necessary for the student to be on his guard.

These remarks find ample illustration in the two chief works of that eminent and able theologian, the late Dr. Hatch. His Bampton Lectures on *The Organisation of the Early Christian Churches*, and the volume of *Hibbert Lectures* before us, are alike examples of the historical method in theology exhibited in its strength and in its weakness. The writer's object in the former volume, he tells us, was "faithfully to collect, sift, and compare the available evidence, and draw the conclusions to which that evidence seems to point, without reference to other hypotheses, however venerable from their antiquity, or however widely diffused in the Christian world." The general conclusions arrived at, as regards Church organisation, were that the framework of Christian society was not a directly ordained Divine institution, but was slowly developed out of elements existing in heathen society, the Christian ministry being formed upon the model of social and philanthropic organisations already at work in the Roman Empire. According to Dr. Hatch, the Christian society was first a democracy; afterwards, under the pressure of existing needs, it became a monarchy; from which the conclusion naturally follows that it might become a democracy again. He questions whether what was primitive was intended to be permanent, and urges that what it is important for the Christian Church to preserve is, "not the ancient form so much as the historical continuity."

In the present volume Dr. Hatch deals, not with organisation, but with doctrine. The book is one which should be handled tenderly, for the author did not live to watch it through the press himself, and it sees the light only through the able and pious care of Dr. Fairbairn, of Mansfield College, who, in company with one or two zealous coadjutors, has deciphered fragmentary sheets of loose notes and MSS. anything but ready for the press. Through this kindly editing, however, Dr. Hatch's Lectures are presented in such a way as to do no injustice to his views, and eight lectures out of the twelve were left by him prepared for the printer's hands. The work thus published is, as Dr. Fairbairn says in the Preface, an admirable illustration of Dr. Hatch's method, but, "in order to be judged aright, it ought to be judged within the limits he himself has drawn. It is a study in historical development, an analysis of some of the formal factors that conditioned a given process and determined a given result. . . . . His purpose, like his method, was scientific, and as an attempt at the scientific treatment of the growth and formulation of ideas, of the evolution and establishment of usages within the Christian Church, it ought to be studied and criticised." As such, we proceeed to examine this most suggestive volume. If the historical or scientific method is very potent, and its application needs to be carefully watched and guarded where ecclesiastical organisation is concerned, much more is this the case where doctrine and the very fabric of Christian truth is affected. The thesis of Dr. Hatch concerning the influence of Greek thought and usages upon the development of Christianity is so interesting, and at the same time the rash acceptance or unwise application of it would be so dangerous, that we are anxious first of all to describe it for our readers, and then to criticise it in some of its positions and bearings.

Dr. Hatch begins by drawing a sharp contrast between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed. The former is the promulgation of a new law of conduct; the latter is a statement made up of metaphysical terms, which would probably have been unintelligible to the first disciples, and one in which ethics have no place. "The one belongs to a world of Syrian peasants; the other to a world of Greek philosophers."

How did this revolution come about? Why did an ethical sermon stand in the forefront of the teaching of Jesus Christ, and a metaphysical creed in the forefront of the Christianity of the fourth century? The exact question propounded is "not how did the Christian societies come to believe one [doctrinal] proposition rather than another, but how did they come to the frame of mind which attached importance to either the one or the other, and made the assent to the one rather than the other a condition of membership." This change in the centre of gravity of the Christian religion from conduct to belief is, says Dr. Hatch, seen to be coincident with the transference of Christianity from a Semitic to a Greek soil. "The presumption is, that it was the result of Greek influence." The Lectures that follow, therefore, are occupied with the subject of "The Influence of Greece upon Christianity," with a view to show that that influence may be generally described by the transition effected from the Sermon on the Mount to the Creed of Nicæa.

A study of the growth and modifications of the early forms of Christianity, and of the effect upon them of Greek ideas and usages, must be many-sided. Dr. Hatch accordingly begins with the subject of education, and shows, with no little learning, and in a most interesting style, how complex and varied, how widely diffused and lasting in its effects, Greek education was. The life which was formed by it was also complex and artificial, and it gave to Christianity something of its own form. A chapter "On Greek and Christian Exegesis" seeks to trace out this influence in its bearing upon Scripture interpretation, especially in the use of the allegorical method, which Dr. Hatch thinks is harmless so long as it is regarded as "the play of innocent imagination on the surface of great truths," but when it became traditional and authoritative "it became at once the slave of dogmatism and the tyrant of souls." An interesting study of Greek rhetoric, the bearing of which upon the subject is not at first sight very close, leads to the conclusion that Rhetoric killed Philosophy in the history of Greek thought, and that Christian preachers, under the same influence, destroyed religion by overlaying it with sophistry. Instead of the prophet came the eloquent

talker; but the victory gained by the supple Greek intellect was dearly won. "It purchased conquest at the price of reality," and Christianity has had an element of sophistry in it ever since. Similarly, in the fifth Lecture the author endeavours to show that Greek philosophy has adulterated the purity of early Christian religion. The Greek tendency to attach the same certainty to metaphysical as to physical ideas has been most mischievous. Dogmas are simply personal convictions, and "the belief that metaphysical theology is more than this is the chief bequest of Greece to religious thought, and it has been a *damnosa hæreditas*. It has given to later Christianity that part of it which is doomed to perish, and which yet, while it lives, holds the key of the prison-house of many souls."

The chapter on Greek and Christian ethics labours to prove that the age in which Christianity grew was in reality an age of moral reformation, the Stoics and the Cynics, as represented by such a teacher as Epictetus, seeking to give supremacy to ethics over logic, and raising the contents of ethical teaching from the sphere of moral philosophy to that of religion. The effect of Greek influence upon Christianity in the region of ethics was not, however, favourable, for in part it resulted in this, that "the attention of a majority of Christian men was turned to the intellectual as distinguished from the moral element in the life," and, so far as directly ethical influence was felt, the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount became changed into the ethics of Roman Law, so that "the basis of Christian society is not Christian, but Roman and Stoical."

To theology Dr. Hatch devotes more space. We cannot, however, follow him in detail, as he seeks to show the effect of Greek thought upon the primitive idea of Christianity concerning God, dwelling especially upon the three elements in that idea, of God as Creator, as moral Governor, and as Absolute Being. If Greek thought helped Christians to find a reasoned basis for Hebrew monotheism, it also caused them to lay emphasis on the conception of God as the Artificer and Architect of the universe, rather than as its immanent Cause. The Arian controversy, with its endless discussions concerning Homo-ousios and Homoio-ousios, and the vain attempts of the Church to pour the contents of the four Greek terms οὐσία,

ὑποστασις, πρόσωπον, and φύσις, into the Latin three, *substantia*, *persona*, and *natura*, could only, according to Dr. Hatch's views, be disastrous. "The simple and unstudied language of the childhood of Christianity, with its awe-struck sense of the ineffable nature of God, was but a fading memory; and, on the other hand, the tendency to trust in and insist upon the results of speculation was strong. Once, indeed, the Catholic doctrine was formulated, then, though not till then, the majority began to deprecate investigations as to the nature of God." The assumptions—(1) That metaphysical distinctions are important; (2) That these distinctions which we make in our minds correspond to realities in the world around us; (3) That the idea of perfection which we transfer from our selves to God really corresponds to the nature of His being—are assumptions only. Nevertheless, says Dr. Hatch, they lie at the basis of Greek speculation, and have entered accordingly into the very substance of the Christian religion as we have received it." We may be destined, then, to transcend these by new assumptions, "which will lead us at once to a divine knowledge and the sense of a diviner life."

After dealing in the tenth lecture with the influence of the Greek mysteries upon Christian usages, especially of the two Sacraments of the Church—a subject on which Dr. Hatch's remarks are least satisfactory, and his straining of the points he wishes to make is greatest—the lecturer dwells in the last two lectures upon the Incorporation of Christian ideas into a body of doctrine and the Transformation of the basis of Christian union, placing doctrine in the room of conduct; two processes which he believes to have been carried on and carried out under the prevailing influence of Greek ideas. The idea of trust in God thus passed into the idea of a creed, "blending theory with fact, and metaphysical speculation with spiritual truth." The symmetry of the system became the test of its truth and the proof of all. And this "system" was but "the speculations of a majority at certain meetings." The mental tendencies of the majority at Nicæa were assumed to be not only true, but final; the Nicene theology was taken as part of the original revelation—a theology divinely communicated to the Apostles by Jesus Christ himself. Last of all comes "that

enormous change in the Christian communities by which an assent to that body of doctrine became the basis of union." The teaching of the catechumens was no longer the inculcation of the higher morality; it was the *traditio symboli*, "the teaching of the password and of its meaning. The creed and teaching were the creed and teaching of the average members of the communities. In religion, as in society, it is the average that rules. The law of life is compromise." The test of being a Christian was conformity to the resolutions of the Councils and assent to orthodox opinions the sole basis of Christian union. There were reactions, no doubt, illustrated by periodical outbreaks of Puritanism and Monachism; still, the Church gradually became, not an assembly of devout men, but a society of men of the world, "basing their conduct on the current maxims of society, held together by the loose bond of a common name and of a creed which they did not understand." Such a society must have an intellectual basis as its only possible basis, and it must insist upon that as essential to self-preservation. Christianity since that time has won no more victories. The darkest pages in the history of the Church are "those which record the story of its endeavouring to force its transformed Greek metaphysics upon men or upon races to whom they were alien." The only ground for despair in those who accept Christianity now, is the fear that the dominance of the metaphysical element in it will be perpetual: the one ground of hope, to which Dr. Hatch evidently clung eagerly and tenaciously, is that the Christian religion in its purity and simplicity may cast off the cerements of Greek theories and usages, which are only Christian in name, in form and in colour, and, freed from metaphysical subtleties and the bands of dogmatic formularies, may renew its youth, put on its pristine vigour, and go forth to that conquest of the world which it was originally destined to achieve.

Most imperfectly have we sketched the outline of this vigorous and able book. Dr. Hatch's proofs and illustrations we have not given at all, and the description of his positions has been necessarily brief and inadequate. Nevertheless, we hope we have not done injustice to his main argument by the

above account of it, and we shall be able to make a few further detailed quotations which will enable the writer to speak in his own words. We proceed therefore to lay before our readers some criticisms of Dr. Hatch's positions and arguments, the effect of which upon modern Christianity, were they accepted in full, would, it is clear, be nothing short of revolutionary. Is it true, we ask, that primitive Christianity is to be discerned in the Sermon on the Mount? Is it true that the transition from its ethical teaching to the Nicene Creed was chiefly effected by Greek ideas and habits of thought in the third and fourth centuries? Was Christianity itself revolutionised by Greek influences in the sense and to the degree which Dr. Hatch describes? How far does the Nicene Creed represent a corruption, how far a growth or development of primitive Christian religion? Is the "Greek element" in Christianity a deleterious excrescence which has injured the plant for centuries by its poisonous juices, and which must be worked out of its system as soon as may be? These are only a few out of many questions suggested by this volume of Hibbert Lectures, which will remain a monument to the learning and ability of their author, too soon removed from amongst us, whether they do or do not form a contribution of permanent value to the history of the Christian Church. The value of that contribution has yet to be determined after due examination held, and in such an examination we think it our duty to take a part, though it must be slight and comparatively superficial.

First of all, it is, we think, tolerably clear that the application of the historical method, pure and simple, in theology, is particularly difficult to obtain. We should not like to say that Dr. Hatch was unconsciously affected throughout by bias and personal prepossessions; but it is certain that in the outline above sketched the historian cannot be said to have given all the facts, and nothing but the facts, and to have abstained from deductions except such as were warranted by the facts. He himself admits that "most of us bring to the study of Christian history a number of conclusions already formed. We tend to beg the question before we examine it." He means that we are prejudiced in favour of the Christianity

we know, and that the happy associations and sacred memories which have encompassed us from childhood prevent us from analysing the Christianity we love into its component parts. But it needs only a short study of this book to show that there is another danger, which Dr. Hatch has certainly not altogether escaped—that of taking a partial and one-sided view of a complex growth and development, and of reading into the history conclusions which we cannot help thinking were unconsciously present in the writer's mind before his historical analysis was begun. Dr. Fairbairn says that the lectures deal throughout "solely with formal factors and the conditions under which they operated," that the lecturer "does not pronounce on the value or validity of the result." But that is precisely what the lecturer often does most explicitly, while throughout his work there is a continual implicit pronouncement upon much more than the operation of "formal factors" in the growth of Christian doctrine. But let us try to make this good in detail.

To begin with, one chief charge we should make against Dr. Hatch is that in his historical study he—strangely enough—omits to begin with the New Testament. He did this also in his Bampton Lectures. There, however, there was the excuse—valid enough within certain limits—that the New Testament propounds no theory of Church Government. Even so, it was the duty of a writer upon the "early organisation" of Christian Churches at least briefly to examine into the teaching of the New Testament on his theme. But in the case of doctrine even this excuse does not hold. Would Dr. Hatch say that there is no scheme of doctrine in the New Testament? No formulated scheme certainly can be found there, but the historian does not deal simply with formulated schemes. A body of doctrine is certainly contained in the New Testament, with which every writer who professes to trace the subsequent effect of Greek thought upon "primitive Christianity" is bound to deal. Would he say that there is doubt concerning the dates of some New Testament writings, and that he could not discuss the composition of the Gospels, or the authorship of the writings attributed to St. John? It still remains true that the dates of most of the books of the New Testament,

whoever may have been their authors, are approximately fixed, and that no writer is competent to begin to trace out the influence of Greek ideas and usages upon Christianity till he has described what in germ that Christianity was, as embodied in the earliest Christian writings, the books revered as sacred and authoritative by the Christians of the centuries which he undertakes more particularly to examine.

Dr. Hatch begins with the Sermon on the Mount as virtually embodying "primitive Christianity." This is his *terminus a quo*. But by what right does he thus choose a starting-point which itself begs a large part of the question he sets out to determine? On what principle can he isolate a portion of Christ's teaching—a discourse uttered when the Master had in view one particular class of considerations only, when He was dealing with the relation between the Old and the New Commandment, and viewing the subjects of the New Kingdom in relation to conduct—and deal with this fragment of our Lord's teaching apart from the rest of His words handed down to us, apart from the Gospel narratives as a whole, apart from the evidence of those books, of the New Testament at least, whose date and genuineness is practically undoubted? Even the Sermon on the Mount implies a theology, but if it did not, it can no more be separated from the rest of Christ's teaching, when we are trying to understand what "primitive Christianity" is, than, say, His parables, or His discourses concerning the last things. If we confine our attention to the Synoptic Gospels only, whence our knowledge of the Sermon on the Mount is derived, we must take into account all Christ's teaching concerning the judgment, and Himself as Judge, such passages as Matt. xi. 27: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father, &c.;" as well as His words concerning His own death as "a ransom for many"; and many others. True, there is no "systematic theology," certainly no "metaphysics," in these utterances; but there are certain great cardinal facts recorded and certain cardinal truths laid down, which lead us into regions far beyond the simple and sublime ethical teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; facts and truths which make it possible to listen to the Sermon without the

despair it would otherwise awaken in the human heart, as containing commandments too lofty for frail and sinful human nature ever to dream of being able to obey them.

But we are not confined to the Synoptic Gospels, and we are not ignorant of the critical difficulties which attend an acceptance of them in their present form as a primitive record. We are entitled to ask—it is the first thing which scores of intelligent readers have asked, on laying down Dr. Hatch's book—What does he make of St. Paul? He cannot profess to doubt the genuineness or early date of the four Epistles—Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians. Was Paul a Greek? He wrote in Greek, and knew something—probably not very much—of Greek literature; but "Jew" is stamped on every page of his writings, which are steeped in Semitic thought, characterised throughout by the Semitic temper. Yet who can read the first or the fifth or the eighth chapter of Romans without discovering—not indeed Greek metaphysics—but a statement of great religious verities which cannot be thoroughly understood in their various aspects and bearings without a great deal of metaphysics, Greek or other? If the Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians, or either of them, be admitted as Pauline, the case is greatly strengthened. Does this sentence come from Alexandria in the fourth century: "The Son of His Love. . . . . Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of all creation; for in Him were all things created, in the heavens and upon the earth, things visible and things invisible, whether thrones or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things have been created through Him and unto Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things consist." The Christ of Paul, if Paul's acknowledged writings are reduced to a minimum, is sufficient to prepare the way for the Christ of the Nicene Creed.

We do not press the testimony of the Johannine writings, though there were much to be said concerning them. If the Fourth Gospel were not written by St. John, though steadily accumulating evidence has now almost settled that question, all critics agree that it cannot be dated later than the middle of the second century. What is to be made of that fact in

this "historical" sketch of the transition from the Sermon on the Mount and the Creed of Nicæa? The Gospel is not Greek in thought, though it is Greek in language. The single fact of the occurrence of the word *Logos* in this important Christian document, which certainly appeared within one hundred years of Christ's death, vitiates a great deal of Dr. Hatch's argument. If we be allowed to use the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles, as we certainly must, whether Paul wrote them or not, the repeated mention of "the pattern of sound words," "the good doctrine," "the sound doctrine committed unto thee," nullifies a great deal more. The mention in the Epistle of Jude of "the faith once delivered unto the saints" is only one passage among many others which shows how arbitrary and misleading is Dr. Hatch's isolation of the Sermon on the Mount as itself an adequate representation of "primitive Christianity."

But we ought almost to apologise to our readers for arguing this out; the point is so patent, that it will be felt at once as if we were wronging Dr. Hatch by representing him as taking no account of it. Indeed, we have been ourselves not a little puzzled to know how he would reply to this most natural objection, for it is hard to extract any satisfactory reply from his pages. There is one striking fact, however, which shows that we are doing no injustice to the Hibbert Lecturer in fastening him down to this very narrow and inadequate description of primitive Christianity. This is, the stress he repeatedly lays upon the *Didaché*, the lately discovered "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Again and again he draws attention to this document as apparently the most trustworthy record remaining to us of early Christianity. He considers (p. 160) that it expresses "the current ideal of Christian practice. In the 'way of life' which it sets forth, doctrine has no place." It is, in fact, an expansion, in parts, of the Sermon on the Mount. The document is no doubt exceedingly valuable to the students of early Church history, though there is as yet by no means a complete consensus of opinion among scholars either as to its date or its exact place and significance as a record of the early Church. But is it worthy of one who pursues the "historical method" to pass by the four Epistles of St. Paul, and insist again and again upon this anonymous

document as representative of the beliefs of the primitive Church? There are passing phrases also in the book—such as one on p. 132, where Ebionitism is spoken of as "old-fashioned Christianity"—which show that Dr. Hatch is fain to hint at what he certainly cannot prove: viz., that there was a period in the earliest history of the Christian Church when Ebionitic doctrine prevailed and was counted orthodox, the Pauline and Johannine types of Christian teaching being but later developments. If historians form their own ideas of what the evolution of thought and opinion ought to be, they must not twist facts and documents into conformity with these conceptions. Not that we believe for a moment that Dr. Hatch was capable of anything like a passing insincerity; but his treatment of the earliest Christian documents is unaccountable, except as the result of unconscious bias in favour of a theory.

There was, then, we may be allowed to assume, much more of doctrinal teaching in the Christianity of the first century, while it was distinctly "Semitic" in character, than Dr. Hatch has at all admitted. The great central facts of Christianity, as recorded in the New Testament, and the cardinal truths there stated in non-metaphysical language, did undoubtedly afford a basis for subsequent metaphysical treatment, which Dr. Hatch has altogether omitted to notice. But it appears to us that he has greatly exaggerated the prevalence and influence of Greek metaphysics in the history of Christianity. The ethical element in the Christian life of the fourth century is minimised in this volume. It is quite true that during the Arian controversy, for example, undue attention was for a time attracted to theological subtleties, but no student of Athanasius can fail to perceive the dominant ethical element in many of his orations and writings, as well as the fact that to him the contest concerning the Person of Christ was as much a moral as a theological one, involving ethical and practical issues of the very first importance. There is a difference, no doubt, between the various Fathers as representatives of Christian thought and teaching. It would not be difficult, by confining attention to Clement and Origen, to show that in Alexandria Christianity was sometimes in danger of being overlaid and stifled by Greek philosophy. But a wider outlook would correct this. Especially

must it be remembered that the records of ecclesiastical assemblies and doctrinal controversies which have come down to us by no means fully or fairly represent the working of the Christian religion at large in all its bearings. It was purifying the morals and sweetening and beautifying the life of tens of thousands of Christian homes, in the very days when Gregory of Nazianzus complained of the unseemly quarrels of ecclesiastical councils, and declared that he would attend "no more of these battles of cranes and geese." All this Dr. Hatch would, of course, at once admit; but our complaint is, that, as he has minimised the doctrinal element in earliest Christianity, so he has minimised the ethical element in the Christian life of the fourth century, and has thereby produced an unfair and misleading picture.

He has omitted, furthermore, to take full and proper account of the influence of Christianity upon Greek philosophy. If Christianity adopted words and phrases from the Greek literature of the time, it baptised, renewed, and elevated them. It had done this from the beginning. How misleading it would be to say that St. John degraded and adulterated the purity of Christian truth through his use of the word *logos*, and try to prove the point by quoting at large from Philo. Philo used the word in his own sense, one that can be arrived at only by careful study of his writings. The Fourth Gospel also uses it, but gives to it quite another connotation. So was it with the subsequent use of οὐσία and ὑπόστασις, and other words which the Church borrowed from the schools, to put upon them her own stamp, and make them serve her own high uses.

Still, we have not yet reached what is perhaps the heart of the battle. We accept Dr. Hatch's positions as regards the general influence of Greek thought upon Christian truth, with the large deductions already hinted at. There was a period, as every student of history knows, when the Christian religion was brought into close contact with Greek philosophy, when it at the same time largely influenced and was influenced by it. The only question is concerning the nature and extent of that influence. Is it true, as Dr. Hatch contends, that the earliest Christianity meant nothing but obedience to the Sermon on the Mount, and that Greek philosophy destroyed that pure

and simple individualistic religion by its sophistries, its definitions, its substitution of the intellectual for the moral, and of dry creeds for upright lives? Or is it the fact that the comparatively simple outline of Christian doctrine which existed from the very first, was during the third and fourth centuries, under the influence of Greek thought, elaborated with an amount of detail and a fine accuracy of definition to which it had formerly been a stranger? Did the Greek influence imply *additions* to the primitive faith, or, as the Nicene fathers continually maintained, did the creeds of those days but re-assert what had been believed from the beginning, explicitly defining what had always been implicitly held by the faithful from the first? That is a point capable of being argued; but Dr. Hatch, with the view he takes of primitive Christianity, has no opportunity of fairly arguing it. The question, What is meant by development, and how far is it legitimate? is always meeting us in theology. Are we to say that the Romish doctrine of Purgatory is only an unfolding of, or a legitimate deduction from, the doctrine of the New Testament and the early teaching of the Fathers, or that it is an addition of such a kind as to amount to gross perversion? Does the close and precise definition concerning the mystery of the Incarnation which characterises the Creed of Nicæa amount to a similar perversion of the simplicity of the early faith?

We are not about to enter on this discussion. It is always more or less difficult to say what are the legitimate "logical consequences" of a given doctrine. Newman's definition of corruption, in opposition to legitimate development, as "the destruction of the norm or type," or as "that which obscures or prejudices the essential idea" of a doctrine, errs, as Mozley pointed out long ago, by recognising only the corruption which takes place through failure and decay. His series of seven tests to distinguish a true from a false development—Preservation of Idea, Continuity of Principle, Logical Sequence, and the rest—are futile to detect the causes of corruption which have issued in modern Roman Catholicism. Corruption by excess is not only possible, but it has taken place in sadly large measure in the history of Christianity. Was there such corruption in the fourth century, when the form of Christian

doctrine was more or less determined under the influence of Greek thought? Dr. Hatch makes the extreme assertion—one which reveals much as to his whole attitude of mind on this subject—that "a definition of what has hitherto been undefined is necessarily of the nature of an addition" (p. 327). Surely this is to beg the whole question. It is a commonplace of ecclesiastical history that the early creeds were forced upon the Church by the multiplication of heresies, and that Fathers and Councils were compelled to define, were it only to say what the Christian creed from the beginning was *not*. A believer in the Apostles' Creed can hardly tell what he means when he says "I believe in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord," till analysis, whether styled metaphysical or not, has enabled him to unfold the thought wrapped up in those simple words. In the doctrine of the New Testament itself there is development, at least in the sense of a growing apprehension of the truth, "the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden" in Christ from the beginning. And, taking the development manifest within the covers of the New Testament as a norm or guide, it would not be difficult to argue that the development discernible in the Nicene Creed is legitimate, an unfolding of what was present in germ from the beginning, rather than a series of disfiguring, distorting, corrupting additions.

That the work of creed-making in the fourth century was perfectly done, no sane man would assert. The unseemly quarrels and contentions which attended it show that the reverend Fathers who debated at Nicæa and elsewhere were not perfect in temper. It is almost as obvious that the subtle, over-refining, speculative spirit of Greek thought, which ultimately half-ruined the Eastern Church, did at one time colour far too deeply the writings of some of the Fathers, and in some instances exercised a positively mischievous influence over the Councils of the Church. It is quite possible for one who believes that the Nicene Creed expressed, as well as it could be done in the language of the time, the beliefs concerning God and Christ, which had been virtually held in the Church from the beginning, to believe also that the element of Greek metaphysics, which has been wrought up into the

constitution of Christian thought is excessive, and that in course of time much of it must perish, as much has already perished in the course of centuries. This, however, is a position so different from that of Dr. Hatch, that the two can hardly be compared together; and it is with the views of the Hibbert Lecturer, not with the above much more practical question, that we have now to do.

We have not space to point out the many passages we had marked as containing questionable statements or deductions. Dr. Hatch's treatment of the word *dogma* is itself enough to make us distrust him as a guide, learned as he is. Falling back on the original etymology of the word, he emphasises the element in its meaning of *personal opinion*, quoting from Epictetus and Sextus Empiricus to show that it includes—"(*a*) a strictly personal feeling; and (*b*) a firm conviction, not a mere vague impression." He goes on to say that "the acquiescence of a large number of men in the same affirmation gave to such an affirmation a high degree of probability; but it did not cause it to lose its original character of a personal conviction, nor did it afford any guarantee that the coincidence of expression was also a coincidence of ideas either between the original thinker and his disciples, or between the disciples themselves." (P. 120.) But a slight examination of the usage of New Testament writers only* will show that this is a one-sided description of the meaning of the word, and the application of it subsequently made to the doctrines of the Christian Church is misleading. Dr. Hatch wishes to show that "subjective and temporary convictions," the mere "opinions of a majority," were "elevated to the rank of objective and eternal truths." But when Christians spoke of δόγματα, they were thinking, like St. Luke and St. Paul, of authoritative utterances, not of the personal opinions of majority or minority, and the connotation

* See Luc. ii. 1, and Acts xvii. 7, where δόγμα is used of a decree of Cæsar; Acts xvi. 4, where it is used of the authoritative decisions of a Church Council; Ephesians ii. 15 and Colossians ii. 14, where the idea of personal opinion, "that which seems good" to a man, or a number of men, is expressly excluded. The idea of "ordinance" springs from δοκεῖν easily enough by another line of derivation. It is used in this sense in Plato (Legg. 644 D), in Demosthenes, and in Xenophon.

of the word in their minds was not derived from the language of Epictetus or Sextus Empiricus, or any Greek philosopher of them all.

Take as another example of statements unintentionally misleading the following. After describing the Stoical idea of God, Dr. Hatch says: "In primitive Christianity we find ourselves in another sphere of ideas; we seem to be breathing the air of Syria, with Syrian forms moving round us, and speaking a language which is not familiar to us. For the Greek city, with its orderly government, we have to substitute the picture of an Eastern sheykh, at once the paymaster of his dependents, and their judge. Two conceptions are dominant, that of wages for work done, and that of positive law." (P. 224.) Now, not to press the point previously urged about "primitive Christianity," let us take the author's own unwarrantable definition of it, and find it only in the Sermon on the Mount. We open upon the Lord's Prayer—"Our Father which art in heaven"; where is the "Eastern sheykh" with his "wages" and "positive law"? Is he to be found in the Saviour's description of Him "who causeth his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and his rain to fall upon the just and unjust"? or in the description of Him who would have us seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, because our Father knows we have need of "all these" other things, which in due course shall be added unto us? The "Oriental sovereign who issues definite commands," who "inflicts punishments that are vindictive and not remedial"—where is He in this "primitive Christianity"? And if, as Dr. Hatch goes on further to suggest, it be said that the idea of God held by the Christians of the fourth century was corrupted by the ideas of Greek philosophy, it would be easy indeed to show how far from the ideas of Epictetus on the one hand, and of Plotinus on the other, was the sublime teaching of Origen and Chrysostom, Athanasius and Gregory. "Hebraism," to use M. Arnold's pet phrase, had left its mark upon the Greek fathers, as well as "Hellenism," and the sentences about the "Eastern sheykh" suggest, not a picture, but a caricature.

Here we must leave our slight notice of a learned, able, but most unsatisfactory book. Our examination of it has

been superficial, because to have analysed minutely even one of Dr. Hatch's positions—say his description of the Christian idea of God as influenced by Greek philosophy—would have required all the space at our disposal, and more technical discussion than is suitable in these pages. But if our comments have been general, we hope they have not been unfair. We have so high an estimate of Dr. Hatch as a learned and able theologian, a broad and generous-minded man, and further, we have so much sympathy with many of his views, that we should be the last wittingly to misrepresent him. The positions taken up in these Lectures, however, are so extreme that they must defeat their own end. Instead of drawing attention to what may have been excessive in the influence of Greek philosophy upon Christian truth, Dr. Hatch sets his readers asking continually, What is the writer's idea of Christianity as it originally was, as it ought to be, and perhaps may again become? A writer who so strenuously contends that a certain primitive purity which he never defines has been corrupted by Greek metaphysics and sophistry, should be more explicit, if he wishes to be effective. This is the best statement we can find of Dr. Hatch's own view of the scope of his work:

"I venture to claim to have shown that a large part of what are sometimes called Christian doctrines, and many usages which have prevailed and continue to prevail in the Christian Church, are in reality Greek theories and Greek usages changed in form and colour by the influence of primitive Christianity, but in their essence Greek still. Greece lives, not only its dying life in the lecture-rooms of universities, but also with a more vigorous growth in the Christian Churches. It lives there, not by virtue of the survival within them of this or that fragment of ancient teaching, and this or that fragment of ancient usage, but by the continuance in them of great modes and phases of thought, of great drifts and tendencies, of large assumptions. Its ethics of right and duty, rather than of love and self-sacrifice; its theology, whose God is more metaphysical than spiritual—whose essence it is important to define; its creation of a class of men whose main duty in life is that of moral exhortation, and whose utterances are not the spontaneous outflow of a prophet's soul, but the artistic periods of a rhetorician; its religious ceremonial, with the darkness and the light, the initiation and the solemn enactment of a symbolic drama; its conception of intellectual assent rather than of moral earnestness as the basis of religious society—in all these, and the idea hat underlie them, Greece lives." (P. 350.)

This paragraph illustrates in several respects the unsatisfactoriness of Dr. Hatch's work. The assumption that "the ethics of right and duty" are Hellenic rather than Hebraic; the insinuation that to attempt to define the nature of the Christian's God in opposition to the God of the Gnostic or the Pantheist is undesirable or wrong; the sneer at the class of men "whose main duty in life is moral exhortation," though the writer has been complaining that Greek philosophy had well-nigh destroyed the ethical element belonging to primitive Christianity—these are only specimens of the many *petitiones principii* with which these *Hibbert Lectures* abound. In closing, the writer gives us to choose between two theories. One is, that Christianity, which began and won its early victories without these Greek elements, may throw off Hellenism once more, and "stand out before the world in the uncoloured majesty of the Gospels." The other is, that Christianity was intended from the first to be a development, and to grow by assimilating to itself various elements in the soil of human society; and that "it is the duty of each succeeding age at once to accept the developments of the past, and to do its part in bringing on the developments of the future. We hold distinctly by the latter view. Christ said to His disciples: "I have many things to say to you, but ye cannot hear them now." As it was impossible for His disciples in His lifetime to discern the whole meaning of His Person and His work, as it was impossible for the Christians in the upper room at Jerusalem to see the whole bearing upon the Jewish and Gentile worlds of the new principles which they held as it were in solution, as it was impossible for the readers of St. Paul's Epistles to unfold the sublime truths they contain in their bearing upon Sabellian and Arian speculations yet unborn; so it is impossible for us to arrest the growth of the great Tree of Life which God has planted for the healing of the nations, and fix some stage in the development of its truth or worship or organisation as a standard of primitive simplicity beyond which it should never have passed, and to which it should as soon as possible return. The oak cannot again become an acorn. The man cannot return to the "simplicity" of childhood. As Bishop Westcott wisely said many years

ago: "To transfer a form of one age unaltered into another is in most cases to be faithless to that very principle of continuity by which we claim to be children of the first century, or the fourth, or the ninth, or the thirteenth. We are the children of the men who lived then; we cannot be the men themselves."*

It is indeed sadly certain that there has been much in the growth of this plant of renown which is not divine. Again and again, as tares have sprung up among the wheat, it must be said, "An enemy hath done this." It is the part of the Christian historian to study most diligently the records of the past, that he may enable his contemporaries to learn the lessons of the present and prepare for the needs of the future. The Romanist believes in development, such as has issued in modern Ultramontane Catholicism. The Anglican believes in development along a *via media* determined by the traditions, opinions, and decisions of the first six centuries. The Protestant recognises no standard or criterion but the voice of Scripture, and is prepared to judge all subsequent developments according to whether they are on the one hand an accurate unfolding of the contents of Scripture, or on the other hand needless accretions, or a positive perversion of its teaching. We are not afraid of that "analysis of Christian doctrine" which Dr. Hatch insists upon as so important for the present time, and as an unpopular task, in which he is virtually a pioneer. But if such analysis is to be fruitful, it must be just and accurate, not partial and misleading. Nothing is more difficult than to preserve a perfect balance of mind while tracing the growth of ideas, in assigning to its own source each element of thought, when the entwined threads have for long formed one continuous web. Dr. Hatch possessed in an eminent degree some of the qualities necessary for this difficult task, but for lack of the rest his work is a comparative failure. It contains materials which others will use, lines of thought which others may follow out. But the Christianity of the future, on which Dr. Hatch dilates with so

* *Aspects of Positivism in Relation to Christianity.* See Appendix i. to his *Gospel of the Resurrection*, p. 266.

much enthusiasm, will be a larger, richer, more fruitful religion than he, than any of us, contemplates. The tree which God has planted and which God has cherished, God will bring to perfection. Christianity is the heir of all the ages; it will take the spoils of all the climes. This city of God shall abide and grow, and "the kings of the earth shall bring their glory and their honour into it." And of it shall be said, as of all Divine work, in nature and in grace: "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

Art. II.—JANE AUSTEN.

Sense and Sensibility; Pride and Prejudice; Mansfield Park; Emma; Northanger Abbey; and Persuasion. By Jane Austen. London, Melbourne, and New York: Ward, Lock & Co.

"WHY do you like Miss Austen so very much?" asked "Currer Bell" of G. H. Lewes, that critical friend and advocate of hers, with whom she was in rather imperfect intellectual sympathy. The question, put by her in all honest bewilderment, is one that the true believers in Jane Austen's perfections are not seldom required to answer by those of the opposite faction; it is one the faithful must sometimes address to themselves, endeavouring to penetrate the secret of the charm with which she holds them; and such a moment comes to us, when we find Miss Austen's classic fictions included in a popular series, where indeed they have an incontestable claim to stand, since it is a series designed to include such books—and only such—as are of high tone, pure taste, and thorough principle. Though placed, however, in the appropriate English and American companionship of such a series, they wear, for all that, to our eye an air of mild serene aloofness, of demure and modest, but unapproachable, distinction, such as

might be worn by those fair and gracious English gentlewomen, Anne Elliot or Emma Woodhouse, if any caprice of fate could throw them among the mixed multitude of passengers thronging a Transatlantic railway-car, or into the midst of such an American camp meeting as that which, with broad full brush, Mrs. Stowe has painted for us on the large canvas of *Dred*.

In the excellently intentioned and often charming stories of Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Burnett, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and other deservedly admired American writers, whose works largely furnish out Messrs. Ward and Lock's "Lily" series, there is a variety of scene and subject, an intensity of feeling, a courageous attempt to deal with difficult social, moral, religious problems, such as cannot be paralleled in any of the half-dozen novels which constitute Jane Austen's legacy to us—novels that never have enjoyed, and probably never will enjoy, the large circulation and general acceptance accorded to-day to the story-tellers we have named. Yet it is Miss Austen's work, and not that of her attractive modern compeers, which has the immortal quality. Their mannerisms, ethical and literary, please now by conforming to the dominant fashion in such matters; by-and-bye they will displease, because that fashion will have become antiquated; and their very intentness on their didactic purpose not rarely defeats itself; for Fiction, if it would really and permanently instruct and impress, must do so unobtrusively and at unawares. Forgetfulness of this principle has marred the artistic merit and enduring fame of no less a writer than Maria Edgeworth, even as the different defect of painting common scenes and characters a little more beautiful than nature has impaired the claim to remembrance of that charming artist in poetic prose, Mary Russell Mitford.

From such defects Jane Austen was saved by that keen insight into character, that faculty for seeing things as they are, that fine feeling for literary propriety, which largely justify Lewes's description of her as "one of the greatest artists, one of the greatest painters of human character, and one of the writers with the nicest sense of means to an end that ever lived." For these things he could prize her works, though his insensibility to the delicate fragrance of moral

purity breathing from them betrays itself when he couples Miss Austen with Fielding, and *Pride and Prejudice* with *Tom Jones*. It is, however, the suffused presence of pure feeling, high principle, and unfaltering religious faith, shy but steadfast, which gives the last and finest grace to Jane Austen's fiction for her lovers of to-day. To put down the last new novel in vogue—which may have offered to us, too probably, darkly suggestive lurid pictures of lawless passion and its woes, or glimpses of wild, fantastic, not innocent adventure in far-off lands, or grim and ghastly scenes from such squalid lives as shame our civilisation to-day, or eloquent one-sided expositions of the latest fashionable heresy about religion—and to take up in its stead *Emma*, or *Persuasion*, or *Mansfield Park*, is as if one came forth from the heat and glare and excitement of a crowded theatre, with its actors and stage-scenery, to walk in some sunny, old-fashioned English garden, where the trimly kept walks and green velvety turf are duly alternated with flower-plots and borders, blooming with lily and rose and carnation, heart's-ease and mignonette, and shaded, not too densely, with thriving trees. There may have been the semblance of amplitude, grandeur, and stateliness, with pomp and glitter of colour and light, in the scene we have left; there may have been breathless stress of play-wrought sympathy and emotion; there may be silence, seclusion, the narrowness and sameness of every-day life, in the scene we have entered; and yet the change is altogether wholesome and refreshing and welcome.

Following with a true instinct the canon that in her day had not found its poetic enunciation, "That is best which lieth near thee; shape from that thy work of art," Jane Austen wrote only of the scenes and the society familiar to her. Hers was that rather narrow, rather prim, "gentlewoman's world," which furnished so insufficient a sphere for the energies of the Dorothea of *Middlemarch;* and hers it was to be hedged in by all the decorous restrictions which, a century ago, limited the knowledge and the action of a well-born country clergyman's daughter, moving in a narrow, though select, circle, which, save a slender sprinkling of professional men and their wives and children, was made up of members of "county

families," ranking just, and only just, below the nobility in dignity and importance. This little world, the only one she knew, is mirrored in Miss Austen's pages with a delicate fidelity that extends to its proper landscape setting, for there is little attempt at description of scene or place not personally known to the authoress, whose forty years of life were passed in the South of England, and almost wholly in Hampshire, with not much more variety of travel than is implied in a four years' residence in Bath. Those were the days of the Revolution, the days of undeveloped steam-power, when such English people as were neither soldiers nor sailors saw little indeed of any land save their own, and were not too widely acquainted with that. It is that smokeless, untravelled southern England, with its pure skies and soft domestic charm, which is delicately indicated in Miss Austen's stories. Her forte is not picturesque description; but what she did see she saw quite truly.

It is curious to note the widely different impression which her use of her limited materials made on two judges, so eminent in her own branch of literature as Sir Walter Scott and Charlotte Brontë. The mighty Wizard of the North, having read "for the third time" *Pride and Prejudice*, dwells on its writer's "talent for describing the involvements and feelings, and characters of ordinary life" as "the most wonderful he has ever met with," and has only affectionate praise for "the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace things and characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment." Miss Brontë reads the same book for the first time, and is disappointed with what to her is merely "an accurate daguerreotyped portrait of a commonplace face," and avows: "I should hardly like to live with her ladies and gentlemen, in their elegant, but confined houses. . . . . She is only shrewd and observant."

The "exquisite touch" had no charm for the author of *Jane Eyre*. She could not see any merit in the miniature painting, gem-like in its finish, which Miss Austen—to use her own apt image—executed on her "little bit of ivory, two inches wide, working with a brush so fine as to produce little effect after much labour."

The well-known idiosyncrasies of the two great writers whose

differing judgments on Miss Austen have just been quoted will render us some aid in understanding why she, who is a continual delight to some, is only a weariness to others. Appreciation of her work is rather largely determined by the presence or the absence in her readers of a certain mental quality—a quality absent in Miss Brontë, who, to her tyrannously strong imagination and impassioned sensibility, united that contempt for folly, that fine scorn of vice, that keen perception of the grotesqueness of both, which are the proper equipment of the satirist, but which, in her case, were softened by no touch of the humour with which Scott was richly endowed—the kindly, tolerant, sympathetic sense of human absurdities—the laughter full of loving kindness—the recognition of common brotherhood even with fool and coxcomb, whom the mighty master handles "as if he loved them."

It is this precious endowment, exemplified in Miss Austen as in few women writers, that lends the subtle interest, the fine flavour to her description of tame, commonplace scenes, incidents, and characters. One might, conceivably, possess the same gift, and yet take little pleasure in such pictures; certainly, without a small spice of the quality, they can neither be appreciated nor enjoyed. Those who despise mediocrity as if it were a vice, and whose intolerance for bores comes near to hatred, will never comprehend her demure delight in developing the humours of bores and mediocrities. But this true humourist is of one mind with Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, when some one deplored the unpicturesqueness of the then reigning fashions—of the wigs, the high-piled hair, the monstrous hoops, hats, and caps—answered cheerfully: "Never mind; they all have light and shade." So, in the trivial personages of that genteel society, were there the ever-varying and ever-interesting lights and shades of the human soul, open to the keen and kindly inspection of those soft, bright hazel eyes, with the lurking smile behind them, that look at us from the fair face of Jane Austen.

To her favourite heroine, the Elizabeth Bennet of *Pride and Prejudice*, of whom she once said gaily to a friend, "I shall not be satisfied if you do not think *her* a delightful creature," she has attributed a similar love for studying

character, a similar reason for being content with a narrow sphere of observation. "The country," one says to her, "can in general supply but few subjects for such a study. In a country neighbourhood you move in a very confined and unvarying society." "But people themselves alter so much," answers Elizabeth stoutly, "that there is something new to be observed in them for ever;" and, in fact, the characters in which Miss Austen chiefly seeks to interest us do develop before our eyes, displaying, under the maturing stress of circumstances, unsuspected strength, unsuspected weakness, and determining their ultimate destiny by their own right or wrong action, in the mimic world of the romance as in the real, the living world; for, though but a small segment of that world was visible to Jane Austen, it enabled her to divine the laws ruling the whole.

A recent critic, referring to the last new fashion in fiction of psychological analysis, whereof America has produced the most numerous, enthusiastic, and aggressive exponents, claims, as the true foundress of that school, the "little woman who, eighty years ago, lived a secluded life in a Hampshire parsonage, and was yet the pioneer (leagues in advance of the vanguard) of a new and exquisite art." But if Miss Austen was a psychological analyst, which we do not deny—(how the "polysyllabic pomp" of such a title would have made the gentle lady laugh!)—she did her analysing very differently from her successors in the art. It was not her way to discourse lengthily, in her own proper person, about the motives, moods, and dispositions of her characters; she preferred the more dramatic method of letting the good people reveal themselves in word and action. Her stories are not mere strings of incidents, as loosely connected as the items of a newsmonger's gossip; but her plots are constructed with the consummate skill that does not advertise its own existence; every commonplace incident, so naturally introduced, has its own part to play in bringing on the *dénouement*—a *dénouement* which, in sad nonconformity to modern taste, always involves a happy marriage between persons who have been finding out their exact suitability to each other throughout the whole progress of the story, and which leaves the reader only sorry to

part with the companions whose sunny cheerfulness has never been quite overclouded by the saddest vicissitudes of their fortunes.

This is not life! our modern literary exponents of the Gospel of Dissatisfaction and Despair may say. Yet none but their most bigoted disciples will deny that happy unions of well-matched pairs are still within the range of human possibilities, and that they are often accomplished by means of long trains of otherwise unremarkable events working insensibly towards them. It is at least as pleasant—it is certainly more wholesome—to contemplate pictures of such innocent and rational happiness than to dwell on those which display to us personages wonderfully distinguished, gifted and fascinating, whose fortunes are always being marred by their curious propensity to set their hearts on other people's wives, husbands, and lovers; and whose story often closes in self-murder, and in the undeserved misery of all the respectable *dramatis personæ*. This kind of art, in high favour to-day, may, perhaps, plead in justification of its truth and realism the numerous vulgar tragedies of the same sort which the columns of the daily papers supply; it would be a permissible and formidable reply to such a plea to show that these acts of tragic folly are often inspired by the study of the very fictions whose lines they closely follow in their piteous travesty of the romance of crime.

In one at least of her novels, and that not the most admired, Miss Austen has employed such an outline for her work as is still in high favour with our story-tellers. The chief heroine of *Mansfield Park* is a gentle girl, shy, sensitive, and attractive, whose position in the great family with whom she resides is something between that of adopted daughter and poor relation. Patient attendant on the whims of the kindly, but lazy and obtuse, mistress of the house; *souffre-douleur* of a shrewish, more actively selfish aunt; of no account in the family circle save as a sort of foil to the beauty and accomplishments of her cousins, it is Fanny Price's manifest destiny, as the Cinderella of the tale, to triumph over her disadvantages, to prosper more than her splendid cousins, to carry off from their rivalry their most coveted admirer, and be compensated

for early trials by happiness as unclouded as mortal may hope for—a destiny she duly fulfils. Add to this well-worn plot some darker incidents—unhappily quite as familiar—of sin and suffering, of slighted passion impelling a proud beauty into a loveless marriage for wealth and position, whose bonds she soon casts off to gratify a criminal attachment; and all the elements of a not very healthy story, of a common type enough, appear revealed.

Under Miss Austen's skilful handling the story is neither sensational, nor unhealthy, nor commonplace. It is a lesson of patient continuance in well-doing, of grateful acquiescence in a lowly and sombre lot, of duty faithfully done under difficulties, which is evolved from the experiences of the unpretending heroine, whose goodness does not meet the vulgar reward of rank and riches, to which at one moment she seemed destined, but is recompensed with the simple home-felt bliss, better fitted for her modest worth. Her triumph over her bewitching rival, whose sparkling vivacity wins almost as much on the reader as on the love-smitten hero, is not gained by any superiority in beauty or wit, but by the unselfish loyalty to principle and to affection, of which the other proves herself incapable. And she is not idealised into impossible perfection; she has the natural defects of her qualities; nor are the friends, to whose slightly ponderous patronage she is indebted for many benefits, sacrificed to make her more interesting. No less exquisite art has been spent on their elderly figures than on her girlish graces; their conscious virtues and unconscious absurdities are endeared to our mirth by a hundred touches of that "gentlest satire, kin to charity," which, perhaps, reaches its ultimate perfection in the picture of the futile amateur theatricals at Mansfield Park—described with so much delicate malice—that aid powerfully in developing the characters of every actor, and have a large share in determining the course of the story. The less amiable personages are finely discriminated, and the moral of their errors, which arise from selfish vanity or worldly self-seeking, is sharply pointed, with no perilous lingering on the details of the unhallowed attachment that brings about the catastrophe of this novel. The vice in question is stripped bare of romantic illusion, and is referred to

in terms of such austere reprobation as not one novelist in twenty would employ to-day; such as are certainly not employed by the numerous emulators of George Eliot's manner, nor even by that great writer herself, who, of all our modern romancers, most nearly resembles Jane Austen in her realistic honesty, whose style is much richer, whose descriptive power far more brilliant, whose range of feeling and reach of thought ampler far than those of her forerunner, but who lacks the unerring clearness of her moral perception, the airy lightness of her satiric touch, and whose works tend to produce dejection and discouragement as surely as those of Miss Austen minister to innocent invigorating mirth.

Of the remaining novels only *Persuasion* deals with a theme that might still commend itself to a novelist of the purely domestic type, such as the lamented author of *John Halifax*—a story of "two that wrecked each other's hope, parting coldly in their prime," and who are reunited when that prime, for one at least, is a little past; when time has ripened the lady's judgment, and softened the lover's resentment, and when the affection, which wrought their youthful misery, is found to be so steadfast and so warm as to ensure their lifelong happiness. There is a higher and a finer strain of thought and feeling in this, the last effort of Jane Austen's mellowed genius, than in any of her previous works. One might almost be justified in inferring that some deep personal experience had intervened, teaching her to look with more compassionate sympathy, and more penetrating insight, on that drama of life which she had long found interesting and amusing. The personages of the story appeal more directly to our admiration. No other *jeune premier*, to whom she has assigned the *rôle* of the happy lover, has so much unconventional brilliancy, so much spirit and fire and gay courage, blended with chivalrous tenderness and manly sense, as Captain Frederick Wentworth, of the Royal Navy, and she never drew a more attractive heroine than the sweet Anne Elliot, whom he loved and quarrelled with, and forgave. It has been objected to some other of her characters that they talk far too well, in sentences too long, too well constructed; that their reasoning and their repartee are too cogent and too clever for human probability, in the circumstances supposed—

that, for instance, a young lady uncivilly called to account for her love affairs, as Elizabeth Bennet, by Lady Catherine de Bourgh, would not be likely to meet the arrogance of her questioner with argument and wit, and prompt dexterity worthy of a Parliamentary debater. Perhaps we, for whom conversation has become a lost art since we lost our leisure, whose remarks must emulate the condensed brevity of post-cards and telegrams, and who must shun Johnsonian involutions like the plague if we would be listened to and understood, are not the best judges of the possibilities of a less impatient age.

But the reproach of "talking like a book" is one not so applicable to the personages of *Persuasion;* it would not be amiss if more books talked like Anne Elliot, whose touching and graceful plea for the superiority of woman in constancy over man could ill be spared from our literature, and cannot be called improbable on the lips of a thinking feeling woman, for all its correctness of wording and reasoning.

"I will not allow it to be more man's nature than woman's to be inconstant and forget those they do love, or have loved. I believe the reverse," says her interlocutor, the hardy sailor whose own strong home attachments authorise him to speak, and who does speak, with a glow of honest eloquence, of "all man can bear and do, and glories to do, for those treasures of his existence," wife and children, winning from her the words that are made more pathetic by her hidden heart-troubles :

"Oh! I hope I do justice to all that is felt by you, and by those who resemble you. God forbid that I should undervalue the warm and faithful feelings of any of my fellow-creatures. I should deserve utter contempt if I dared to suppose that true attachment and constancy were known only by woman. No, I believe you capable of everything great and good in your married lives. I believe you equal to every important exertion, and to every domestic forbearance, so long as—if I may be allowed the expression—so long as you have an object. I mean, while the woman you love lives, and lives for you. All the privilege I claim for my own sex (it is not a very enviable one, you need not covet it), is that of loving longest, when existence or when hope is gone."

Here, if ever in her writings, Jane Austen speaks from her heart, with an accent of truth that is almost painful; though

there is nothing painful in the fate of the gentle heroine whose voice she borrows for the occasion, and of whom she says so gracefully :

> "Prettier musings of high-wrought love and eternal constancy could never have passed along the streets of Bath than Anne was sporting with from Camden Place to Westgate Buildings. It was almost enough to spread purification and perfume all the way."

Could there have been for one of such serene and self-sufficing spirit as Miss Austen—for one so content with her simple domestic existence, so blessed in the dear sisterly affection that she loved to depict for her readers—could there have been, for her too, "a nearer one yet, and a dearer one still, than all others," from whom she was severed by some cloud of misunderstanding, but whose memory she so cherished that "their union could not divide her more from other men than their final separation?" It is almost an impertinent inquiry, yet it rises in the mind, as we close the cheerful pages of *Persuasion*, and remember that when it was published its writer had faded away in a lingering decline, despite the fond attentions of the "dearest sister, tender, watchful, indefatigable nurse," who hung over her dying bed, and to whom must have been addressed the last pathetic words, "I want nothing but death."

"What a pity," said Sir Walter Scott, "that so gifted a creature died so early!" and though she had entered her forty-second year, her death must be deemed early for a writer just attaining the fulness of her powers, and just beginning to taste the fame which she had scarcely coveted, being very incredulous as to the possibility of her ever attaining it, and not deeming it particularly desirable in itself for a woman.

We shall scarcely find in her work—certainly we shall not find in her earlier efforts—any departure from the simple ideals of womanly duty and happiness accepted in her circle and her generation. For her heroines a fortunate marriage is still the chief end of existence, and their plans of usefulness are bounded within limits that are not more than parochial at the utmost; larger ambitions of any sort do not trouble their dreams. But while conforming thus strictly to the canons then governing

feminine propriety, she showed real originality and real courage of a special kind.

In that mine of pleasant and curious information on matters literary, the lately published *Memoir of John Murray*, where we find Miss Austen honourably distinguished among the great bibliopole's clients, by her modest estimate of her own labours and of the money recompense due to them, we may read also the judgment passed on that very "pretty thing," *Pride and Prejudice*, when first it appeared, by Gifford, severely fastidious editor of the *Quarterly*, who shows himself delighted with the lady's sense in discarding in favour of everyday scenes, personages, and incidents, all the romantic machinery employed by the school of which Mrs. Radcliffe was *facile princeps*, and Monk Lewis an honoured member—the haunted halls and castles, the surprises, stratagems, and abductions, the spectres, banditti, and mysterious criminals, that had long formed the delight of novel-readers and playgoers, and may even be suspected of doing much to determine Byron's very peculiar taste in heroes. As *Northanger Abbey*, Miss Austen's first essay in literature, did not see the light till after her death, when it was published in company with *Persuasion*, the sagacious critic could not know that the author whose sense and taste he so approved had begun her career with a spirited satire of the very methods he was applauding her for rejecting; *Northanger Abbey*, which has been pronounced the least valuable, but which is certainly not the least amusing of its author's productions, being written in a vein of gay good-humoured mockery of the then reigning fashion in novels, and affording in many passages a whimsical parody of such popular favourites as the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, while the heroine, in person, accomplishments, and adventures, is made as carefully unheroic as may be; even to the point of having been first to love, and first to betray that she loved, the husband to whom, after a proper amount of suffering and anxiety, she is finally united.

"Though Henry was now sincerely attached to her," we are told, "though he felt and delighted in all the excellencies of her character, and truly loved her society, I must confess that his affection originated in nothing better than gratitude, or, in

other words, that a persuasion of her partiality for him had been the only means of giving her a serious thought. It is a new circumstance in romance, I acknowledge, and dreadfully derogatory of a heroine's dignity; but if it be as new in common life, the credit of a wild imagination will at least be all my own."

Thus far removed from the romantic ideal, Catherine Morland is, notwithstanding, a most attractive little heroine; her guileless purity of heart, her simple enthusiasms, and the ingenuous mistakes of her ignorance being almost equally engaging; and there is even to-day—when such a very lowly flower of maidenhood could hardly be found blooming in any English home—a freshness and piquancy about her humble adventures that make us wonder a little at the nudiscerning publisher, who, having bought for £10 the piece of sparkling mischief called *Northanger Abbey*, would not venture to issue a story that he deemed unpromising, and gladly restored it to its author when, after several years, she volunteered to repurchase it. Though it be a much less serious effort, it has rather more promise of its writer's peculiar excellence than *Sense and Sensibility*, her first successful story, of which the serious personages are less probable, the vulgar and absurd ones more purely vulgar and absurd, and both of a more antiquated type, than in any subsequent tale from Miss Austen's pen. It is otherwise with *Pride and Prejudice;* but here, too, is more of lively satire and less of mellow humour than in the later novels; the art of the painter is sometimes exchanged for that of the mere caricaturist in black and white, the unflattering portraits being too sharply bitten in with satiric acid—a reproach that is less and less applicable to every succeeding effort of the artist. This is very evident when we compare the Mrs. Bennet of *Pride and Prejudice* with the Miss Bates of *Emma*. Both are figures of pure comedy; but the latter is handled with a tenderness very different from the unsparing ridicule poured on Mrs. Bennet, the "woman of mean understanding, little information, and uncertain temper; who, when discontented, fancied herself nervous; the business of whose life was to get her daughters married, and its solace, visiting and news." In such terms we are introduced to her;

and not one softening touch of womanly sweetness is allowed to interfere with the development of the character of pure folly thus outlined, through all the course of the brilliant story in which she plays a conspicuous part. Miss Bates is that common butt for ridicule in novels and out of them, an old maid unromantically left apart, with points of mind and manner that lay her open to ill-natured laughter, yet *she* is so handled as to win the respect of the reader for her prosaic goodness, dashed with absurdity as it is, and to enlist more of our sympathy than the wilful young heroine of the tale, whose mistakes are more serious, and whose worst fault we feel to be —as the author means us to feel it—her thoughtless unkindness to the inoffensive creature, in portraying whom Miss Austen's art perhaps touches its highest point of delicate skill; for this figure cannot be surpassed by any even in *Persuasion*.

The daughter of one clergyman, the sister-in-law of another, whose house afforded the home of her closing years, Jane Austen inevitably moved much in clerical society, and, as might be expected, there is not one of her novels but supplies a clerical portrait or two. They are not, however, more uniformly drawn *en beau* than are those of Anthony Trollope, who is Miss Austen's worthiest successor in this class of portraiture. The inimitable Mr. Collins in *Pride and Prejudice*, whose letters, as masterpieces of unconscious, pompous folly and inconsequence, have never been surpassed in fiction, and are only approached in pure humour by the wonderful love-letter of Mr. Casaubon in *Middlemarch*, is, perhaps, the most striking example of the ecclesiastical *Anglais pour rire* with which Miss Austen has favoured us. But he is not so contemptible as the vain, ambitious, little-minded Mr. Elton, of *Emma*, whose deficiencies are moral, while those of the immortal Collins are intellectual; nor is there much more to admire in the Dr. Grant of *Mansfield Park*, whose abilities and manners are respectable, but who is "an indolent, selfish *bon vivant*," and who, being promoted to a stall in Westminster, dies in characteristic manner of an apoplexy brought on by "three great institutionary dinners in one week." This triad of unapostolic divines, however, has flesh and blood

reality, and is nowise like such unpleasant caricatures as the "three curates" of *Shirley*—those unfortunate lay figures in clerical garb, who are not so comic as their painter meant them to be.

By making several of her intelligent, refined, conscientious heroes take Orders of deliberate choice, Jane Austen has sufficiently proved her respect for the profession of her father; her scorn was reserved for its unworthy members. But even her most attractive "scenes of clerical life" remind us forcibly of the keen words of Emerson, truer no doubt in 1847, when they were written, than to-day. "The Anglican Church is marked by the grace and good sense of its forms, by the manly grace of its clergy. The gospel it preaches is, 'By taste ye are saved.' It is not inquisitorial, not even inquisitive, is perfectly well-bred, and can shut its eyes on all proper occasions. If you let it alone, it will let you alone." This, to all intents and purposes, is the Church mirrored in Miss Austen's pages; and the sensible, sincere, decorous clergymen she draws for us are true Englishmen in the extreme reserve that masks any religious convictions they may possess; these are implied in their conduct rather than expressed in their words. It is so, not less noticeably, with the sweetest and highest of her heroines.

But one may not unfairly ascribe something of this reticence to scruples like those which certainly have moved other writers of fiction, who have shrunk from depicting "struggles of conscience that never took place," telling of prayers never uttered, and divine mercies never granted—scruples that must be respected, whether altogether reasonable or not. The abstinence from direct religious utterances in Miss Austen's writings, whatever its motives, is not such as to conceal the really pure and pious feeling that animates the whole, nor to impair its beneficent influence in favour of the cheerful and hopeful discharge of duty, which shall not fail of its reward.

Art. III.—THE MAKING OF A MANDARIN.

THE Englishman who fixes his home in China is first amused, then irritated, but finally becomes callous to the absolute contrast to his own land, the perverse left-handedness of all custom and idea. At last, when he has grown accustomed to this life behind the looking-glass, he discovers that within its own borders, too, China is a land of contrasts, that incompatibilities are constantly harmonised, and that things mutually exclusive co-exist. The Chinaman's mind is built in water-tight compartments, and he finds no difficulty in believing things mutually inconsistent, and acting on them at the same time. China is at once the most aristocratic and the most democratic, the most literary and the most ignorant, the most materialistic and the most superstitious of nations, the best governed in the East and yet the harbourer of great oppression and wrong. None can deny to its political constitution a certain adaptation to environment, which has secured enormous stability, and enabled it again and again to change dynasty and ruling race without materially affecting the people's everyday life. For all his conservatism, the fatalism of the Oriental accepts the accomplished as the inevitable, makes the best of the change he has unavailingly opposed, and speedily makes it his own, so that the imperturbable in mass is ever tolerant of permutation of molecules. In mechanical language China is in neutral rather than stable equilibrium, a great push only rolls the compact mass to a new station where it remains as stable as before. It is not without interest to examine the influence of the national traits on the character and moral history of the ruling class in this great political machine.

The political theory of China has been handed down from the days of the Sages, and a most excellent theory it is. The unit of morals is the cultivation and rectifying of the individual; from the individual to the household, from the household to the State, in ever-widening circles, the influence of the life of the "superior man" is to spread. The volumes

containing the lessons of morals and the science of government are the recognised classics, conned over and treasured up to-day word for word in the memory of every official in the land. Ancient China, possessing these maxims and rules, had next to invent a system for procuring men who would carry them out. Thus it came about that twelve hundred years ago there flashed on an Emperor's mind the splendid idea that, in place of his own necessarily hap-hazard selection of men, there should be instituted an examination, and that he who showed most intimate knowledge of the golden themes of government would be the most likely to carry them into practice. Hence sprang the Civil Service Examinations of China, the pioneer by more than a thousand years of the similar systems of the West.

A competitive system such as this is the heir of splendid hopes, which, with all faults of imperfection and abuse, are on the whole realised. The curriculum is too narrow; perpetual essay-writing according to set forms, perpetual balancing of the niceties of verbal distinction, perpetual straining after references to a stilted antiquity tend to produce, rather than an efficient official, a man polished *ad unguem*—especially in China, where a finger-nail three inches long is the mark of elegance and refinement. Yet, on the whole, merit is undoubtedly recognised, and the ablest men are selected. Just as the narrow classical training in vogue in England during the last three centuries produced a race of statesmen who found it conclusive to clench an argument in the House of Commons with a quotation from Cicero, and yet governed the country well, so these masters of logomachy, these unrivalled writers of despatches, have showed true talent for carrying on municipal and political affairs.

In theory there is in China no barrier between the poorest student and the highest office. The clever boy is trained in the village school; if he show talent the family are proud to labour that he may continue to study under the best teacher available. He thus becomes one of the body of "book-conners," some two millions strong, who have devoted themselves to literature. Year by year the Government examinations take place all over the empire; the district and county

examinations are the first tests, and, should he be of the 1 per cent. or so who satisfy, he is decorated with the title of "Budding Talent." His district officials and gentry now subscribe to help him to pursue his studies; in all the larger towns there are colleges with scholarships in the form of prizes on bi-monthly examinations, and with this and other help readily offered to deserving talent, together with his own earnings from teaching or writing, the student is able to present himself for the triennial provincial examination. In the province of Hupeh, of which the writer has most intimate knowledge, out of fifteen thousand candidates sixty-six obtain the second degree, "Deserving of Promotion." The survivor of such an ordeal may well be thus described; the whole province rings with his name, his village is honoured, and his reflected glory at once raises his family to a proud pre-eminence over its neighbours.

He is now eligible for office, but as he is naturally desirous of higher academic distinction, all with whom the hero has any acquaintance are expected to subscribe towards the expense of his travel to Peking for the contest of the metropolitan degree. Here the picked graduates of the eighteen provinces compete, and a small percentage gain the next step of the "Scholar entering on Office." From these again are selected a small number by the Emperor himself for the "Forest of Pencils" or Imperial Academy, the cream after four successive skimmings of the literary milk of the Empire.

The road thus marked out from the village school to the Academy is clear and open. There are whispers of bribery, but collusion in the bestowal of a degree is a capital offence, and for practical purposes, as a general rule, we may regard the various tests as applied without fear or favour. Yet even thus we see that, as in the West, at the various stages a good deal of money is needed, while the actual entrance into office as distinct from degree is always blocked by obstacles similar but more serious. The members of the Academy are all occupied in the capital with literary undertakings of the State, whence they emerge, should they wish it, as higher officials. Ordinarily the possessors of the second and third degrees either become proctors or professors in the management of

the literary curriculum of the Empire, or else they enter the ranks of "expectant officials." State registers are kept in Peking on which the name of all eligible and waiting for office are (for a good fee) recorded. Each man is assigned to a particular province and sent to await his turn for a magistracy. It is significant of knowledge of human nature, that in a land where clan-feeling is so strong nobody is allowed to take office in his own province, and relationship is not allowed between the high mandarins. The golden gates of office are, however, by no means open yet; the great difficulties are still to come. The hero of a hundred competitions of the past now finds himself one of a great company, perhaps two or three thousand in number, all impotent and all awaiting the moving of the water in the official pool. Examination is not the only road to office. Poverty of the Imperial Exchequer has from time to time led to the institution of a system of purchase of degrees and office. It is a sad flaw in the ideal system, but England's memories of patronage and of purchase in the army are too recent for us to throw the first stone, especially while the right of presentation to livings in the Church is still purchased by good men with the approbation of society. The first degree (Budding Talent) costs 100 taels or ounces of silver (about £25); such graduates by purchase are eligible for higher degrees. Clerks in civil and military service are through the influence of their chiefs entered after awhile on the list of expectant officials. Large charities for the relief of flood or famine are rewarded by official rank, which may be purely honorary, or may be the stepping-stone to high position. Moreover there is a fixed tariff for the direct purchase of office. Before the T'ai Ping Rebellion the price of a district magistracy was 10,000 taels (£2500), since then it has been reduced to 3000 (£750). It is a curious item of tithing mint and anise and cummin that a graduate in this transaction would pay 8 taels less, a graduate by purchase 108 less, because they have already disbursed that amount in fees on taking their degrees. Candidates from all these sources now take up their dwelling in the provincial capitals in "expectancy." The graduate is engulfed amongst them; on a rough estimate of every ten

who actually take office, four win their rank by services in clerkships, four by purchase, and two by examination!

In ordinary speech China is known as the Eighteen Provinces. Recent addition and re-arrangement have actually altered the number, but the number eighteen is as persistent as the little maiden's "We are seven." These provinces have separate governments of their own; each pair or trio has a viceroy, each province a governor, judge, treasurer, literary chancellor, and from four to ten "intendants of circuit"—these are the high officials. Besides these the Empire is divided into more than 1800 counties and districts, each of which has its magistrate; subordinate to these are a corresponding number of assistants in fiscal, literary, statistical, police, and other departments. It is these offices which are the goal of the Chinese student's ambition. We do not here speak of the military hierarchy, for the soldier in China is a man of brute strength, rude and unlettered, and entirely looked down upon by his cultured brethren of the pencil.

The expectant, on arrival at his provincial capital, reports himself to the higher authorities, on whom now depend all his hopes. He hires a house, rides out in a special sort of chair, with three bearers, and sits down with his mouth open, awaiting the plum which Providence, in the shape of the viceroy, will drop into it. Twelve times a month he has to keep himself in evidence by calling three times on each of the four highest mandarins. In their gift are many temporary offices—the escort of treasure, the maintenance of public buildings, the examination of customs stations, and other posts. A capable expectant is glad to get these odds and ends to eke out a living. He is absolutely without other emolument, and will have to wait some years at least, perhaps ten, twenty, thirty, or even a lifetime, before the longed-for office becomes his own. Every one in a Chinese capital knows not a few, who have waited with sickening hopes as the years rolled by, and never entered on office at all. Chinese dinner-tables are full of anecdotes of such—the mandarin who had to take to angling for a livelihood; the fortune-teller who was recalled in frantic haste from his street stall, "Your excellency, come home, your tablet is hung"—*i.e.*, you are appointed a magis-

trate—and the like. In several provinces there is a certain amount distributed at New Year time to poor officials in sums of from four to a hundred taels under the name of coal money.

The nearest Western parallel is the waiting for practice after being called to the Bar. The moral effect is not hard to guess. The darling of the family, for whose hopes the household has pinched and starved, the pride of the village for whom the local gentry have subscribed, has exhausted all his means of support in the long struggle; probably he is in debt for his initial expenses. His hopes are now absolutely an influence, and the many mouths of his own family (he marries at twenty), and of the large household he is obliged to keep up, lead him to abject sycophancy to those in high place, a careful observance of their whims and caprices, a playing the part of jackal in general to the local lions. Probably he borrows, and where interest is 3 per cent. per month, woe to him who enters a debtor's toils. It must be said, however, that the Chinamen take to debt very kindly, and it is gravely doubted whether there exists one man who is not in debt to some one else.

After a longer or shorter period of his life he probably gets an acting appointment for a year, and then, if he is lucky, he "hangs his tablet"—he is appointed to a district magistracy. What now is the golden prize for which so many toils have been undertaken, so many privations undergone? The income is from 600 to 1200 taels (£150 to £300) a year. The Emperor in these bad times deducts 30 or 40 per cent. from this meagre allowance! Still, in a land where the ordinary currency is a coin in value about the twenty-fifth of a penny, and where a graduate teacher is comfortably off on £16 a year, a man might live decently on this income, *if he got it.* Alas! he has to engage a head clerk, whom he must feed, and to whom he must give a salary exactly equivalent to his own, with two or three more junior clerks at lower salaries. But there are many other claims on the resources of an official, which might fairly be considered as charges on public funds, but, having grown up by custom, they are not assigned to specified heads, and are simply charged to

him as an individual. The fees of the higher officials, all at regularly understood rates, the entertainment of journeying mandarins and travellers with Government passes, the support of colleges and poor students, all these have to be attended to. Moreover, the ordinary term, "Father-and-Mother Mandarin," is not a complete misnomer, for, in addition to parental chastisement, the official acknowledges and discharges the duty of the distribution of food and clothes in times of distress, and has to deal with a thousand other calls besides.

In face of such claims, what wonder is it that all means are resorted to, not only to cover actual drain, but to repay the heavy investment of many years of study, poverty, debt, and deferred hope? The mandarin recognises the fact that he is not expected to live on his income, and that he has to make the money up from somewhere else; no source being officially assigned, he has to manipulate the public funds—in fact, to use the expressive Anglo-Chinese term, to *squeeze*. He is heavily in debt; he will have to retire from his incumbency in three years to return to the capital in expectancy; should his father or mother die, his filial piety—stimulated by the penalty of permanent loss of place—would necessitate his retiring from official status for three years. What is he to do? To put the fact in plain English, the Chinese Government forces its mandarins to be dishonest men. Rather, let us say, that in place of sufficient income a system of perquisites is instituted, most pernicious to the Government and the official, suggesting direct dishonesty; but that these perquisites are so regularly recognised that the man who is moderate in the use of them is honest, and that there is established an honesty within a dishonesty, a penumbra within the umbra of the eclipse of straightforwardness.

It is obvious that the experiment pays, for to "be a mandarin" is the aim held up before every Chinese boy; a button is the object of his dreams, and year by year the road to office is strewn with the carcases of those that fall by the way. The best district magistracy in this neighbourhood is supposed to yield £10,000 a year net profit; in the district containing the provincial capital the magistrate is just able to make both ends meet; some years ago his year's occupancy would have led to a dead loss of some £3000 or £4000, yet

it is a post eagerly coveted, because it is the necessary road to the higher offices of prefect and intendant. Nearly all the higher offices are the means of great wealth. The viceroy has an assigned income of £3750 (reduced 30 or 40 per cent.), together with some tons of rice. This latter, as in the case of his subordinates and their proportionate allowances, is never seen by the officials; the whole is withdrawn on the plea of fines for omission of duty. Yet the viceroy is able to make, should he desire it, an income of £40,000 a year, or even more. He needs to have some reserve, for on being summoned to audience on the completion of one term of office, or the commencement of another, he is not allowed to enter the gates of Peking until he has been fleeced of a sum proportioned to his wealth, in some cases amounting to as much as £20,000, for the benefit of the highly dignified but poorly paid Imperial officers.

The Government thus bids its bondsmen make bricks without straw, and the result is, as of old, that they are scattered over all the land seeking for straw in other men's fields—an immoral government which must produce immoral servants. The style of thought and morality thus brought about in the mandarins themselves is reproduced through all the lower ranks of their attendants. Beside the regular paid clerks there are a number of dependents who draw no incomes, but are permanently attached to the *yamen* (*i.e.*, magistrate's court), and hand down the office eagerly and jealously from father to son. From the apparitor, who will make £700 or £800 a year, down to the runners, whose work it is to apprehend or bamboo offenders against justice, all live comfortable lives on the proceeds of the people's lawsuits. In the *yamen* of the largest district in one great city we know well there are no less than 1800 of these blood-suckers. This number is very much larger than in the other districts, yet as there are fifty yamens in the city, the leech process for the whole area is tolerably severe. "The entrance to the yamen is broad, the exit narrow," says the proverb. Should a man lay an information against another he has to pay fees, which are divided in definite proportions from the magistrate downwards; the runners go to the accused, and extract money for leaving him

alone till their master becomes too pressing, then when they dare leave him alone no more they extract money for the trouble of taking him, extract further money for beating him lightly, and finally, when he is released, extract money for letting him go. The profession of a lawyer—a fomenter of lawsuits—is not looked up to in this country, and a yamen-runner's child is classed with the sons of actors, barbers, and prostitutes, as ineligible for examination and office!

Another fruitful source of support is the land tax, which goes partly to the Imperial Exchequer, and partly to the public funds of the neighbourhood, a ground tax charged on every piece of land in the Empire. When a mandarin enters upon office he needs, say, £1000; he calls the head *publicanus*, and receives the sum from him, giving him the receipt bills for the tax for a considerable portion of the district. The head collector gives to his subordinates, and they scatter in search of prey. As an instance, suppose the tax 1 tael, which in ordinary commerce changes for about 1450 copper cash. The tax rate of exchange is fixed at 2800 or 3000 cash, the balance being divided between the various underlings. If by any chance the bill is not paid one year, the collector does little to jog the memory of the defaulter, but appears next year with the terrors of the law behind him, and makes large demands which the trembling peasant is only too glad to comply with. Should the piece of land be in the country the runner claims "sandal money," "candle money" (for the inns), a sumptuous meal, &c. If the tax be estimated in kind, the rice which sells at 23 cash a bushel is valued at 100 cash, and a cash commutation insisted on. One man the writer knows, who year by year pays with helpless protest large taxes on a piece of ground devoured by the Yangtsze twenty years ago; all redress is refused on the plea that each subordinate is responsible to his superior for the exact pieces of land on the register!

Thus China lives; thus it comes that to be a yamen-runner is exactly what it was to be a publican in Judæa. An "expectant" said the other day: "I have determined never to take office; everybody around me would have dirty hands; how could I hope to be clean? An honest mandarin would starve."

Of course bitter experience and good sense tend to a large extent towards the cure of all this evil. Where law is such a terror, there are many villages which preserve their prosperity by never going to law. The picture of a prosperous Chinese village, with its body of elders dispensing patriarchal justice, composing quarrels, settling apologies, and even occasionally exercising power of life and death without reference to any yamen, is such as to justify us in saying that, broadly speaking, and notwithstanding all that we have said, China is certainly the best governed country in the East. Such is the East.

The exaction of bricks without straw extends to other matters than money. In China everybody is responsible for his neighbour, a system which, with individual injustice, works well for the general preservation of order. A mandarin has before now been dismissed because an unnatural murder has occurred in his district or a subordinate has been guilty of some serious lapse, on the ground that such misdoing must be the result of a defective example. The penalty is hard on the mandarin, though the principle itself is not without value as recognising with grim humour the solidarity of the race. An instance may be given of what appears to be the mere cynical indifference of the hard taskmaster. A prefectural city of some 25,000 inhabitants is twice in three years the rendezvous of ten or twelve thousand undergraduates up for their examination, together with their friends. The prefect and district magistrate are responsible for order, but the available police force is not increased, and the only means of enforcing order attainable is a handful of a score or two of soldiers partially under their control. During the examinations of last autumn a rowdy undergraduate became involved in a quarrel, and in his wrath fomented a riot, in which a house was pulled down and some gentlemen roughly handled. The officials, instead of taking the natural course and bringing the bully to justice, temporised, and finally declared their inability to arrest him. The fact was, that any punishment administered to him would have brought his whole clan and all the undergraduates into immediate action, the city would have been in their hands, probably the undergraduates would refuse to be examined, and in that case the mandarin would be dismissed for having

managed so badly as to cause them to miss the examination! The district magistrate, a well-meaning old man who tries to do his duty, was absolutely unable to do it because he had no means to enforce order. Rare indeed would it have been in any land to find the man with moral courage to do the right in such a case at any cost. But what is the moral character and influence of a system of government, which places its officials in so agonising position as this? We are here introduced to a new factor in Chinese government, the will of the people. A short consideration will justify the claim already put forward, that with all its absolutism, China is an intensely democratic country. Not merely does the son of the peasant sit in the seat of power, but the people, knowing the personal responsibility of the official, sometimes use their power of united action in a wonderful way. Roughly speaking, we may say that when the gentry and people are united firmly, no ordinary mandarin dare go against them. The resulting disturbance would cost him his office! He is a single man, a stranger to the province, and he must and does yield. He often has additional difficulty from the absolute necessity of acting according to the will of his superiors. It is only fair to say that this power of the people waits for provocation before asserting itself, and is on the whole wisely used. But in some points the result is a strange lack of moral courage on the part of the officials. Two instances will suffice.

Some years ago, after deliverance from flood, a snake was found on the banks of the Yellow River, and by cunning priests and superstitious people at once claimed as an incarnation of the Dragon Spirit of the Flood. Li Hung Chang, the most advanced statesman in the Empire, by birth a Confucian and therefore an Agnostic, by training and thought a man of sense and knowledge, yet went to bow down to this wretched little snake. "How could he incur in the people's minds the odium of risking misfortune for them by lack of courtesy to the spirit?"

In Wuchang, Chang Chih Tung recently turned aside from his great schemes of iron works and cloth factory, mines and railways, to pray for rain before an idol. He no more believes in the idol than a Christian does, but the people do, and he

would greatly enrage them if he did not act as their intercessor. Although all meat was forbidden, and the people were fasting, the rain yet delayed; the lower officials pointed out that it was undignified for a viceroy to pray day by day without answer, and offered to act as his deputies! After a few days half an hour's rain fell, and, though this was followed by another drought, honour was satisfied, credit saved, prayer ceased, and meat was once more eaten. This game of hide-and-seek with the unseen powers is merely state-craft; the high official laughs in his capacious sleeve, but he sees no need to stir up discontent by lack of a little complaisance, for he is held responsible by the Central Government. Many an official, notwithstanding light and knowledge, is obliged by the State to conduct the official worship of gods "of the city" and "of the county"; he does not believe it, but religion is one of the duties of State, and must be fulfilled, even if idolatrous.

Finally, all this has a marked influence on public good faith and national development. We are constantly face to face with the fact that the Chinese Government will not allow any great commercial enterprise to be undertaken, save under official directorate, and that the Chinese people will not invest money in enterprises which are thus directed. They know only too well that the mandarin will secure himself from loss, will have his first pickings, and that his nominees and dependents will be employed in order that they may take their pickings too. Witness the China Merchants' Company for river and coast navigation, which, with every help from State funds, is encumbered through and through with hordes of parasites, who eat up its dividends. Railways and other schemes are kept under Government control, and merchants will decline to invest as long as this is the law.

Any system tending towards greater centralisation is fought tooth and nail by the whole official class. The telegraph has during the last four years reduced the distant viceroys from semi-independence to servile waiting on the beck and call of the throne; the Imperial maritime customs department, manned by foreigners, has taken large sums free from the handling of the local mandarins and announced the amounts direct to the Imperial Treasury. The outraged mandarin sees the hated foreign

devil drawing his income monthly, and never a cash beside, and he yearns regretfully for the bygone time when that foreigner's income with a good percentage of the sums he announces to Peking remained in his own pockets. No wonder the Chinese official hates Western improvements; he has everything to lose and nothing to gain. His patriotism, of which there is an embryo kernel in the shape of overweening pride, cannot soar to the height of the country's gain at his own expense, it is simply a question as to whether the Emperor or he shall make more money.

Such are a few of the moral traits of Chinese official life. The prime fault is in the Government. When every official has an income enough to live on, when his subordinates are all paid and his runners dismissed, when public opinion is strengthened by new sanctions giving potency and life to its abstract moral traditions, then corruption will be a shame, China will be purified, and will be ready for the great future it has in the East. The Power that has changed England from the unshamed brutality of Jeffreys and the unstinted bribery of Walpole, in a century or two will change China too, and honesty and moral courage, having their place in the heart of the ruler, will spread as in the dream of her ancient Sages from the individual to the household, and from the household to every corner of a prosperous and peaceful land.

Art. IV.—THE SECOND ŒCUMENICAL METHODIST CONFERENCE.

TEN years ago the first great gathering of representative Methodists from all parts of the world assembled in City Road Chapel, London. In October last a similar assembly met in the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, and in each case, if the meeting did not mark an epoch, it has been of more than ordinary interest and importance. These world-gatherings are, it is true, becoming

matters of every-day history. The term Œcumenical has been sharply criticised as being too ambitious for the occasion, but it is at least better than the ugly prefix which marks the Pan-Anglican and Pan-Presbyterian Councils. Perhaps the Congregationalists, who met for the first time in London last July in an "International" Congregational Council, have adopted the most appropriate name, but there is no reason why the term Œcumenical should be monopolised by Rome, and in the case of Methodism it represents a great fact, of which those outside its borders are frequently quite ignorant. Methodism not only has a world-wide mission, it has had world-wide success. The delegates to the last Conference came from Great Britain and Ireland, France, Italy and Germany, India, China, Japan, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, Fiji, and the West Indies, as well as all parts of the great American continent. A plant which strikes root in countries so diverse, and so distant from one another, and which in regions so remote from its origin, has spread with such rapidity and success, may well claim a universal adaptability, and the gathering of the representatives of such a church may without immodesty use a world-wide title. At the very least it represents an ideal not wholly visionary or impracticable.

The meeting of the first Conference was regarded with many questionings, and there were not wanting those who doubted the advisability of calling a second. Two dangers, at opposite extremes, need to be guarded against in the deliberations of such an assembly. On the one hand, no approach must be made to any interference with the internal government of any of the churches represented; on the other, the discussions should not be allowed to sink into those of a mere debating society, or the time wasted by the repetition of platitudes, or the airing of academic and unpractical speculations. It was an obvious objection to make in the first instance, that no useful end could possibly be answered by such a gathering. It was, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the objection was renewed, in spite of the complete refutation of it by the experience of 1881. The world is governed, for better, for worse, in no small measure by talkers and by talking. The utilitarian who sneers at a "great palaver" is as shallow in his reasoning as

he is feeble in his sneer. There are evils enough, as every one knows, in our methods of government by public meeting, but there are benefits to be realised through its means. And as long as the world is what it is, and the great English-speaking peoples are what they are, it is absolutely necessary for the interchange of thought, for the progress of truth, for the diffusion of sympathy, for the promotion of unity, for the removal of misunderstanding, for the consolidation of existing interests, for the effective conduct of aggressive operations, that these great "conventions," "conferences," "councils," "congresses," should be held from time to time. They issue no edicts, they promulgate no dogmas, but they cement Churches and nations, they enlarge the mental horizon of multitudes, they do something to prepare the way for "the parliament of man, the federation of the world," and, what is far better, for the universal reign of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Washington is a noble city, well adapted for such a great gathering. It was planned for the far future, and has by no means as yet attained its full growth. For long known as "the city of magnificent distances," it has until lately been a great shell with a very meagre kernel. But it now possesses a population of a quarter of a million, and its stately buildings, spacious avenues, splendid parks, and broad, well-kept thoroughfares, no less than its fine climate and clear air, make it an admirable centre for the political, intellectual and social life of a great nation. Such Washington is rapidly becoming. It is perhaps the only large city of the great Western world that can be described as a city of leisure, inhabited for the most part by the wealthy, intelligent and leisured classes. After Boston, New York and Philadelphia, the "pace" of such a city as Washington will be pronounced decidedly "slow;" but a slackening of pace in the life of most American cities is almost necessary to the growth and ripening of the best thought of a people. The old intellectual supremacy of Boston and New England has by no means disappeared; but Boston is developing more and more as a business city, and Washington is likely to become intellectually, as it is politically and socially, a true capital for the States of the great American Republic. Be that as it may, it is now the centre

where great literary, scientific and ecclesiastical conventions are held, and it would be difficult to find a city so suited for the purpose. Its Capitol takes rank with the very finest buildings of the ancient or modern world, and if the city be not in all respects a modern Athens, its atmosphere in the month of October reminds one of Euripides' description of the inhabitants of Attica, ἀεί δὰ λαμπροτάτου βάινοντες ἀβρῶς αἰθέρος—"ever delicately marching through most pellucid air," while down its broad streets and along its noble avenues whole armies might march without crowding or disturbing the thoroughfare.

In the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church of this city the Second Methodist Œcumenical Conference gathered last October, a body 500 strong. Two hundred of these represented the Eastern hemisphere, including some 80 Wesleyan Methodists and 30 Primitives, with a proportionate representation of other Methodist bodies in England and Ireland, South Africa and Australia. The Western section sent 300 representatives, 120 belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, 60 to the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 24 to the Methodist Church in Canada, 40 to the various coloured Churches, the remainder representing some dozen other communities into which Methodism in the New World is divided. Our readers do not need that we should describe the Methodism of the Old World, and we regret that our limits prevent us from saying even a few words descriptive of the Methodism of the New, far too little understood by her sisters on this side of the Atlantic. The best available information on the subject is to be found in the second edition of Dr. Rigg's *Church Organisations*, a chapter of which gives the most complete if not the only comprehensive account to be obtained, at all events, in small compass, of the constitution and character of the most numerous Christian community in the American Continent. The visit of American delegates to the Conference of 1881 did something towards diffusing information concerning the American Methodist Episcopal Church, its branches and offshoots, and it is to be hoped that the Conference of 1891 will do much more. But the Editor of this Review must forgive the writer for saying in its pages that the able

and perspicacious survey of American Methodism contained in the above-mentioned work will do more to enlighten the reader as to its real character than weeks of desultory and miscellaneous inquiries.

It was an impressive sight when the great company that had gathered from all quarters of the globe rose to open the Conference with united worship. Bishop Bowman of the Methodist Episcopal Church presided at the devotional service, and few that heard the singing of the opening hymn, "Jesus the name high over all," will ever forget it. Not less impressive was the united recitation of the Apostles' Creed and of certain passages of Scripture at the close of the sermon. The sermon itself, by the venerable William Arthur, known and honoured in the New World almost as much as in the Old, was worthy of the great occasion. It was based on Isaiah viii. 18: "Behold I and the children whom God hath given me are for signs and wonders in Israel," &c. The subject was the permanent strength and credentials of the Church as living forces, consisting of (1) The presence of the Lord in the midst of the Church; (2) The image of the Lord in her children; (3) The power of the Lord in her mission. But it is no part of our object to describe even the more impressive of the services held and the addresses given at this memorable Conference. This passing mention of Mr. Arthur's fine opening sermon must suffice, and we can only allude in a similar way to the remarkable specimen of American oratory given by Bishop Newman, when, on the following Sunday, he delivered without a single note a long, elaborate and eloquent address on the life and work of John Wesley.

Neither, unfortunately, have we space for sketching, as might in some respects be desirable, some of the chief personalities of the Conference. Senior Bishop Bowman with his venerable face and presence, Bishops Foster, Foss and Warren, with their occasional weighty utterances, Bishops Keener, Galloway and Hendricks, of the Church South, Dr. Buckley and Dr. Hoss representing the Methodist press, these with many others would claim mention on the American side. Few laymen were present from that side, and fewer still spoke; but Dr. Carlisle of the Southern Church, and Mr. Maclaren of

Canada, would claim distinction in any assembly. Amongst the coloured brethren, Bishops Wayman and Arnett, and Rev. J. C. Price were conspicuous by their ability and readiness of speech, and these with other African representatives were indistinguishable, except by colour and physique from their white fellow-countrymen. President Stephenson won golden opinions on all sides by his able and happy addresses, Mr. Price Hughes spoke frequently and with great vigour and effect, while the delegates from the Eastern section were, by common consent, no whit behind their Western brethren in the friendly rivalry of debate. The style of address cultivated on the two sides of the water respectively exhibited a clearly marked difference, both as regards the Conference, the platform, and the pulpit. The British speakers were for the most part the more direct and practical, the Americans more elaborate and rhetorical, the English more apt and ready in debate, while the Americans excelled in carefully composed *memoriter* deliverances, the style of the English being more simple, that of the Americans more ornate. A Boston newspaper described the English preachers as characterised by "earnestness, simplicity, scripturalness," while they are said to have "lacked the dash and brilliance of their American brethren." If that description be correct, long may English preaching retain its character. Ministers on this side of the water have happily ceased to cultivate the style of oratory which as yet seems to be most admired by many American audiences. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the Western representatives lacked either readiness or force. Those who heard one of Dr. Buckley's five-minute speeches would be in no danger of falling into that error. The tone of the debates was on the whole well preserved on both sides. On two occasions only was the harmony disturbed by misunderstandings, partly due to the size of the assembly, the comparative inexperience of some of the Presidents, and the difference in the rules of debate recognised on the two sides of the Atlantic. The discussions were lively and interesting, but sometimes trivial in their character, and only occasionally reached a high level. The five-minute rule prevented dulness and high excellence alike. If the tone as a whole was not unworthy of a great ecclesiastical assembly, it

was by no means so broad and lofty as in an "Œcumenical Council" might be desired.

One matter early engaged the attention of the Conference, which claims first recognition from us. This was the compilation of fairly accurate statistics concerning the actual numbers of the Methodist Churches at the present time. Papers upon the "Status" of Methodism in the East and West were read by Dr. Waller and Bishop Fowler, each excellent of its kind, and addresses on the subject followed, some appropriate and able, others savouring too much of self-glorification. A Sub-Committee was appointed to draw up a return of church members, and make a sober and careful estimate of probable "adherents" in various parts of the world. In some countries the Government estimates formed a satisfactory basis for this calculation; in other cases a different ratio was adopted, varying from three to one in Ireland where the Methodist body is compact and sharply defined, to six to one in Australia, where the number of less closely attached adherents is large. Throughout the calculations it was understood that the estimate should err rather by defect than excess. The following approximate figures will interest our readers, pending the publication of the full and accurate tables which will appear in the volume of *Proceedings*:

	Ministers.	Church Members.	Adherents.
Europe	4,431 ...	915,284 ...	4,209,60
Asia	533 ...	34.334 ...	114,968
Africa	294 ...	74,147 ...	283,376
Australia and Polynesia .	786 ...	93,140 ...	488,183
Western World . . .	36,601 ...	5,380,494 ...	20,281,976
Grand Total .	42,695 ...	6,494,399 ...	25,378,104

It is estimated that while the population in the countries represented by the above figures has increased during the decade at the rate of 15 per cent., Methodism has increased from 25 to 30 per cent. as compared with the estimate of 10 years ago. Without boasting or self-complacency, this is matter for rejoicing, and of profound thankfulness to God, while it may well form a stimulus to renewed and more courageous effort in the work of Church extension.

The subject which was regarded with most interest by a large portion of the Conference was that discussed on the second day—Christian Union and Co-operation. It was natural enough to hope that on such an occasion a closer approximation might be realised between some at least of the thirty-five sections of Methodism represented in the Conference. But it was soon made clear that great care and delicacy would be necessary in the treatment of the subject. The history of the past has clearly shown that attempts to hurry forward crude projects of organic union form one of the surest ways of impairing real Christian unity, and the special danger in such a Conference as the present was lest a vague sentiment pervading the assembly as a whole should be misinterpreted as an actual approximation between existing Churches, or lest it should be used to precipitate action for which the several churches were not ripe. The first paper, read by the Rev. T. G. Selby, was well suited to open the subject. It was able, full of sound general teaching, and abounded in apt illustration. The spirit of the address of Dr. Hunt (Methodist Episcopal Church), who followed was especially beautiful, and his exposition of our Saviour's prayer in John xvii. most felicitous. Other speakers followed, and the Rev. W. Redfern, of the Methodist Free Church, by way of giving a more practical turn to the discussion, made a direct appeal to the President of the Wesleyan Conference to take the first step towards a general re-union of Methodists in this country. Dr. Stephenson's reply was courteous and genial, expressing a readiness to meet privately the Presidents of other Methodist bodies, to see what steps might be taken towards some form of friendly co-operation. But it was clear that no delegate and no President could act otherwise than in a personal capacity, and the more far-seeing of the members of the Conference were anxious that no step should be taken, which might afterwards be misinterpreted or lead to awkward complications.

The example of Canada was seen to present but a remote analogy—to offer in important respects a contrast—to the conditions obtaining in other countries. An appeal from Bishop Foster for a closer approximation between the Northern and Southern Churches awoke no response. Whilst there was

complete unanimity as to the desirability of drawing nearer to one another in friendly association, and of seeking in every way to remove or minimise minor differences, and of preventing, as far as possible, the waste of power caused by the co-existence of similar Churches occupying the same ground, it was abundantly clear that any formal steps towards promoting these objects on the part of the Conference itself must be very cautiously taken. The resolutions which were ultimately adopted ran as follows:

"1. That the Conference recognises, with gratitude to God, the growing desire for closer union among the Churches of Christendom, and especially hails with devout thankfulness the extension of that desire among the various Methodist Churches.

"2. The Conference cannot doubt that concerted action among the different Methodist bodies upon many questions would be greatly to the advantage of the kingdom of God. The Conference would suggest that such concerted action might be possible und useful in the following great provinces of the Methodist world, viz. (*a*) Great Britain and Ireland, including its affiliated Conferences and missions; (*b*) The United States, including its missions and mission Conferences; (*c*) Australasia, with Polynesia, and its other missions; (*d*) Canada, with its missions.

"3. This Conference therefore respectfully requests the Churches represented in it to consider whether such concerted action be possible, and if so by what means, and in what way; and directs the secretaries to forward a copy of this resolution to the senior Bishop or President of every Conference represented here."

Such resolutions can certainly do no harm, and we hope may result in great good. The measure of good which will spring from them depends upon the readiness of the several bodies to promote the true spirit of Christian unity, while preserving those distinctive characteristics which enable them to serve the cause of Christianity more effectively by separate than by united action. Principle must not be sacrificed for the sake of presenting a common front of uniform ecclesiastical organisation, or of impressing the world with an imposing array of numbers. Dr. Crooks, in a paper published in the New York *Independent* since the Conference, has intimated that political considerations are the cause of continued separation in this country. It would be more correct to say that there are marked underlying differences of tone and sentiment which in part, though not wholly or solely, are the

common cause both of political and ecclesiastical differences amongst Methodists in Great Britain. All Methodists must work heartily and earnestly to promote true Christian unity, but it by no means follows that the Church of Christ would necessarily be the better for an attempt to fuse existing differences in an external ecclesiastical union. It may be that these will gradually dwindle and disappear; it may be that it is better for the Church of Christ as a whole that they should remain for a time, and Methodists of different types be found travelling by different roads, but following the same Master in the same spirit towards the same goal. God forbid that we should allow prejudices to disguise themselves as principles, and shut us out from our brethren. But God forbid also that it should be pronounced unchristian to deprecate organic union between bodies that are far from being ripe for it, which are, in fact, disagreed as to very important points of Church government and discipline. It is cheap and poor logic to stigmatise all who do not press for speedy organic union as helping forward "the work of the devil." We must be patient. We can rejoice that the coloured Churches in America, separated, so far as we can gather, neither by doctrine, Church government, nor sentiment, should be arranging as a result of the Conference to work together. For the rest, it will be well to work quietly and steadily towards a realisation of a truer Christian unity and all that promotes Christian co-operation, without violating principles which we do well to hold dear. The Master will bring His followers together in His own way, and if we follow His leading we shall neither hurry nor delay. What is done in His time and in His way will be done well.

One of the most important topics—perhaps the most important of all—which came before the Conference received very scanty, and on the whole, unsatisfactory treatment. No subject required more time and attention than "The Church and Scientific Thought," with its subdivisions, "The Influence of Modern Scientific Progress on Religious Thought," "Attitude of the Church towards various phases of unbelief," and "The Bible and Modern Criticism," yet the whole was crowded into less than two short hours. Mr. Bunting's paper on the first of these three subjects was sure to arouse criticism and dis-

sent. It was able and thoughtful, as was to be expected, but it was essentially speculative in character, and liable to be misunderstood by such an audience as listened to it in Washington. The question—What, if evolution be true, is likely to be the effect upon the various articles of the Christian creed?—was hardly one to be discussed before such an assembly. The hypothesis is a large one, especially if no attempt be made carefully to define what is meant by evolution. The investigation of the bearing of such an hypothesis upon, *e.g.*, the doctrines of Creation, the Incarnation and Immortality, would be itself an exceedingly difficult one for an assembly of trained theologians, and it is probable that a large proportion of the audience in Washington failed to understand the drift of the paper, while of those who did not many could agree with its substance. One good result is likely to follow. Discussion will be aroused, which was sure to come sooner or later, and we are inclined to think that now the sooner it comes the better, if it be wisely conducted. The more intelligent portion of the Methodist public need to be helped in this matter. They must learn to define evolution, to understand how much of the theory known by that name is demonstrated, how much is mere hypothesis, and the leaders of thought in the Church must be prepared to face the bearings of what has actually been proved, and of what may be proved to-morrow, upon "the faith once delivered to the saints." There is no need for alarm, unless indeed the investigation of such a question by properly qualified persons be frowned upon as implying want of loyalty to Christ and Methodist traditions. Many will think, however, that an Œcumenical Conference was hardly the place to initiate a discussion so delicate and difficult, nor a twenty minutes' paper before a large miscellaneous audience the best opportunity for expounding it.

Similar ground was occupied by Professor Davison in the paper he read upon "The Bible and Modern Criticism." As has been repeatedly urged in the pages of this REVIEW, Biblical Criticism is now a science, a large portion of its results have been fairly proved, and it is not difficult to separate between demonstration and rash hypothesis. The duty of the Christian Church is frankly to accept the results of sound and sober criticism,

which cannot injure either her faith or her practice. Substantial agreement with this position was expressed by many Wesleyan Methodist representatives at the Conference, but no general discussion of the subject appeared to be possible. American representatives appeared either to have given little attention to the subject, or to be very cautious in expressing themselves. No doubt the subject needs to be approached with caution as well as with candour, and the religious guides of a community can hardly be too careful of saying or doing anything which might weaken faith in the authority of the written Word of God. Bishop Keener's somewhat mistimed allusion to the subject later on, when another topic was before the Conference, was by no means felicitous or impressive, but all consideration should be given to the conscientious words of an old man, who probably failed to understand the position of those against whose views he was anxious to protest. A policy of denunciation, and "getting rid" of inconvenient doctrines or inconvenient men is, happily, not likely to commend itself to sensible men on either side of the Atlantic.

The "Agencies of the Church at the present day" are manifold indeed. The Conference had something to say concerning the preacher, the press, lay-workers of all kinds, brotherhoods, sisterhoods, deaconesses, and woman's place in the Church generally. Some things were wisely said on these topics, many things not so wisely. Bishop Foster would have spoken more effectively on the responsibilities and qualifications of the preacher, if he had begun in the middle of his speech, and pursued it to its proper close. Mr. Bond said one or two good things, but on the whole the attention given to the subject was unsatisfactory and disappointing, the more so, because no place had been given in the programme to the training of the ministry. Considering the place of *preaching* in Methodism, the success which has attended it in the past, its importance in the present, and the danger lest it should lose its real power and the inestimable importance of maintaining this form of "Apostolic Succession" in the future, we must pronounce this section of the work of the Conference decidedly feeble and inadequate. If such a body as assembled in Washington could not discuss science

to much advantage, it might have been hoped that it would exercise a distinct and powerful influence upon the ministry of preaching, and it seems like the loss of an opportunity to find that there was so little appreciable result in this direction.

Much more was said about the Press than about the Pulpit. The Rev. H. P. Hughes was characteristically bright and forcible; it must be added that some of his language was characteristically exaggerated. We thoroughly believe that the Christian Church should use the press, as it should use every force of the day at its disposal, for good. But newspapers are not the only product of the press. Hardly anything was said about higher and more permanent literature. And so far as journalism is concerned, the dangers incident to its use by the Church were hardly alluded to by the essayist, or by succeeding speakers. The temptation to take sides in party politics is only one of these. It would have been well if some one of weight in the Conference had shown how great is the need of care and accuracy in the use of this powerful but dangerous weapon; how much mischief may be done by those who do not weigh the meaning of words, or thoughtlessly pervert their meaning, and how absolutely necessary it is that the religious press, instead of, as too often, setting an actually bad example, should in these matters lead and direct the tone of the secular press by sobriety of language as well as by purity of aim.

The chief interest of the Conference concerning the agencies of the Church appeared to gather round the position and work of women. The current controversies of the Methodist Episcopal Church may partly account for this, but it was quite clear that a majority of the Conference were anxious to see a decided advance in the amount and character of the work allotted to women in the Church. As to the nature of that change, the principles on which the powers of women might be best employed for Christ, and the way in which a fuller development of her work might be best carried out, not many things were said worth remembering. The tone of the debate at this stage was not worthy of the dignity of the Conference or the importance of the theme. The way in which Scripture

was referred to, and the language of St. Paul characterised by some of the speakers was, to put it mildly, hardly reverent or becoming. Of the practical question it may be said, *solvitur ambulando.* Good women, who talk little and do much, are themselves showing by actual experiment what work they can accomplish for Christ under the present conditions of society, when the education which women receive is yearly being improved, and the careers open before her are yearly being increased and multiplied. Academic debating concerning women's rights and women's privileges is apt to prove worse than useless, and when next the subject comes up for discussion in the Œcumenical Conference of 1901, Providence will have taught us in the walks of actual life more lessons than the wise men assembled in 1891 described or dreamed of.

We regret that it is impossible for us to do more than allude to the important subject of Education. The training of the young in the family and the Sunday School was dealt with by the Rev. Wm. Fitchett of Australia, and the Rev. R. Culley, who, when called upon suddenly to supply the place of a delegate who was ill, delivered an admirable and all too brief an address. The subject of elementary State-education was too large for discussion in the time allotted to it; but some important facts were brought out by Dr. Waller, who showed himself better acquainted with the actual working of the American system than many of those who see it in operation. As regards higher and university education, the papers of Dr. Burwash (Canada), Professor Slater and Dr. Warren of Boston University, were alike admirable. The discussion which followed, also, was of a higher character and better sustained than most others. Dr. Warren struck a high note in claiming a "front place" for Methodism in higher education, a note which one would fain hope may be sustained if Bishop Hurst's scheme of a great "American University" in Washington proves as practicable in execution as it is fine in conception. It might have been well if the speakers had directed themselves more closely to some practical issue—*e.g.*, whether it is desirable for Methodists to use to the full national universities and educational institutions, trusting their young men and women to the broadest currents of contem-

porary thought, or to maintain and multiply denominational institutions, or, if these two methods are to be combined, how they are best to be united so as to retain the flower of the youth for Christ and for Methodism. But indirectly much may be learned from the discussion, and the marked difference of educational conditions between the Old World and the New made it difficult for speakers long to pursue a common train of thought and suggestion.

One institution of recent origin for young people in Canada and the States received recognition in large mass meetings outside the borders of the Conference proper. We refer to the Epworth League, an association deserving study by all interested in the religious and general improvement of the young. We cannot describe it in detail, but may say that its objects are like those of the various societies of "Christian Endeavour," though the League is distinctly denominational in character. These objects are "to promote intelligent and loyal piety in the young members and friends of the Church, to aid them in the attainment of purity of heart, and a constant growth in grace, and to train them in works of mercy and help." It has its departments of Christian work, its prayer-meetings, its mission enterprises, its literary work and reading courses, its temperance, tract, and purity bands, its entertainments and correspondence department. It is constituted in "Chapters," local and district branches, with a Junior League, to prepare the way for the League proper. It was founded in 1889 by the amalgamation of several existing associations, and though so young an institution, embraces already 4,100 societies, and numbers more than 250,000 members. It is obviously an enterprise full of great possibilities, if wisely managed. That there are some dangers attending it is obvious to those who look below the surface, but the promise of the movement is very great. The "Guilds," which have recently been started with so much success among the Congregationalists, largely promoted by the Rev. R. F. Horton, present many points of analogy. In the Presbyterian and other Churches of America similar societies are doing good work. It is natural to inquire whether anything of the kind should be attempted by Methodists at home, gathering up and enlarging the work of

"Young Men's Improvement Associations," giving a distinctly religious tone to the literary, social, and philanthropic work in which the young of the Church may be usefully engaged, thus employing the love of "band-work," which none feel more than young people. That is not a question to be discussed in these pages, but it is quite possible that the next decade may see a decided and most beneficial movement in this direction.

It was well that the Conference should give a large share of its time to the consideration of social and national questions indirectly bearing on the work of the Church. Bishop Hurst drew attention to the fact that whereas in 1881 twenty topics of a purely Methodist kind were included in the programme, in 1891 there were only five. We agree with him in thinking this a distinct gain, though it may not be a rule for the future. Much has happened in these last ten years; and so far as Church work is concerned, few things are more noticeable than the amount of attention bestowed by the Church upon questions hitherto regarded as lying beyond her scope. It would have been a great mistake if the second Œcumenical Conference had ignored social problems and questions of national ethics, or had dealt partially and grudgingly with them. Amongst the topics freely discussed were Temperance, the relations between Capital and Labour, the social condition of the people, War, Peace and International Arbitration, Marriage and Divorce Laws, and the general subject of Legal Restraint on the Vices of Society. Great variety was observable, as was natural, in these debates; but, on the whole, the tone preserved was high, the spirit excellent, and the influence exercised upon the public opinion of the various churches could hardly fail to be beneficial. The Rev. Peter Thompson's paper on the "Obligations of the Church in relation to the social condition of the people," was admirable, as was the Rev. Thos. Allen's on "Work among the Rich." On the other hand, the speakers who took up the subject of Capital and Labour appeared hardly equal to the task. One speaker strongly advocated protection, another seemed to think the Church would never prosper till she supported legislation fixing an eight-hours' day for the working man, while a third could hardly be described as happy in his

handling of the topic of "trusts" and "combinations" of capital. There was a lack of judicial faculty in several of the speakers, which, under the circumstances, was not surprising, but an utterance from some one of weight and experience might have swept away many of the sophistries which beset amateur treatment of these subjects and cleared the minds of those present as to the true work of the Church in relation to them. A teacher in a Christian Church must be content to lay down broad moral principles, and leave them to do their own work, being exceedingly cautious how he damages the effect of healthy Christian teaching by one-sided illustrations, the bearing of which he only partially understands. There are few sanctuaries left in our busy life, and while no faithful messenger of God will refrain from giving a practical application of general truths in rebuke of current evils, yet if the peace of the Lord's day and the calm of the Lord's house are to be invaded by a discussion from the pulpit of controversial subjects, whether political, economical, or commercial, the just influence of that pulpit will soon disappear. Only within very narrow limits is a preacher called upon or qualified to decide the details of current issues in the complexities of modern life; and to prove that statement, it would not be necessary to go beyond many of the utterances at the Washington Conference itself.

It was during the debate on "War, Peace, and Arbitration" that the President of the United States did the Conference and himself the honour to pay it a visit and deliver an address. President Harrison is a Christian man, and the tone of his address was frankly and unmistakably Christian, without any trace of sanctimoniousness or cant. The remarks we ventured to make in the last paragraph received an illustration from this very address. In contrast with the tone adopted by certain members of the Conference having more zeal than knowledge, the President summed up all that could wisely be said upon his subject into half a dozen chosen sentences. He spoke as a man who knew the world as well as the Church, and while determined in his maintenance of pure Christian principles, he did not speak as one beating the air. He said, among other things, "It is quite possible to apply arbitration to a dispute

as to a boundary line; it is quite impossible, it seems to me, to apply it to a case of international feud. If there is present a disposition to subjugate, an aggressive spirit to seize territory, a spirit of national aggrandisement that does not stop to consider the rights of other men and other peoples, to such a case and to such a spirit, international arbitration has no, or if any, a remote and difficult application. It is for a Christian sentiment manifesting itself in a nation to remove for ever such causes of dispute, and then, what remains will be an easy subject of adjustment by fair international arbitration." It is for the Christian Church, we may add, to foster and increase such a sentiment, not by wholesale denunciation of war, as if it were a cause and not an effect, a root of evil, whereas it is itself a fruit of antecedent wrong. Horrible as it is, there are worse evils in the world than war, for in the present disordered condition of things, it is sometimes the only remedy practicable for cruelty, oppression, and intolerable unrighteousness. The "short-cuts" to the Christian goal, which some eager spirits are anxious to make, may easily prove "the longest way round." In this as in all things the Christian Church will do well to follow the example of her Master and her Master's Apostles, and in His own Divine way to promote the advent of the Prince of Peace.

Some admirable addresses were given under the general head of "The Church and Public Morality," while others were better suited for "sectional" discussion than for a large public meeting such as gathered day by day in the Metropolitan Church. The subject of "Legal Restraint on the Vices of Society" was one of these. The extent to which men can, and cannot be "made moral by Act of Parliament" deserves more careful and thorough consideration than it has yet received on the part both of Church and State, and it is one upon which every Church should have intelligent and well-defined views before publicly committing itself to agitate for legislation in a given direction. The paper on "Marriage and the Divorce Laws" seemed calculated to claim as large a measure of divorce as could be made consistent with our Lord's express commands, rather than to point out the evils of the laxity obtaining in some of the States of America. Bishop

Foss's paper on "The Attitude of the Church towards Amusements" was excellent, and left little for any subsequent speaker to say. He candidly recognised the need of amusement, advocated the cordial, not the grudging acceptance of all harmless forms of it, and the unsparing condemnation of those that are directly demoralising, urging that "home should be made the true pleasure-garden," and Christian activity the true guard against temptation, on Chalmer's principle of the "expulsive power of a new affection." As regards debateable forms of amusement, Bishop Foss wisely held up as the Christian standard "liberty modified by the law of charity," and urged the acceptance of Methodist rule on the subject, guided by the simple principle that no pleasure should be indulged in which could not be entered on "in the name of the Lord Jesus." The general effect of this admirable address cannot, however, be represented by a bare abstract of its contents. Its broad and genial spirit, tempered by practical wisdom, and suffused with deep religious feeling, made Bishop Foss's utterance upon a difficult subject a model of its kind.

In some respects the best wine was preserved till the last. The topics fixed for the last day had been skilfully chosen to lead up to a climax. The "Outlook" included a consideration of "The Christian Resources of the Old and New World's," and a glance at "The Church of the Future." On the former topic the honours certainly rested with the Rev. J. S. Simon, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and Dr. Chapman, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The essayist on "The Resources of the New World" fell into the mistake of flooding his paper with statistics, an error skilfully avoided by Mr. Simon in his instructive and suggestive essay. Dr. Chapman spoke with great point and effect on the difference between the conditions of Methodist work in the New and Old Worlds, and there was general regret that the time-limit did not allow him to finish a survey which fairly fascinated the audience. This was a theme which deserved a morning to itself, with carefully chosen speakers on either side. The next Œcumenical Conference may well bear this in mind as one of the most fruitful themes it could possibly discuss. The one serious deficiency in the programme most commonly noted was the opportunity for

a number of able and practical men to compare notes upon conditions and methods in the conduct of similar Methodist work upon the two sides of the Atlantic. Much was done privately and informally, but carefully selected speakers dealing with the theme in public might have drawn practical lessons of the highest interest and importance.

The "Church of the Future" is a tempting subject to those who are prone either to air personal crotchets, or launch into declamation at large. Dr. Buckley did neither, and his paper, only a portion of which was read with bewildering rapidity, deserves careful study in its printed form. Some of the chief defects in modern Methodism, especially in America, were pointed out with unsparing fidelity; amongst others, the dangers of professional revivalists, who "create general excitement, and then leave a multitude of persons who have asked for prayers, to be incorporated with a Church which had not the moral force to convince them of sin and lead them to Christ." Dr. Buckley, however, is no pessimist, and the other side of the picture was painted with great, if not with equal force. The Church of the future, he said, will have a simple but comprehensive creed, few rules, cant will disappear, science and religion will walk hand in hand; and all the criticism of the past, and bright hopes of the future, sketched by the speaker led up to an earnest appeal to use and improve the Church of the present. The addresses of the Rev. W. J. Dawson, Bishop Hendricks, and F. W. Bourne, prepared the way for the impressive devotional service with which the Conference closed.

Perhaps the best summary of the significance and work of this memorable Conference is to be found in the thoughtful and impressive Pastoral Address, drawn up by the Rev. James Chapman, of Oxford, read towards the close amidst profound attention, and received with universal approbation and delight. It was by no means an easy task to draw up such an address, and we understand the draft prepared by Mr. Chapman was accepted by the committee with hardly a single alteration. It has been already published at length, and we need not recapitulate its contents, while we cannot, as we fain would, transfer to our pages a number of its well-chosen

sentences and felicitous phrases. The one extract we allow ourselves to make is one which will prepare the way for closing remarks on what seems to us the chief practical issue of this important representative gathering of Methodists from all parts of the world:

"The increase of our people in number and wealth and power has laid us under a great responsibility. It seems probable that before long Methodists will constitute nearly a quarter of the people who use the English tongue. We are a factor of growing importance in that great race which by a restless impulse is spreading its dominion, its trade, and its civilisation over vast regions of every continent. Let us rise to the height of our calling. We ought to go wherever our race goes, to multiply our churches, to increase our communities, and so become a bond of union among the wide-spread peoples of English blood, and we should strive to check that dangerous temper into which adventurous and governing races so easily fall. . . . . Before another Œcumenical Conference the world will have passed into another century. Ten critical years of the swiftly moving modern world will have rolled away. Opportunities will have offered themselves which will never come again. We pray that our Churches may clearly and rightly interpret the signs of the times, and discerning the will of God, may yield themselves entirely to it."

It is in the spirit of these soberly earnest words, that the Methodist Churches should gird themselves to another decade of consecrated service. It is easy on the one hand to indulge in boastful rhetoric concerning the greatness of Methodism, and pour out cheap sentimentalities in a fancy vision of its future. It is easy on the other hand to sneer with the cynic at the pretensions of a church of yesterday to fulfil an "œcumenical" mission, when the utterances of many of its representatives were so narrow and provincial, so unworthy of a great international assembly. It is one of the objects of these gatherings to raise Methodists in all parts of the world alike above foolish boasting and equally foolish self-depreciation and discouragement. No loyal son of Methodism could attend such a council as that in Washington without being moved to thank God and take courage. Who that knows the history of the various Methodist Churches there represented can wonder if the tone and character of its debates were not in every single utterance as lofty, as dignified, as broad and statesmanlike in character as in an ideal ecclesiastical assembly? Was the ideal realised at Nicæa, at Constance, at Trent, at the

Vatican? Doubtless some men spoke unguardedly, some unwisely, some trivially. But many uttered sentences of ripe wisdom, or condensed into a few sentences the results of years of careful observation; some uttered timely warnings, some rang forth cheering words of faith and hope. All left prepared to pray together, to strive together, to wait together in a further period of Christian service, following that gracious Master who knows how weak and ignorant his best servants are, yet patiently bears with them because they love Him, and who is wont through the weak and despised things of the world, "yea and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are." So God wrought in Corinth, so He has wrought in the history of Methodism, so He will work by her still, if her children be found faithful.

That God has a more than national mission for Methodism is certain. A church which by His blessing has achieved such success among English speaking peoples as to number within a hundred years of Wesley's death some twenty-five millions of adherents has already proved its vitality, its fruit-bearing and seed-bearing capacity. Whether its people can rise to the full height of the Divine purpose concerning them remains to be seen. Whether they can preserve the spirituality which distinguished early Methodism, when they number amongst their congregations in large numbers the wealthy and the worldly; whether they can draw nearer together and fight shoulder to shoulder without giving up principles or weakening essential ecclesiastical bonds; whether they can prove at the same time earnestly aggressive in evangelistic efforts and strong and wise to retain and educate those whom Providence has entrusted to their pastoral charge; whether they can win and raise the degraded, while, at the same time, guiding the educated and swaying the rich and powerful to consecrate their wealth and their influence to God, whether all this and much more can be realised, only the future can declare. It is no small matter, however, to have obtained from a wide survey of the past and present, a fuller glimpse into what Providence seems to mark out as the province and duty of the future. It is no small matter, if amidst many fears and misgivings, many mistakes and failures and sins, it has been

conclusively proved that the God who was with our fathers is with us still, guiding and teaching us, lengthening our cords and enlarging our borders, preparing a way for His people to walk in, and preparing His people to walk in that way. And it will prove the crowning mercy of the second Methodist Œcumenical Conference if it has prepared for a decade of more intelligent, earnest, faithful and successful service of our common Master, and has further opened up the way for a world-wide Methodism to do its part in winning the world for Christ.

Art. V.—A NEW LIFE OF CHRIST.

Jesus Christ, Heri et hodie ipse et in secula. By the Rev. Father Didon, of the Order of Saint Dominic. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1891.

DESPITE the numerous Lives of Christ which this generation has produced, there was room for one of such distinct characteristics as Father Didon's. Those of Weiss, Neander, Lange, and Pressensé have a strongly apologetic purpose. Valuable as they are in their way, one often feels in reading them that the critical element is somewhat intrusive. Edersheim with his stores of Jewish learning, Farrar with his vivid word-pictures, Geikie full of instructiveness, are all valuable. We do not need duplicates of any of these. But Father Didon's work is no duplicate. A Life of Christ written by a French Catholic, and by one of so many accomplishments, so familiar with the old and yet so steeped in all modern culture, could not be other than distinctly original.

The original has all the qualities of the best modern French—precision, grace, force; and the translation, though there are a few signs of haste or oversight, is well done. Style, however, is the least excellence. We are impressed

everywhere with the evidence of such complete and careful preparation as the sacredness of the subject demands. The work can only have been the fruit of years of study, travel, and thought. The author says of his work: "Written in solitude and silence, far from all which sets men asunder, the fruit of the long and persevering work, I may say, of my whole life, it has been no work agitated by polemics, but a quiet work of history and faith. It has seemed to me, as I wrote the life of our Master, that his loveliness, his sweetness, his wisdom, his saintliness, his love, his divinity, shining through all his acts and sorrows, would defend him better than our weak arguments and our empty angers." Prayer has had as much to do with the writing of such a work as it had with Angelico's painting.

Not the least distinctive feature of this new Life is the serene atmosphere of untroubled faith pervading it. Theories of criticism are recognised and dealt with, but they are not put in the foreground, they do not form the staple matter. The reply to them is often rather implied than developed. Some recent Lives have resembled vast strongholds, bristling with the newest inventions of modern warfare. The present author is content to take the Gospels as they stand, and to give all his strength to their exposition. He evidently has no doubt that the Gospel history is well able to hold its ground against all critical assaults, and he assumes the same faith in his readers. He thinks that, to say the least, novel theories need not disturb till they are proved, and many are not proved. "I must premise that I have examined, with the most scrupulous attention, the contradictions which certain critics have declared that they see in the manifold narrative of the four evangelists; but have never been able to discover them. I have indeed always avoided recognising one fact alone when the details proved to me that there were two, and in this manner many contradictions vanish." So, like many more, he makes the healing of the one blind man take place on Christ's entering Jericho, and the healing of the two on his leaving. Of course he makes the two anointings (Luke vii. 36, Matt. xxvi. 6) different. Still more courageously, he adheres in the introduction to the ancient traditional account of the rise, origin,

order, and purpose of the Gospels. Matthew's Gospel was written first, in Hebrew characters and in the Aramaic dialect; its purpose was to establish the Messiahship of Jesus; its date lies between 33 and 40 A.D. For the sake of the Jews of the Dispersion it was soon translated into Greek "by an unknown author." "It gained weight either from the authority of the translator, or from its acceptance by the Church; and it soon took the place of the primitive text, which disappeared after the destruction of Jerusalem, together with the group of Judæan Christians who used it." Mark wrote his Gospel to meet the desire of Christians to have a record of St. Peter's preaching at Rome. He "must have had the Aramaic Gospel of St. Matthew before his eyes." St. Luke's Gospel was written to supply a more complete picture of Christ's life, supplementing the first two. He is especially full on the interval of four or five months between Christ's leaving Galilee and his entry into Jerusalem. His Gospel is designed principally for the Gentiles, who at the time he wrote were flocking to Christ. The writing of the fourth Gospel to counteract incipient forms of Gnosticism and Manicheanism is described at greater length. We see from this account how little our author's opinions and faith have been touched by the voluminous criticisms of the Gospels. The ingenious theories which have been devised to explain the parallel and diverging portions are largely ignored. "The genuineness of the four canonical Gospels is a question now settled for ever." After appealing to the Muratorian Canon, the ample quotations by the Fathers of the first and third centuries, the early Italic, Syriac and Greek versions, and the Codex Sinaiticus, he says: "We have the right to conclude that the Gospels existed from the first century, and that they existed as we now have them."

The same standpoint of assured faith is illustrated also by the distinction made between true and false criticism. Not all that calls itself criticism deserves the name. The criticism to which Christianity appeals without fear is that which rests, not on individual faith and theories, but on "essential truths and the unchangeable principles of reason." It will judge, not by arbitrary canons, but by all the evidence available in the case. "The saints who live by the words of Jesus will

always understand them better than the Hellenising interpreter who rejects them and does not know their savour. . . . . In many cases I prefer, as a critic, a simple peasant to a subtle and cautious man of learning. The first will tell me plainly what he has seen; the other wants to give me an explanation."

It is quite in the same spirit that the author prefers ancient to modern interpretations. Patristic authority gives a distinct flavour to the pages. Of course the writer has exercised his own judgment and made a selection. He accepts an ancient view, not because it is ancient, but because he thinks it true. Old writers differ from each other, and go wrong just like moderns. We must not think that all that the fathers wrote is as good as the selection of their opinions given here. Even in the identifying of sites Father Didon often prefers the old. He thinks that Robinson in his *Researches* "seems to take pains to upset all local traditions." This remark is made in reference to the Mount of the Beatitudes, which Didon, like Stanley, identifies with the Horns of Hattin. He also holds to Tabor as the scene of the Transfiguration in opposition to Robinson and other modern writers. "There is no sign" of any other view "before the end of the eighteenth century. In such matters, all innovations, unsupported by ancient testimony, are to be regarded as suspicious." It is on ancient authority also that he interprets "the carcase" (Luke xvii. 37) of Christ's dead body: "Man shall have no difficulty in finding Christ. The radiant splendour of his glory shall pervade immensity. And as eagles fly swiftly, attracted by the scent of the carcase, so shall the elect take their flight towards Him, who gave Himself to be offered as a victim, attracted by the aroma of his sacrifice." Modern criticism does not weaken his confidence in the authenticity of the Second Epistle of Peter: "The whole contents of the letter are a confirmation of the traditional opinion, and as early as the first century the work is quoted by St. Clement, by St. Polycarp, and by Papias."

We cannot blame the author for maintaining the standpoint of his own Church, especially as he does it with unfailing moderation and dignity. We respect even when we can-

not accept his position. He naturally asserts the dependence of Scripture, both for its safe keeping and its interpretation, on the Church, and thinks that one mistake of Protestants is in separating the two. "That society, which, under the name of the Church, covers the whole world, presents its Gospel to all: but she alone can interpret it." "Modern criticism has deliberately forgotten that these are not books which have become general property, but they are the inalienable possession of the Catholic Church." "The Gospels, torn from the religious traditions of which they are the most ancient and the most sacred monument, have been the prey of all the critics." This position is merely stated, it is not argued. We note a few more opinions which are to be explained in the same way. "Jesus was the first-born and only son of his mother; those whom the Gospel calls his brothers and sisters were, in fact, his maternal cousins." Again, "It is plain that Jesus does not sanction divorce, but only separation." "Separation is permissible; a bad wife can be put away from the house, but the bond of husband and wife remains unbroken. The repudiated wife has no right to marry another man; the man who has put away his wife has no right to take another." We do not wonder at the following judgment: "Jesus does not condemn marriage, but He prefers celibacy and virginity, when man accepts them freely and frankly for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven." As the author does not enter into argument and avoids polemics, we will do the same. The case for priestly celibacy is skilfully put thus: "Those whom God calls to propagate the Gospel by Apostolic mission and by sanctity of life belong to Him; He uplifts them from earth, frees them from all attachment to created things, intoxicates them with his virtue, absorbs them and fashions them after the image of the Master. Like Him, they can no more be members of a family, of a country, of a race; they are members of eternity; they are poor, chaste, sacrificed; their action is the Divine order." The strongest reference to the Virgin Mary is the following: "When He said to his mother, 'Behold thy Son!' He created in her a Divine motherhood; He associated her in the work of redemption. . . . . She continues her work invisibly by her maternal office in the Church. All who follow Jesus are her

sons; and those who love Jesus follow the example of John and take her for their mother." Peter's supremacy is of course recognised and asserted in the exposition of his great confession and in the scene of his restoration. He "was chosen to be the human foundation, the firm rock of the Church. The faith of Peter and his successors will be an unfailing faith. Others may be shaken, but Peter and his successors never." "Thus was the repentant and loving disciple raised to the primacy of the Kingdom. The Church, as a hierarchy, is henceforth centred altogether in him." The tradition of Veronica also is endorsed (ii. 349). These seem to be all the definitely Catholic references in the volumes. We have indeed been surprised and pleased that the points we should as Protestants have to contest are so few in so wide a field of doctrinal exposition. For nearly all the rest we have no feeling but gratitude and admiration. We fear that Catholic writers like Father Didon often judge of all Protestants by extreme types. He may be assured that the overwhelming majority of Protestants will appreciate the picture he has given of the one divine-human life, which is the world's hope and salvation, as highly as any members of his own communion.

We confess to some surprise at the position the author takes up in reference to two points in this history. It is somewhat startling to find that he identifies Mary of Bethany, Mary Magdalene, and the woman "that was a sinner." Commenting on Luke vii. 37–50, he says: "This sinner, whose name has been witheld by the Evangelist through a sense of delicacy and reserve, has been recognised by almost unanimous tradition as Mary Magdalene. She was a member of a rich family. Her brother Lazarus possessed great wealth at Jerusalem; her sister Martha lived at Bethany, and she herself had lands in Galilee, and lived on the western shore of the lake at Magdala; hence her name Magdalene" (vol. i. p. 356, ii. 11, 165, 456). Here is a whole cluster of improbabilities. The long note at the end of vol. ii. gives no proof, but a catena of traditional opinion and the Roman liturgy, which we cannot accept as sufficient. The argument of Dean Plumptre in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* seems to us conclusive on the other side. He says: "The epithet Magdalene, whatever

may be its meaning, seems chosen for the express purpose of distinguishing her from all other Maries. . . . . The only *simulacrum* of an argument on behalf of the identity is that, if we do not admit it, we have no record of the sister of Lazarus having been a witness of the resurrection." Father Didon thinks that Mary of Bethany, Mary Magdalene, and the sinner "harmonise satisfactorily in a single type of character." Dean Plumptre says of the two first: "Not one single circumstance, except that of love and reverence for their Master, is common." Confidence in tradition and the Roman liturgy has misled our author. Religious instinct would have been a better guide.

We suppose that it is respect for the version of Scripture which has received the stamp of ecclesiastical authority that leads him to defend the authenticity of John vii. 53–viii. 11. Here he has against him the authority of the Sinaitic and Alexandrian manuscripts, as well as early versions. He relies, however, on Patristic opinion, and chiefly on the Vulgate. His additional argument is that the omission of the passage is capable of explanation, but not its insertion. The argument would have weight if the external evidence were pretty equally divided, but not when the evidence is so decidedly unfavourable. Westcott says: "External and internal evidence combine to show beyond all reasonable doubt that this remarkable narrative is not a genuine portion of the Gospel of St. John" (*Comm.*, p. 141).

There is much charming writing in the "Introduction." The vindication of the reasonableness of miracle and prophecy is nobly expressed. It is well shown that the Gospel miracles do not seem marvellous in the Gospel history; they rather strike one as natural, and as thoroughly in keeping with every other aspect of Christ's life. The inseparable union between the Gospel story and Christ's life is thus expounded: "This is the secret of the beauty, simplicity, sanctity, and immortal power of the Gospels; not that the soul and spirit and genius of the writers have passed into them, but the soul, the spirit, and the genius of their hero. He lives in them, acts, speaks, moves, enlightens, and sanctifies. His sweetness shines in them, and wraps them round; his attraction charms and draws them; his example carries them away. We seem to follow in his

train among the poor who surrounded Him, with the sinner and the sick whose open sores and hidden wounds He healed; we may listen to his lessons as He gave them to the crowd, may sit with them to hear Him on the summit of the hills of Galilee, or on the shore of its lake, may be with Him on his journeys, and join the faithful in recognising Him as the Son of God."

Our author forcibly describes the qualifications necessary for the historian of Christ's life. First, intimate acquaintance with and power to reproduce to imagination and vision the local scenery of that life, as well as the moral condition of the Jewish nation at the time. He must naturalise himself in Christ's country and age. Father Didon has certainly done this. At the same time, we venture to think he would have done it still better if he had made use of writers like Stapfer and Schürer on the second subject, and Stanley on the first. Secondly, he must have as clear a view as possible of the chronological order of events. The "Chronological Table of the Events of the Life of Jesus, with References to the Gospels and to this Work," appended to the second volume, proves this condition to have been fulfilled. Lastly, the most important and most difficult task still remains—that of expounding the meaning and relations of Christ's words and deeds in due connection and order. As to the last point, the writer says: "I have attempted this work, with infinite humility, in regard to a life like that of Jesus. Every one of his words and acts has seemed to me like a diamond or a precious pearl. I have been content to imitate the art of the jeweller in sorting the stones, cut by a Divine hand, and in mounting them I have only endeavoured to give them more relief and greater brightness." He also made two long journeys "to study Palestine, the land of Jesus, the Gospel in hand. I have travelled through it slowly, in every direction, following the traces of the Master from Bethlehem and Hebron to the boundaries of Tyre and Sidon and the sources of Jordan. I stayed long in those very places where Jesus lived the longest, where He strove and suffered most ardently, taught the most, and loved the most." It is on the spot, in contact with the unchanging aspects of Nature, that one gains the deepest impression of the

reality and beauty of the Gospel story. "The facts are inseparable from the land. It may become sadder yet, more desolate, and more dead; it always frames them in its light, in its valleys and undulating hills, in the roads where Jesus passed, and where endless generations still pass and repass after Him."

We cannot attempt to give any specimens of the way in which the work deals with the Life itself, with Christ's teachings in word and act. We should have to reproduce a great portion of the volumes. It is enough to say that the exposition is often marked by the utmost felicity of thought and phrase, as well as by unfailing force and beauty. Take one morsel on John vi. 29: "To believe: the whole religion of Jesus, the whole secret of eternal life, lies in this simple word. To live by the earth, man must apply to it his energy and activity, for it is only fruitful on these conditions; but to live by God, man has only to open himself to Him and receive Him; and this opening of the soul is faith. The supreme act of man in his relations with God is faith; faith implies forgetfulness of self, complete submission and full surrender to the word, will, and Spirit of God."

The pictures of the places and scenery of Christ's life are finely done, reminding one of Meissonnier in their brilliance and minuteness. We may mention the description of Nazareth (vol. i. 85), the Temple (i. 191), Galilee (i. 250), Gennesareth and Capernaum (i. 275–278). One extract must stand for all. "We always resemble our native land; our imagination takes the tints of the heaven in which our sight loses itself; the highest are those in which echo profoundest harmonies with the nature in which they develop. A great writer's style reflects the melancholy of the shores by which he dreamed to the sound of the wave; a man of action recalls the craggy hills among which he was born, and the torrents that leapt from them. Whoever has not gazed long on the heaven of the East, Palestine, the mountains of Nazareth, the Lake of Tiberias, will never understand the outward frame of Jesus, the tone of his thoughts, the images in which he loved to clothe them, and the originality of his parables. Through long years he read in the country round Nazareth as though in the

Book of God; there he admired the anemones, the lilies, the tufts of asphodel, and the fig-tree which gave its first fruit in the spring; there he saw the corn grow white, and the vine pruned in order that it might be more fruitful; there the lost sheep and the flocks brought back to the fold; there He saw the shy jackal gain its hole, the eagles and the vultures gathering to devour their prey; there He saw the sun grow red at morning and evening, a sign of fair weather or of storm, and the torrents come down at flood-time to carry away the ill-built house." Then the prospect from one of the hills overlooking Nazareth—north to Hermon, east to Tabor and Ajalon, south to Samaria and the Judæan hills, west to Carmel and the sea—is sketched. "We shall seek in vain a corner of the world more tranquil and sweet, more hidden and full of light, more retired and yet more open. The whole world seems to spread out under the eye, and we like to picture Jesus to ourselves on this summit, praying to his heavenly Father, and contemplating the broad land as the territory which he was one day to conquer and enrich."

It is more difficult to make a past condition of society live again before the reader than to reproduce the physical features of a country. One is complex, the other is simple; one remains, the other has disappeared. It is almost needless to say that the more difficult task is discharged with eminent skill. We may refer for proof to the picture of the Roman world at the time of Christ's birth (vol. i. ch. i.), of the home and training of a Jewish boy (i. 77–84), of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (p. 86), of the social and religious condition of Judæa (p. 109–131), of the Pharisees, Sadducees, Publicans (p. 254–256), of Jewish feasts (ii. 92, 264). Compare these descriptions with those in ordinary writers even of great ability, and the difference between the mere historian and the artist strikes at a glance.

The two pictures of the Roman Empire and the Jewish nation of our Lord's day well deserve a reference here. Nothing is more remarkable in the Roman world of that day than the combination of political and intellectual greatness with moral degradation. The former was at its best. The dream of a universal monarchy was realised under Augustus. It was the

golden age of letters. "The universe seemed to sleep under the wing of the Roman eagle. A great historian was recounting the glory of the most powerful among the nations; two great poets were celebrating it, one in immortal odes, the other in the most musical of epics. The temple of Janus was closed; for twelve years the God of War had not issued from it." Rome was the law-maker and road-maker of the world. This political unity formed the ground of a higher unity, the Roman empire pre-figured the kingdom of God. "Military roads would henceforward become the ways of apostles, those swordless conquerors to whom Jesus would say, 'Go, teach all nations.'" Yet the moral and religious state of the world was one of dissolution and ruin. The worst feature of all was the absence of hope, the powerlessness of the philosophic and moral schools to effect any improvement. The Stoics were the moral reformers of the day. All the best men belonged to them—Cato, Brutus, Aurelius. Yet their influence was very limited and superficial. Their words turned into empty echoes. "If fine words could save souls, the school of Epicurus or Zeno might have cured mankind." Judaism, too, as our author shows, notwithstanding its higher morality, was little adapted to missionary work; and its representatives failed to comprehend the universal elements contained in their creed. "It was 'the fulness of time.' The empire, paganism, philosophy, official Judaism, all human forces had accomplished their evolution; the world was dying, enslaved by Roman policy, degraded and brought to despair by false religions, asking philosophers in vain for the secrets of life and virtue. Judaism itself was in the death-throe, faithless to its destiny. There was never a more critical moment; but God was over all, and among his elect people humble souls prayed and hoped. Beyond Judaism, a vague expectation, to which poets, historians, and the Sibylline books bear witness, was astir, and kept the world in suspense: such a presentiment as goes before all the great events of history." The same subject—the divine preparation for Christianity—has been treated, often at greater length, by many writers—Farrar, Pressensé, Lange, Dr. Talbot in an essay in *Lux Mundi*. Father Didon's brief sketch will compare favourably with the best.

The sketch given of the internal state of the Jewish nation (vol. i. 109–131) deals with a narrower field, and is perhaps yet more effective. The sharp cleavage between the higher classes, including Sadducees and Pharisees, and the common people is well depicted. The relations of the various Jewish parties and schools, including Essenes, are clearly explained. Didon thinks the word Essenes recalls the Syriac *hassa*, which is itself a translation of the Hebrew *Chasidim*—pious. The Essenes were the monks of Judaism, and were originally a protest against prevalent worldliness. They renounced marriage, oaths, town-life, and trade. The Chasidim, out of whom the Essenes grew, were the Puritans of Judaism, the "remnant never absent in a nation's worst days." "Removed from party, and from the powerful and educated classes, apart from the more or less indifferent and corrupt crowd, there are in almost every nation a certain number of souls who, by the very mediocrity of their situation, escape from the corruption of pride and riches, from the vices of the multitude, and even from those prejudices which, under the name of science and culture, frequently lead astray, narrow, and paralyse the minds of the learned. These men live unknown and inglorious, doing their duty in obscurity; simple and upright, they fear God, are content with a little; having neither riches nor ambition, they bear the trials of life without a murmur, pity those who suffer, love peace, and keep themselves from evil. Their eye is single, and their heart sound; they see rightly because their will is right; they hunger and thirst after righteousness; they are the salt of the earth, preserving it from total corruption. . . . . It is difficult to estimate with any precision this element of Judæan society, which undeniably existed almost everywhere, in town and country, in Galilee and Samaria, under the shadow of the Temple, on the shores of the lake, and even among the hated publicans." Simeon and Anna represent many who waited for "the consolation of Israel." We can scarcely doubt that among this class the Messianic hope retained a purer, more spiritual form, although the coarser, more material idea, long held powerful sway over Christ's own disciples. In nothing was the Master's greatness seen more clearly than in his lofty ideal of the Kingdom of

God which it was his mission to preach and found among men. "The thought of the Master does not exhibit the least trace of the prejudices of his nation and time. We shall not find in the whole of history a single great man who has not in some degree made a pact with the errors of his time and the narrowness of his surroundings, but Jesus avoided this inferiority of the greatest men. His thought was pure, and had all the marks of truth, universality, eternity, immutability." Father Didon's exposition of the spiritual nature of this kingdom, as found in Christ's teaching, is very noble (vol. i. 259–269).

We must draw our comments and extracts to an end. It is needless to say that in regard to the Divine person of our Lord the position taken is clear and unwavering. "The Divine Sonship of Jesus is the only possible explanation of his life, his teachings, his acts, and his work. Acknowledge it, and all is wise, and true, and perfect. Withdraw it, and all becomes shocking, revoltiug, and blasphemous. No mere man has the right to say what He said, to act as He acted, to require what He required, or to promise what He promised." We notice that the author speaks of a part of the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, treating of the Incarnation, as "the greatest monument raised by theology to the glory of Jesus." If this is so, why is the treatise not published separately, and so made accessible to all? We see in this common faith about the Saviour's person and work the chief corner-stone of the Church's unity, a unity which we trust will yet find more general and hearty expression. Every worthy exposition of the one perfect life ever lived on earth is a gift for which the Church "throughout all the world" is thankful.

Art. VI.—HISTORY OF THE FREE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND.

History of the Free Churches of England, 1688–1891. *From the Reformation to* 1851. By Herbert S. Skeats. With a Continuation to 1891. By Charles S. Miall. London: Alexander and Shepheard. 1891.

SKEATS' *History of the Free Churches of England* is well known to the ecclesiastical student. It tells in a bright and entertaining manner the story of the origin, the early struggles, the establishment, and the progress of the Nonconformist Churches; it gives the results of extensive reading in pleasant form; and on all questions which concern the history of the Baptists and Independents, it is an undonbted authority. The defect of the book, in our eyes, is its treatment of Methodism. That treatment seems to us superficial, prejudiced, and prolific in mistakes. The margins of our own copy of the second edition, issued in 1869, are sprinkled with notes of interrogation, and, in certain parts, are filled with corrections of grave misstatements and irritating half-truths. Still, we have always valued the volume for its sketches of Dissent. Although distinctly inferior to Dr. Stoughton's *History*, it occupies its own place, and furnishes a very serviceable popular exposition of facts and principles. When we saw that Mr. Miall had undertaken to revise the book, and to continue the recital of the history of Nonconformity to the present time, we felt a sense of satisfaction. We hoped that a quick eye would detect, and that a skilful hand would correct the errors which disfigure Mr. Skeats' pages. Having tested this new volume, we lay it down with disappointment. In paragraph 11 reviewing the book we shall fix attention upon those portions of it in which an attempt is made to describe the origin, the progress, the character, the work, and the position of Methodism. Before, however, it is possible to criticise an author with justice, it is necessary to discover his point of view. In the case of a historical writer, it

is also essential to note the authorities upon whose testimony his statements are based. In his preface Mr. Miall suggests that some persons may think that, in the closing chapters of the book, too much prominence is given to the political history of Nonconformity. He justifies this prominence on the ground that, "combined agitation and action in and out of Parliament have been a foremost characteristic of Dissent during the last forty years;" and he goes on to affirm that "the victories gained in the interests of religious equality . . . . are worthy of being put on record in a complete form as an essential part of our national history." This explanation is intended to apply to Mr. Miall's own chapters, but it casts light upon the *motif* of the whole book. The political contests of Nonconformity with the State Church furnish Mr. Skeats with some of his most stirring incidents. In describing them we can see that he is doing congenial work. His pen moves freely. We feel the acceleration of the pace, and are sensible of his growing exhilaration as we ride with him into the fight. It is impossible for any one to appreciate this *History of the Free Churches*, who is a stranger to "the joy of battle." The entire book is written from the stand-point of a "political Dissenter;" and that may explain its attitude towards Methodism.

Mr. Miall assures us that Mr. Skeats' portion of the book is "the outcome of most laborious research." We do not question the truth of this statement; we only wish that some of his labour had been expended on better material. Mr. Skeats was a victim of over confidence in defective authorities. His frequent references to Coke and Moore's *Life of Wesley* move our compassion. Was no one near to warn him against leaning on that broken reed? Every well-informed student of Methodist history knows that Coke's *Life of Wesley* was hastily thrown together to forestall the biography that was being prepared by Dr. Whitehead. It possesses no distinction save that of speedy construction. There is not a competent Methodist writer who would think of relying upon it as a chief authority. And yet in this *History* it is used with the utmost gravity! If Mr. Skeats did not know the worth of this book, his reviser should have gauged it accurately. He ought to

have rejected it in favour of first-rate authorities. At the recent celebration of the Centenary of the death of John Wesley, the leading newspapers, availing themselves of Dr. Rigg's *Living Wesley*, presented to their readers a description of the great evangelist that was a likeness, and not a caricature. Is Mr. Miall acquainted with this volume? We are compelled to say that in this revised edition of Skeats' *History of the Free Churches of England* we have failed to find evidence that the reviser is conscious of the existence of *The Living Wesley, the Churchmanship of John Wesley*, or Dr. Rigg's well-known article on Methodism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The "authorities" upon which Mr. Miall has relied in writing his own description of Methodism are not beyond criticism. He seems to have contented himself with consulting certain "experienced members of the Wealeyan Methodist Connexion." Now, we submit that the testimony of "experienced members" is not the best material for building up the history of a great Church. From internal evidence it is not difficult to identify some at least of Mr. Miall's informants. We can assure him that there are men, even more "experienced" than those whom he has consulted, who would have given him an opportunity of seeing Methodism in a different light. If a historian, yearning for a new method, prefer oral testimony to documentary evidence, he ought, at least, to make his enquiry broad and exhaustive. Instead of confining his investigation to one school of thought, he ought to examine witnesses who represent varying and even conflicting opinions.

Having ascertained the authors' point of view, and noted the character of some of their "authorities," we may now proceed to examine their work. The sketch which Mr. Skeats gives of John Wesley, and of the great revival, of which he was one of the chief instruments, is seriously defective. A mistake at the outset vitiates the whole description. John Wesley's conversion marked the moment of sunrise in the religious history of the last century. The dawn had flickered in the sky, and in some places it had touched the night clouds with tender, hopeful light; but it was not until the story of God's pardoning love shone into Wesley's heart that dawn passed into day. When a man attempts to describe Wesley's

character and work, we test his fitness for such description by examining his account of that remarkable scene, which occurred in the Aldersgate Street "Room" on May 24, 1738. It is indisputable that in that place, and at that time Wesley passed through an experience that transformed him, and completely changed the course of his life. He left behind the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and walked from thenceforth in ways that were bright with the Presence of God. We turn over Mr. Skeats' pages in a vain endeavour to discover any reference, which shows that he appreciated the character and significance of Wesley's conversion. He details a conversation, which took place between Spangenberg and Wesley on the subject of personal and conscious salvation, and then says:

"Further acquaintance with the Moravians in London and in Germany strengthened Wesley's views in this direction. He saw that the Gospel to be preached was a Gospel which offered free pardon to all sinners; which proclaimed the necessity of a new birth, and gave prominence to the doctrines of justification by faith, and the witness of the Spirit. His heart grew within him as he thought of the happiness which man might enjoy, and of the salvation of which he might partake, if the Gospel were but preached to him as it might be preached. And to such preaching he determined to devote himself" (p. 282).

In this description there is no mention of Peter Böhler, no allusion to the change of heart, which Wesley experienced by accepting Christ as a personal Saviour, and no adequate explanation of the reasons that forced him out into his evangelistic work. Conversion is not merely a strengthening of "views;" it is not simply a stage in an intellectual process. Whether it comes gradually or instantly, it is a supernatural effect produced in a man by the direct agency of the Holy Ghost. We not only admit, but assert that there is a human element in the processes of conversion; but our complaint against Mr. Skeats is that he has failed to present to us the Divine side of Wesley's crucial spiritual experience. Mr. Skeats also overlooks the fact that Wesley's experience compelled him to preach the doctrines which so profoundly affected the religious life of England in the last century. He did not sit down and ponder the problem of Gospel preaching, making up his mind at last that the reason of its failure was to be found in the lack of prominence given to certain doctrines. The changed heart made the

theologian and the preacher. He was driven by the omnipotent convictions of personal experience to declare the facts of his own spiritual life, and the neglected truths of which those facts were the practical and verifying evidence.

Mr. Skeats' sketch of John Wesley lacks artistic merit. It is roughly drawn, ill-balanced, and fails as a likeness. Wesley is described as a man of "ecstatic temperament," who communicated "by a natural law" that temperament to others. The communication of temperament does not appear to us a happy phrase. Then Mr. Skeats informs us that Wesley "liked excitement; he liked mystery, he liked the marvellous; and he believed, with the utmost credulity, in the superhuman, or all that appeared to be so." This unfortunate condition of mind was not a transient peculiarity of Wesley's hectic youth; we are told that "what he was at thirty he was, with scarcely any change, at eighty" (p. 309). When we remember that Wesley's thirtieth year was spent at Oxford, and that he did not go out to Georgia until he was thirty-two, we are prepared to estimate the critical value of this statement. But if "scarcely any change" took place in Wesley during half a century, what must we say of the unity of Mr. Skeats' sketch? The first glimpse that we have of Wesley makes him appear like a credulous enthusiast, seated on his tripod, communicating "by a natural law" his "ecstatic temperament" to a frantic audience. But we have not gone very far in the volume before we find that Wesley was "a wholly self-controlled man" (309); that his intellect was "keen, clear, and logical"; that the balance of his judgment was "almost perfect"; that he was "cool and self-possessed, yet ardent, and even enthusiastic." A little further on Mr. Skeats compares his preaching with that of Whitefield, and says:

"In most respects Wesley was an entirely different preacher from Whitefield. The characteristic difference consisted in the fact that Whitefield was mainly a preacher to the passions, and Wesley to the consciences of men. Whitefield aroused the half-dead soul by appealing to its fear, and hope, and love, Wesley by stating the Divine claims, and the corresponding human obligations. Whitefield would make men feel, Wesley would prove them to be in the wrong. The style of their addresses was as different as was the substance. Whitefield was loose, inconsequential, dramatic, and declamatory. Wesley was chaste, accurate, and logical" (p. 310).

In this fashion the portrait grows. Mr. Skeats began by drawing an ecstatic and credulous enthusiast; he ended by painting a "cool and self-possessed" sage. We do not complain of the change; we merely suggest that the sketch is not a specimen of the highest art.

In reading Mr. Skeats' criticisms of John Wesley we cannot avoid the conviction that prejudice prevented him from appreciating his work and character. He is enamoured of Whitefield, and frequently contrasts the two men to Wesley's disadvantage. He considers that the origin of "the great religious awakening" is more especially due to Whitefield. Indeed, he goes further back, and attributes to his favourite the origin of the Methodist "movement;" being careful, however, to tell us that Whitefield "was not the first of the Holy Club," but "was the first who assumed an aggressive attitude" (p. 308). But Whitefield was not content with "assuming an attitude." According to Mr. Skeats, "it was not Wesley, but Whitefield, who first awoke the people from the sleep of spiritual death" (p. 283). The deposition of Wesley from the place usually assigned to him is the result of Mr. Skeats' discovery that Whitefield was the first to break "the bonds of ecclesiastical conventionalism and laws," which being translated means that he was the first to take to "field-preaching." If precedence in "field-preaching" establishes the claim to be considered the originator of "the great religious awakening," then we must insist that there is another claimant for the honour. Howel Harris, who was not a clergyman, as Mr. Skeats in one place asserts (p. 313), was a "field-preacher" before Whitefield determined "to carry the Gospel to the savage and heathen colliers of Kingswood." Whitefield preached to the Kingswood colliers on February 17, 1739, but in his Journal, under the dates March 7 and 8 of that year, he tells us that for three years Howel Harris had discoursed almost twice every day for three or four hours together, "not authoritatively as a minister, but as a private person exhorting his Christian brethren." His discourses were delivered "generally in a field, from a wall, a table, or anything else, but at other times in a house." As a result of his preaching, he had established nearly thirty societies in South Wales, and his sphere of action was enlarging daily. Surely Howel Harris

is a serious competitor whose claims must be weighed before Whitefield is recognised as the originator of the Methodist "movement," because he assumed "an aggressive attitude," and became the pioneer "field-preacher."

Mr. Skeats' eagerness to champion the cause of Whitefield leads him into an injustice, which Mr. Miall should have redressed. We have no wish to recall the incidents of the Calvinistic Controversy, which agitated the Methodist Societies at the beginning of their career. A regard for historical accuracy, however, compels us to note a misleading statement which is made in this *History*. Mr. Skeats attempts to explain the beginning of the breach between Wesley and Whitefield by suggesting that the former was wholly responsible for the commencement of hostilities. Wesley, it appears, began life as a Calvinist; then "from the Moravian he had gone to the Arminian Creed. With all the ardour of a new disciple, he was not satisfied with expounding its doctrines, but made it a practice to denounce all the characteristic tenets of Calvinism." Whitefield, who was absent in America, received the unwelcome news of his friend's iconoclastic zeal, and wrote to him, "expostulating against his conduct" (p. 291). Now, if Mr. Miall had expended a little "laborious research" in the right direction, he might have saved himself from perpetuating this misrepresentation of facts. John Wesley was the son of parents who, to quote Mr. Tyerman, "held the doctrines of election and reprobation in abhorrence." Wesley was brought up in their creed, and while at Oxford "he thoroughly sifted the subject for himself, and, in letters to his mother, expressed his views in the strongest language." * Mr. Skeats' neat little scheme of evolution, the evolution of the Arminian out of the Calvinist through the Moravian, will not work. As an impracticable theory it must be relegated to the limbo near the moon. Now as to the beginning of the wordy war. It must be remembered that when Whitefield was in America he formed friendships with a number of Calvinistic preachers, who recommended him to read the writings of the Puritan Divines. After reading them, he enthusiastically embraced their Calvinistic beliefs. "With all the ardour of a new disciple" he wrote to

* Tyerman's *Life and Times of Wesley*, vol. i. p. 312.

Wesley, informing him of his altered views, and stating his opinions with great frankness. Joseph Benson, in his *Apology for the Methodists*, sheds additional light upon the cause which moved John Wesley to controversy. Shortly after Whitefield's letter was received, Wesley found that the Calvinistic leaven was at work in his Societies. One evening a man came to him, and complained that he had been hindered from entering a Society meeting. It appeared that the hindrance had been offered in accordance with Charles Wesley's orders. "Do you refuse admitting a person into your Society only because he differs from you in opinion?" asked the person who was aggrieved. "No," answered John Wesley, "but what opinion do you mean?" He said, "That of Election. I hold that a certain number is elected from eternity. And these must and shall be saved. And the rest of mankind must and shall be damned. Many of your Society hold the same." Wesley replied: "I never asked whether they hold it or not. Only let them not trouble others by disputing about it." The complainant asserted that wherever he came he would dispute about it. Wesley then asked him why he wished to come among those who he knew were of "another mind." "Because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right," was the glib retort. "I fear your coming with this view would neither profit you nor us," was Wesley's quiet observation. The agitator concluded by saying: "Then I will go and tell all the world that you and your brother are false prophets. And I tell you in one fortnight you will all be in confusion." The next day Wesley mentioned this incident to the Society, and "without entering into controversy, besought all of them who were weak in faith not to receive one another to doubtful disputations, but simply to follow after holiness, and the things which make for peace."* Although he did his best to stop "doubtful disputations," Wesley found that the controversy about the "decrees" had begun and must be checked. He, therefore, preached his famous sermon on *Free Grace*, which was not directed against "all the characteristic tenets of Calvinism," but against the doctrines of Election and Reprobation—doctrines which at that time were taught in most

* Benson's *Apology*, p. 134.

repulsive forms. Time has justified Wesley's doctrinal position. The despair of the man who thinks himself a reprobate, is no longer a common experience in the Christian Church.

The secret of Mr. Skeats' prejudice against John Wesley comes out when he examines his attitude towards Dissent. Continuing the contrast with Whitefield, the historian tells us that Whitefield was warmly received by Dissenters, and that he held friendly intercourse with Doddridge, who lent him his chapel (p. 307). The Wesleys, on the contrary, were bitter opponents of Dissent, and consequently were received "with coolness." Is it any wonder, if this be so, that Whitefield, the friend of Dissent should be exalted, and that John Wesley, its "bitter opponent" should be abased? We wish that Mr. Skeats or Mr. Miall, had attempted to give us some evidence of John Wesley's bitter opposition to Dissent. They would have opened up a new vista in a character which some of us have closely studied. We have always understood that Wesley welcomed the Dissenters who crowded into his Societies for the purpose of spiritual fellowship; and that he counselled them at the same time to maintain their connection with their own "meeting-houses." As for Wesley's friendship with Philip Doddridge, that is a familiar fact of Methodist history.

What, then, is the ground for asserting that John Wesley was the "bitter opponent" of Dissent? As far as we can see, the allegation rests upon the fact that Wesley strenuously denied that he was a Dissenter, and insisted, to the end of his life, that he had not separated from the Established Church. But was it not possible to maintain this contention without being a "bitter opponent" of Dissent? There can be no doubt that Wesley did decline to be classed as a Dissenter, but what did he mean by the name? The definition of terms is a wholesome law of controversy, and in this case that law should be strictly observed. The word Dissent is used by Mr. Skeats and Mr. Miall, in its modern sense, but in Wesley's time it had a different meaning. During the last century the law of England only recognised as Dissenters those who "out of conscience" refused to join in the service of the Church of England, and "to partake of the sacraments administered

therein." Wesley himself defines Dissenters as "persons who believe it is sinful to attend the service of the Church."* Either of these definitions would be resented by the most reasonable Dissenters of the present day; but Mr. Skeats' *History* shows that, when Wesley lived, they accurately described the opinions that were held by the majority of the members of the Dissenting Churches.

The Baptists, for instance, took up strong ground. In the Assembly which was held soon after the passing of the Toleration Act, it was agreed "that Baptists should be at liberty to attend Churches of other denominations; but that persons who, being members of Baptist Churches, communicated in the Established Church, should, after admonition, be rejected" (p. 126). In 1742 the London Baptist Board unanimously decided that "it was absolutely unlawful for any member of a 'Gospel Church' to communicate with the Established Church on any consideration whatever." That decision was pronounced in connection with a case of "occasional conformity" which had occurred, and the matter was of so much importance that it was submitted to the Baptist Churches individually for their judgment. They unanimously agreed that a person who had been elected to the Common Council of the City of London, and had qualified himself for his office by receiving the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, "ought not to be allowed to remain in the fellowship of the Church" (p. 277). In an Address which was subsequently issued by the ministers and deputies of all the Baptist Churches, the Assembly declared that "they did not hesitate for an instant to refuse to commune with a Church, the very frame of which was contrary to the appointment of the Lord and His Apostles, that had sprung from human policy and power alone, that assumed to itself an arbitrary right of imposing restrictions on the consciences of men, and that harboured in its bosom multitudes of people of the most corrupt principles and profligate lives" (p. 277). Without involving ourselves in the intricacies of the "Occasional Conformity" controversy, we cite these passages in justification of Wesley's definition. His views differed widely from those

* *Minutes of Conference*, vol. i. p. 59.

which were held by the Baptists, and by a large proportion also of the Congregational Dissenters; and as long as he and his people occasionally attended the parish churches, he contended that they were not "separatists," and must not be called Dissenters. Is such a position inconsistent with a friendly attitude towards the Free Churches?

We have selected for notice a few of the errors which Mr. Skeats commits in his attempted sketch of John Wesley: and we must now glance at the manner in which he has treated the character and work of Methodism. We have no time to unravel the tangled skein which he presents to us under the impression that he is explaining the Methodist organisation. It will suffice to say that this historian affirms that Wesley's Societies "differed in no respect whatever from Dissenting Churches, except that their members did not at first everywhere build places of worship, and did not celebrate the Lord's Supper, or have the separate administration of Baptism" (p. 291). He also tells us that, in 1739, the first Methodist "meeting-house" in England was built at Kingswood (!). Wesley called the "congregation" who used this place of worship "a society," and that he divided this "congregation" into "bands" and "class-meetings," in which "spiritual exercises were indulged in, and the devotional feelings cultured" (p. 290). The man who considers this to be an exact description can only mislead us, and it is useless to follow his wanderings.

This book, in dealing with Methodism, illustrates what is meant by the literary sin of omission. It contains very interesting sketches of the work that has been, in some cases instituted, and, in all cases supported by the Nonconformist Churches of England. The foreground is occupied by the Foreign Missionary Societies. We were hoping that, in this revised edition, Mr. Miall would have acknowledged the work done by the Methodist Church before the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. In a foot-note he does some justice to the premier missionary Churches. He informs us that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded some time (!) before the Baptist Missionary Society," and that the Moravian Missions date

back to 1732. However, he has allowed an absurd sentence to remain. We are gravely told that "the Wesleyan bodies (*sic*) followed the example set by other Christians, and established a similar society of their own." The picture of the Methodist "bodies" humbly following in the footsteps of the Baptists and Independents, is intensely amusing. Mr. Miall might easily have saved himself from perpetuating this error. A little further on in the *History* we are assured that Dr. Coke was "the soul of the Foreign Missionary enterprise of Methodism." Did it not occur to the reviser that, inasmuch as Dr. Coke died in 1814, it would be worth while to ascertain the character of this "Foreign Missionary enterprise," which was in existence before the present Wesleyan Missionary Society was constituted? Again we mourn the lack of a little "laborious research." It might have shown Mr. Miall that the first Report of Methodist Foreign Missions was issued in 1786, and that Methodist Missionaries were at work in the West Indies some years before Carey sailed for India. In the next edition, we would suggest that Mr. Miall should state, at least in the modest seclusion of a foot-note, that the Methodist Conference sent out two missionaries to America in 1769. He might add that their mission was successful. It resulted in the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church with its millions of members.

The Sunday School work of the English Churches also occupies a conspicuous position in Mr. Skeats' pages. Once more we find the commencement of the work attributed to Robert Raikes. It was he who "conceived the idea of employing persons to teach these children on the Sunday" (p. 384). It is well known that the idea was put into his mind by the Methodist lady who afterwards became the wife of Samuel Bradburn. But when dealing with "origins," Mr. Skeats should have gone further back than 1781. In 1769, Miss Hannah Ball, a Methodist, opened a Sunday School in High Wycomb; and in 1775, James Heys, of Little Lever, near Bolton-le-Moors, carried on a school in which he taught the "bobbin-boys," or "draw-boys," on Sunday morning and afternoon. We note with interest that the time of assembling was an-

nounced by means of a brass pestle and mortar. We regret that no chime from this strange bell sounded in Mr. Miall's ear when Mr. Skeats' imperfect description of the origin of Sunday Schools was under his hand.

We have shown that some parts of Mr. Skeats' work are seriously defective. We wish that we could record a different verdict in respect of Mr. Miall's "Continuation" of the *History*. But we are unable to do so. In the presence of Methodism, he displays a prejudice which interferes with the clearness of his sight. Mr. Miall, doubtless, writes from the stand-point of a "political Dissenter," and we can forgive him for displaying a little irritability when he is sketching a Church that declines to use its organisation for political purposes. But, surely, that irritability should not have hurried him into assertions that are singularly deficient in correctness. How much better is the spirit manifested by the Rev. J. Guinness Rogers in his admirable Lectures on *The Church Systems of England in the Nineteenth Century*. In his Preface to those lectures, when speaking of the ecclesiastical controversies which he is compelled to describe, Mr. Rogers says:

"I have, of course, treated them from the stand-point of a Congregationalist and one who is committed to the struggle for complete religious equality, but I have anxiously sought to do justice, not only to the motives but also to the principles of those to whom I am conscientiously opposed. . . . . I can, at all events, say that no differences of opinion would ever be allowed by me consciously to influence my judgments of character or to affect my relations to good men who are serving the great Master to whom I seek to dedicate my own life. If my personal respect for them does not prevent me from opposing their views, it is because I believe that such discussions are essential to the full development of truth, and that Christian character may even gain by them, provided they be conducted with fairness and courtesy, in the growth of a wiser tolerance and a broader sympathy."

Although Mr. Rogers does not shrink from pointing out what he considers the weaknesses of Methodism, there is nothing in his description of the Wesleyan Methodist Church which suggests that, for a moment, he forgot his own canon of criticism. Fairness, courtesy, sympathy, these qualities are pre-eminently present in Mr. Rogers' memorable lecture. If Mr. Miall will read that lecture, and compare it with his own work,

he may learn a lesson which will compel him to revise his hastily written sketch.

Mr. Miall refers with great confidence to the divisions which have occurred in Methodism. We have no space to deal with his misstatements. They are on a par with the assurance that the Primitive Methodists were established "because the Conference, proving more conservative than Wesley himself, and forgetting the origin of the Denomination, discouraged the general practice of field-preaching."* We content ourselves by saying that we are prepared to traverse Mr. Miall's unfriendly allegations, and to disprove them by appeals to historical fact. It is unfortunate that he should have dealt with a very delicate subject in such a cavalier style. Again let him ponder Mr. Rogers' weighty words:

"Thirty years ago, when sectarian distinctions were sharper and sectarian feelings keener, Congregationalists unfortunately allowed themselves to be entangled in the internal troubles of Methodism which led to the last secession. They had a chivalrous desire to aid the cause of freedom, and forgot that in differences of this character, the interference of outsiders is pretty sure to furnish another proof of the wisdom of the Old Book when it tells us that "He that passeth by and meddleth with strife that belongeth not to him is like one that taketh a dog by the ears."†

We must do Mr. Miall the justice to remember that his descriptions are inspired by "experienced members of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion." We hope that he will pardon us if we forget his existence for a moment, and interest ourselves in his informants. Mr. Miall, acting as oracle, says:

"It is a somewhat astounding fact that, with the example of their founder before them, the Wesleyan community have devoted so little of their attention to the humanitarian duties of a Christian church. The excuse for them may be that they were for the first half of the nineteenth century torn by internal dissensions centering round what is always a repulsive subject to English people — ecclesiastical ceremonies and pretensions. The advancing intelligence of the rank and file of the people, the influence of a cheap press, the facilities for quick intercourse, and the rapid interchange of ideas, have shown to Methodist people that they have something more to do than merely preaching the Gospel and saving souls. Modern Methodism feels that, besides being an

* The History of the Origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion is contained in an article published in No. CXXXIII. of this *Review*.

† "Church Systems," p. 589.

ecclesiastical organisation and a spiritual power, it must also be a social force, striving, by the application of a practical Christianity, to lengthen the lives, improve the homes, educate the minds, and raise the moral and physical standard of the people" (p. 705).

In criticising this flowing paragraph there is one point which we must immediately notice. If the men of the Middle Age of Methodism are to be defended against the charge that they neglected their "humanitarian duties," it must not be in the curious, unhistorical fashion which Mr. Miall adopts. It is incorrect to say that during the first half of this century the Methodist Church was "torn by internal dissensions." No controversy that affected the whole of the Connexion occurred from the beginning of the century to 1827. The Primitive Methodist and Bible Christian Societies* were not originated by the force of agitation; they arose in consequence of events which only produced a temporary disquiet in a few circuits. For the first twenty-five years of this century the Methodists had abundant opportunities to attend to their "humanitarian duties" undistracted by the throes of "internal dissensions."

Casting aside the shield which Mr. Miall offers us, we have to ask whether the charge contained in his paragraph is true. Did the Methodists, who lived in the first half of this century, forget that men had bodies as well as souls? Did they forget that they had "something more to do than merely preaching the Gospel?" This charge, which is only refurbished by Mr. Miall, is quite familiar to us. It is unfortunate that some excellent men have lately sought to increase the brightness of their own work by covering that of their predecessors with gloom. We would suggest that a wiser method is to admit the glory of the Past; and then, if we yearn to out-rival it, to do so by superior splendour. Burke tells us of men who "conquered their competitors by out-shining them." They did not try to shear them of their beams; they shone like the morning sun, and chased away the brilliant host of night. We would commend this "more excellent way" to those who are accustomed to denounce the drowsy and lustreless Middle Age of Methodism.

* For the Origin of the Bible Christian Connexion, see No. CXXXVI. of this *Review*.

We will deal with only one point in Mr. Miall's echoed accusation. It is taken for granted that, if a man only preaches "to save souls," he thereby neglects his "humanitarian duties." Is this so? Is it not barely possible that the salvation of "souls" may be the best method of saving "bodies?" Humanitarianism is rather a big word, and it is undoubtedly useful in verbal war; but what does it mean? Mr. Miall enlightens us. He tells us that Humanitarianism contemplates the lengthening of lives, the improving of homes, the education of minds, and the raising of the moral and physical standard of the people. If so, what is the meaning of the charge against Methodism we are considering? Is it contended that, during the first fifty years of this century, the preaching of the Gospel, and the work of the members of the Methodist Church, failed to produce these effects? There is no man of unbiassed judgment who would commit himself to such an affirmation. Test the truth of the allegation by watching the effect of Methodism upon the rural population. The attention of the country is now being aroused by the depletion of the villages, and admirable articles are being written to account for the townward drift. But the Methodist preachers of fifty years ago saw a stream of migration flowing from our hamlets and small towns to America and the Colonies. What produced the new spirit that looked out eagerly towards longer life, better homes, deliverance from ignorance, and a higher standard of moral and physical well-being? The secret, in numerous instances, was that a man, who had been "poor, and spiritless, and faint," having experienced the "salvation of his soul" had begun to think with keenness and hopefulness about the salvation of his "body." Thousands, moved by a vigorous impulse, crossed the great Oceans, and they and their kindred are now to be found prospering exceedingly in distant islands and continents. Their social elevation can be distinctly traced to the "salvation of their souls." We have sometimes enquired in obscure villages as to the time when certain emigrants quitted their cottage homes, and again and again the answer has come: "It was after the great revival." The English dumdrudge, his "soul" being saved, found himself in "a new earth," and he

was not willing to be pent in any longer by his narrow hedgerows, and to "fight the wolf" with the then starvation wages of an agricultural labourer.

But it is not necessary that we should voyage to the New World to find illustrations of the inaccuracy of Mr. Miall's inspired sketch. Men who have been rescued from the dulness and the penury of the villages abound in our own town populations. The cases of social elevation through the influence of Methodism during this century, and especially during the first half of the century, are simply innumerable. Any really "experienced" Methodist would have shown Mr. Miall that a gradual but continuous upraising of vast masses of the people has been going on since the day when John Wesley commenced his triumphant attempt "to save souls." Methodism has not worked by a series of catastrophes which, at long intervals, have uptilted certain portions of the lower strata of the Commonwealth. Ceaseless work for the spiritual welfare of the English people has resulted in the silent elevation of myriads of men into the ampler air of a refined and prosperous life.

We have felt it to be our duty to express our dissent from some of the positions assumed by the writers of this book. But although we are unable to agree with them in their estimate and description of Methodism, we very highly appreciate the service which they have rendered to some of the Free Churches of England. Every Nonconformist should study this volume in order that he may understand the principles which have been vindicated in the long struggle for religious freedom. It is essential that Dissenters and Methodist Churchmen should know why they stand apart from the National Establishment; and this knowledge can only come through the study of the ecclesiastical history of the last three hundred years. We are thankful for any glimmer upon an obscure pathway; we ought to be especially grateful to Mr. Skeats and Mr. Miall for the light which they have shed upon the experiences of the Nonconformists of England.

Art. VII.—IGNATIUS LOYOLA.

St. Ignatius Loyola and the Early Jesuits. By Stewart Rose. London: Burns and Oates, Ld. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1891.

A NEW and exhaustive Life of Ignatius Loyola, written by an able and ardent admirer, passed through the press by Father Eyre, S.J., stamped on the back with the seal of the Society, and issued in very handsome form by Catholic firms in London and New York, draws attention once again to the career of a man whose name is familiarly connected with the foundation of an Order which has exercised sway, for good or evil, over courts, camps, churches, and commonwealths, has enjoyed the sweets of honour and power, and tasted the bitterness of execration and expulsion.

The particulars of his early history set before us a difficult problem. At first sight the reader might almost be led to conclude that there must have been two Loyolas: one, the hot-headed, fanatical cavalier; the other, the deep-planning, far-seeing creator of the most active and wily Company in the Papal or any other communion. But closer consideration would convince the student that under the fiery surface lay hid, all along, the cool calculation, the penetrating insight, the shrewd resource, the fine power of organisation and mastery of detail, which befitted the founder of the Society of Jesus.

The fifteenth century was drawing near its close when two remarkable, but very dissimilar, men were born—Luther, the German peasant, who concentred in his large heart the longings of the nations to be freed from the intolerable weight of the Papal yoke upon thought and action; and, eight years later, Loyola, the Spanish noble, who was to be the chief defender of the hard-beset Papacy, the constructor of one of its most solid outworks, the inventor of its most subtle and effective engine of aggression. So, while the Protestant of to-day looks back with thankfulness to the appearance of Luther on the stage of public life at such a stirring time, and

sees the man come to the front just at the critical hour, the Roman Churchman, from his point of view, regards it as a remarkable providence that Loyola was raised up at that special nick of time. At the very date when the great Reformer was standing face to face with the Diet of Worms, and proclaiming war against the Pope and the devil, the Counter-Reformer was devoting himself, body and soul, to the defence of his Holiness, and to the shoring up of the visibly tottering Church of Rome.

In former numbers of this REVIEW sketches have been given of the life and labours of the gentle St. Francis of Assisi* and of the stern St. Dominic,† founders of two famous Orders, and pillars of the Church in their day. But the glory of both Franciscans and Dominicans was soon to be thrown into the shade by the superior glory of the Jesuits, who, in upholding at their own sweet will the Church, sounded the mysterious depths of human nature, humoured its weaknesses, condoned the little peculiarities, the frequent peccadilloes of obedient souls, suffered many things, and became all things to all men. The founder of such a Society, the excogitator of its *Constitutions*, could not but be a remarkable man, and Mr. Rose has done ample justice to his merits in this readable and well-illustrated volume.

Don Iñigo—better known to us as Ignatius—Loyola was the thirteenth child of a noble Spanish couple, Beltran Yanez de Oñaz y Loyola, and his spouse, Marina Saenz de Licona y Balda. He was born in 1491—the year in which Columbus set out on his voyage of discovery—at the family seat, the old House of Loyola, "in the beautiful province of Guipuzcoa, in a broad valley beneath the southern slopes of the Pyrenees," mantled around with orchards and gardens. The ancient tower, or stronghold, still stands in the same condition as when the little Iñigo saw the light; and over its door-way remain the family arms—a quaint, Spanish device, appropriate to the land of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza—a camp-kettle hung by a chain between two wolves, *Lobo y olla*, "wolf and pot"=*Loyola*; the tradition of the country people

* *L.Q.R.*, No. 135, p. 25. † *Ibid.*, No. 153, p. 72.

being that in the old feudal days the provision for the band of followers whom the House was bound to maintain was on such a liberal scale that the wolves always found something in the kettle to feast upon after the soldiers were supplied.

After the death of his mother, Iñigo—or Ignatius, as he afterwards called himself, out of reverence to the martyr of Antioch—was brought up by an aunt, a lady of eminent piety, until he was old enough to be sent to court—the brilliant court of Ferdinand and Isabella—where he was schooled in the accomplishments befitting a cavalier in those days, took lessons in fencing, was taught the art of war, and the elements of writing and speaking. According to custom he devoted himself specially to the service of a noble lady of the court, for whose delectation he wrote sonnets and *canzones*, religious and complimentary. It is a pity that the long poem which he wrote in praise of St. Peter has not come down to us. He seems to have been fond of splendour and display, but to have avoided the excesses common to court and camp; delighting in the long-winded romances of the day, especially the tedious *Amadis de Gaul*, familiar to us through the fascinating satire of Cervantes. When he went to the wars, his character developed into that of a noble warrior, beloved of the soldiers, quick of temper, yet of a readily forgiving spirit. Making allowance for the roseate light which has been thrown over his youthful days, we may take it as probable that he was a graceful, active, pleasure-loving son of the South, with a strong touch of the hot Biscayan temper in his composition.

Some obscurity hangs over the earlier part of his military career; but in 1521 we find him—though not in chief command—entrusted with the defence of Pamplona against the French forces, which were endeavouring to recover the kingdom of Navarre—wrongfully taken possession of by King Ferdinand, and retained by the grasping Charles V.—for its rightful sovereign, Jean d'Albret. The cause of the besiegers was good; the fortifications of the place were incomplete, the artillery and ammunition insufficient; the garrison was weak, and the townspeople, looking upon the French as their friends, urged that they should at once be granted admission. The magistrates were willing to yield to the popular demands;

but Ignatius, faithful to the Spanish cause, was strongly for resistance, and said: "I do not think even Æneas worthy of admiration, when I see him escaping from the flames that consumed his city; for to shun the common peril is the nature of cowards; to perish in the universal ruin is the mischance of brave men. I should deem him worthy of immortal glory if he had died a holocaust of his fidelity." But his brother officers were not of the same heroic strain. Regarding the disposition of the inhabitants and the superior numbers of the besieging force, they considered the case desperate and abandoned the town; while Ignatius, turning from them with disdain, retired into the citadel, and prevailed on its commandant to prolong its defence. In endeavouring to repulse the French attack on the stronghold he met with the wound, which ended his martial exploits and turned the current of his thoughts to a higher warfare. A cannon-shot struck him on both legs; he fell, and with him down went the valour of the garrison. The same day the French made good their entrance into the citadel, took Loyola prisoner, but treated him with their characteristic gallantry, and with the homage due to his distinguished bravery. They carried him to his own lodgings in Pamplona, where he was attended by their most skilful surgeons, and was frequently visited by their officers; to whom, when he quitted the town, he presented nearly all he possessed—his sword, helmet, and shield. Finding his wounds to be of such a dangerous nature as to require long and assiduous treatment, they had him carefully conveyed in a litter to his ancestral Castle of Loyola, where his brother, Don Martin Garcia, now resided, the gruff old Don, his father, being dead.

Here—whether the long journey had disturbed his shattered limbs, or the army surgeons had set them imperfectly—it was announced to Ignatius that it would be necessary to break the bones again, if he did not wish to be burdened with a permanent deformity. He at once consented to undergo this dreadful operation, and bore it bravely, giving no other sign of suffering than the tight clenching of his hands. But fever supervened, and he was brought down very low, and desired to receive the last sacraments. It was the eve of the Feast of

St. Peter and St. Paul, and to the former apostle this impetuous Spanish gentleman had always had "a particular devotion." That night he was favoured with a vision of St. Peter, who gave him an assurance that he should recover. We can easily believe that this pleasant dream or vision put new life into the suffering soldier. From that moment, we are assured by his biographers, his strength returned, and his wounds began to heal. But fresh trouble was in store. A portion of bone protruded below the knee of his right leg, and promised to produce a life-long deformity. To a man like Ignatius, proud of the graces of his person, and desirous of making a figure in the world, the prospect was mortifying. The surgeons suggested yet another operation—opening the wound, and sawing off the protruding bone. Loyola, wishful to be able to wear the trunk hose of the period, bade them commence at once, and bore the pain with unflinching fortitude. The result of this "martyrdom of vanity," as he afterwards called it, was not entirely satisfactory: he was noticeably lame for the rest of his life.

For months he lay stretched as on a rack, while they endeavoured to elongate his right leg by an iron machine. The time hung heavily on his hands, and he longed for something to divert his thoughts. Expecting again to take a brilliant part in heroic feats of arms and startling adventures, he asked for the books of chivalry which had hitherto delighted him. But in the Castle of Loyola none such were to be found. They brought him instead a *Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony, and the *Lives of the Saints*—books not much to his taste, but which, in dearth of others, were read by him, and took hold upon him. Especially the stories about the saints. His first feeling was one of astonishment at their austerities, and at the motives which governed their lives, so opposite to his own. He became ambitious to imitate them. "What," he would ask himself, "What if I were to do that which St. Francis used to do? What if I were to do that which St. Dominic did?" The old spirit of ambition and display was still strong in him; but gradually it became leavened with higher motives, and the grand undertakings in which his fancy indulged were to be all for the glory of God. Then again,

for hours together, he would revel in thoughts of the noble lady whom he had served, planning in what guise he would approach her, how address her, and with what feats of martial prowess he would win her favour. Soon, however, he realised that these dreams of worldly vanity and ambition left him dissatisfied and sad, whereas his thoughts of heavenly things, his longings to imitate "the saints and their dear Lord," produced entire contentment and sweet repose. He was roused to self-watchfulness, and gained insight into the intricacies of his own heart. To this period may be traced the germ of his *Spiritual Exercises*. Turning away from the allurements of the world and the promptings of ambition, in deep penitence he resolutely set himself to atone for his past life. We cannot doubt that in his case a true conversion took place, though clouded over with much error and superstition. "Actuated," says Mr. Rose, "by a deep contrition, but, in his ignorance, conceiving that the essence of repentance consisted almost exclusively in bodily mortifications," he resolved to make a pilgrimage, barefoot, to Jerusalem, mortifying the flesh by frequent flagellations and fastings.

While meditating this and other penitential projects, he was favoured with "a strange portent." One evening, when he was kneeling before an image of the Virgin, and "was offering himself to Jesus Christ by the hands of His Virgin Mother," to be His lifelong champion and servant, the Castle of Loyola was shaken by an earthquake, the windows in his chamber were broken, and a rent—visible to this day—was made in the wall. It was certainly a dubious kind of portent. Even his admiring biographers are divided in opinion whether it was a sign of heavenly acceptance of his devotion, or whether it was "a last effort of despairing hell." However, there could be no misinterpretation of the vision vouchsafed to him another night, when the Virgin, "his true Mistress," appeared to him with the Infant Jesus in her arms, regarded him with a look of maternal tenderness, and allowed him to gaze for some time on her celestial beauty. At this point we notice specially the disadvantage under which the semi-enlightened Ignatius laboured. He had read but such small and meagre portions of the Scriptures as were tesselated into the very bare *Life of*

Christ by Ludolph. He had no conception of the grand doctrine of justification by *faith*; and the more acutely he felt the worthlessness of his past life, and tried to atone for it by cruel penances, the more deeply he experienced the inadequacy of his own sacrifices for sin, and had to rely on visions and dreams to soothe him with some sense of the Divine favour.

In the spring of 1522 he thought himself sufficiently recovered to carry out his cherished purpose with regard to the Holy Land. With a touch of Jesuitry before Jesuitism had come into being as a science, he informed his brother of his intention to visit his relative the Duke de Najera, at Navarrette. But Don Martin, easily divining that there was some deeper purpose in his heart, was much distressed, and tenderly remonstrated with him, in words that had the ring of good common sense.

"If you tell me," he said, "you desire to become a saint, I tell you there are many holy men in the army. You need not leave this house for that reason; we are not such bad Christians that we should interfere with your good intentions; but if we were, you ought to convert us by your example. I oppose no obstacle to your designs; only, as an elder brother, I exhort you never to forget that you are a Loyola."

Mounted on a mule, this spiritual knight-errant set forth, accompanied by one of his brothers and two servants on horseback. He visited his married sister at Oñate, and there parted from his brother and rode on to Navarrette, where he spent some days with the Duke; then, having sent back the two servants to Loyola, he remounted and made towards Montserrat, where he had resolved to pay his devotions at the famous shrine of Our Lady. An amusing adventure speedily showed how little of the spirit of true Christianity had touched his inner man, and how the expression of his devout aspirations was as yet limited to physical feats and endurances. Ambling gently along the road to Barcelona, he was overtaken by a Morisco, who, on learning his destination, entered into discussion with him about the Blessed Virgin, denying that after the birth of our Saviour she retained the right to that title. Such shocking heterodoxy aroused the hot blood of the newly converted Don; the dispute waxed warmer and

more vehement, till at last the Moor, with admirable discretion, suddenly put spurs to his horse and galloped off at full speed. No sooner had he disappeared than Ignatius began to blame himself for not having convinced the dark man of his error, and also for having allowed this follower of the false prophet to pass unpunished. He was on the point of pursuing to slay him, when a doubt arose in his mind whether such a ruthless deed would not anger the Virgin and her Divine Son. In the tumult of his impetuosity he knew not what course to take. So he determined to leave the matter to heavenly guidance, to be indicated by the mule when it came to where the road split into two. The bridle was thrown on the animal's neck, and, fortunately, it took the road which did *not* follow the misbeliever's flight; and thus the embryo saint's reputation was saved from the blot of a great crime.

Reaching the little town of Iguelada, at the foot of Montserrat, he purchased the requisite fittings for his new *rôle*—a long coarse sackcloth gown, a rope to fasten it round the waist, a sandal of *esparto* for his wounded foot, and a pilgrim's staff and gourd. Placing these before him on his mule, he rode up the winding road that led up the steep side of the jagged-topped mountain, midway on which stood the church and monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat. Here a body of Benedictines pursued their regulation devotions, and on the heights above dwelt thirteen hermits, each having a chapel and a cell to himself. Ignatius put himself under the care of one of these holy men—St. Dismas, so named after "the good thief"—and prepared to make a general confession to him, so as to have a grand clear up of his past life before starting on his new career. He had jotted down all the sinful items that he could recall; and the confession, interrupted with sobs and tears, took up three whole days. He had by no means forgotten *Amadis de Gaul* and the other chivalric romances; so he must needs imitate his favourite heroes, and keep a night's vigil before commencing his new warfare. On the eve of the Feast of the Annunciation he sallied forth at nightfall, and found a poor pilgrim, whom he induced to accept his resplendent costume, in exchange for

his rags and tatters. Then he donned his sackcloth gown and rope girdle, and hung up his sword and dagger beside "Our Lady's image," watching and praying the whole night before her altar. At early dawn he partook of the sacrament; then left the monastery ere the crowd of Annunciation pilgrims flooded the road to the church—no longer the grand Iñigo de Loyola, but, as he called himself, *el pobre ignoto pelerin* ("the poor unknown pilgrim").

His next stopping place was Manresa, where he entered on a course of bodily mortification, of which it is painful even to read, and by which he sought to bring about that thorough purification of heart for which he longed. A kind-hearted woman, Doña Iñés Pascual, sent him some food prepared for herself—a pullet and a bowl of broth; but Ignatius gave it away to the sick and poor, confining himself to one meal a day on hard black bread and a glass of water, to which on Sundays he added a glass of wine—if offered him—and some herbs. He went barefooted and bareheaded; wore under his sackcloth a rough hair shirt; fastened around his waist a heavy iron chain, for which, as a pleasing variation, he sometimes substituted a girdle made of the leaves of the prickly gladiole. To kill in himself his native pride of person and love of admiration, his hair was neither cut nor combed, his beard was unshorn, and the nails of his hands and feet were allowed to grow to deformity. The very beggars treated him with disdain, and the children in the streets hooted and laughed at him as "Father Sack." Four months he passed at the Hospital of St. Lucy, just outside of Manresa, and there devoted his spare time to attending on the most offensive cases and performing for the patients the meanest offices. It is not surprising that at times a revulsion of intense disgust seized him, which he regarded as an assault of the evil one as well as an outbreak of his own evil nature, and conquered temporarily by closer and more affectionate tendance of the poor afflicted creatures.

Next, in order to enjoy undisturbed communion with God, and to practise the austerities on which he was fanatically bent, he retired to a cave, a little way out of Manresa, nine feet long and four wide. Here, while Luther was bravely fighting the

battle of spiritual freedom before the Emperor and Diet, his future antagonist was redoubling his prayers and penances, striking his breast with a flint stone. Here Loyola composed his *Spiritual Exercises*, which contain some useful directions for self-examination, but present a mechanical method of manufacturing penitence rather than the short and sure plan set forth in the Bible—a book with which Loyola had as yet the very slightest acquaintance.

His fastings and other austerities at this time, acting upon a weakened frame and a fevered brain, produced their natural result in fearful depressions and dire conflicts with the suggestions and temptations of the evil one. One of these diabolical attacks took the form of a temptation to commit suicide by throwing himself down a deep hole close by where he was kneeling; and he then resolved neither to eat nor drink until he had obtained deliverance—a resolution which he carried out for a whole week, when his confessor threatened to refuse him absolution unless he immediately broke his fast. He obeyed, and found relief for two days; but on the third day the temptations returned with redoubled force, ultimately departing as suddenly as they had come.

Probably the departure of these painful trials was connected with a very matter-of-fact remedy—the resumption of necessary food-taking. His biographers endow the succeeding period of his hermit-life with a considerable amount of ecstasies and visions. One time it is a flood of light that pours in upon his soul, causing him at once to understand the deepest mysteries of religion. Another time a statue of the Virgin is said to have spoken to him. On yet another occasion he fell into a trance, which lasted a week, and on awaking he murmured, "O! Jesus, Jesus!" But he was never "known afterwards to utter a word of what had been revealed to him during those eight days"—probably because nothing had been revealed.

After a stay of nearly ten months, Ignatius left Manresa, in January 1523, and proceeded to Barcelona, on his way to Rome and the Holy Land. He had gained a little common sense in the interval; he "had learned by experience that excessive mor-

tifications are an impediment in the service of God no less than of our neighbour." He now paid attention to his hair, wore shoes, and exchanged his sackcloth gown and cord for a more student-like garb. He evidently had found that no good is to be done—whatever notoriety may be gained—by needless eccentricities of costume, and by adoption of the habits of the lowest unwashed. But he still retained the idea of compensating for his past sins by fresh penances, and of rooting out all the pride of his heart by severe external suffering—from which, by the force of a perverse enthusiasm, he derived so much pleasure that they really ceased to be penances at all.

We have sketched his life, down to the actual commencement of his pilgrimage, on a larger scale, in order that we may understand more clearly the character of the founder of the Society of Jesus. We find him, at the age of thirty-two, endowed with high intellectual and physical powers; burning with a fiery enthusiasm unquenched by his voluntary sufferings; animated by a sincere but ignorant devotion; and, under all his piety, stamped with an ambition to make his way to the front. Had he continued in his old profession of arms and courtiership, he would not have rested till he had become one of the greatest captains of the age, or had won the loveliest lady of the land. But the cannon-shot had stopped the brilliant career he had pictured to himself; and now his aim was to achieve the highest degree of saintship—an achievement in which he was pursuing much the same heathenish mode as a Hindu fakir.

Arriving at Barcelona, he employed the time, during which he had to wait for a vessel, in visiting the prisoners and the sick. So scrupulous was he in carrying out his resolution to enact the genuine penceless pilgrim that he refused the help of friends, and himself begged in the streets the alms he gave to the poor. The captain of the ship in which he sailed for Gaeta gave him a free passage "for the love of God," but on condition that he brought with him his own provisions for the voyage. This, again, disturbed his hair-splitting conscience, as it did not conform to his idea of living solely on alms collected day by day. His confessor, who had more sense, satisfied his scruples, and

Ignatius begged of passers-by sufficient for his immediate wants. On his way to the ship he found he had four or five *pesetas* left, and as no poor recipient hove in sight he left the small pieces of silver on a stone bench near the harbour, and departed without coin or care.

He reached Rome on foot on Palm Sunday, 1523, and, through the intervention of some fellow-countrymen, procured a pilgrim's licence from the Pope, Adrian VI. After nine days employed in visiting the churches of "the stations" and other holy places, and receiving the papal benediction, he started on foot for Venice, whence he sailed for Jaffa, and, after a series of adventures, reached Jerusalem on September 4. We can readily imagine the enthusiasm and reverence with which the excitable Spaniard visited the sacred spots of the Holy City. To one of his female admirers, Iñés Pascual, he sent a minute account of all that he saw and did. But his motive in visiting Jerusalem was not to indulge in a mere sympathetic sight-seeing, but there to found a Society which should win multitudes of souls to the true faith. He would fain have settled down in the Franciscan Convent, but after a few weeks the Father Provincial, noting the reckless spirit of the man, refused to let him remain, as it was believed that his zeal would never submit to the restrictions imposed by the Moslem authorities. The voyage back to Venice was a tedious and tempestuous one: it gave him, however, ample time for reflection on his past methods and small success. It was evident that Jerusalem was not to be his abode, at all events at present; and it was clear that "if he would labour successfully for the good of souls, he must prepare himself by the use of ordinary means." With characteristic resolution, he determined to begin *de novo*, and go to school again, to revive what little he had learnt, and gain superior knowledge.

Through many perils—for it was in time of war—he made his way back to Spain, and finally settled down at Barcelona as an overgrown schoolboy. Taking his seat on the bench beside the small boys, he tried to decline nouns and conjugate verbs as they did; but he long stuck at *amo, amas*, which proved to him a veritable *pons asinorum*. As soon as he

entered the school and tried to commit the verb to memory, off went his mind in pious contemplations and heavenly visions, which, however agreeable, were provokingly out of place. He took it, however, to be one of Satan's devices, to turn him aside from an active propagandism to a life of contemplation; and he got rid of the trouble by confiding it to his gratuitous schoolmaster, Ardebalo, promising to be his pupil for two years, and begging him to chastise him publicly if he found him guilty of further inattention.

After two years in the school of Ardebalo, Loyola sought higher education at the University of Alcalá, then recently founded by Cardinal Ximenes. Here he spent a year, but did not make much progress, for a good reason. In his impatience to shorten his course he "went through everything at one and the same time: the logic of Soto, the physics of Albert the Great, the theology of Peter Lombard, and all the commentaries thereon." Meanwhile, he was doing, according to his light, the work of an evangelist. He applied himself energetically to the instruction, conversion, and sanctification of souls, in public as well as private; carried out the spiritual conferences suggested in the *Exercises*, in the hospitals and schools; conversed familiarly with the students; taught the Catechism in the streets to the children and to all who chose to listen; and, in short, began to manifest those talents of organisation and teaching which were afterwards to give him such signal influence and distinction. His pious efforts were crowned with striking success: his lodgings were thronged with almost as many students as attended the Humanities school. His proceedings attracted the attention of the ecclesiastical powers, who looked with suspicion on this unlettered layman who was gathering around him so many disciples, and who, with his four companions, wore a peculiar garb. Finally, exaggerated reports of his proceedings reached the Inquisition at Toledo, and an inquiry was ordered into the preaching and practices of these unlicensed teachers; but it terminated favourably for them, and they were simply required not to wear garments that bore the semblance of a religious habit, and, at all events, to vary the colour of their dress. Shortly afterwards they were ordered to wear shoes.

This was only the beginning of troubles. To us of the Reformed faith, whose ancestors suffered from the cruelties of that accursed institution, the Holy Inquisition, it is rather amusing to see this devoted and obsequious son of the Church taken to task for his evangelic labours. A second attack of his enemies led to his incarceration in the prison of the Inquisition, and seventeen days passed before he was even informed of the nature of the charge against him. After his examination by the Grand Vicar five weeks elapsed before he received the sentence of the tribunal. He was free to depart from the prison, but he and his companions were to lay aside the long robe and adopt the ordinary dress of students: besides, they were to hold no public assemblies or private conferences for four years, until they had finished their theological course. Though this was an acquittal, it was also a defeat, and a mortifying one, too. A less enthusiastic son of the Church would at this stage have been disgusted by the conduct of a mother so blind and bigoted, and would have turned to the duties of common life. Ignatius, however, decided on another course. He would at once leave Alcalá and betake himself to Salamanca, where he hoped to be allowed to pursue his studies without hindrance to his evangelical labours.

But at Salamanca also he had a taste of "Catholic" liberality; for his evangelism brought him and his companions under the notice of the Dominicans and of the Grand Vicar Frias, and they were committed to prison, he and his disciple Calixto being chained by the foot to a pillar in a loathsome cell. After three weeks' confinement the little group of lay preachers were brought up before their judges, and, though the sentence pronounced was a favourable one, it amounted to a virtual prohibition of their teaching. Within three weeks of his release Loyola, having made up his mind to go to Paris, left Salamanca for Barcelona, driving before him an ass laden with his books and wardrobe. His object in going to Paris was partly to pursue his studies at the famous University—studies, by-the-by, with which he never seems to have got on very fast—and partly to carry out his settled purpose to found a Society, or Order, which should be

conducted on the principles set forth in his *Spiritual Exercises.*

At Paris he made another effort to get well grounded in elementary studies, and took his place, this man of thirty-six, amongst the boys at the Collège Montaigu, which was, in fact, a large grammar school; and in the course of the following year he was able to enter the Collège Sainte Barbe as a boarder, obtaining the requisite funds at first by begging from door to door, and subsequently by vacation visits to charitable merchants and others in Flanders and in England. The latter country he visited in 1530—the year in which Henry VIII. threw off his allegiance to the Pope. What he did and where he lodged in London, can only be guessed at; but it is certain, from his own account, that he there met with more generous benefactors than in the towns of Flanders. He also received contributions from time to time from his female friends in Spain, on whom an irreverent age like the present might perhaps affirm that he "sponged." At all events, he was popular with the fair sex, and they seem to have been always anxious to supply his wants.

At last, in 1534, Loyola took his degree of Master of Arts. His long struggle in pursuit of knowledge affords a remarkable example of undaunted resolution and perseverance. He was now rewarded by the attainment of the necessary qualifications for the career to which he aspired. His stay in Paris had otherwise not been lost time. He had gained wide influence over the students of the crowded University, which is supposed then to have contained in its precincts from 12,000 to 16,000 young men. He readily became "all things to all men" for what he considered to be their good. He had also now gathered around him a fresh group of companions or disciples—men who formed the nucleus of the future Society—Favre, Xavier, Lainez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez. The time was come to bring them together, and launch the Society. Accordingly they met, and were delighted with each other, and with the plans which he propounded to them. He invited them to join him in consecration of themselves to God by solemn vows of celibacy, of poverty, and of serving Him in the Holy Land. Their vows were taken at Montmartre in August 1534; and

so was started an enterprise which, whether for good or evil, was to effect great things in the political as well as the religious world.

In 1535 Ignatius, after undergoing another examination by Laurent the Inquisitor at Paris, and receiving from him a certificate of his orthodoxy, set out for his native country, leaving his disciples in the care of Peter Favre. Arriving near his ancestral home, he absurdly refused to stay at Loyola, where his brother's family were anxious to honour him as a saintly guest, and could only be prevailed to visit the house for a single night, which he passed on the bare floor, departing in the morning before the inmates of the castle were awake. He took up his abode at the Hospital of St. Magdalen, in the neighbouring town of Azpeitia; and now, to the disgust of his relatives, he gave away to the sick the provisions they sent him, and himself lived on the alms he begged. He preached often and with great effect in the little town and in the open country, and performed some of those marvellous cures which are freely distributed over the lives of Romish saints. After a stay of three months, he proceeded to visit the homes of his young associates, Xavier, Lainez, and Salmeron, and make the necessary arrangements with their families. Thence he went to Valencia, and sailed for Italy, finally settling down at Venice for a while. Here he gained three fresh companions, and here, in January 1537, he was joined by the disciples whom he had left at Paris. When he had divided them into sections, to pursue their labours in different localities, he, with Lainez and Favre, found a deserted building close to Vicenza, which they made their headquarters. Codure joining them, all four commenced preaching in the piazzas, and from their strange speech and appearance were thought to be foreign conjurers. Loyola's sermons are reported to have been highly effective, although he spoke Italian very imperfectly. His Latin, too, was very dubious, notwithstanding his M.A. degree.

At last he resolved to visit Rome and the Pope, accompanied by Favre and Lainez, and leaving the other seven to station themselves in couples in various university cities, so as to carry on their missionary functions among the young men. They were to live on alms and reside in hospitals; to take it

in turn to be Superior for a week; to preach in the open squares and other places, dwelling chiefly on the rewards of virtue and the punishment of vice. Wanting to know what answer they should give to inquiries as to their Rule and name, they were told by Ignatius that "since they had united for the sake of our Saviour, to do His work and fight for His glory, it seemed fit that they should call themselves by His name, and declare that they belonged to the *Society* of Jesus—the word in Spanish, 'Compañia,' having a military meaning." Thus, by his *ipse dixit*, the famous Society was constituted and christened, and then sent forth on its mission.

He and his two companions reached Rome in November 1537. Pope Paul III. gave him a cordial reception, and readily accepted his offers of service. An amusing illustration of Loyola's versatility is given at this period. An old enemy of his, Dr. Ortiz, moved by information given him by Cardinal Contarini, asked to be led through the "Exercises" in the solitude of the Abbey of Monte Cassino; and passed more than a month there wholly abstracted from the world. But the solitary confinement, and all the depressing processes of the Retreat, proved too much for the learned doctor, whose "head broke down during the first week." To cheer him up Ignatius danced the old national dance of the Basques, which, as danced by the Jesuit saint, must have been very comical, for it amused Ortiz so that he was roused from his stupor, and was able to survive the remainder of the dismal Exercise.

Now he summoned all his coadjutors to Rome, where the Society was coming into prosperous circumstances. Codacio, a rich man of the Pope's household, made it a present, or loan, of a large house, the *Torre del Melangolo*, or Orange Tower, which became the headquarters of the Society. Its members preached in many of the churches at Rome, with visible results. Ignatius himself was specially successful in winning souls. His discourses attracted hearers of all ranks and attainments: but then he had a wholesome horror of *long* sermons. All, however, did not go smoothly even at the Eternal City. Loyola, who was keen in his own scent after Lutheran "heresy," was, during the Pope's absence at Nice, himself accused of it, and his success was attributed to witchcraft. For a time his popularity decreased as rapidly as it had

risen. But on the Pope's return to Rome, his adversaries were discomfited, his fame was resuscitated, and, of course, the principal "calumniator" came to a bad end, for, poor man! after fleeing to Geneva, he foolishly ventured into Spain, and there fell into the hands of the merciless Inquisition, and was put to death.

In 1541 "the time was now ripe," as Mr. Rose tells us, "the hour and the man were come." Loyola summoned his followers to deliberations on the constitution of their new Order. After consideration and discussion, they resolved to add the vow of obedience to their vows of chastity and poverty; and Ignatius drew up a formula to be presented to the Pope, who eventually gave his approval to the "Constitutions" of the new Society, and issued a Bull in confirmation of it.

The Society being constituted and approved, it became necessary for its members to choose a Superior, and Ignatius was unanimously elected to the office, which, after a great show of reluctance, he at last accepted, and became General of the Order on April 13, 1541. He began his functions by "calling the Community" on the following morning. For several days he helped in the kitchen, and undertook the humblest labours of the house. Then, for forty-six days, he taught Catechism in the church belonging to the Society, using "'the Gospel as a sword drawn from the scabbard, to show its truths as they are in the Scripture language,' unornamented, and not mixed up with any ideas of his own." His instructions, as Ribadeneira tells us, were more pious than learned, his language was simple, and his Italian frequently faulty. But the simple, faulty words were uttered with such energy and earnestness as to produce immediate effect upon his hearers, who, with every sign of profound conviction, hastened to the confessionals. When Ribadeneira suggested that he should strive to improve his Italian, Loyola replied, "You are right; listen carefully to me when I speak, and remember my mistakes, that you may tell me of them afterwards." But the faults of speech were so many, and the talk was so full of his native idioms, that correction seemed a hopeless task, and the incorrigible Spaniard could only say, with a smile, "My Pedro, what can we do against God?"

The commencement of his Generalship was marked by the departure of Xavier for India, he having been selected in the previous year as one of two missionaries required by the Pope to be sent in the service of the King of Portugal, who was desirous of evangelising his new possessions in the East. In the same year Salmeron and Broët were sent to Ireland, with powers "to give the sacraments, grant dispensations, and fortify the afflicted people." Ignatius's instructions to them on their difficult mission were an ingenious expansion, in his own sense, of the apostolic text quoted in his second instruction, "*I make myself all to all men.*" But with all their cleverness and beautiful self-adaptation—one was very impatient, the other sweet as an angel—they did not effect much in Ireland. It was, like many subsequent operations of the Society, a hole-and-corner business; and though they managed to traverse the island, Pope Paul III., hearing of their perils—and probably thinking they were doing more harm than good—sent them an order to return. They returned to Scotland, where they had no better time of it. Henry VIII. had then great influence amongst the nobles of the northern kingdom, and "the Jesuits soon found that their mission in Great Britain was closed."

We cannot here pursue the adventures of the early members of this enterprising fraternity. We return to Ignatius himself, who had now entered on his regular course of life, never afterwards to be interrupted except on three occasions, when he was absent from Rome on special errands. Looking at him in his new capacity, we find him much altered in outward appearance from the wretched condition which he affected in his earlier days at Manresa. Instead of sackcloth and rags, he and his companions were now careful to wear decent garments, and he enjoined on them a particular neatness and an abhorrence of all personal neglect. When he went into the city he wrapped himself in a clerical coat, and carried on his head the *sombrero*, a large flapping hat. His eyes, which, when raised, had marvellous power, were habitually cast down, and it was said he never looked at any woman, though many came to consult him. Limping slightly, from his old wounds, he managed, by the aid of his stick, to do a good deal of travelling on foot. His daily routine still included a fair amount of devotion and

meditation; but he had plenty of time for the business of the Society, as sleep occupied but four hours out of the twenty-four. He had speedily developed those talents of ready command and cool judgment, which, in much of his previous career, had been sadly wanting. We can readily believe that he had a really tender heart, and to his kindly emotions he gave full play in his treatment of the sick. At the same time we find his old Spanish imperiousness cropping up in his exercise of absolute authority; and though his management of his novices, and his general treatment of young converts and aspirants, may have been admirable, we trace in him still some unpleasing remains of the barbarous spirit which animated him when he was about to annihilate the unbelieving Moor.

For instance, when a boy, the son of a Jewish convert, had "uttered a malicious wish" against some one, Loyola sent out for a live crab, and, tying the child's hands behind him, ordered it to be fastened round his neck, where it "nipped him terribly." The moral, no doubt, was good, but it was a savage method of pointing it.

One of his novices was a young Calabrese, named Michele, "a disciple of the Calvinists," who imparted to his companion, Manare, his doubts as to the veneration of images, and was craftily induced to commit some of his opinions to writing. This was shown to Ignatius, who not only expelled the youth, but, with no ignorance of what he was doing, gave information to Cardinal Caraffa, then Chief Inquisitor. Mr. Rose takes as a proof of the aversion of the Roman Inquisition to capital punishment the fact that Michele was *only* condemned to the galleys for life!

From 1541 to his death in 1556 the chief events of Loyola's life were his mediation between the Pope and King Joam of Portugal in 1542; his foundation of various houses and colleges; his severe illness, and proffered resignation of his office of General, in January 1551; and his actual transference of his functions to a Commission shortly before his death. Lodged in his headquarters at Rome, he exercised absolute authority over his fraternity, both there and at the posts to which he sent them in various parts of the world. His genius for command and his capacity for choosing the

best material shone forth throughout his Generalship. His keen eye detected in the youthful novice the slightest tendency to freer thought, and the closely hidden germs of "heresy." Insubordination and obstinacy were deadly sins in the eyes of this soldier saint, and short stay was allowed to the refractory or hesitating. With one novice, who was strongly inclined to withdraw, he had much patience, thinking him reclaimable. But when told that the youth, to all expostulations, only answered that he would stay that night, but would go in the morning, Loyola exclaimed, "Will he go to-morrow? That shall not be, for he shall not sleep in the house to-night." And out he had to go that moment. How the devout and learned men who served under him, several of whom were his superiors in many qualities, managed to endure the rigour of his sway, which fell hardest upon their heads, is a difficult problem. "It seemed," says Mr. Rose, "as if the resolve to quell all natural feelings made him appear coldest to those whom he valued most." Nadal, Lainez, Polanco, his secretary, and Codacio, his house manager, felt keenly this severity—which, whether it originated in good motives or not, seems to us diametrically opposed to the spirit of a *real* "Society of Jesus." Under the delusive semblance of deadening all natural feelings lay hid the old Adamic remains of the pride and *hauteur* of the Spanish noble, their ugliness being carefully covered with the mantle of meritorious self-discipline.

In these early days of the Society, afterwards so notorious for its insinuating mode of interference with the interests of States and the affairs of families, we find that already, in 1547, it had been charged with such unwarrantable meddling. Polanco, with more zeal than prudence, had been prematurely pressing on Cosmo the Great "certain counsels of perfection." Ignatius, with his wonted sagacity, warned him that no good could result from this course, and that it gave colour to "what enemies said, 'that the Society wished to rule the world'"—an imputation which came too near the truth to be palatable to the founder himself.

Another charge was that the Jesuit Colleges stole away people's sons; and, though Ignatius denied the truth of the report, he deemed it necessary to warn the masters of his

colleges to "take care not to admit any pupil to our schools without the assent of their parents, with an eye to the public good, because the harm done by the disturbance and alienation of minds would be greater than the benefit in receiving them" —a by no means unwise or unnecessary caution.

Another trouble came to him from an unexpected source. Devout women had, from the very cradle of his religious life, been his patrons and helpers, and to them he owed much gratitude. But when, after the institution of the Society, some of these ladies persuaded him to receive their vows of obedience, and formed a small conventual community, he soon found that the fair sex were a little difficult to manage. They encroached unreasonably on his time, and were always appealing to him to settle their scruples, or—sad to say—their disputes. He once declared that the direction of these four women gave him more trouble than all his Company; and he speedily set himself to get a Papal dispensation, which freed both him and them from their mutual obligations. The wisdom of this course was soon obvious; for one of the four—Isabel Roser, his early patroness at Barcelona—ultimately brought a suit against him, being, like many ladies in succeeding ages, desirous of recovering money too hastily given into priestly hands.

In the summer of 1554 Loyola's health was visibly giving way. He rallied a little, however, and lasted into the summer of 1556. His death took place on the 31st of July. As Polanco expresses it, "On the eve of St. Peter's chains, those chains were broken which bound him in the flesh, and he was placed in the liberty of the elect." He passed away peacefully —rather to the surprise of the faithful secretary, who seems to have expected that his last moments would be attended with miracles or visions and Divine manifestations; and who accounts for the omission in a sensible manner, which yet reveals a certain amount of pardonable disappointment.

Loyola has been fortunate in his latest biographer. Mr. Rose has executed his task with much ability, and this massive volume is a pleasant one to read as well as to look at. Thoroughly imbued with reverence and sympathy for this notable saint of the Romish Church, he yet is not devoid of the broader spirit of liberality which pervades the literature of

the present day. It is almost needless to say that his views of history in Loyola's days are very different from our own. But we can scarcely conceive that any reader of this Life will derive from it a Romeward bias, unless he should first cast away the facts of history and abjure the use of his reasoning faculties. That Loyola was a remarkable man is evident enough; but he can scarcely be classed as a *great* man. His energy was immense, his force of character admirable; but he was essentially wanting in all the higher qualities of soul. His devotions were narrowed into slavish routine and sensuous forms, and the great work of his life was to found a Society, the chief principle of which was that of abject obedience to the behests of a fallible Superior. Even so, Loyola's character and gifts, though they enabled him to found, would not have been adequate to the full moulding and development of the wonderful "Society of Jesus." His associates and successors, from Lainez onwards, have often, in many points of forecast, subtilty, statesmanship, and organising power, shown themselves men of greater gifts and genius than Loyola. Alas! the Society still exists, is still the right arm of the Papacy, is still a portentous instrument and a standing conspiracy for the spiritual enslavement of the nations.

Art. VIII.—THE METHODIST CONTROVERSY OF 1835.

1. *History of Wesleyan Methodism.* Vol. III. Modern Methodism. By George Smith, LL.D. London: Longmans. 1862.
2. *An Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism.* By John Beecham, D.D. Third Edition. London: John Mason. 1851.
3. *Memorials of the United Methodist Free Churches, with Recollections of the Rev. Robert Eckett, and some of his Contemporaries.* By M. Baxter. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1865.

4. *A Collection of Pamphlets relating to the Leeds Disputes.* Compiled by the Rev. James Loutit. 1827–30.
5. *A Collection of Pamphlets and Leaflets in the possession of the Rev. John S. Simon.* 1834–35.

IN this and a subsequent article we shall describe events which have made 1835 a memorable year in the annals of Methodism. We shall indicate the causes of the disturbance in the Societies which then prevailed, sketch the chief incidents of the "Agitation," and show the effects of the controversy upon the development of the Methodist Constitution. In order that we might preserve the unity of our present description, we have dealt separately with the events in which Dr. Warren played a leading part.* It is true that the "Agitation" of 1835 is generally associated with his name; but, apart from the Theological Institution Controversy, which was incidental and for the most part preliminary, it is well known that he was not the leader in the "Agitation," much less was he the controller of the storm. James Everett's acuteness did not fail him when he wrote to Dr. Warren, and said: "We are borne away from one thing to another—from the Institution to the Constitution. This is what was never contemplated by any one of the minority, nor even, I am sure, by yourself. It was a most lamentable circumstance that any persons should have been allowed to avail themselves of an opportunity of hanging other grievances and objections, whether real or imaginary, upon the one which was first urged, and of thus changing the leading features of the controversy."† Dr. Warren, in fact, was "borne away" by a force which he could not resist. It is not unusual for a balloonist to find that above the air-current on which he has relied to carry him to his destination there is a still stronger current which runs in another direction. Should he be caught up into it, and lose control of his balloon, his original purpose will be defeated. Dr. Warren's fate is an illustration of the occurrence of a similar catastrophe in the realm of ecclesiastical politics.

Everett bemoans the fact that certain persons for purposes

* See Nos. CXLVII. and CXLIX. of this Review (April and October 1890).
† *James Everett: a Biography.* By Richard Chew. P. 297.

of their own had availed themselves of the opportunity with which Dr. Warren had furnished them by his attack on the Theological Institution. They seized the moment to urge "grievances and objections"; and their persistence changed "the leading features of the controversy." Who were these persons? Those who read our article on "The Protestant Methodist Controversy of 1827"* will remember that the Leeds dissidents found active sympathisers in London. Some of the officials of the London South Circuit espoused their cause, addressed the Conference in their behalf, passed resolutions in their favour in the September Quarterly Meeting, and issued a "Reply" to Richard Watson's pamphlet, in which they advocated doctrines subversive of the Methodist Constitution.† This "Reply" may be looked upon as the seed-plot of the "objections" which sprang up in different parts of the country; and its inspirers and authors were undoubtedly the persons to whom Everett's remark most closely applied.

The main issue raised by the South London pamphleteers concerned the power exercised by the Conference, and by the ministers who acted as its agents. The historical student is aware that the Conference possessed the power over ministers and societies which had been transmitted to it by Wesley; such power being limited, as far as the people are concerned, by the concessions contained in the "Plan of Pacification" of 1795, and the "Leeds Regulations" of 1797.‡ It is clear that, at the time of which we write, many Methodists were ignorant of this fact. The reader, who from a sense of duty toils through the controversial literature of this storm-vext period, is constantly arrested by mistakes as to the most elementary principles of the Constitution. How are we to account for such fatal ignorance? It must be remembered that the vast majority of persons who then entered the Societies did so for an exclusively spiritual purpose. The spiritual advantages of Methodism attracted and retained them. They had not much inclination to scrutinise the

* See No. CXL. of this REVIEW (July 1888).

† *Reply to Watson's Address*, p. 84. Mr. Loutit's Collection. This Collection is now in the Library of Headingley College, Leeds.

‡ See Nos. CXXV. and CXXIX. of this REVIEW (Oct. 1884 and Oct. 1885).

Church-system under which their souls prospered. If men whispered that the system was defective, they pointed to the results which it achieved. That was an era of remarkable prosperity. At the Conference of 1834 it was reported that there were 291,939 members of Society in Great Britain. In 1830 the number had been 248,592, so that the increase during four years had amounted to 43,347. On every hand large chapels were being built, opened, and thronged with worshippers. The Sunday-school had struck its roots deep into the soil, and flourished in the genial air of Methodism. Thousands of class leaders and local preachers hastened hither and thither, intent upon their spiritual duties. It was a Golden Age. It seemed as if Methodism had measured its strength against the irreligion of the country, and would soon accomplish the salvation of England.

A picture of idyllic simplicity arrests attention. Criticism is hushed, and the guilelessness of youth revisits the heart. But in this crooked world such simplicity is exposed to special dangers. As the event proved, it would have been well if the Methodist people had spared a little time for the study of their own history, and especially of the principles upon which their Church was governed. Their ignorance of the legal relation of the Conference to the ministers and the societies invited agitators to take the field. Rules and regulations, of which many Methodists had never heard, were suddenly placed before them, and held up in a light which distorted them into seeming instruments of tyranny. Ignorance is the mother of suspicion, and the child of suspicion is terror. Confidence was shaken. Uneasiness began to prevail. This in many neighbourhoods passed into restlessness, and the once "United Societies" became the scene of discord and revolt. We are not alone in detecting this source of danger. Mr. Baxter, the impassioned advocate of the Methodist Free Churches, when dealing with the question, says: "Methodism in the year 1835 was no new thing in the land, but there were very few persons, even among Methodists, who had been able to form well-defined ideas of the constitution, functions, and policy of the Conference."*

As the discussion concerning the power of the Conference

* *Memorials*, p. 270.

was not confined within the borders of Methodism, we are compelled to glance at the condition of the public mind respecting the points in dispute. If a twilight knowledge of the Constitution prevailed in the Societies, gross darkness reigned in the nation. To this hour the secular press has failed to comprehend the character of the Methodist organisation. The recent celebration of the Centenary of the death of John Wesley has shown that his spirit and work, and the work of the Church which he founded, are beginning to be recognised, but the nomenclature and constitutional peculiarities of Methodism still provoke a journalist's despair. With a gesture of impatience he dismisses the problem. His action is symptomatic of the mental condition of the average Englishman in the presence of a new idea. It disturbs and distresses him. Until he discovers that it resembles something he knows, he cannot be at peace. This peculiarity was strikingly manifest in 1834–5. When the Methodist Constitution became the subject of public discussion, men hastened to compare it with familiar Church organisations. Then, in their bewilderment, they tested it by analogies supplied by the British Constitution. When they found that in many particulars it failed to conform to precedent, they combined to compass its destruction. It is surprising that some cool thinker did not suggest that diversities of organisation and work justify the existence of separate Churches; that a Church which is precisely similar to the Churches from which it is divided is probably in a state of schism. It is still more strange that no one counselled the nation to solve the problem of the Methodist Constitution by the application of the historical method of inquiry. We believe that foreigners sometimes fail to perceive the perfection of the British Constitution. Do we leave them to pursue their investigations by the unassisted light of Nature, or by their conception of "the eternal fitness of things"? We rescue them from their delusions by instructing them in the events which have necessitated the legislative acts that excite their criticism. If those who attacked Methodism in the secular press had been acquainted with its history, the violence of their assaults might have been modified; perchance some of those assaults might never have been made.

Two causes contributed to spread and perpetuate the ignorance which existed. First, those who were in possession of the facts relating to Methodism and Methodist history failed to give them sufficient circulation; and, secondly, those whose knowledge was imperfect were irrepressible in their communication of error. It was not until January 7, 1835, that the reading public was able to obtain authentic information concerning Methodism through the columns of a newspaper. On that date the *Watchman* appeared. Before its publication the candid investigator had to master the details of the Methodist organisation by studying the *Minutes of Conference*, Myles' *Chronological History of the People called Methodists*, Dr. Warren's *Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodists*, and a few other books and pamphlets that enlightened the gloom. It requires close application, and much penetration and comprehensiveness of mind, to master the complexities of the subject. Those who have read Dr. Smith's description of the trial of Dr. Warren's Appeal before the Lord Chancellor, will know that it was only by continuously questioning specially instructed Counsel that Lord Lyndhurst was able to understand the intricacies of Methodist legislation. He reached the conclusions which were expressed in his luminous Judgment by profound study. Is it surprising that in the absence of adequate guidance the popular mind went astray among the rules and regulations which had been passed by the Conference?

But there was a second source of popular misunderstanding. While the Methodists were waiting for a trustworthy newspaper, an active assault was being made upon their Church-system by a journal which attained great notoriety at this period. In order that we may understand the history and character of this newspaper, and explain the reason of its hostility to Methodism, it is necessary to refer to certain events which occurred some time before the period which we are describing. It may be remembered that the Special District Meeting in the Leeds case was presided over by the Rev. John Stephens, who was at that time the President of the Conference.* History, with

* See No. CXL. of this Review (July 1888).

a cruel irony, conducts us to his household in our attempt to detect the foes of Methodism. His sons, John Stephens and Joseph Rayner Stephens, each succeeded in wounding his father's Church. John Stephens was the editor of the *Christian Advocate*. Dr. Smith tells us that, at first, this paper "professed to be decidedly Wesleyan, and claimed to be regarded, in some sense, as an official organ of the Connexion. For a considerable time its friendly bearing to a great extent sustained this profession. Many preachers contributed regularly to its pages; others strongly recommended it to the Connexion by a testimonial under their names; and it was generally taken in respectable Methodist families." * Before long, however, a change came over the spirit of this journal. It caught and expressed the political excitement of the time. Because Jabez Bunting exercised his undoubted right, and voted for Viscount Sandon at the Liverpool election, the *Christian Advocate* denounced his conduct. In addition, it bitterly attacked the work of the London Missionary Society. The Conference of 1833 censured the paper for its action in both cases, sending a letter to the secretaries of the London Missionary Society, disclaiming any connection whatever with the journal that had assailed them, and expressing strong disapproval of its criticisms. These censures changed John Stephens into a fierce antagonist; and the whole force of the *Christian Advocate* was directed against the Conference.

It was not long before Stephens found his opportunity for revenge. In 1830 a remarkable sermon had been preached by the Rev. Andrew Marshall, a minister of the United Secession Presbyterian Church, at Kirkintilloch, in Scotland. In that sermon Mr. Marshall attacked the principle of Church Establishments, asserting them to be contrary to the Word of God, and an invasion of the rights of Christ. Skeats says: "The sermon gave occasion to one of the most memorable controversies that have taken place either in England or Scotland, since the Reformation." † For a time the battle was waged with that enthusiasm for theological and ecclesiastical discussion which characterises the Scottish people. Then the

* Dr. Smith's *History*, vol. iii. p. 188.

† *History of the Free Churches of England*, p. 475. Third Edition.

war stormed across the border, and spread into England. Assailants of the Establishment arose on every hand, and their attacks were applauded by those who thought that the day of doom had come. Societies for disestablishing the Church were formed in many English towns; and, as Skeats says, "the whole machinery of popular agitation was put in motion, and it appeared that English Dissent was, at last, organised for the overthrow of the Church Establishment." *

The relation of John Wesley and of Methodism to the Established Church is still a fruitful source of controversy; and it is impossible to deal with the subject in this article. We content ourselves with saying that at the time of which we write, while some Methodists were hostile to the State Church, the overwhelming majority was either friendly or indifferent. Opinions varied; but it was generally agreed to maintain the traditional attitude, and to strike no blow that would injure the Establishment. In the opinion of some, the self-restraint of the Methodists at this critical moment preserved the connection between the Church and the State in England.

The general though tacit agreement to abstain from assailing the Church was not observed in one place. In Ashton-under-Lyne, a society was formed for effecting an entire separation of the Church of England from the State. An inaugural meeting was held on January 27, 1834, and at this meeting, Joseph Rayner Stephens, who was a Wesleyan minister stationed in Ashton, was present. As we have already noted, he was the brother of John Stephens. When he was asked to attend, he said that he could not appear in his official capacity; and, at the opening of the speech which he delivered at the meeting, he repeated that statement. But as a "private citizen" he became one of the corresponding secretaries of the society, attended public meetings at Hyde, Oldham, and Staleybridge, introduced into Methodist chapels petitions to Parliament praying for the total separation of Church and State, and, from the pulpit, requested the congregations to sign them. If Stephens had been only a "private citizen" he would have been at liberty to choose his course in this controversy; but those who have been spectators of the operation know that it

* *History*, p. 477.

is very difficult to execute character-changes without mistakes and confusion. If Stephens had been only a "private citizen," would he have been selected for his secretaryship, and as an advocate of disestablishment? If he had secured these positions by reason of his abilities, would the "private citizen" have possessed the power over the Methodist chapels and pulpits which enabled him to obtain the signatures which were attached to his petitions in the manner described? It is difficult to see when the Wesleyan Minister went out and the "private citizen" came in.

Stephens' attack upon the Church was watched by some prominent Wesleyan laymen with indignation. They saw in him not a "private citizen," but a Wesleyan Minister who was using his position to assault a religious community to which they were sincerely attached. They complained to Robert Newton, the Chairman of the Manchester District, who wrote to Stephens, telling him that he would have to account for his conduct at the District Meeting. In Dr. Smith's *History* a full account of the proceedings in Stephens' case will be found, and it is not necessary to recite them.* After a full investigation of the charges made against him, he was "authoritatively required to resign his office as secretary to the Church Separation Society, and to abstain, until the next session of Conference, from taking any part in the proceedings of that society, or of any other society or meeting having a kindred object." As Stephens declared that he would not resign his secretaryship, he was suspended from the exercise of his ministry until the Conference.

At the Conference of 1834, Stephens' case came up for decision. The "conversation," as described by Dr. Smith, shows that on the main question of the relation of Methodism to the Established Church there was a diversity of opinion which was frankly expressed. Some were strongly in favour of supporting the Establishment; others expressed contrary views. Dr. Warren thought that Wesleyan Methodists should be neutral between the Church and the Dissenters, and that nothing would be gained, but much lost, by deserting the middle position. Joseph Beaumont declared that he was alto-

* *History*, vol. iii. book viii. chap. i.

gether a Methodist, and stated that he thought the District Meeting had done its duty, and that Stephens should have submitted. But, he added, Wesley's bearing towards the Church was like that of a rower in a boat: his face was always steadily fixed on the Church, but every stroke of his oars took him farther away from it. As for himself, he objected to be tacked in any way to the Church of England. After mature deliberation, an amendment in favour of removing Stephens' suspension, and for the appointment of a committee to counsel him, was lost, only four voting for it. The resolution confirming the minutes of the Manchester District Meeting was passed with practical unanimity. Stephens asked for time for consideration, and also for a committee of consultation. Both requests were granted. After careful reflection he announced his decision. He could not give the required pledge, and so he resigned his connection with the Conference.

The proceedings of the District Meeting and the Conference were closely watched by the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, and the world soon learned his opinions upon the conduct of his brother's case. The system that had laid a restraining hand upon Joseph Rayner Stephens was first misdescribed, and then denounced. The smouldering embers of disaffection were fanned into flame. Speaking of the paper, Dr. Smith says: "The extent to which the members and congregations of Methodism were perverted by this means is beyond calculation. The greater part of the troubles which soon afterwards afflicted the body either owed their existence to this agency, or were greatly aggravated by it." *

Having suggested the causes of the ignorance which existed in the public mind concerning Methodism, it is right that we should give an illustration of it. The "power of the Conference" being the chief topic of discussion, men were naturally anxious to know something about that assembly. They had not long to wait. A writer who, according to Mr. Baxter, had "penetrated the mystery" of the constitution, functions, and policy of the Conference, undertook to enlighten the British public; and we will cull a few sentences from his performance.

* *History*, vol. iii. p. 189.

After stating that the number of Methodists under the direction of the English Conference was about 300,000, he proceeds:

"Over these there are captains of tens, and captains of twenties, and captains of hundreds; in other terms, class leaders, local preachers, itinerant preachers, superintendents, and finally Conference: each subordinated to his superior in regular ascent till you arrive at the *summum imperium*, and subordinated in such a way that the opportunities of religious improvement, of social intercourse, the exercise of moral influence, the preservation of a good reputation, and, to no small extent, success in business and comfort in life, depend upon obedience to the superior's will. This representation will make it clear to all that the Conference possesses a wide and extensive channel down which they may pour whatever principles they please. . . . . We may, we think, infer that about two millions of persons, young and old, are at the present moment subject to influences from the English Conference. These influences relate not merely to matters purely religious, but to moral and political questions. The *esprit de corps* prevails nowhere more strongly than among the Methodists. The President of the Conference is the *generalissimo*. He with his staff officers, few we understand in number, issues the word of command, and all the army begins to move. He cries halt, and forthwith they stop. He says to this man, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh. This union of action is observed in all matters of great concernment; in relation to charitable institutions, human rights and human wrongs, the interests of the race and the interests of individuals, the election of a member of Parliament, and the election of a parish apothecary. The influence of the Conference is, for the most part, anti-liberal. They are, as will appear in the sequel, tyrants themselves, and they seem generally to incline on the side of tyranny. Another question remains—Who is the Conference? The Conference is thought to consist of all the Methodist travelling preachers, but, in fact, a small party rules the Connexion. The legal Conference consisted at the time of Wesley's death of one hundred members, to whom he conveyed all his rights. The survivors and successors of these have all legal power in their own hands; and, in fact, they reserve to themselves the privilege of electing the president and secretary of the Conference, whose power is all but supreme, and permit as many more of the remaining preachers as they think fit to be present at their sittings. Out of these hundred persons there are, we are informed, some few ambitious persons who rule the rest, and, through them and other subordinate agents, the whole of the Connexion, and that too, not according to the laws of Methodism, but at times in direct contravention of these, and according to their own will, and with a view to consolidate their own power. They are a hierarchy with most lofty notions. . . . .

"A few whose names have been of late much before the public, are the dictators of the Conference. To them all the rest are little better than puppets. . . . . These few rule the Conference, the Conference rule the

preachers, the preachers rule the leaders, the leaders rule the people. This outline does not contain all the grades. Each district, each circuit, have a ghostly leader supreme in his sphere, besides stewards and trustees to do his bidding, and people to do—what? To pay his demands. . . . . How is it the people endure all this? Partly because they are used to it, partly because they are not, for the most part, over well-informed, partly because they are terrified into obedience. Yes, the old trick is not seldom resorted to, of frightening the people into obedience by intimations of spiritual danger and final destruction." *

To Methodists who are practically acquainted with their own Church-system, it may seem strange that such an imaginative sketch should have been accepted as descriptive of Methodism. But the evidence of its acceptance is irresistible. Mr. Baxter, the historian of "Free Methodism," excitedly cries: "Well, this was the Conference which was to decide the fate of Dr. Warren!" † If a man like Mr. Baxter implicitly believed in the correctness of the picture drawn by the revealer of "mysteries," is it any wonder that the editor of the *Manchester Times* should frantically ask for further information concerning the Conference?

"We have been given to understand," he says, "that it is made up of the priests of the sect—not of the whole of them, but of a part, in what proportion or under what regulation we could never learn: that these again, when assembled, are only hearers, lookers-on, and voters by courtesy, and under control, and that the pulse, the purse, the power of the mighty body . . . . is lodged in the mysterious, the uncontrolled, and uncontrollable hundred, who are the well-head of all the weal or woe accruing to general society, through the agency and in the name of Wesleyan Methodism. . . . . If the hundred be what we are told it is, then shiffle, shaffle, shuffle as they please, we denounce it as an anti-legal, anti-constitutional union that cannot co-exist with the acknowledged liberties of the British Empire." ‡

The literary hysteria exhibited by this paragraph proved contagious; and soon the newspapers throughout the country were shrieking at the Methodist Constitution.

The man who, according to Mr. Baxter, had "penetrated the mystery" of the Conference, reminds us of a March sun: he raised a fog, but could not scatter it. In his description we seem for an instant to catch a glimpse of the landscape, but the mists immediately close and cover it. Confining our

* Baxter's *Memorials*, pp. 270–5.
† *Ibid.* p. 275. ‡ *Ibid* p. 238.

attention, for the present, to one point in his description, we may observe that all who are acquainted with John Wesley's Deed of Declaration are aware that the "Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists" consists of a hundred ministers. But it was never intended by Wesley that "the Hundred" should be an isolated body, acting according to its own will irrespective of the wishes of the great majority of the preachers. The theorist, arguing *à priori*, might reach the conclusion that such would be the result of the creation of "the Hundred." But the historian is in possession of facts of which the theorist is ignorant. When the Deed of Declaration was executed, the preachers whose names were not contained in it, soon made their fears known as to what might happen after Wesley's death. Those fears subsided when, in the Conference of 1791, Joseph Bradford read the letter in which Wesley besought the preachers whose names appeared in the Deed of Declaration, "by the mercies of God" never to avail themselves of the Deed to assume any superiority over their brethren. At once the Conference unanimously resolved that all the preachers in "full Connexion" with it should "enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoy, except in voting for the president and secretary."* The year 1814 was marked by a considerable distribution of the power of "the Hundred." Up to that time the vacancies in the legal Conference had been filled according to seniority, and the president and secretary had been elected by "the Hundred." But the advocacy of Jabez Bunting effected a change in both these particulars. It was resolved that "the Hundred should continue to fill up three out of every four vacancies in the Deed on the ground of seniority; but that in every fourth case of vacancy which should occur, all the preachers present at the Conference, who have travelled fourteen years and upwards, should have the right of nominating by ballot any preacher who to them may appear proper for immediate admission into the number of the Hundred, and that the Hundred should be requested, in such case, to elect the person so nominated as a member of the legal Conference; but that no person should be so elected

* See No. CXXIX. of this REVIEW (Oct. 1885).

who has not travelled at least fourteen years." As to the election of the president and secretary, it was resolved that the preachers present at the Conference, who had travelled fourteen years and upwards, should also have the right to nominate the persons whom they thought fit for these offices to the legal Conference. Events have shown that such nomination has the practical effect of election. The resolution of 1791, and the concessions of 1814, had knit the Conference into closest unity; and that unity was its strength in the day of battle. (Other changes, in regard to the Legal Conference, have since been made, going farther in the same direction.) It is only necessary, here and now, to deal with the main point of misrepresentation of Methodism contained in the fancy sketch of the revealer of "mysteries." It will be subsequently shown that his other allegations are equally untrustworthy.

On November 6, 1834, an address, which was written by Dr. Warren, was issued by the "stewards, leaders, local preachers, and other officers of the Manchester First Circuit to the societies throughout the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion." The resolutions which had been passed at the "adjourned Quarterly Meeting" of the Manchester First Circuit were appended; amongst them being the three which had been specially prepared by Dr. Warren.* As to Dr. Warren's three resolutions, we may remind our readers that the first affirmed that "nothing new" was required in the constitution of Methodism; and the others demanded that the preachers in Conference should come to their decisions by the use of the ballot; and that in future the Conference should be open to the laity. The explanatory remarks show that the ballot was to be employed in order that every preacher might be "free to express his judgment"; and the Conference was to be open to the laity, as spectators, as a check to any undue influence which might be used against the interests of the people, "even in the use of the ballot." The remaining resolutions had special reference to the incidents which had accompanied the formation of the Theological Institution.† The address informed the

* See No. CXLIX. of this Review (October 1890).

† The whole of the resolutions will be found in the Appendix to the *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, pp. 18–20. Mr. Simon's Collection.

societies that a "Central Committee" had been appointed to correspond with as many circuits as might be disposed to co-operate in the movement for reform; and it stated that it was "indispensably necessary to obtain the sense of the whole Connexion by special resolutions taken at all the Quarterly Meetings." As the author of the *Digest* surmised that some superintendents might be sufficiently acquainted with Methodist law to know that, if they permitted revolutionary proposals to be discussed in their Quarterly Meetings, they would be deposed from their office, he hastened to remove their scruples by assuring them that, in his "most deliberate judgment," no superintendent or travelling preacher could refuse to put "any resolution, which is not contrary to the rules and usages of the body," without himself becoming a daring violator of the Methodist Constitution. As the Conference had decided to establish the Theological Institution, it might be doubted if a resolution that demanded its immediate discontinuance could be in order. When that matter was settled, the superintendent had still to decide whether the other resolutions submitted by the Central Committee were or were not "contrary to the usages of the body." If he hesitated and would not put those resolutions to the vote, or left the chair, then Dr. Warren advised that the Quarterly Meeting should immediately choose a chairman from among themselves, and through him "send their sentiments to the Conference." The Central Committee informed the societies that it was "so deeply impressed with the awful risk of indecision" in the struggle, that it was constrained to come to the conclusion to withhold "all supplies whatever of money, except those of the weekly contributions of class-money, and the quarterly contributions at the renewal of tickets," until the important question between the people and the Conference was adjusted. In the final paragraph of his "Address," Dr. Warren expressed the conviction that a steady adherence to spiritual duties, both private and public, and "a careful walking according to our well-tried rules, and incomparable Constitution," would speedily witness the restoration of peace, harmony, and good government throughout the whole of the Connexion.*

* See Appendix to the *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, pp. 21, 22.

The editor of the *Christian Advocate* welcomed Dr. Warren's address and resolutions with exuberant joy. On November 10, 1834, he wrote: "The memorial of the Manchester Methodists is now laid before the world. It is one of those extraordinary documents which are only set forth at the crisis of a constitution, which can only be produced by the concentrated counsels of a great people." But his note soon changed. William Vevers, whose name should be honourably remembered for the conspicuous service he rendered at this crisis, subjected Dr. Warren's propositions concerning the use of the ballot and the admission of the laity to the Conference to scathing criticism. Then the *Christian Advocate* perceived their folly. On December 15, a month after his jubilation, the editor wrote:

"How in the world two propositions so contradictory came to be penned, and still more how they came to be adopted, it puzzles us to tell. Would that we had had an opportunity of seeing these singular propositions before they were proposed to public notice; the good cause might then have been saved a deeper wound than an enemy could have inflicted upon it! . . . . The ballot is to be adopted because the preachers are cowards; the laymen are to be admitted because the preachers are knaves. . . . . But, most marvellous of all, these new policemen are to '*sit apart*' from the preachers. We do not wonder at the author of such propositions as these styling the Wesleyan Methodist Constitution incomparable." *

The *Christian Advocate* expressed the hope that the Central Committee would in future base all its propositions "upon the immovable rock of principle."

The Grand Central Association was formed in Manchester on Friday, November 7, 1834.† The document which it issued and scattered throughout the Methodist societies, shows that the counsels of a day had led to some alteration in the programme of reform. The advance upon the demands of the "Central Committee" will be detected by those who closely scan the following propositions. The Grand Central Association was organised—"First, to obtain from the Conference a disavowal of the powers exercised by the Special District Meeting at Leeds in 1827, and a revision of the rules of 1797,

* Vevers' *Second Appeal to the Wesleyan Societies*, p. 40. Mr. Simon's Collection.

† In our last article, by a clerical error, the date is wrongly given as November 27, 1834.

so as to divest them, as much as possible, of all ambiguity as to the rights of both preachers and people; and, secondly, to obtain from the Conference their consent to open all its sittings to the public," under certain restrictions. It was agreed that, until the Conference granted these requests, all contributions to the "Missionary, Contingent, Chapel, and all Funds whatsoever under its control" should be withheld, the moneys necessary for the maintenance of the preachers in the circuits alone being continued. Arrangements were made to obtain from each leader the names of his members in order that they might be entered in a circuit register, and be brought into communication with the Grand Central Association.*

The gradual growth of the demands of the Association is one of the most marked incidents of this agitation. We have seen the difference that one day made in the programme of reform by comparing the addresses of the Manchester "Central Committee" and the "Grand Central Association." We must now proceed to show how the nucleus of primary "objections" grew by accretion.

As Dr. Warren's propositions perished through exposure, it was necessary to seek for other "grievances and objections" if the Grand Central Association was to justify its existence. It was at this point that Dr. Warren was "borne away." His standard of revolt had assembled a "mixed" company; and the influence of extreme counsellors soon enlarged the objects of the Association. On November 21, 1834, a "great public meeting of the Liverpool Wesleyan Methodist Association" was held in the Music Hall, Bold Street. The report lies before us. It appears that "a considerable part of the audience consisted of females," and that Dr. Warren met with a flattering reception. We note that in the course of his speech he stated that "it had been said of him that he must either be mad or that he intended to leave the Methodists, or he would not act as he had done. But he would say to that, he had almost said, wicked insinuation, that so long as Methodism had one plank afloat Samuel Warren would be the last to quit her."† This declaration elicited "loud applause." But instinctively

* See Appendix to the *Statement of the Preachers of the Manchester District*, pp. 22, 23.

† *Report of Liverpool Meeting*, p. 6. Mr. Simon's Collection.

we turn away from Dr. Warren when we seek for the real reformer in a public meeting of this period. We find him in Mr. Farrer, the chairman of the Liverpool Branch Association. In his speech he addressed himself to that part of the programme of the Grand Central Association which concerned the "Rules of 1797," and attempted to explain them. Summing up the advantages gained by the people in 1795 and 1797, he said that they consisted in substance of the following particulars:

"1. The leaders and officers could neither be received nor expelled, except by a majority of the leaders' meeting. 2. No person who was objected to by the leaders' meeting could be received into the society, and no person could be expelled except it was proved to a leaders' meeting that he had broken the rules. 3. The quarterly meetings were invested with the management of the temporal affairs of the society, and acknowledged as the proper channel through which the voice of the people should reach the Conference." *

After endeavouring to show that the Conference had acted in an unconstitutional manner, and affirming his belief that, fairly construed, the "Plan of Pacification" and the "Leeds Regulations" gave the people "quite as much liberty as is desirable or scriptural," Mr. Farrer went on to read the new reforms demanded by the Grand Central Association:

"1. That private members be tried according to the Rules of the Society which are put into their hands when they become members; and that the leaders' meeting shall say whether or not the accused be guilty or not guilty, after which the preacher as judge shall pronounce sentence.

"2. That the leaders and officers be tried by the meetings to which they belong, and be not removed from their office, except by consent of a majority of such meeting.

"3. That full scope be given the regular meetings for the discussion of all questions which the people wish to make known to the Conference.

"4. As a guarantee that these things shall be carried into fair and full operation, we require that publicity be given to the proceedings of Conference." †

Mr. Farrer then indicated the way in which the Conference was to be convinced that the people were in earnest in their demand for reform. First, the members were to decline to leave the societies when excluded; and, secondly, "supplies were to be stopped" until grievances were redressed. On the latter point, he said: "If the people will stick to their leaders,

* *Report*, p. 2. † *Ibid.* p. 3.

every penny which the preachers lose will come into our exchequer, and form a fund to disseminate information, and to maintain those preachers who may lose their living by advocating our cause."

The Methodist constitutional lawyer will demur to Mr. Farrer's exposition of the advantages conferred on the people by the Plan of Pacification and the Leeds Regulations of 1797. Up to the time when these legislative acts were passed, the power to receive members into the societies was exclusively in the hands of the preachers. But in 1797 it was agreed that the Leaders' Meeting should have a right to declare any person on trial improper to be received into the society; and after such declaration, the superintendent should not admit such person to full membership. The rule unmistakably shows that the right of "admitting" is vested in the superintendent. In certain exceptional cases, however, the "Regulation" gives the Leaders' Meeting the power to arrest the superintendent's action, and to extend the "trial" stage of membership. As to the statement "that no person could be expelled except it was proved to a Leaders' Meeting that he had broken the rules," it is impossible to admit that such a conclusion can be legitimately drawn from the words: "No person shall be expelled from the society for immorality, till such immorality be proved at a Leaders' Meeting."

As the rule relating to the exclusion of members became one of the chief centres of the fight, it will be serviceable to consider it with some minuteness. During the life of Wesley, and for a short period afterwards, the superintendent possessed the entire and unrestricted power of excluding from the society. He exercised that power in the case of persons whom he judged unworthy of membership because of their "habitual and persevering violation of the laws of God, or of any of the General Rules of the society." His power was subject only, in case of appeal, to the interference of Wesley, while he lived, and, after his death, to that of the District Committees and the Conference.* In 1794, we notice another limitation. In the "Agreement with the Trustees of Bristol," the Conference,

* *Official Documents extracted from the Minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of* 1835, p. 38. Mr. Simon's Collection.

in deciding upon the separation of "the temporal and spiritual concerns of the society," reserved the management of the latter to the preachers. The document affirms that the preachers "have ever appointed leaders, chosen stewards, and admitted members into and expelled them from the society." The Plan of Pacification states that it had been the "general custom of the preachers never to appoint or remove a steward or leader without first consulting the stewards and leaders" of the particular society in which such appointments were made, and the "Bristol Agreement" includes the admission and exclusion of members in the subjects of consultation. After this period and up to 1797, while retaining their right to admit and exclude, the preachers usually consulted the Leaders' Meeting in cases which called for special care.

At length, in 1797, instead of this simple consultation with the stewards and leaders, it was enacted that no person should be expelled for immorality till such immorality had been proved at a Leaders' Meeting, or, as this clause seems to have been afterwards explained, proved to the satisfaction of a Leaders' Meeting. The meaning of the "Regulation" is clear. It was not intended to apply to the general exclusion of members, but to the particular case of a person who is charged with "immorality," who denies the charge, and who asks to be tried in the presence of the leaders. A preacher was very properly restrained from expelling such a person, simply because he thought, notwithstanding all denials, that the member had been guilty of "immorality." It must be confessed that the word "immorality" is somewhat vague. In the course of years its disciplinary meaning acquired considerable latitude, and led to some diversity of administration. But we have no doubt that, in 1797, it was intended to apply to serious misconduct affecting the moral character. At that time, and for many years afterwards, the minister was accustomed and expected, as part of his ordinary prerogative, to exclude members for violation of the Rules of the Society, including habitual non-attendance at the class meeting.

In the special address of the Conference of 1835 to the societies in Great Britain, the case concerning the exclusion of members is authoritatively put. After endorsing the state-

ment that "the far greater number exclude themselves by utterly forsaking us," the address continues:

"Continued absence from the class meeting, or other means of grace, without any sufficient reason, or some manifest breach of the laws of God, or the particular rules of our own Connexion, is usually in such cases reported by the class leader to the preacher at the time of the Quarterly Visitation. If there be no denial of the fact, or satisfactory defence against the charge on the part of the member, or of his friends who may be present; and if the preacher, in the case of alleged crime or misconduct, be of opinion that the offence is one of such grave and serious character as to require some public testimony of disapprobation, the immediate exclusion of the negligent or offending member has usually resulted quietly, and, as a matter of course, by the preacher's withholding his society ticket, and erasing his name from the class-book. But if the member so charged deny the allegation of a wilful neglect of our peculiar discipline as to class meetings, &c., or of a breach of some law of Scripture, or rule of Methodism, and demand a trial, for the proof or disproof thereof, before the leaders' meeting, or before a committee of leaders appointed by that meeting, then such trial must, as our law now stands, and has stood ever since 1797, be forthwith conceded. If a majority of the leaders who vote at the meeting shall be 'satisfied' that sufficient proof is adduced to establish the fact of a wilful and habitual negligence, or of the violation of some Scriptural or Methodistical rule, and shall give a verdict to that effect, then the leaders' meeting has discharged *its whole part* of the painful duty to be performed, and the case is left in the hands of the superintendent. On him devolves, in his pastoral character . . . . the sole right and duty of deciding on the measures to be adopted towards the offender in consequence of the verdict thus pronounced. . . . . This the Conference solemnly declare to be, in their conscientious judgment, the import and intent, even according to the most large and liberal interpretation, which can with truth and fairness be given, of our rules and usages, collectively considered, and as they now exist in reference to this part of our pastoral discipline." *

Borrowing the language of Lord Lyndhust, we may say that in the above paragraph we have the decision of "the very legislative body itself, acting under and interpreting its own laws." The interpretation was certainly "most large and liberal." It can only be explained by the union of usage with law. Strict law only required that "immorality" should be proved before a Leaders' Meeting. In all other cases it had been the usage of the preacher to "consult" the leaders and stewards, and then to act upon his own responsibility. It will be admitted

* *Official Documents*, pp. 39–41.

that usage and law are not easily kept apart. In ordinary times of good understanding and mutual confidence the fusion is comparatively harmless, but when insubordination and suspicion are prevalent, the difficulties arising out of the blending of law with usage are formidable.

We have seen that at the Liverpool meeting Mr. Farrer stated that leaders and officers could not be expelled "except by a majority of the Leaders' Meeting," and that no person could be expelled from the society "except it was proved to a Leaders' Meeting that he had broken the rules." How was it that such a conviction had been produced? It has absolutely no warrant derived from the laws of Methodism. We are compelled to conclude that it had received some countenance from the "usage" which prevailed. Indeed, we must go further. In 1797 the Conference determined that "all the rules which relate to the societies, leaders, stewards, local preachers, trustees, and quarterly meetings" should be published "with the Rules of the Society, for the benefit and convenience of all the members." This was done. A document was prepared, which was entitled "Minutes of several Coversations between the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., and the Preachers in Connection with him. Containing the Form of Discipline established among the Preachers and People in the Methodist Societies."* This "Code" was signed by all the preachers, with the exception of two, as a declaration of their approval of the rules therein contained, and their determination to comply with them. The two preachers who did not sign retired from the Connexion. This "Code" became well known in Dr. Warren's Chancery suits as Exhibit F. A curious printer's error appears on its title-page. It is dated 1779, instead of 1797. As the Regulations of 1797 appear in it, the date is demonstrably incorrect. Lord Lyndhurst accepted it as the official statement by the Conference of its laws. In it the rule of 1797 concerning the exclusion of members stands in its place in the Leeds Regulations, but in the section which deals with "The Method of admitting Persons into Society" the following words occur: "As to the exclusion of members from the society the far greater number exclude themselves by

* Mr. Simon's Collection.

utterly forsaking us: but with respect to others, let the rules of the society be carefully attended to, and the leaders be consulted on such occasions, and the crime proved to their satisfaction" (p. 13). The word "crime" here shows the force of the word "immorality" as used in the rule of the Conference.

In order that we may trace the progress of error, it is necessary that we should note that the Conference of 1797, in addition to the publication of the "Code," determined that a smaller collection of Minutes relating to the local officers and meetings should be published at some future opportunity. Circumstances, however, delayed the execution of the plan until 1803. On the appointment of Joseph Benson to the editorship of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, the Conference requested him to prepare the promised Collection of Rules. This he did, and it appeared in 1804. The two official publications of the rules, therefore, were dated 1797 and 1804. What happened between these dates? Two editions of rules relating to the Societies were unofficially published at the Wesleyan Book Room; the minister in charge at the time, having done it to meet the market, but without due consultation or official authority. One edition was sent out in 1798, and the other in 1800. The compiler, instead of confining himself to exact quotation, indulged in paraphrase, giving sometimes what he conceived to be the law or usage rather than the law itself. For instance, instead of quoting the rule regulating the manner in which stewards are to be elected, he said: "The proper time for changing the circuit stewards is at the quarterly meeting, when the superintendent shall consult all who are present respecting the most proper person or persons to act in that capacity." As a matter of fact, the Leeds Regulations do not distinguish the circuit from the other stewards, and do not provide for their appointment at a separate meeting. All that is said is: "No person shall be appointed a leader or steward, or be removed from his office, but in conjunction with the Leaders' Meeting; the nomination to be in the superintendent, and the approbation or disapprobation in the leaders' meeting." We presume that usage had settled the place and time of the appointment of circuit

stewards, but the expansion of "in conjunction with" into a consultation of "all who are present" was a loose and unauthentic exposition of carefully chosen words. But we are more especially concerned with another illustration of the compiler's handiwork. Dealing with the question of the exclusion of Members, the version of 1798 so loosely misrepresented the the standard of 1797 as to say: "Neither can any member of the society be excluded but by a majority at a Leaders' Meeting."* It is most unfortunate that the Book Steward sent out such a misleading statement. It is true that it had no legal authority, but naturally it would be supposed to have such authority. Its power to work mischief was very great. Instead of consulting the original documents, in which they would have found the letter of the law, agitators availed themselves of this unfortunate paraphrase, and quoted it in the meetings which were held throughout the kingdom. It is no wonder that many who were more than willing to be persuaded were soon convinced that no preacher had a right to exclude a member for any cause; that all power of exclusion had passed into the hands of the leaders. It must be remembered, at the same time, that the mass of the members of the Methodist societies did not share the delusions of those who followed the agitators. They were sufficiently acquainted with ordinary usage to know that persons were excluded from the society by the act of the minister alone. Many of them were but slightly acquainted with written law, but they had learned from the "object-lessons" of experience. Within a limited circle, however, this question was debated with great heat and little light.

Our space is exhausted; and here, for the present, we must check our hand. We have indicated the causes of the disturbances which agitated the Methodist Societies in 1834–5, and have described the preliminary stages of a great conflict. Looking beyond Dr. Warren, we have discerned, still in the background, certain shadowy forms which remind us of persons with whom the "Protestant Methodist Controversy" made us familiar. We have seen them beginning to hang "other

* *Remarks respecting the Rules of the Society as published in* 1798 *and* 1800, p. 3; Mr. Simon's Collection.

grievances and objections, whether real or imaginary, upon the one first urged"; and thereby "changing the leading features of the controversy." We have listened to the first utterances of voices reviving the contention concerning the Special District Meeting of 1827, and we have noted that the re-opening of that question stirred up inquiries concerning the power of the Conference, and the right of the preachers to exclude from membership in the Methodist Societies. In this article we have watched the beginning of an evil day. It will be our duty, on another occasion, to describe the gathering of still darker clouds, and the breaking of a fiercer tempest.

NOTE TO ART. III.—"THE MAKING OF A MANDARIN."

After our article on "The Making of a Mandarin" was already in type, the painful and alarming recent intelligence as to the insurrections in China shocked and startled the Western world. Everything that we know on the subject would seem to indicate that at the bottom of all the disturbances is official or Mandarin hatred against the foreigner, including the Imperial Mantchu dynasty as well as the abhorred Christian teacher of the West. Our article will at least serve to show the processes by which the system of Mandarin officialism throughout China is trained in selfishness and corruption, so as to fit it, under the present conditions of China, to become a ubiquitous element of disaffection and discontent throughout the Empire.

*** *We regret that by some oversight we omitted to mention in the Article on Abraham Lincoln last October, that Mr. T. Fisher Unwin is the London Publisher of that great biographical work.*

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Apostle Paul. A Sketch of the Development of his Doctrine. By A. SABATIER, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris. Translated by A. M. HELLIER. Edited, with an Additional Essay on the Pastoral Epistles, by GEORGE G. FINDLAY, B.A. Hodder & Stoughton.

THE idea that underlies this able but in some respects heterodox book is that St. Paul's doctrinal development moved along a line the stages of which were conditioned by his own experience and general intellectual development as he went forward in the fulfilment of his work and mission for Christ. The idea that a complete and detailed system of theology was supernaturally revealed to him at the beginning of his Christian course is negatived. That the whole contents of his theological system were revealed to him at once and at the first may very reasonably be denied, though no doubt some able expositors have so taught. But that the apostle was left in ignorance to the end of his course of such points of doctrine, among others, as the Trinity in Unity, including the essential Divine Sonship of Christ and the Personality of the Holy Ghost, is teaching that is worse than perilous. Yet this is M. Sabatier's teaching. His analysis of Paul's doctrine, as advancing from point to point, leads, as its ultimate result, to a view of the relation of the Divine Son to the Father which is not to be distinguished from Arianism. The orthodox doctrine of the Trinity is vilipended as merely a point of "ecclesiastical theology," and no part of the Pauline system.

It is well that such a writer, however ingenious and able may be his view of the "development" of the Apostle's ideas, should be edited by Professor Findlay, who, very mildly, indicates from point to point the errors of M. Sabatier. We confess that we think his corrections, though they are searching, are much too gentle, and are not likely to convey to the student, who by introductory recommendations, and by the good company in which he finds M. Sabatier, has been led to regard him as a high authority, a just sense of the unwarrantable and seriously heterodox views which he subtly, but not the less effectively, suggests. It is a pity that Professor Findlay's admirable essay on the Pastoral Epistles, originally printed in this journal as two articles

—one on "St. Paul and the Pastoral Epistles," the other on "Doctrine and Church in the Pastoral Epistles"—should not appear in connection with a really orthodox companion essay, or in a volume entirely his own. His corrective notes, however, coupled with this essay, go some way towards safeguarding the rest of the volume, and supplying its deficiencies. The author, having in a passage relating to 2 Cor. xiii. 14 argued that that verse does not teach the doctrine of the Trinity, Mr. Findlay in an editorial note says: "Supposing Paul's Trinitarianism to be adequately represented here (and this will be disputed), we still remember that Paul was not the only, nor the last, exponent of New Testament doctrine. The theology of the Church has to take account of John as well as Paul." This is well said so far, but it is hardly sufficient. There is an original defect in M. Sabatier's view of the virtue and authority of his analysis. It is inadequate to carry all he founds upon it.

The Incarnation of the Son of God. Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1891. By CHARLES GORE, M.A. London: John Murray. 1891.

The Bampton Lectures are now addressed to a general rather than to a theological audience. Mr. Gore has therefore avoided all merely technical points in this volume, but hopes in due course to prepare another treatise which may appeal to strictly theological circles. No one will regret his decision. Controversial matters are carefully excluded. The writer's aim has been to bring out the devotional and practical aspects of a truth which lies at the roots of Christianity. In his first lecture Mr. Gore insists with much force on the fact that Christianity is "devotion to a living person." To exalt the mother of Jesus to a pedestal, "which no one would ever have refused to utterly as herself," is to mix the wine of Christianity with water. The section in which the lecturer shows that "to serve Christ, not to feel Christ, is the mark of His true servants," is very suggestive. Here is another sentence full of meaning: "Nothing, I suppose, can keep the Christianity of a theoretical student from deterioration, save the constant exercise of prayer."

The second lecture—"Christ Supernatural, yet Natural"—will be eminently helpful to those who are troubled by doubt. The way in which it is shown that Christ, whilst transcending Nature, is not inconsistent with it, is admirable. There is a moral atrophy corresponding to Darwin's æsthetic atrophy. To interpret Christ we need the sense of sin. Whatever awakens men to the sense of God and eternity gives them faculties to acknowledge Him. Our Lord makes religious belief rest on a double basis of inward faith and outward evidence. That outward evidence establishes the fact that the supernatural Christ is historical. Here again Mr. Gore's discussion is full of force and suggestion. One of the most valuable lectures, that on "Christ our Master," deals with the question of authority in religion. Its object is to develop

sonship, not to make obedient slaves. The contrast between the Church of England and the Roman system, which positively discourages personal investigation, is forcibly worked out. The Church and the Bible—one to bring the Christian under instruction, the other to deepen, develop, verify, and purge his faith—are the two instruments by which Christ's authority is outwardly represented to us. Every page of these lectures invites comment. We hope they will be widely read. Though liable at some points to serious criticism they certainly set the great truth of the incarnation in a clear and helpful light, and reveal the fulness of meaning that lies in it for the Church of every age. We may add that the lucidity of style and arrangement gives added value to these lectures, whilst the "Synopsis of Contents" will be exceedingly useful to any one who wishes to study them closely.

An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

We cannot in the present brief notice either review or adequately characterise this book, which promises to become something like a standard work upon its subject. The character of Professor Driver's sober but fearless criticism has been already described in articles which have appeared in these pages, and ere long some of the conclusions arrived at in this volume will be examined at length in discussions upon the Psalter and other books of the Old Testament. Suffice it at present to say that in this very complete volume, packed full of information and the results of close and careful study, the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford furnishes English students with the means of studying for themselves the problems of modern Old Testament criticism, under the guidance of one who presents the conclusions of the best critics in a moderate, cautious, but very thorough fashion. One of the best points about an admirable book is that he enables students to judge for themselves, by giving in full the grounds of his statements. We cannot profess to say that on first reading over the book we are prepared to follow Dr. Driver even in some of his main statements and conclusions; but we can say that, even when most disposed to disagree, we are compelled to acknowledge the candour of his tone, and the fairness with which his arguments are stated and urged.

Whatever conclusions may be arrived at on some of these controverted critical questions, we believe with Professor Driver that they "do not affect the *fact* of revelation, but only its *form*." We agree further that "criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it *presupposes* it, seeking to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself." Greater caution than Dr. Driver thinks necessary may be required here and there at points of the discussion, but the spirit of the above-quoted words and of the preface generally, in which his standpoint is described, is all that could be desired. We earnestly hope it may prevail amongst all schools of Bible students in England to-day.

Fellowship with Christ, and other Discourses. By R. W. DALE, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Dr. Dale is, for the combination of high qualities, perhaps the greatest of living preachers. The present is his best volume of sermons, and will much enhance his reputation, high as it has long been. To us the crowning glory of his sermons is that they are full of Christ. Their fervour is inspiring, and often flames out with a passionate glow. Of course the intellectual level is high throughout, but the energy of thought is all imbued with faith and devotion; the doctrinal teaching is never for a moment cold or dull, never loses sight of Christ and His great salvation. The preaching also is eminently adapted to the times; it meets present needs, it keeps in view existing facts and conditions. The two wonderful sermons preached to Methodist audiences within the last two years—the Missionary sermon at Queen Street Chapel in 1890, entitled "The Risen Christ," and the Wesley Centenary sermon at City Road last spring, on "The Theology of John Wesley"—are perhaps the finest sermons in the volume. And yet nothing could well be truer or more searching and powerful than the discourse on "The Ministry required by the Age." Among the subjects of the other eleven discourses are: "Fellowship with Christ"—which fitly lends its title to the volume—"The Faith once for all delivered to the Saints," "Social Science and the Christian Faith," "Faith and Physical Science," "Christ and the State," "The Ministry required by the Age," "The Unity of the Church," "Propitiation," and "The Divine Life in Man." This last discourse is described as the "Address delivered by the President at the opening of the International Congregational Council," which assembled at the New Weigh-house Chapel last July. We cannot refrain from making one extract from this manifesto: "The Church—this is the Congregational ideal—is a society, larger or smaller, consisting of those who have received the Divine life, and who, with whatever inconstancy and whatever failures, are endeavouring to live in the power of it. All that is characteristic of Congregationalism lies in that ideal. . . . . When they are gathered together in His name, whether they are but two or three, or whether they are a thousand, Christ Himself is in the midst of them—one of the company; inspiring their prayers, guiding their decisions, so that their prayers are His, and their decisions His rather than theirs. . . . . All this would be true if the ideal were realised. It is actually true in the *measure* in which the ideal is realised." Truly we have here the ancient, the true, the primitive idea of the godly, separate, primeval Congregationalists. Nothing but a really spiritual Church membership can agree with this ideal, the membership of regenerated and sanctified Christian believers, who, through the spirit of Christ, live in fellowship with the Father and the Son. Evangelical and experimental fellowship with Christ is the proper condition of union with the Church and the Head of the Church. Here Methodists and Congregationalists are agreed

with the Apostolic and Primitive Church. There are some disputable points of high theology in the volume, especially as regards the relation of the Incarnation to Christ's character as Head and Redeemer of the race. But we do not think it necessary to deal with these questions in this notice. They occupy a very small part of the volume.

The Son. By the Rev. T. Mozley, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel, &c. &c. London: Longmans & Co. 1891.

This volume has a direct tendency to unsettle nearly every serious belief held by serious Christians of whatever school. The only readers likely to find satisfaction in its contents are sceptics who are not of a serious character. The author is a writer who had a long and influential day as a contributor to the leading columns of the *Times*—writing on a considerable variety of subjects but especially on ecclesiastical subjects. Himself a Fellow of Oriel, he was the brother-in-law of Newman, and the brother of James Mozley, who wrote the well-known work on Miracles, and takes rank as one of the greatest recent writers of the Church of England on moral and religious subjects, on questions especially touching the border-ground between theology and philosophy. Thomas Mozley held sway on the *Times* during the whole currency of the Tractarian Controversy, and under his guidance the great daily journal ably and skilfully shielded the new Oxford school as far as possible amid the contests and contradiction which its proceedings provoked. Mozley, however, knew Newman too well to remain through life an admirer or partisan of his conduct, especially after 1840. He is believed to have been the writer of the long, and by no means wholly favourable, account of the Cardinal and his career which appeared in the *Times* after his death.

In this volume, as well as in his *Reminiscences of Oriel*, we see what a mere journalist may come to be, who has had the greatest advantages, and has been a daily writer of consummate cleverness, when, after a miscellaneous life of eighty years, he undertakes to handle a deep and serious theme. Though nominally a clergyman of the Church of England, he has never given himself to the work and studies of a Christian minister. He has never become in any sense a trained theologian, though he was the clerical brother of James Mozley, and, besides his connection with Newman, was the *Times* correspondent at the Roman Catholic Œcumenical Conference. In the present volume he raises every conceivable question, but argues nothing, and can scarcely be said after any fashion seriously to discuss anything. He is looking to the Disestablishment of the National Church to bring in an era of enfranchisement from dogma, creed, and formula, alike for that Church and for English Christianity in general. He does no more than hint the doctrinal conclusions which he expects to result. So far as we can make them out, these are that the Son of God, with whom Jesus Christ is one, though Son from eternity, is not *equal* with the Father, and though in a true sense *one*, is not *the same in*

essence with the Father. The Holy Spirit he would not, as it seems, regard as in any sense one with the Father and the Son, or in reality a Divine Person. In the "end of the ages," this latest birth of time, this special and unprecedented heresy, seems to be the outcome of the clever, but rambling and half-gossiping, volume before us.

The Apology of the Christian Religion historically regarded with reference to Supernatural Revelation and Redemption. By Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Columba Church, Oamaru. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

The subject of the first part of this volume is "The Religion at Work in the Second Century," and of the second, "The External Evidences of the Religion," the latter dealing with the Gospel history, the Resurrection, and the Old Testament. This may seem a strange order, but there is a purpose in it. The author seeks first to show the strong position of Christianity in the second century as a historical fact, and then from this basis to argue back to the origin of Christianity in the first. The first book exhibits the victory of the Church over outward enemies, and its transforming influence on society, and is a good comment on the parables of the Mustard Seed and Leaven. The outward conquest is the victory over worldly government under Trajan, over worldly religions as represented by Judaism, and over worldly philosophy under Aurelius; these three victories being embodied in the results of the Bithynian, Smyrnæan, and Lyonnese persecutions. The leavening influence again is ingeniously described as the work of faith, the labour of love, and the patience of hope. The new moral forces set at work are graphically described. In the second book the three chapters are aptly headed, "The Chief Corner-stone—Christ in the Gospel History," "The Foundation of the Apostles (Resurrection)," and "The Foundation of the Prophets." Each of these subjects is developed into an elaborate and effective argument. Thus, the evidence for the Resurrection is classified as "The Christian Belief in it," "The Monumental Evidence: Christendom: Lord's Day," "The Throned Witnesses, especially Paul," "The Primary Testimonies (Gospel History)," each of these proofs being well argued. The first book is supplemented by three "Excursions," and the second is introduced by a "Prelusion"—on "The Condition of Mind for Judging." The book is eminently fresh and original: the author thinks for himself, though he occasionally uses somewhat uncommon words.

The Preacher and his Models. The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1891. By the Rev. JAMES STALKER, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Though so many able volumes on "Preaching," several of them lectures on the same foundation as the present volume, have during recent years been

published, the one before us will be found fresh and valuable. It is valuable, indeed, not only for the author's own thoughts and words, but by reason of the numerous choice quotations with which, in the form of notes, Dr. Stalker has enriched his pages. The lectures are conceived and moulded on an original plan. The "models" of the preacher are sketched from Scripture originals, prophets and apostles, illustrations being also added from the instances of other great preachers of various ages. The preacher is sketched as a "man of God," a "patriot," a "man of the Word," a "false prophet," a "man," a "Christian," an "apostle," a "thinker." When treating of the preacher as a "man of God," Isaiah stands as the model, and a very fine and touching lecture is founded on this theme. We are disappointed with the lecture on the preacher as a "man of the Word." It is slight, and deficient in analysis and comprehensiveness. Of some of the best sorts of pulpit address, and best methods of bringing the truth home to the consciousness and conscience of the hearer, no hint is contained in this lecture. Perhaps the range of the lectures was too wide and various, to allow of due analysis in regard to the laws and methods which ought to govern the preacher's utterances, according to the varying nature of his subject, or special aim of his discourse, and the class of persons dealt with. But the volume, as a whole, is to be commended as marked by superior ability, great knowledge, and a very high and earnest spirit.

The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. Being the Twenty-first Fernley Lecture, delivered at Nottingham, July 31, 1891. By the Rev. FRANCIS J. SHARR. London: Wesleyan Methodist Book-room. 1891.

Mr. Sharr's lecture will be read with mournful interest, as being the last work for Christ he was permitted to accomplish before his consecrated spirit was called home to God. It is written with great force and clearness, shows many traces of wide and varied reading, and is a manly protest against the extreme doctrines of the higher criticism. It is dedicated to the "young people of Methodism, ... with earnest prayer that they may have grace to stand fast in the faith of their fathers, touching the inspiration of those Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus." Mr. Sharr is careful to point out that there is much in the Bible of which God is not the author, but which is included as a necessary part of a history of human redemption. The Bible records the song of Deborah, "but it sounds no note of approval." He brings out the striking agreement between the writers of this divine library. "There is no clashing of opinion, no strife of words." Mr. Sharr says the theory that there are "different degrees of inspiration . . . . finds no confirmation in the Scriptures." His paragraph on the variations in the Book of Chronicles will scarcely satisfy any one who has studied these matters

closely. No doubt, there may be errors of transcription, but that explanation cannot be said to cover the ground. Happily, all are agreed that "the defect in the vessel does not detract from the value of the treasure." Mr. Sharr holds that "if the notions of Wellhausen be correct, and the Pentateuch turns out to be a forgery, a pious fraud of priests and a pious fraud of prophets combined, then with it goes the rest of the Old Testament, and if the Old Testament perish, the New cannot survive; and therefore all talk of inspiration is wasted breath." Those who wish to see how an acute and able man, a devoted Christian and a truly great preacher, who made no claim to technical scholarship, but was a well and widely read theologian, regarded the doctrines of the higher critics, may be commended to this interesting lecture.

Problems of Christianity and Scepticism: Lessons from Twenty Years' Experience in the Field of Christian Evidence. By the Rev. ALEX. J. HARRISON, B.D., Vicar of Lightcliffe. London: Longmans & Co. 1891

This book is written by an expert who has met hundreds of private inquirers, and during twenty years has had to deal with thousands of sceptics in various parts of the country. When he addressed the London clergy at Sion College, and the Congregational ministers in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, he found an eager desire to have a book which would put, in due proportion and with right emphasis, the points which seemed to deserve greatest prominence in the field of Christian evidence. Those who have much to do with doubters or sceptics can scarcely have a better handbook. The subject is treated in a lucid and incisive style, with many practical hints as to the right method to pursue in handling an audience. Mr. Harrison says that his chairman was his greatest peril in his early days. The way in which he mastered his difficulties and won his case will guide those who have to face similar audiences.

The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual; being a translation of the substance of Professor Bickell's Work, termed "Messe und Pascha." By WILLIAM F. SKENE, D.C.L. With an Introduction by the Translator on the Connection of the Early Christian Church with the Jewish Church. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

Messrs. Clark have done good service to all students of liturgies by the publication of this learned but most interesting little volume. Dr. Skene points out in his preface that Palmer's theory, that each Patriarchate of the Primitive Church had its own liturgy, though adopted by all subsequent writers in this country, will not stand the test of scholarly investigation. Dr. Probst demonstrated that the Clementine was the oldest form of service, and was

in use in Antioch until superseded by Basil's. Professor Bickell, in the work now translated, laid down the proposition, that any liturgy framed in Apostolic times must have been derived, to a great extent, in form and expression, from the synagogue service of the Jews and the ritual of the Passover supper, and showed that the Clementine Liturgy has greater correspondence than any other with the Jewish forms, and has the strongest claim to be considered the Apostolic form from which all others have been derived. Opinions will differ as to the extent to which the Professor has proved his own theory; but his scholarly book is full of interest for every student of the subject. Dr. Bickell maintains firmly that our Lord celebrated the Passover with his disciples on the fourteenth Nisan, and that the statement of John has to be brought into accord with the synoptists, rather than the reverse.

Die Konfutation des Augsburgischen Bekenntnisses: ihre erste Gestalt und ihre Geschichte. Von JOHANNES FICKER. Leipzig: J. A. Barth. 1891.

It is well known that Charles V. refused to accept the first Confutation of the Protestant Confession which the Catholic divines, by his command, prepared at the famous Augsburg Diet. Considerable obscurity has always rested on this document, and it is now published for the first time from a copy found in the Vatican, after comparison with the original of the Confutation read before the Diet, which original has also been found in the Vienna State records. The Introduction, which is a learned and interesting history of the Confutation at the Diet, and since, along with a most minute description of the chief manuscripts, is almost as long as the text of the Confutation itself. The document is thoroughly annotated, all the variants being duly supplied. Six appendices supply other valuable documents of the Reformation period which relate to the subject. The whole work is a typical example of German thoroughness, and is of great interest and value to students of the period in question. The publishers justly say: "An important question of Reformation history is solved. One of the weightiest documents of church history is brought to light, of equal value for understanding Roman Catholicism and for understanding and estimating German Protestantism and its classical confession."

The Cessation of Prophecy; and other Sermons. By the late Rev. W. H. SIMCOX, M.A., author of *The Language of the New Testament.* London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

The thirty-five sermons which compose this volume are published as a memorial of one whose great promise of helpfulness to students of Scripture was cut off by early death. They are brief, devout, instructive expositions, preached by a scholar to village congregations. The latter circumstance explains why the sermons do not bring out all the preacher's strength. Yet, with all their simplicity of thought and almost colloquial freedom of style they are evidently the product of a full mind, pure heart, and skilful hand.

Sometimes the line of exposition seems a little strained, as where "the carcase" of Matt. xxiv. 28 is explained of the Lord's dead body, but this is an exception. A portrait and brief memoir would have been a welcome addition to the modest volume.

The Early Church: a History of Christianity in the First Six Centuries. By the late DAVID DUFF, M.A., D.D., LL.D. Edited by his Son, David Duff, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

These lectures were delivered in the United Presbyterian College, Edinburgh. They are instructive, clear, and full of matter-of-fact information. We cannot say that they are striking either in arrangement or style of treatment. The matter is thrown into fifty-seven chapters by the editor. A beginner would gain little idea of the progress and general tendencies of the times, the only order recognisable being the chronological one. Nor can we see any indication that the lecturer saw far into the character of the men and the times he describes. The outside of the history is described in an intelligent way; but Church history is scarcely to be studied in this way after such histories as those of Neander, Robertson, Schaff.

The Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature. Edited by Professor S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

The first volume of this Review shows that it meets a recognised want in a thoroughly satisfactory way. Dr. Salmond has gathered round him an able staff of experts in theology and philosophy, who have rendered good service by the condensed notices of current literature in their subjects, both English and Continental. The articles are brief, so that the chief publications of the three months can be satisfactorily dealt with each quarter. The *Critical Review* may be pronounced indispensable for every student of theology and philosophy.

The Expositor. Fourth Series. Vols. III. and IV. Hodder & Stoughton.

We have to apologise for not having earlier noticed vol. iii. of *The Expositor*. The extraordinary pressure upon our space in our October number must be pleaded in excuse. In these volumes there is a somewhat smaller proportion of purely critical articles, which may, perhaps, be due in some measure to the fact that more than one competitor with the *Expositor* in the critical line has lately made its appearance in the field. If, however, one effect of this has been that it has been determined in future that a large proportion of the matter shall consist of such expository papers as those contributed by Dr.

Dykes, and by the former editor of the *Expositor*, Dr. Samuel Cox, we do not think that the majority of readers will be ill-pleased. Whatever new rivals may be in the field, students of Scripture will still find the value, if not the necessity, of reading the *Expositor*. We could wish that among the wisest and best of the open-minded, but yet conservative critics of the Sacred Writings, who silently ponder all things, and are not greatly moved, more could be induced to come forth from their seclusion, and join their contributions to those of younger, more impulsive, and sometimes, perhaps, less learned and able men.

The Foundations of the Bible. By Canon GIRDLESTONE, late Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. Second Edition. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1891.

We are glad to embrace the opportunity afforded by the publication of a second edition to give our emphatic recommendation of this excellent volume. It is the very book for Sunday-school teachers and earnest young Christians at the present hour: enlightened, frank, clear, and telling, thoroughly reverent and orthodox. We would go more into detail if the volume itself were not so well and deservedly known. We say so much because, well known as it is, we fear that many of the class for whom it is most valuable, are still at a loss to know where to find the book they need.

The Law in the Prophets. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, D.D. Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1891.

This is an exceedingly valuable book for the close student of Scripture. It traces out all the quotations from the Pentateuch contained in the writings of the Prophets, and works out a convincing and conclusive argument as to the early date of at least the substance of the Pentateuchical writings. It will be found often to suggest more than it brings thoroughly out in the way of argument. It is an example of the manner of investigation whereby the monstrous assumptions of certain modern critics as to the composition of the sacred books are to be tested and refuted.

Lincoln's Inn Sermons. By FREDERIC DENISON MAURICE. In six vols. Vols. I.–III. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This Journal has in the past done more to illustrate the underlying principles of Maurice's theology than any other journal in the world. How gravely we differ from his special and characteristic theology we need not say. All we have to do in the present instance is to say that, for thorough students of the schools of English theology a knowledge of Maurice's Neo-Platonic theosophy being a necessity, they have here a beautiful edition of his

Lincoln's Inn Sermons, which, aside from their paradoxes and obscurities, often bewildering to the uninitiated, contain more than a little fine and suggestive writing.

Corn on the Mountains. Sermons by the Rev. JOHN ROBERTSON. The Gorbals Tabernacle, Glasgow. London: Nisbet & Co. 1891.

We are not surprised that these Sermons were torn in pieces by Mr. Robertson's own Presbytery, split up his church, and compelled him to leave his charge. He has since found crowds of hearers both in Edinburgh and Glasgow; and all the Sermons have borne fruit in the conversion of sinners. This does not, however, alter our view of the discourses. They are full of passionate denunciation couched in language so violent that it cannot fail to prejudice any candid reader. The man who talks of Scotland as a "drunken ditch," and says "the rationalistic devil from hell is in our very divinity halls," is simply injuring the cause he has at heart.

St. Paul's Song of Songs. A Practical Exposition of the Eighth Chapter of Romans. By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. London: Nisbet & Co. 1891.

Dr. Macduff's exposition of the Eighth of Romans will help all who use it as a book of devotional reading. It is eminently practical as well as felicitous both in style and phrase. Luther looked upon the chapter as the masterpiece of the New Testament. Dr. Macduff's little volume unfolds and illustrates it in a way that reveals fresh beauty and comfort in the Apostle's words.

Bogatzky's Golden Treasury. A reprint of Mr. JOHN THORNTON'S edition of 1775, together with Critical Notes, hitherto unpublished, by JOHN BERRIDGE, Vicar of Everton, and important corrections by the same hand. Edited by C. P. PHAIR, B.A., with Introduction by H. C. G. MOULE, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

John Thornton was, with one exception, the wealthiest European merchant of his day. The friend of Henry Venn, John Newton, and Charles Simeon, he ranks as one of the chief supporters of the Evangelical party. In him the desire to relieve distress became a master passion. The London banker edited Bogatzky, substituting in some places selections from the chief Evangelical writers. Then he sent his work to John Berridge, the Vicar of Everton, who managed to find some spare moments in the midst of his itinerant labours to annotate his friend's edition. These facts lend special interest to this volume. It is the *Golden Treasury* not only of Bogatzky,

but of Thornton, Berridge, and a host of eminent writers. Such a book of devotion deserves a place in every library and on every dressing-table.

The Biblical Illustrator. By JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. St. John, Vol. III.; 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and 2 Timothy. London: Nisbet & Co. 1891.

There is so much good matter in these volumes that every teacher or preacher will find something to suggest thought or brighten a discourse. The labour expended on the work must have been enormous. The fact that the sermon outlines and illustrations are culled from all quarters gives endless variety to these portly volumes. The Introductions to the Epistles are full of historical and critical matter, well put and carefully condensed.

The New Life: Words of God for Young Disciples of Christ. By Rev. ANDREW MURRAY, Author of *Abide in Christ*, *Like Christ*, &c. London: Nisbet & Co. 1891.

Mr. Murray is a Dutchman, or at least writes in Dutch. This volume is translated by a Scotch minister, the Rev. J. P. Lilley, of Arbroath, who met with it while travelling in Holland. The Preface by Mr. Murray is dated "Wellington"—which Wellington, and in what continent or country, we are not informed. The volume is very full of Christ and experimental Christian truth, and appears to be peculiarly suitable for new converts.

Stories from the Bible. Second Series. By the Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH. With Illustrations after JULIUS SCHNORR. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

These stories are told in simple words, with useful notes on points that need explanation. The get-up of the volume is very neat, and it has many good illustrations. The stories will be eagerly read by young people.

Seekers after God. By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

A book which is now reprinted for the twelfth time needs no recommendation. This is a neat edition of a series of studies which in matter and style are alike fascinating.

We have received from Mr. Frowde, of the Oxford University Press Warehouse, the smallest Bible in the world. It does not weigh four ounces, and is a beautiful 32mo, printed on India paper, in clear though small type. It

is bound in morocco, with covers that fold over the gilt edges, and is the most convenient little Bible for a traveller with good eyes, or good glasses, that we ever saw. It is certainly a gem of the printer's and binder's art. Many ministers have felt the need of such a pocket Bible, and they will find here the very thing they want.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND LETTERS.

Pitt. By Lord ROSEBERY. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

LORD ROSEBERY in a touching dedication says that his chief happiness in completing this book would have been to give it to his wife: "it can now only be inscribed to her memory." The volume has been prepared under great disadvantages, but these have not marred the finished work. *Pitt* must take rank as one of the best biographies even in the "Twelve English Statesmen" series. By a few graphic touches the man and his contemporaries are made to stand forth on Lord Rosebery's canvas. There is a masterly ease in the delineations, a felicity in seizing on the salient points, a power of making the whole subject live, which renders this book a fascinating study of English political life. Pitt's sickly childhood, which Lord Chatham's favourite physician fortified by floods of port wine, only makes his undoubted precocity the more extraordinary. His parents called him "Eager Mr. William," "the Counsellor," "the Philosopher." His proficiency as a classic was probably greater than was ever acquired by any other person at the age of fourteen. He seldom met a difficulty in Latin authors, and it was no uncommon thing for him to turn six or seven pages of Thucydides into English without more than two or three mistakes—sometimes without even one. He mastered and assimilated Smith's *Wealth of Nations* before entering public life. Lord Rosebery says with great force that "the details of the childhood of great men are apt to be petty and cloying. Hero-worship, extended to the bib and the poringer, is more likely to repel than to attract; but in the case of Pitt those details are doubly important, for they form the key to his career, which without them would be inexplicable." He went into the House of Commons as an heir enters his home: he breathed in it his native atmosphere; "it was his mistress, his stud, his dice-box, his game-preserve; it was his ambition, his library his creed." Lord Chatham's tender affection for his younger son breathes in the graceful letter introducing him to the authorities of Pembroke College. The son's pride in the father appears in the comment on two of his deliverances: "Surely the two finest speeches that were ever made before, unless by

himself." After Chatham's death Pitt found himself left with from £250 to £300 a year; but even this was not immediately available. He was called to the bar in June 1780. Lord Lonsdale, who held a kind of court in the North, nominated Pitt for one of his nine boroughs. In January 1781, at the age of twenty-one, he took his seat as member for Appleby. Lord Rosebery's portrait of George III. helps us to understand the difficult position held by the King's Ministers. "He was the ablest political strategist of the day," who defeated or outwitted all the statesmen with whom he had to do, and "realised his darling object of converting the dogeship to which he had succeeded into a real and to some extent a personal monarchy." Pitt's maiden speech showed that a great man had been added to the ranks of the parliamentary orators. Burke said: "He is not a chip of the old block; he is the old block itself." The young man once met Gibbon in company, and ventured to controvert his conclusions, so that the historian, getting the worst of it, took his hat and retired. Next year he was Chancellor of the Exchequer. His letters betray no exultation. He was simply on his way to the goal for which he had long been preparing. Lord Rosebery's analysis of the character of Fox, and his gifts as an orator, is masterly. His fatal passion for gambling wrecked the influence of one of the most brilliant men of the time. When Pitt became Prime Minister in January 1784, his Government seemed still-born. But his own ability as a debater, who was never swayed or silenced by "the heaviest artillery that wit and fury and eloquence could bring to bear," his noble devotion to public economy, and his personal weight of character soon began to tell in his favour. In the general election Fox's party shared the fate of the host of Sennacherib. Pitt tarnished his victory by endeavouring to exclude Fox from Parliament. This was, however, the only instance of personal pettiness to which he ever stooped. For eighteen years his life is part of the history of England. Lord Rosebery's pages present a singularly luminous study of his policy at home and abroad—such a study indeed as only a trained statesman could have given. The closing chapter shows the gentler side of Pitt's nature, and furnishes many details of his private life. There he threw off the "shy self-concentration of demeanour which marked him in public, and became a fascinating friend, full of boyish spirits to the end." He had a rich and sonorous voice, but his action was "vehement and ungraceful, sawing the air with windmill arms, sometimes almost touching the ground." His power lay largely in his command of words. Fox said that, although he himself was never in want of words, Pitt was never without the best words possible. Lord Rosebery thinks "His eloquence must have greatly resembled that with which Mr. Gladstone has fascinated two generations, not merely in pellucid and sparkling statement, but in those rolling and interminable sentences which come thundering in mighty succession like the waves on the Biscayan coast." For variety and melody he gives the palm to Pitt's great successor.

Annals of My Early Life: 1806–1846. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews, &c. London: Longmans & Co. 1891.

Wordsworth the poet did not always see the step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The distance which separates "Peter Bell" in quality from the "Sonnet written on London Bridge" was probably not recognised by him. His trifles in verse were, in his view, high poetry. He was also an exorbitant egotist, and towards the end of his life somewhat garrulous withal. We seem in these respects to recognise a family likeness between the poet and his nephew, who has published these *Annals*. No matter, however minute, relating to his experiences or performances would appear to be, in his view, too trivial for publication. His childhood, his school-life, with the very smallest particulars as to his games and athletic feats, especially as to the records of his cricketing, his college career, his life as a master at Winchester, are dwelt upon as if every detail possible to be given were both interesting and important. Occasional poems, of which few that are in English have any merit, are interspersed through the volume. No doubt the Bishop was and is an amiable and accomplished man, and he is now a very aged man. We doubt, however, whether the peculiarities of the book are due to senility or the natural garrulousness of old age. The book is in some parts really interesting, and everywhere is sufficiently well written. There are no parts which betray special weakness. The same qualities are intermixed naturally and inseparably through the volume. The Bishop must in many respects be a man to be envied. He must have lived a quiet, pleasant, scholarly, recluse life, retaining to extreme old age his interest in all things youthful, and even childish—a merry prattler, full of reminiscences, not feeling much of the grave stress of the present age, and, in his own innocent and self-complacent happiness, never doubting that the things which in life have interested himself will interest also his kindly and well-bred readers. Oxford still to him wears the glamour which it had for young Oxonians sixty years ago, and Winchester is only second to Oxford. The rowing and cricketing of sixty years ago are scarcely less worthy to be brought, in their fresh details, before the view of this busy generation than the Homeric feats of legendary heroes. Indeed, such matters as these are more made of in the genial Bishop's pages than the intellectual and religious state of Oxford in the days when Newman's influence was still young and growing. We do, indeed, catch some really interesting glimpses of Manning, Gladstone, and others, because these—they were a truly distinguished group—were his pupils—the pupils of a very accomplished classical scholar, as scholarship was understood in those days. But we learn no more than such glimpses, gained chiefly from diary or correspondence, afford us. We are not helped to any special knowledge of character or opinion. The best samples of scholarship given us are the Latin and Greek—chiefly, however, Latin—poems of the Oxford tutor and fellow. Charles Words-

worth, indeed, was renowned for his Latin poetry, and in general for elegant classical scholarship, no less than for cricket and athletics. It is curious and interesting to look over the notes to his "prize poems," which he has printed in an Appendix. They show, among other things, how minute had been his study of his classical models, and with what painstaking he had borrowed from his Latin and Greek studies phrases which, or modifications of which, he employed in his own poems.

The special character of the autobiographer is pretty strongly indicated in the first pages of the volume. His father, Dr. Wordsworth—afterwards Master of Trinity—married Miss Lloyd, of the well-known Birmingham banking family; *i.e.*, he married a Quakeress—who was not baptized till the day of her marriage. That fact does not appear to have disturbed the mind of her husband. Miss Lloyd had been brought up in a pure and Christian atmosphere, and made no worse a Churchwoman, or wife, or mother for having been a Quakeress. But the father, who had married a Quakeress, although he was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, seems not to have been punctilious on the point of early baptism. His eldest son, the writer of this book, though he was born and baptized at Lambeth, was not baptized till he was six months old, while his brother Christopher was not baptized till eight months after his birth. This irregularity wears a very serious aspect to the annalist. He lays the blame partly on his mother, and partly—a strange reason—on the engrossing duties of his father as the Primate's chaplain. Then he proceeds to say that "whatever the reason, so far as he has thought about it, it has always been a cause of some uneasiness. It looks like a stumbling on the threshold, which, even among the heathen, was of bad omen." And he proceeds to insist on the duty of early baptism. That he might well do, if he had but done it more wisely. Doubtless early baptism is seemly and beneficial, and the spirit of the baptismal covenant cannot too early be enthroned in the parent's heart. In the case of his mother we cannot but be assured that, though the form was postponed, the spirit reigned from the earliest date of the maternal consciousness. The example set by the chaplain was not one to be imitated. But the style of the Bishop's remark on the shortcoming in his case is not likely to commend the due and early performance of the sacred rite to his readers. In a churchly sense Charles Wordsworth seems to have been from the first—as child, or youth, and through his whole life—of irreproachable character. His own mother died early, but Mrs. Hoare, of Hampstead, was to him a second and an admirable mother.

One chapter in this volume, a postscript, is entitled "The Oxford Movement." It adds nothing, however, to our knowledge upon the subject. There is, indeed, an interesting sentence in a short letter from Newman, dated 1843, acknowledging the present of a fine copy of Wetstein's Greek Testament which Wordsworth had sent him, with a kind and conciliatory letter, "to soothe his mind." In this sentence, Newman in the bitterness of his spirit said: "For myself, I have most honestly attempted to do a service to the

English Church, and my tools have broken in the work." But in reality Newman and he were nothing to each other, and the note and present were little likely to have any effect on Newman's mind. The Bishop himself says: "Of the Tracts themselves I do not believe that I ever saw—and I feel pretty sure that I had never read—more than one, until I purchased the whole collection some years afterward. Nor, so far as I can remember, did I take any part in any of the struggles which went on at Oxford, between 1835 and 1845, concerning Hampden's Professorship, Tract 90, Pusey's Sermon on the Eucharist, Ward's "Ideal," &c.; except only that I supported Isaac Williams against Garbett for the Poetry Professorship. The fact is, I was too much engrossed with my duties and interests about the Winchester boys to take much account of what was going on outside our little world." He was, in fact, a narrow, good, childlike Anglican. He could not, nor can he now, understand Newman. The fault of Newman, in his view, was and is that he was not simply and entirely a docile student and follower of the "great Anglican divines." The theology and churchmanship of the Bishop of St. Andrews are essentially the same as of his brother, the Bishop of Lincoln. Only, while as little able as his brother to enter into the governing ideas and controversies of the nineteenth century, he is far less learned and altogether of a lighter calibre. Byron's words, quoted on the third page of this volume, and very untruly applied to the verse of the poet Wordsworth, would be nothing worse than a daring and savage exaggeration if they had been applied to the reminiscences of the nephew:

> "Whose verse, *of all but childish prattle void*,
> Seems blessed harmony to Lamb and Lloyd."

The life of an Oxford classic and of a Winchester master was his life, and he adorned it. He was the delight of his friends, and a wonderful favourite with the boys; his cricket and boating and amiable sociability, added to his finished classical scholarship, and sustained by his true and sweet and steadfast goodness as a Christian of the pure old-fashioned Anglican type, giving him great power with them, great power for good. The wise and winning manner in which he brought them to regular devotional habits in their bedrooms is told at length, and was worth telling even in such detail as is given.

But his education outside of the lines we have indicated was certainly very imperfect indeed. Two curious instances of this came out incidentally at the time that he consented to accept the Wardenship of Glenalmond College, in Perthshire. He did not know that there was any Communion Office peculiar to the Scottish Episcopal Church (p. 312). We infer indeed that he was totally ignorant of the history, and was probably unaware of the existence, of that Church. Again, not only in his published farewell sermon to the Winchester boys does he speak of "inscribing a last memorial on the phylactery, not of your outward garment, but of your inmost hearts," but, without any correction or note, he now thinks that passage worth republication in these "Annals."

If he had studied his brother's New Testament, he could not have committed so unscholarly an error as is implied in such an application of the word phylactery.

A considerable space is occupied in printing the letters—of course more or less eulogistic—of his friends to whom he sent copies of sermons and other publications. With *naïve* simplicity and confidence these are published in strings, the letters containing scarcely anything but the pleasant and genial thanks that were inevitable. All such polite and courteous acknowledgments he appears carefully to have treasured, and all from men of any name or fame are here apparently given. They may help as models for the next edition of "The Polite Letter Writer." His small poems seem all to be here—at least we cannot suppose any to be omitted, considering some that are inserted.

Nevertheless, it is with feelings of great goodwill that we part company with the amiable Bishop, and in concluding this notice we must quote some exquisite and affecting Latin from his pen, which may perhaps make Bishop Charles Wordsworth of St. Andrews immortal. We refer to the epitaph and the verses on the death of his first wife:

"M.S.—Conjugis Dulcissimæ quæ, vixdum facta mater, ex amplexu mariti sublata est, nocte Ascensionis Domini. Ætatis xxii."

> "I, nimium dilecta, vocat Deus; I, bona nostrum
> Pars animæ: mœrens altera, disce sequi."

The beautiful couplet was thus translated by the late Lord Derby:

> "Too dearly loved, thy God hath called thee; go,
> Go, thou best portion of this widowed heart;
> And thou, poor remnant lingering here in woe,
> So learn to follow as no more to part."

The History of Hampton Court Palace. Vol. III. Orange and Guelph Times. Illustrated with engravings, etchings, maps, and plans. By ERNEST LAW, B.A. London: Bell & Sons. 1890.

The concluding part of Mr. Law's *Hampton Court* has been eagerly expected by lovers of Wolsey's palace. The three handsome volumes, illustrated by plans and portraits innumerable, form one of the most satisfactory histories we possess of any English palace. The writer has the skill to seize on each incident, and set it into its historic framework, so that his pages form a most delightful and most instructive mosaic. The third volume brings us down to more peaceful times than the Tudor and Stuart periods. William III. found at Hampton Court a home that reminded him of the Holland landscape on which he had loved to look at Haarlem and the Hague. He was free from the press and crowd of Whitehall, and could fully indulge his unsociable in-

clinations. Queen Mary was also in her element. She inspected everything, walked out five or six miles a day, superintended her garden, made fringe, and played basset. There her sister Anne's little boy, the Duke of Gloucester, was born, and struggled through his frail infancy. The child's life was despaired of, when a young Quakeress from Kingston Wick came to the rescue, and managed to suckle the puny baby. The story of Kneller's "Beauties of Hampton Court," painted for Queen Mary's Water Gallery, is well told. The portraits of the Queen and her sister are very attractive. Mary's chief pleasure was gardening. She sent gardeners at great expense to Virginia, the Canary Islands, and other places to gather choice exotics and rare plants. One of her "century plants" had never been seen in bloom by any one living until 1889, when it grew several inches a day, rose to a height of sixteen feet, and bore thousands of pale yellow flowers, dripping with nectar. Another agave, thrown into a dark, dry cellar, under the impression that it was dead and decaying, was afterwards discovered alive and healthy. It was placed in a tub, and produced a flower six feet high, with hundreds of blossoms. Every detail of the extensive works carried out by William III. will be found in Mr. Law's pages. The squabbles of the King's physicians furnish some animated passages. It is round the Hanoverian Court, however, with its mistresses, its beauties, its strange and fierce discords in the royal family, that the most vivid human interest centres. Perhaps the freshest and most useful part of the book is the closing section, devoted to the "Private Apartments and their Occupants." Sir Christopher Wren lived in a house on the Green, which had a charming garden, running down 327 feet to the Thames. Faraday spent the evening of his days in a Crown house two doors off, which was granted him by Queen Victoria. Two Miss Walpoles, whose father was a cousin of Horace Walpole, and their mother, a daughter of the great Lord Clive, resided in the palace for sixty-seven years. One sister died at the age of ninety-seven, the other lived to be ninety-eight. The Countess Mornington, mother of Marquess Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, had apartments here, where she was often visited by her distinguished sons. The hero of Waterloo gave the name of "Purr Corner" to a warm and sheltered nook in which the old ladies of the palace loved to gossip. Lord Dufferin's mother lived in Hampton Court in early life, and the late Viceroy of India still cherishes a warm affection for the place. Mr. Law gives some delightful particulars about the social life of the present residents, and furnishes many details as to the Queen's stud there. The number of visitors to Hampton Court in 1890 was 239,000. Nothing seems to have escaped the chronicler's notice. His literary work, with the exception of an awkward sentence here and there, is admirable, whilst the wealth of pictures and plans gives the book great value. It is a model history, which will long remain the standard work on Hampton Court, equally delightful to students of the fabric, and to those who wish to read about its famous residents in successive generations.

Rodney. By DAVID HANNAY. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

Mr. Hannay has given us an excellent study of the life of one of the most famous of English admirals. Rodney, who, in his last and great sea-fight of April 12, 1782, off Dominica, set the example of breaking the old pedantic "line of battle" rule, and so won a great victory, was perhaps the best representative of the thoroughly trained naval officer and commander of the generation before that of Nelson. As to his motives and *morale*, he was on the average level, scarcely above it, and certainly not below. As to his professional knowledge and his ability in handling a squadron or a fleet, he was not surpassed by any admiral of his time. He had had large experience, and had made excellent use of it; he had studied and mastered his profession. The man-of-war was a terrible school of service in his time, probably not at all overdrawn, except perhaps in the humour of the scenes and sketches, as described in Captain Marryat's sea tales. Yet in Rodney's days, and to a considerable extent under his command, the British navy became a school of heroes and the mistress of all the seas. There is something to blush for, and yet not a little to be proud of, in the story of his life as given in the present volume. Rodney belonged to an exceedingly ancient family of the gentry of Somerset. He was created a baron, many men having received higher honours for smaller services. His career is very well described in this volume of "English Men of Action."

Mary Howitt: an Autobiography. Edited by her Daughter, MARGARET HOWITT. London: Isbister & Co. 1891.

The charm of this volume lies in its singularly delicate delineation of Quakerism in the first half of this century, and in the many glimpses we catch of well-known literary characters during the past fifty years. Samuel Botham, of Uttoxeter, Mary Howitt's father, was a land-surveyor of high repute in the Midlands. His father sprang from a family of farmers settled at Apsford, in the bleak northern part of Staffordshire, but the son migrated thence to Uttoxeter in early life. He was a minister among the Friends, and an amateur doctor, with a turn for occult sciences and animal magnetism. He was an unpractical man, and after his wife's death mismanaged his affairs so that the sons of her first marriage considered that they had been robbed of their birthright. Under such conditions Mary Howitt's father struggled bravely in early years. He was driven in a moment of weakness to consult a noted witch, but left her "house with deep self-abasement, inasmuch as he saw he had been in the abyss of evil." He married Ann Wood, granddaughter of the patentee of "Irish coinage." This lady had lived at Falmouth on most friendly terms with the noted family of Fox, and, as governess and companion, moved in much good society. Her husband's half-brothers nicknamed her "The Duchess," for her whole bearing and cast of mind seemed alien to their own. Her father-in-law lived with them, and the herbs which he spent so much time in

drying and pulverising gave the young wife intense headaches, which affected her sight. At first married life proved a hard struggle; but Mr. Botham's appointment as surveyor for disforesting "the Chase of Needwood" brought years of comfort and happy work. Many a bright summer day did his two eldest girls spend with their father as he was busy in the forest. There the love of Nature, which is so conspicuous in Mary Howitt's poems, was formed. The father earnestly desired that his children should be directed to Christ as the one great all-sufficient sacrifice; "but so entirely was the fundamental doctrine of the Saviour being the Incarnate God hidden from them," that their minds instinctively took a Unitarian cast. They were, however, taught to love the Scriptures. Many Friends in those days neglected the Bible, which they held to be secondary and subordinate to the Spirit. The Yearly Meeting recommended the habit of reading the Scriptures daily; but Mr. Botham could not induce the Uttoxeter meeting to comply with this advice. These incidents show the weakness of Quakerism in a rather painful way. They also help us to understand how Mary Botham, after her marriage to William Howitt, turned towards Unitarianism, and then in later life, though with many scruples as to the worship of the Virgin Mary, found rest in Romanism. We cannot call her a woman of strong intellect, but she was singularly gentle and lovable, and her charming tales and verses will not soon lose their popularity among the young. The graceful chronicle of her life is full of interest, both from a literary and a religious point of view. Perhaps the most amusing character is the clergyman's widow in Uttoxeter, who styled herself the Rev. Anne Clowes. Known by everybody, and received as a welcome guest in the best houses of the place, she yet lived without a servant in a narrow alley. Her friends were instructed to rap loudly on her door with a stone, for there was neither bell nor knocker. The upper room, in which she dwelt, was filled with all sorts of oddments picked up at auctions. She slept in a large salting-trough, with a switch at her side to keep off the rats. The book is full of good things, which will make it pleasant reading for every family circle. We should have liked to have known more of Mary Howitt's sister, whose daughter married James Macdonell, the gifted leader-writer of *The Times*. The glimpses we get show that she was not the least attractive of these two pure-minded and talented ladies.

Annals of the Bodleian Library. With a Notice of the Earlier Library of the University. By the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department of MSS., Rector of Ducklington. Second edition. Enlarged, and continued from 1868 to 1880. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1890.

The early edition of Mr. Macray's volume, though it appealed to a limited circle, proved to be of such interest and value that it has gradually been

finding its way into the category of scarce books. The author has continually added notes to his earlier work, not with any idea of publishing a new edition in his own lifetime, but in the belief that after his death the enlarged work might be found useful. Mr. Nicholson, the chief librarian, was, however, anxious that a new edition should appear under Mr. Macray's own eye and care. The delegates of the University Press undertook the publication with their accustomed zeal for Oxford and all that could advance the cause of learning. The volume as enlarged is a history of which Oxford may well be proud. The sketch of Cobham's Library—the first actual University library—of Duke Humphrey's benefactions, and of Bodley's untiring labour and princely munificence, brings us down to the year 1601, when the Annals begin. Almost every page contains some quaint piece of information. It was not until 1813 that the librarian was released from the obligation of perpetual celibacy; even then it was decreed that he and the under-librarians must be unmarried at the time of election. This limitation was only swept away in 1856. The copy of his "Advancement of Learning," which Bacon sent to Bodley with the note, "You, having built an ark to save learning from deluge, deserve propriety in any new instrument or engine whereby learning should be improved or advanced," has disappeared. It is to be feared that at some time it was disposed of as a duplicate. A copy of Bacon's "Essays," presented by himself to the Duke of Buckingham, is, however, one of the show-pieces of the library. A MS. book of Hours, with an exquisite little inscription by Mary I., is one among a host of treasures. Bodley's bell "daily thunders forth an unmistakeable signal alike for entrance and departure." But many of the curios—such as Guy Fawkes' lantern—have now been transferred to the Ashmolean Museum, which is certainly a more fitting home for relics. The books themselves are more than sufficient to exhaust the energies of the librarians. In January 1885 there were 26,318 MSS. and 406,158 printed books under their care. The annual increase in the bound printed volumes is now about 10,000, excluding periodicals, &c. Half of these come from Stationers' Hall. In 1867 the number was supposed to be about 3,000. In forty years the printed volumes have doubled. They were 220,000 in 1848; 440,000 in 1888. Mr. Macray's "Annals" could only have been prepared by one who knew and loved the great library with which he has been associated for more than half a century. Every page is full of details of the greatest interest. The whole record is worthy of the Bodleian itself.

England and the English in the Eighteenth Century. Chapters in the Social History of the Times. By WILLIAM CONNOR SYDNEY. In two volumes. London: Ward & Downey. 1891.

Mr. Sydney has set himself to make that "quaint old world" in which Gay Goldsmith, Samuel Johnson, Horace Walpole, and other celebrities lived,

familiar ground to his readers. He has been a laborious reader of the biographies and literature of the time, and has gathered together an amazing store of detailed information, which gives singular vividness to his picture of the century. His chapter on London is crowded with glimpses of bygone days. The roads, when they had attained "full-tide," were veritable morasses, and drivers often delighted to dash through them, so as to splash every decently dressed person from head to foot. The woes of the pedestrians and of the unfortunate passengers, who sometimes found it wise to get out of coach or sedan-chair, leaving the men to fight and quarrel to their hearts' content, are almost pathetically described. Under "Dress and Costume" we become familiar with many quaint fashions of the period. The poet Rogers once went to Ranelagh in a coach accompanied by a lady who had to sit on a stool in the bottom of the conveyance because the height of her head-gear forbade her to take the usual place. The craze for towering feathers indeed became almost universal. Hannah More gives a humorous description of the young ladies whom she met at Bungay with "an acre and a half of shrubbery, besides slopes, grass plats, tulip beds, clumps of peonies, kitchen-gardens, and greenhouses," on their united heads. Those who wish to study the "modes" of the past century will find abundant material here. "Amusements and Pastimes" furnish a topic for another chapter of no less interest; whilst under "Coffee-houses, Taverns, and Clubs," we study the social life of the century in some of its most entertaining phases. Readers of John Wesley's *Journals* will find much light thrown on his restless itinerancy by the chapter devoted to "Roads and Travelling." Lord Hervey writes in 1743: "I find the farther one goes from the capital, the more tedious the miles grow, and the more rough and disagreeable the way." The turnpike system at first led to scant improvement, but in 1755, when the General Turnpike Act was passed, things began to amend. Mr. Sydney's quotations from contemporary literature have great value, but he seems, both here and in dealing with "King Mob," to have overlooked one of the chief authorities—Wesley's *Journals*. No one can understand English modes of travel, or the temper of the mob, a century ago, without some acquaintance with that wonderful itinerary. The chapter on "Education" gives the best account we have seen of the actual condition of schools. The literary and the religious worlds, the criminal code, Fleet chaplains and Fleet weddings, supply material for other chapters, which are both entertaining and instructive. Mr. Sydney has laid all available sources of information under contribution, and, where possible, cites the original authority for every statement. His chapters are, as he says, "little else than shreds and patches," but these bring us into closer touch with the eighteenth century than almost anything else could do.

The Caliphate: its Rise, Decline, and Fall. From original sources. By Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L. London: Religious Tract Society. 1891.

Sir William Muir has made a valuable contribution to the history of a period for which we have very scanty material in the English language. His authorities for the early part of his work have been purely Arabian. Towards the close he has drawn largely on Weill's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, which is a monument of "the vast research, the unfailing accuracy, and the dispassionate judgment of the author." Sir William's own work is marked by the same characteristics; but the popular element is not forgotten. The book is a stirring record of conquest, full of dramatic situations, which hold the close attention of the reader. The chief figures stand out vividly on the canvas, so that we see the real character of the men who saved Islam from total wreck after the death of the Prophet. When Mahomet was gone, rumours of disloyalty came from every side, but Abu Bekr was calm and unmoved. "Not a word from my master's lips," he said, "shall fall to the ground." His spirit prevailed. Days of stern strife followed. We become familiar with carnage and with unbridled passion as we study these pages. The contrast between such a propaganda as is here described, and Christ's "Make disciples of all the nations," forces itself on us at every turn of the history. "We often meet with virtue and morality, but we also thread our painful way in labyrinths of bloodshed and iniquity, and purlieus of Courts, the sink of profligacy, treachery, and vice." Such a state of things is in large measure the "legitimate result of the laws and institutions" described in this volume. The record is profoundly interesting, and full of facts which help the reader to understand what Islam really has been in all ages, and what it is to-day. Swathed in the bands of the Koran, it is powerless to adapt itself to human circumstances, or to direct and purify social life. Servile concubinage, the power of divorce, the exclusion of woman from her legitimate place and function in social life, are still the bane of Islam, and they are bound up in the very charter of its existence.

A History of Nottinghamshire. By Cornelius Brown. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

This new volume of Mr. Stock's "Popular County Histories" is one of the best of the series. Mr. Brown has written *The Annals of Newark-on-Trent*, and a portly quarto on *Notts Worthies*, so that he is a master of his subject. He has also taken pains to search for material from one end of the county to the other. His book is written in a bright style that makes it pleasant reading. The main facts are seized, and skilfully presented. Many good stories are given, and bits of out-of-the-way information which are of great interest. Such mysteries as the derivation of the name Nottingham are wisely left,

whilst a brief, clear outline of the history of the county town is furnished which gathers up all the salient facts. The strength of the volume lies in its sketches of the chief places and persons of interest connected with the county. The account of the Hutchinsons of Owthorpe, of the Chaworths and Byrons, of Cranmer and Wolsey, are excellent. There is some information about Mary Chaworth's marriage to Mr. Muster which we have not met elsewhere. A pleasant page is also given to the Webbs of Newstead Abbey, who entertained Livingstone while he wrote *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*. We have a valuable sketch of Southwell and its Minster, with many details of Wolsey's visits there, as well as Scrooly and Cawood. The account of Sherwood Forest and the Dukeries will be much prized. There are also good chapters on the geology, the fauna and flora, the art and architecture (including a list of the country seats), and some delightful pages devoted to legend, tradition, and anecdote. This valuable history ought to be widely circulated in Notts, and among all who are interested in the great names associated with the county. It is published at the low price of seven and sixpence.

George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia. By EDWIN HODDER. With Etched Portrait by H. MANESSE. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Whatever it may be to our colonists, we are sorry to say that for English readers this is a somewhat heavy book. It is forty-one years since George Fife Angas left this country for the colony of which he had been one of the founders; it is twelve years since he died. We live fast in these days, and many readers will ask "Who was Mr. Angas?" They will be surprised to find that he originated the South Australian Company, the Bank of South Australia, the National Provincial Bank of England, and the Union Bank of Australia. Nor was this all. He fought the battle of the slaves in Honduras and the Mosquito Coast, and obtained an Act of Parliament for their emancipation. It was his shrewdness and foresight which won us our New Zealand colony. This is a record which entitled George Fife Angas to a place among "men worth remembering." His father was "an extensive coach manufacturer and shipowner" of Newcastle-on-Tyne. A large and increasing business led the son to remove to London in 1824, where he soon became immersed in the affairs of South Australia. He suffered severe losses through a confidential manager, who recklessly bought land in that colony, and drew on his employer for £28,000, with the intimation that he must not be surprised if he received similar drafts for £100,000. It was a time of great anxiety, and bankruptcy often appeared inevitable, but Mr. Angas bore himself bravely during this sharp trial. He left England in 1850 for Adelaide, to watch over the development of his vast estate. From that time his life becomes part of the history of South Australia. He recovered his fortune, and took a prominent part in the Colonial Legislature, of which he was an honoured member. He died in 1879, having attained his ninetieth year.

Bishop Wilberforce. By G. W. DANIELL, M.A. Methuen & Co. 1891.

This volume belongs to "English Leaders of Religion" series. It is the only brief biography, separately published, of the great prelate to whom it refers. We wish it were better done; but it is feeble and poor, though carefully put together. The want of literary training and power is apparent on every page. Intellectual poverty is stamped on the volume. It is, however painstaking, authentic, short, and cheap.

Erasmus, and other Essays. By MARCUS DODS, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

These essays furnish evidence of the versatility of Dr. Dods. They are comparatively slight, but such as only an able and accomplished man could have written. The subjects dealt with are Erasmus, the Christian element in Plato, Hippolytus on Noetus, Clement of Alexandria, F. D. Maurice, Confucius, Christianity and Civilisation, Preaching, and Marcus Aurelius. The last strikes us as perhaps having more point and power than the others. Of course, the reader is reminded of Dean Church.

Thomas Ellwood and other Worthies of the Olden Times. By FRANCES ANNE BUDGE. London: Nisbet & Co. 1891.

There is a great charm about the story of the old Quakers. Their godly earnestness and their quaint modes of thought and expression are very attractive to a modern reader. The present sketches are well done. Thomas Ellwood, whose friendship with John Milton is historic, might almost be called the literary Quaker. His question led Milton to write *Paradise Regained.* He copied and prepared for the press George Fox's Journal, and was himself an industrious author as well as a man of the highest principle. There was a fine saying often on his lips: "I matter not what cost I am at to do good." He lived up even to that noble sentiment. The other sketches have their own interest.

The Story of My Life. By M. F. CUSACK, "the Nun of Kenmare." With Portrait. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Miss Cusack belongs to an old Irish family, one member of which was Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Her father had an extensive medical practice in Dublin, but a terrible illness utterly incapacitated him for his profession. His wife was also an invalid. A separation was therefore arranged, and Miss Cusack went with her mother to Devonshire. She received an excellent education, which she followed up by a

wide course of reading. The loss of her lover having clouded her prospects of happiness, she entered an Anglican Sisterhood, of which she gives a very unedifying description. Dr. Pusey, the Father Confessor of the Sisters, was strangely infatuated by Miss Sellon, the ambitious and self-willed Superior. The steps by which Miss Cusack was led to join the Roman Catholic Church, her philanthropic work at Kenmare and Knock, are told with much detail in this record. The book is not always in good taste, as witness the gibe at the clergyman who had been thrice married (p. 86), but as an unveiling of Popery it is profoundly instructive. Romanism in the States is a growing power. Miss Cusack found the publishers were afraid to have anything to do with her. She says: "All through the vast continent of America the Roman Catholic Church teaches that 'Protestants have no religion,' and that every Protestant will be damned eternally." This volume ought to be studied by all who wish to understand what Popery is to-day.

The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat. By their Son, JOHN S. MOFFAT. Ninth and Popular Edition. Portrait and Illustrations. London: T. F. Unwin. 1891.

This cheap and tastefully bound edition of the *Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* ought to go into every Sunday-school library, and into the hands of every missionary collector, whether young or old. The biography has taken rank as a missionary classic, and it well deserves its honour, for a more inspiring instance of loyalty to truth and duty than the lives of Robert and Mary Moffat furnish, it is hard to find.

The Story of the Life of Mackay of Uganda. Told for Boys. By his SISTER. With Portrait and twelve Illustrations. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

This is not merely a re-telling of an old story. The whole of the matter is fresh, and is not found in the larger volume. The book will therefore be enjoyed by those who have already learned to admire the heroic artisan-missionary of Uganda. The story of the boy's home life is more racily told than in the larger biography, and the book is made more attractive by its bright binding and full-page pictures. It is a history which cannot fail to stimulate boys to live noble lives whether at home or abroad.

Heroines of Faith and Charity. By ANNIE E. KEELING. London: C. H. Kelly. 1891.

Miss Keeling's twelve heroines are Monnica, St. Hilda, Margaret of Scotland, Elizabeth of Hungary, Joan of Arc, Jeanne d'Albret of Navarre, Lady Jane Gray, the Countess of Huntingdon, Elizabeth Fry, Mary Carpenter, and Amélie de Lasaulx. The sketches are written in that graceful and sympathetic

style which has won Miss Keeling so high a place among our lady writers. The volume contains abundant evidence of painstaking study, and the salient features of each life have been skilfully caught. The book will delight thoughtful young readers. It is in every way worthy of Miss Keeling's high reputation. Some good portraits add to the interest of the sketches.

Literary Landmarks of Edinburgh. By LAURENCE HUTTON. Illustrated. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. 1891.

These notes on Edinburgh and its literary landmarks were much enjoyed when they appeared in *Harper*. In their book form they are very attractive. The get-up is novel and effective, whilst the illustrations of places and people add much to the charm of a dainty volume. Mr. Hutton has himself visited every place about which he writes, so that he gives freshness even to the parts of his subject which are most familiar. Many quaint stories are told. The little volume will be turned to with much delight.

BELLES LETTRES.

On some of Shakespeare's Female Characters. By HELENA FAUCIT, LADY MARTIN. New and Enlarged Edition. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1891.

THERE is a delicacy of touch and clearness of insight in these studies, which long ago won for them a front rank in every Shakespeare library. Lady Martin opens out for the benefit of her readers the treasures of many years' close and loving perusal of her subject. Shakespeare's women form a national portrait gallery. We never cease to wonder as we enter at the way in which every secret of a woman's heart seemed open to our great dramatist. He is familiar with all a lady's fancies, all the warmth of her best love and devotion, all the passion that flames in such a breast as that of Lady Macbeth. A thoughtful reader of the dramas finds a host of questions rise as he turns Shakespeare's pages. No better guide to the unravelling of such mysteries could be found than Lady Martin. Ophelia, Portia, Desdemona, Juliet, Imogen, Rosalind, Beatrice and Hermione are the characters on which she spends her strength. The studies form a sharp test of Lady Martin's powers. But familiar as the names of the heroines are, they seem to be invested with added charm as we linger over these pages. In this new and enlarged edition Hermione has been added to the cluster of fair ladies. The study takes the form of a letter addressed to Lord Tennyson. At the outset Lady Martin draws a felicitous parallel between the work that our poet-laureate has done for Malory's *Knights of the Round Table*, and the way in which Shakespeare

used Greene's *Pandosto, or The Triumphs of Time*, in his *Winter's Tale*. She says: "It would be idle to dwell upon the folly of disputing his claim to originality, because others had gone over the same ground before." It needs a man with eyes to see, and a soul to illuminate the impressions made upon him by what he sees, to wake up the world to appreciate the beauty which ordinary men constantly overlook. Lady Martin's detailed study of Hermione deals with the whole story of her clouded years. The statue-scene is handled with great effect. The writer's hand has lost none of the skill of delineation which was so notable in the earlier letters. The volume is tastefully bound, and has an attractive portrait of the authoress as frontispiece.

The New Rector. By STANLEY J. WEYMAN. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

Mr. Weyman's plot is slight. It is simply the story of a new rector suddenly introduced into the exclusive and gossiping society of a little country town. Lord Dynmore, who had the right of presentation to the living, was travelling abroad when it fell vacant, so that his agents had to act on his behalf. Their client had left instructions that the rectory should be given to his old friend Reginald Lindo, but as he had died in the meantime, the solicitors offered the living, in entire ignorance, to Lindo's nephew and namesake. The young man's joy at the unexpected leap from a struggling curacy to a snug rectory is well brought out in the opening pages. As he was travelling down to Claversham a strange fortune threw him into the company of two young ladies—the daughters of the people's churchwarden there. These girls are perhaps Mr. Weyman's most cleverly painted and attractive characters. The rector's position proved anything but easy. His curate, disappointed that he had not himself secured the living, was secretly disloyal; Mr. Bonamy, the father of the young ladies into whose company he had been thrown, was a thorn in his side; whilst annoyances and vexations without number troubled him. The stormy meeting with his patron, who was in utter ignorance that the man who had obtained the living was not his old friend, is one of the most exciting incidents of the story. Lindo, in the midst of his disappointments, becomes the hero of the hour through boldly venturing into a mine in order to minister to those who had been injured in an explosion. He conquered Bonamy's prejudice, won his daughter Kate, accepted another living from the earl, and came off, as he deserved, with flying colours. Mr. Weyman has written a strong story, which will be read with pleasure by all who love to study English life in its quieter but not less attractive phases.

The Redemption of Edward Strahan. A Social Story. By W. J. DAWSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Mr. Dawson's first essay in the field of fiction, if not a pronounced success, is not a complete failure. In contents it is neither more nor less probable

than the great majority of the novels which pour from the press, and in style it is superior to many. We do not think that the chief characters have any counterparts in real life, especially the utterly repulsive portraits of religious professors; nor do we believe that there is such want of sympathy between the Church and the people as is here described. All the signs of the times point another way. It is a defect also that some of the characters introduced accomplish very little, notably Mardstone and his wife. The style, however, makes up to a great extent for defects in story and plot. It shows both grace and strength, and there are touches of humour and pathos.

ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

The quarter's *L'Art* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art) is of exceptional and unusually varied interest. The first September issue has, under the title "La Saison des Ventes Publiques à Londres," some excellent criticism of Watteau, whose dainty and exquisite artificialities are now fetching high prices in the London market. The criticism is excerpted by the editor, who contributes the article, from a forthcoming monograph on Watteau which M. Dargenty is to contribute to the *Artistes Célèbres* series, and which, we anticipate, will prove a masterpiece of appreciative insight and graceful style.

Madame Van de Wiele's critique of Wiertz, which runs through three numbers, is terribly severe. We have seldom read anything of the kind so calmly, so ruthlessly, so scientifically destructive. At the end, poor Wiertz, long the idol of Belgium, and in his own esteem the superior of Rubens, is reduced to a pedantic copyist, with an itch for moralising, but neither imagination, nor sentiment, nor fancy, nor, in fine, any sort of originality nor greatness of any kind, unless his colossal conceit, bordering on insanity, may be so accounted. We wonder what Wiertz's admirers—for, we presume, he still has such, in Belgium at least—think of this piece of iconoclasm. The editor pays, in the second September and first December issues, a handsome tribute to the genius of Delaunay, whose recent death deprives France of one of her best, though by no means best appreciated, painters. In the first October issue M. Paul Lafond discusses the fantastic tapestries of the Château of Pau, representing, with every imaginable device of elegant bizarrerie, six of the twelve months of the year, and which M. Lafond attributes to Giulio Romano. The same writer contributes to the first November issue an excellent article on the veteran painter, Charles Jacque, now the last survivor of the celebrated Barbizon school—the school of Millet and Troyon, and Théodor Rousseau and Corot. The articles on the Musée Spitzer are, as usual, full of interest, as also is one on some curious specimens of mediæval bookbinding preserved at Holkham Hall. The illustrations fully maintain the high level of excellence to which the readers of *L'Art* are accustomed.

Verses Grave and Gay. By ELLEN T. FOWLER. London: Cassell & Co. 1891.

This is a daintily presented volume of graceful and pleasing verses. Miss Fowler's compositions are not ambitious either in theme or in style. The simplicity of her verse is one of its excellences. To this are added a musical ear, a refined taste, and frequently a happy choice of subject. The subjects chosen are always pure and good; while, as the title of her book indicates, she passes freely from grave to gay, from lively to severe.

The best of the fruit in this case is probably at the top of the basket; at least we have failed to find any of the poems superior to the first, entitled "For Better, for Worse"; but it is too long to quote entire, and it would be unfair to separate a verse or two from the rest. Amongst the serious poems, "Auf Wiedersehn" is a good specimen of a strain which occurs once and again in this volume; while one of the best of the lighter ones is "A Fantasy," in which Miss Fowler makes gentle fun of Female Suffrage. But, for our own part, we prefer as a rule the religious poems, which form a considerable portion of the present volume. The "Harvest Hymn" and "Recessional Hymn" are excellent of their kind, as are the Christmas verses in theirs. Perhaps, however, we shall best do justice to this collection of pure and graceful verses by quoting in full one of the sonnets, entitled "In the Garden":

"I dreamed about Earth's garden, where I found
That little foxes spoil the tender vine;
Among the roses deadly creepers twine,
And lilies fair lie trampled on the ground,
Whilst round them all the serpent's coils are wound.
Whereat dense darkness of despair was mine,
For in my blindness I perceived no sign
Of help or comfort as I gazed around.
Then One, I took to be the Gardener, came;
To whom I cried, 'Sir, is it nought to Thee
That sin and sorrow spoil Thy flowerets sweet?'
For answer He but called me by my name,
And—as I doubted—turned and looked on me,
Who said 'Rabboni!'—falling at His feet."

Miss Fowler needs no commendation from us to the majority of our readers, and those who have learned to know and enjoy her poems will find this prettily bound volume a very attractive gift-book.

Homer in Chios: an Epopee. By DENTON J. SNIDER. St. Louis: Sigma Publishing Company. 1891.

Mr. Snider's theme is the old age of Homer in Chios. The poet tells the story of his early life to his pupils. His childhood was moulded chiefly by his

mother and the smith Chalcon. Homer's history and the marriage of his daughter to the Son of the Northland are told in strong and melodious hexameters. As a narrative the poem deserves high praise; and Mr. Snider has manipulated his somewhat cumbrous measure with considerable skill.

The Songs of Sappho. By JAMES S. EASLEY SMITH. Washington, D.C.: Stormont & Jackson. 1891.

Though not quite a scholarly production throughout, this is an interesting offering of first-fruits from the American University of Georgetown. It is the product of a young graduate, and has been published by the Faculty of the University. It is the first complete translation of Sappho's odes and fragments published or made in America. It makes no pretence to be in any sense a critical publication, but the translation seems to be creditable.

Wayside Voices. By WILLIAM S. BATE. New York. 1891.

This little volume of poems has ease and grace in rhyme, as well as depth and tenderness of thought. "Not Achieved" is, in its way, a little gem. "The Evening Gun" is equally happy in another vein. "She Sleeps" is a tender little *In memoriam.*

MESSRS. BLACKIE'S GIFT-BOOKS.

1. *Redskin and Cowboy. A Tale of the Western Plains.* By G. A. HENTY. With Twelve page Illustrations by Alfred Pearse.
2. *The Pilots of Pomona: A Story of the Orkney Islands.* By ROBERT LEIGHTON. With Eight full-page Illustrations by John Leighton.
3. *The Wigwam and the War Path; or, Tales of the Red Indians.* By ASCOTT R. HOPE. With Illustrations.
4. *Three Bright Girls; a Story of Chance and Mischance.* By ANNE E. ARMSTRONG. With Six page Illustrations by W. Parkinson. London: Blackie & Son. 1892.

These gift-books are so tastefully got up, so well illustrated, and so full of adventure, that they will have a warm welcome from boys and girls who are fortunate enough to find them among their New Year's treasures. Messrs. Blackie have a high reputation for such literature, and it is fully maintained by these bright stories. In *Redskin and Cowboy* Mr. Henty catches the spirit of the turbulent life of the Western States. He is able to assure his

readers that the adventures and dangers of which his book is full are by no means coloured. A near relative of his own—for some years a cowboy in New Mexico—is the authority for the scenes described, and many of his tales have been left untold because they seemed too improbable. It is a spirited story, with some fine characters.—*The Pilots of Pomona* is scarcely less full of adventures, though these are adventures of the sea. The young people in this bright story are very attractive, and the smuggling episode is vigorously sketched.—Mr Hope's *Wigwam and the War Path* is a collection of true stories of the Red Indians. They form a stirring chronicle, more entertaining and wonderful than any fiction. This is a book which young and old will enjoy.—*Three Bright Girls* forms pleasant reading after stories of the Red Indians. The banker's daughters are a charming group, and though their father's ruin and death bring a terrible cloud over their home, the young ladies prove themselves true heroines, and all comes well at the end. The brothers Talboys, a pair of ancient bachelors, who become warm patrons and friends of the family, are simply admirable.

1. *The Church and the King:* A Tale of England in the Days of Henry VIII. By EVELYN EVERETT-GREEN.
2. *The Iron Chain and the Golden.* A Tale. By A. L. O. E.
3. *Birds and Flowers.* By MARY HOWITT. Illustrated with upwards of One Hundred Drawings by H. GIACOMELLI.

London: Nelson & Sons. 1891.

Miss Everett-Green's *Church and the King* seems to be crowded with young people. There is much adventure, not a little happy love-making, and many descriptions of the civil and religious troubles of Henry the Eighth's reign. Readers of the book will not only enjoy the story, but will get a good idea of the stirring times. Some of the characters are specially attractive.

A. L. O. E.'s *The Iron Chain and the Golden* is a tale of the times of Anselm. The married priest has to endure much insult and persecution from the monks, but after a long imprisonment he and his wife escape with their little girl to the protection of the Count of Toulouse. It is a touching story, which will help its readers to understand the early Norman period, and the corruptions which Rome introduced into the English Church.

The new edition of Mary Howitt's *Birds and Flowers* is well printed on good paper, has very neat covers, and is illustrated by dainty pictures, which are in every way well suited to these simple and tender little poems, which have long been loved by children.

WESLEYAN BOOK-ROOM STORIES.

1. *A Tangled Yarn:* Captain James Payen's Life-Log. Edited by THOMAS DURLEY.
2. *The Rabbi's Sons:* A Story of the Days of St. Paul. By EMILY WEAVER.
3. *Her Associate Members.* By PANSY.
4. *Thorns and Flowers.* By ANNIE RYLANDS.
5. *A Foundation Scholar, and other Stories.* By JENNIE PERRETT.
6. *Roger Wentworth's Bible.* By CHARLES R. PARSONS.
7. *The Four Friends.* A Tale for Boys. By FRIBA.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1891.

Captain Payen's Life-Log cannot fail to be popular. The narrative is broken up into paragraphs with attractive headings. The sailor's adventures ashore and afloat are simply told, but the interest is well sustained throughout. Every boy will be delighted with it. *The Rabbi's Sons* introduces us to St. Paul and the Jewish society of his day. The rabbi's wife had been a relative of the Apostle's, and died a Christian. How her husband and sons are won Miss Weaver herself must tell. The book gives many glimpses of Jewish patriotism, of the bitter prejudice and hate against Christianity, and of the character of the Roman soldiers and governors. It is a powerful tale. Pansy has a congenial theme in *Her Associate Members.* A young lady, compelled to leave home and friends in order that her sick husband may have change of scene and air, becomes the centre of blessing to the neighbourhood in which she spends a quiet winter. It is a story that seems to give one fresh courage for every effort to do good. *Thorns and Flowers* is another stimulating little tale. Alfred, the boy hero, who is drowned in rescuing his friends, is a fine character, well drawn by a skilful hand. Mrs. Perrett's *Foundation Scholar and other Stories* will be eagerly read by little people. Mr. Parson's characters strike us as overdrawn. The converted Colonel goes to one extreme; his infidel son pushes his opposition to the Bible and Christianity to such lengths that one hesitates as to his sanity. The story shows the power of the Gospel, for even the infidel is brought to Christ on his death-bed; but we wish Mr. Parsons had pruned his work a little more severely. It is right to add that it is distinctly a stimulating book. Friba's *Four Friends* is a happy record of the success won by a lad who climbed to the top of the ladder, became a partner and married the daughter of his old master. It will teach boys to be obliging and persevering. The style is rather stilted, but the interest is well maintained, and the lessons are excellent.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Social and Present Day Questions. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon of Westminster. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Archdeacon Farrar's first address on "Social Amelioration," delivered at the time when General Booth's scheme was under public discussion, shows how warmly his sympathies were attracted by that daring attempt to deal with the destitution and sin of our great centres of population. Catholicity of spirit is indeed one of the chief charms of this volume. Sometimes Dr. Farrar goes almost too far in this direction, as in dealing with the brighter sides of Voltaire's life, but the addresses are such as only a large-hearted Christian man could have delivered. The denunciations are not always in good taste, and the wealth of illustrations is now and then more conspicuous than the skill with which they are woven into the discourse; but the book contains something to stimulate every class of readers. The tributes to Raleigh, Grant, Garfield, Dean Stanley, Newman, Darwin, John Bright, Garibaldi and Tolstoi are especially enjoyable. Dr. Farrar seizes with much felicity on the lessons of each life, and presses them home with manly earnestness.

On Surrey Hills. By A SON OF THE MARSHES. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1891.

This third volume from the pen of "A Son of the Marshes" shows the same power of observing Nature, and recording the impressions produced by all her varying moods, which has won such high recognition for "Woodland, Moor and Stream," and the "Annals of a Fishing Village." We are glad to glean one or two additional facts about the writer, who is between fifty-five and sixty years old. His eyesight is as keen as it was forty years ago, and he is as well able to enjoy a twenty miles' trudge over the moorlands as ever. For the last thirty years he has "not used a gun: a good field-glass has taken its place." His book shows how closely Nature keeps her secrets. "For fourteen years I have been vainly trying to see one of our wild animals in the act of guarding its young in time of danger. From early morning until late in the evening, during times of leisure, I have tramped over lonely places day after day—ay, and week after week—in the right season, with only that one object in view, but I have never seen it yet. Some have been more fortunate, but it has been when they were neither expecting nor searching for it. It is the very uncertainty, I take it, that gives such a charm to the quest." The book abounds in descriptions of country life full of quiet charm. The pages on the fox and his ways are striking. The account of the bites of various animals almost makes one content to do natural-

istic work by proxy. Life abounds most on the verge of the highways, so that a roadside naturalist is continually meeting with objects that delight him. Nature is best left alone. She knows how to preserve the balance among the denizens of moor and stream, and those who meddle with her work often defeat their own ends. The book is a series of impressions of Nature at first hand which have great freshness and beauty. Nor is the artisan-naturalist less sympathetic in his descriptions of gamekeepers and other rural characters, among whom he has mixed so freely for many years.

The Birds of our Rambles: A Companion for the Country. By CHARLES DIXON. With Illustrations by A. T. ELWES. London: Chapman & Hall. 1891.

Mr. Dixon's book is a contribution to the study of field ornithology rather than an exhaustive treatise on birds. It seeks to supply what is greatly needed—a handy guide-book by which the feathered creatures may be identified in their various haunts. The notes of the birds are successfully reproduced, and particulars given as to their general appearance and habits, which will help any one to recognise the birds they see. Mr. Dixon claims that any one who masters his book will be fairly conversant with the habits, notes, and appearance of English birds. He arranges his mass of facts into eleven convenient groups. Rambles round homesteads, gardens, lanes, open fields, woods, lakes, moors, mountains, broads and swamps, rock-bound coasts, and sandy shores. The arrangement will help people to look for the birds which are most likely to be seen in each locality. The difficulties Mr. Dixon experienced in his early days among the birds have taught him the need of such a guide, and he puts into it the results of years of study. The sketches of the kingfisher catching minnows, and the cuckoo rocking itself on a bare dead branch, are the work of a close observer of Nature, as also are the pages devoted to the snow-bunting and the harrier. The tables at the close of each ramble give the name of the species, its dates of migration where it is a migrant, its call-note, and its colour. Mr. Elwes' illustrations add interest to the book, though we should have liked the names of the birds attached. Mr. Dixon's volume lends fresh charm to every country ramble.

Church-lore Gleanings. By T. F. THISTLETON DYER. London: Innes & Co. 1891.

Mr. Dyer has gathered together a mass of entertaining matter in these *Church-lore Gleanings*. This book deals with facts and traditions as to every part of the Church fabric, and details connected with baptismal, marriage, and burial customs. Any one who turns to the pages on "Bells and Belfries" will see how much information there is in this delightful volume, and how skilfully it is grouped together. The naming of the bell, with all the ceremonies employed in the christening of children; the superstitions connected

with the passing-bell which frightened away evil spirits; the old custom of ringing bells during a thunderstorm—these and many amusing stories about the stealing of bells are pleasantly told. The chapter on "Burial Customs" says that in the case of persons of distinction the funeral service was performed in every church with which the deceased had been connected, and that such funerals were entered in the parish registers as though they were actual interments. "Queen Elizabeth was buried in this way in all the London churches." The brief account of "Books in Chains" is very good. "Church-ales" marks the low ebb to which religious life had sunk in olden times. Mr. Dyer has shown great industry in the collection of materials, as well as good taste and literary skill in the way he has put them together. His book is one of the most varied and complete volumes on the subject that we have seen. It is tastefully bound, with some good illustrations.

Cornish Feasts and Folk Lore. By Miss M. A. COURTNEY. Penzance: Beare & Son. 1890.

Every one who knows the West of England understands that quaint legends and superstitions linger there which seem strangely alien to the spirit of this nineteenth century. Miss Courtney says, however, that "few Cornish people are probably aware how wide-spread still with us is the belief in charms and charmers, ghosts, and all other superstitions: nor that there are witches in our country, shunned and dreaded by some who fear their supposed power to ill-wish those who offend them, and sought out by others who want by their aid to avert the evil eye, or by their incantations to remove the spells already cast on them and their cattle by an ill-wisher who has 'overlooked' them." She has found a rich mine, and worked it well. The papers were originally contributed to the Folk-lore Society Journals, from which they have been reprinted with careful revision. The account of "Cornish Feasts and 'Feasten' Customs" abounds with quaint things. "Legends of Parishes" is quite as entertaining. The descriptions of the holy wells, and of St. Keyne's in particular, of ghosts and those who had the power to "lay" them, will be eagerly read. The papers on Fairies, Superstitions, Charms, Cornish Games and Ballads, are shorter, but not less tempting than the earlier chapters. In "Ye Sexes give ear" we are delighted to find the verse about Adam wanting a wife which tickled the Carlyles' fancy so much when they heard it sung by a street beggar.

Studies in Constitutional Law: France, England, United States. By EMILE BOUTMY, &c. Translated by E. M. DICEY. With an Introduction by A. V. DICEY, B.C.L., Vinerian Professor of English Law. Oxford: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

It is no common tribute to the merits of a French writer on political science and constitutional law to have two of his books presented in English

translations to the British public at the same time, and both commended to our attention by men so distinguished. This volume is perhaps almost more interesting and important than that on the *English Constitution* noticed by us last July, for which Sir Frederick Pollock stands sponsor to the British public. The constitutional growth and principles of France, England, and the United States are here admirably exhibited in contrast and comparison with each other. Each is better understood, and all the points in each stand out more sharply and distinctly because of the way in which they are thus set in the light against each other. The reader was prepared, at least generally, for the nature of the comparison between England and France; but the profound and ingenious analysis, which shows that, by means especially of its Senate, America has developed a counterpoise, through the represented States of the Union, against the democratic dominance of the mere numerical majority of the American people, is very striking and instructive. Even before the publication of Professor Bryce's great work, M. Boutmy, by his own analysis and researches, seems to have anticipated all the most important points bearing on his inquiry. We warmly recommend this masterly volume.

An Introduction to Cudworth's Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality. With Life of Cudworth and a few Critical Notes. By W. R. Scott, First Senior Moderator Logic and Ethics, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Longmans & Co. 1891.

Cudworth's "Intellectual System," so lately as fifty or sixty years ago, was a mine-treasure, especially as annotated by Mosheim, which serious and resolute students of philosophy read and read again, at least in parts. The "Eternal and Immutable Morality" is less difficult and less voluminous. It is a noble treatise, and well deserves to be commended afresh to the attention of students, even in this busy and hurried age. This *Introduction* is every way suitable and serviceable. Mr. Scott has done his work with ability as well as modesty. To the *Introduction* useful "Critical Notes" are appended on "Cudworth and Butler" and "Cudworth and Kant," and a good Index.

Stepping-stones to Socialism. By David Maxwell, C.E. Hull: Andrews & Co. 1891.

Mr. Maxwell's dream of the future is certainly alluring. In the promised land of Socialism every man is to live in touch and close companionship with the soil, to catch the breezes, and know the names of trees, plants, and flowers; thatched cottages, rows of streets, and semi-detached villas are to disappear; enlarged Chatsworths and Balmorals, with perhaps buildings designed after the style of "Windsor Castle, the Alhambra, and the Escurial," will furnish homes for the coming race. This is too palpably visionary to need serious criticism. Mr. Maxwell is on firm ground when he insists on the necessity of

"noble individualism" in order that this problem of Socialism may be worked out successfully. His "pruning of the old theological tree" is somewhat severe, but he is right in laying stress on the problem of living one's life well, and in emphasising the sacredness of daily duty. There are many things to provoke discussion in this little volume, but, though somewhat Utopian, it is a temperate and reverent study of a great question.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Leisure Hour*, 1891.
   The Sunday at Home. A Family Magazine for Sabbath Reading, 1890–1.
2. *The Races of the Old Testament.* (Bypaths of Bible Knowledge.) By Professor SAYCE.
3. *The Life and Times of Joseph. In the Light of Egyptian Lore.* (Bypaths of Bible Knowledge.) By the Rev. H. G. TOMKINS.
4. *Heroes of the Telegraph.* By J. MUNRO.
5. *Italian Explorers in Africa.* By SOFIA BOMPIANI. With many Portraits.
6. *The King's Cupbearer.* By Mrs. O. F. WALTON.
7. *The Days of Queen Mary; or, Annals of her Reign.* Containing particulars of Romanism and the sufferings of the Martyrs during that period. A new edition.
8. *Heroisms in Humble Life.* By L. G. SEGUIN.
9. *Brief Counsels concerning Business.* By AN OLD MAN OF BUSINESS.
10. *The Writings of Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland.* A Revised Translation, with Notes Critical and Historical. By the Rev. CHARLES H. WRIGHT, D.D.
11. *The Love of Christ: His to us; ours to Him.* By the Rev. JOHN P. HOBSON, M.A.
12. *How to Keep Healthy.* By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, M.D.

1. The *Leisure Hour* and *Sunday at Home* still hold their own among a host of competitors. More variously entertaining and instructive, more profusely illustrated volumes it is hard to find. They contain ample provision

for the growing love of stories; but the fiction will make its readers wiser as well as entertain them. The *Leisure Hour* has two more of Bishop Creighton's valuable papers on the "English Shires"; its four articles on the "Statesmen of Europe" are excellent; biography is well represented; the "Varieties" are as instructive as ever; and there are some excellent hints on domestic matters. Professor Sayce's articles on "Social Life among the Babylonians and Assyrians" are a notable feature of the *Sunday at Home*; "The History of Galileo" is well told; and there are many short papers of great interest. The Rev. Richard Green's article on the "Wesley Centenary," and Mr. Moggs' brief homilies, will be eagerly read by Methodist people as well as by the wider circle who delight in the *Sunday at Home*.

2. Professor Sayce's *Races of the Old Testament* is an exceedingly valuable book—a veritable *multum in parvo*—and beautifully illustrated. It is densely packed with information, the best and most recent, clearly and succinctly presented, on its fascinating subject. At the same time, even this well-informed volume, from so high an authority, makes statements which certainly need to be modified, and which are inconsistent with other statements, and with clear and full evidence. For example, one of Dr. Sayce's main positions, repeated several times, is that the fundamental races of mankind remain absolutely unchanged through successive generations; that modifications and mixtures are never permanent; that the original races continually revive and reassert themselves in their pristine purity. This position, however, is totally inconsistent with his own repeated statements in regard to the effacement in France of the Gaul, or the apparent change of the Gaul into the Iberian type. It is also, we venture to say, inconsistent with what history makes known as to the race developments of our own country. We suspect that what Professor Sayce assumes to be a reversion to a more ancient local type is, in some instances, rather a modification of physical characteristics arising from changes in climatic, physical, and dietary conditions, and generally in social civilisation and customs. The physique of Frenchmen has greatly changed during the last fifty years. If the population of Paris to-day is compared with that of London, the proportion of fat men, and especially of women, will be found much larger in the French capital than in the English. A comparison of the caricatures of the present time with those of the last century would strikingly illustrate the physical change to which we have referred in the prevalent type of Frenchmen.

3. Mr. Tomkins is already favourably known by his *Studies on the Times of Abraham*. We warmly recommend his charming volume, *Life and Times of Joseph*, which is especially adapted for young persons.

4. *Heroes of the Telegraph* is in some respects a sequel to the *Pioneers of Electricity*, also published by the same excellent and spirited Society. It sketches the "origin of the telegraph," and relates succinctly the career of its "heroes": Sir Charles Wheatstone, Samuel Morse, Sir William Thomson, Sir William Siemens, Fleeming Jenkin, Johann Philipp Reiss, Graham Bell, Thomas Alva Edison, and David Edwin Hughes. Of these men, Americ

counts one (Bell) as a naturalised, and two (Morse and Edison) as native citizens of the Republic; two were born in Germany, Siemens and Reiss; but Sir William Siemens was a naturalised Englishman. The others belonged to our own island, one being English, one Scotch, one Irish, and one Welsh. Bell also was a native of Scotland, although he has long been an American citizen. In an Appendix to this capital volume briefer accounts are given of other telegraphists: Gauss, Weber, Bain, Dr. Werner Siemens, Latimer Clark, Count du Moncel, Gray, and Sir William Fothergill Cooke.

5. The sketches gathered together under the happy title of *Italian Explorers in Africa* show how much Italy has done during the past twenty years for the Dark Continent. They were originally published in the *Leisure Hour*. The *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* first suggested that they might with advantage be collected into a volume. The writer's residence in Rome has given her special opportunities of access to the records of the Italian Geographical Society. Gessi Pasha, Gordon's trusted friend and counsellor, is one of the heroes of African exploration; and Casati, the last of the group, is a man of the same mould—a true lover of the people, and a noble-hearted, self-sacrificing, uncomplaining man. The portraits add a good deal to the value of these admirable sketches.

6. *The King's Cupbearer*, by Mrs. Walton, is an excellent biography of Nehemiah, skilfully illustrated by references to contemporary history and customs. There is much felicitous application of the subject to the needs of the present day. The book is one of the best commentaries on the life and work of Nehemiah that we have met with.

7. *The Days of Queen Mary* furnish a timely warning against pandering to Romanism. The book may fairly claim a place in the library of every one who desires to know the truth about Mary's reign.

8. *Heroisms in Humble Life* is a series of sketches of some winners of the prize instituted by Baron de Montzon, a refugee in this country during the French Revolution, for acts of virtue and heroism in humble life. About £800 is thus distributed every year by the Academy. The stories are gracefully and sympathetically told. The book will stimulate young people to do their daily duty well. It is tastefully got up, and has some good pictures.

9. *Brief Counsels concerning Business* are evidently the fruit of a long and successful career. They are crisp and sensible, full of true religious principle, and marked by great sagacity. The writer's chapters are brief, so that he is able to get fifty-five papers into his little book. Those on the importance of having "An Object in Life," and on the way to deal with a troublesome "Memory," are eminently helpful.

10. Dr. Wright's neat little edition of St. Patrick's writings is the sixth volume of the "Christian Classics" series. He has done his work with judgment and good taste. The writings are meagre, but many will be glad to study these authentic memorials of the Apostle of Ireland.

11. Mr. Hobson's *Love of Christ* is a series of devotional studies on a great theme. They are simple in language, richly evangelical, practical and expe-

rimental. The six papers on Christ's love to us deal with its manifestation, measure, maintenance, constraining and sustaining power, and its influence as an example to us. The five on our love to Christ dwell on the fact, the danger of not loving Christ, the blessings, duties, and reward of loving Him. It is a book that devout people will greatly prize.

12. *How to be Healthy* is a most enlightened book, and those who read and ponder it will be made wise as to many things. It is indispensable for people of all ages and grades. We heartily recommend this useful and capital volume of the new series of the "Leisure Hour Library."

Good Words. Volume for 1891. *Sunday Magazine.* Volume for 1891. London: Isbister & Co.

These two handsome and well-edited volumes will be welcome Christmas comers. *Good Words* has never had a better story than "The Little Minister," of which by this time everybody has heard. Mrs. Oliphant's "Elinor's Marriage" is a somewhat dull and slow story, though it be from a pen so renowned. "Godiva Durleigh," in the *Sunday Magazine*, is a good story, though belonging too markedly to its school. But both these volumes contain a large wealth of valuable and interesting contents outside of their serial stories. *Good Words* is especially rich in matter instructive, attractive, and of permanent value, contributed by eminent men, and relating to history, biography, science, topography, art, &c. Moral chapters of great value and beauty, Christian expositions and appeals, choice poetry, are intermingled. In the *Sunday Magazine* social topics occupy a large space, and the general level of culture implied is not quite so high. But here also the sum total is excellent, and nothing is better than the "Review of the Month" which accompanies each number. The illustrations in both volumes are generally first-rate.

Home Words for Heart and Hearth.

Hand and Heart. A Family, Social and Temperance Journal. Fifteenth Volume. 1891.

The Day of Days Annual. Edited by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D.

The Precious Things of Home. By the Rev. WALTER SENIOR, M.A.

"*Speaking Years.*" A Memory of the Rev. W. Carus, formerly Canon of Winchester. With Extracts from his Writings. By the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D.

London: *Home Words Office.* 1891.

Home Words was never better conducted. The volume for 1891 is full of good things. The biography of James Nasmyth, which runs through the

year; the short sketches of eminent clergymen, and many other papers, both instructive and entertaining, will be found in this tempting volume. *Hand and Heart* makes an attractive book. It is profusely illustrated, and contains much good reading. *Day of Days* is even better. The articles, stories, and biographical sketches are excellent, and the pictures very effective. It is a capital volume for young people. Mr. Senior's *Precious Things of Home* is a series of helpful and sensible talks to wives and mothers about their husbands and children. The neat little volume is just the thing to give to a young wife, or to read at a mothers' meeting. Mr. Bullock's graceful tribute to Canon Carus gives a good idea of the eminent evangelical preacher, his writings and his pulpit work.

The Cornhill Magazine. New Series. Vol. XVII. July to December 1891. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Cornhill has been fortunate in its serials. "The New Rector" is a story of life in an English country town which holds attention from the first page to the last; "The White Company" is a stirring chronicle of military adventure in the days of the Black Prince. Its opening chapters are full of quiet humour, and there is much to amuse as well as to stir one's blood in this military chronicle. The short stories and articles are of various merit. "Some Pagan Epitaphs" and "A Glimpse of Asia Minor" are very good papers.

Among the Holy Places: A Pilgrimage through Palestine. By Rev. JAMES KEAN, M.A., B.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1891.

This is an elaborate, systematic, and comprehensive account of the author's pilgrimage. The writer's care and pains to give accurate and complete information are evident throughout. The illustrations are very numerous, and are beautifully executed. The peculiarity, however, of the author's style—for the sake, we suppose, of avoiding the appearance of egotism—in saying *you* throughout where *we* or *I* would have been natural, gives a curious stiffness to the writing.

Moral Muscle, and how to Use it. A Brotherly Chat with Young Men. By FREDERICK A. ATKINS. London: James Nisbet and Co. 1890.

Dr. Thain Davidson pays a high tribute to Mr. Atkins, who is editor of *The Young Man*, in his introduction to these brief and chatty papers. They are full of incident, bright, earnest, and racy little homilies which cannot fail to help young men to be true to Christ and to their own best feelings.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (December 1).—M. Bréal, in a suggestive paper on "Language and Nationalities," holds that we ought not to regret that our fathers' dream of a universal language has not been realised. When several literatures develop themselves in contact with each other, exclusive preconceptions correct themselves more easily. Variety and emulation are necessary for the formation of idioms. It is right to honour one's ancestors, but a language that has no original literature is like a country without beauties of scenery and historic souvenirs. No one visits it unless necessity leads him there.

REVUE CHRETIENNE (September).—Gaston Frommel's concluding paper on "Edmond Scherer" traces the last stages of his descent into scepticism. The problems of evil and of the supernatural confronted him after he had grappled with the question of Authority. In a study of "Sin," contributed to the *Strasbourg Review* for 1853, he recognised the feeling as a legitimate one, though he disputed the Biblical explanation of its essence and cause. He dismissed the doctrine of the Fall as a fable. For him sin was only the sense of the gulf which separates between what we are and what we ought to be. The whole blame for his lamentable lapse must not be set down to Scherer's own account. The theology of the time, as well as the sectarian and fanatical spirit of contemporary Protestantism were in part responsible. If instead of anathemas he had received more intelligent charity and kindly counsel, if those who closed the doors of their sympathy and their temples against him, had allowed him still to breathe that atmosphere of faith and piety to which he had so long been accustomed, the catastrophe might have been less speedy or less radical. Scherer presents some analogy to Vinet, but the two men were really different in character and views. They were like two travellers meeting on a mountain, one of them climbing, the other descending. Vinet, through internal and religious development, reached conclusions at which Scherer arrived by external and scientific necessity. For one there was progress, for the other declension; one conquered that which the other conceded. Under the title "Sweden and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes" M. Picaux gives a chapter from his forthcoming book on the settlement of French Protestants in that country. He shows how the rights of conscience were violated in France, cities and country desolated, bitter hatreds accumulated in the bottom of men's hearts, and thousands of fugitives exiled from their own country. Charles XI. of Sweden took a bold stand against some of the deeds of oppression wrought by Louis XIV. He determined to found a French Lutheran church at Stockholm, though he was stoutly opposed by the national clergy. Nicolas Bergius was the first minister of this church. His learning and ability won him high esteem, and made him a formidable enemy to the Jesuits.

(October.)—The article runs on into this number. The Reformed Church suffered many things in the latter part of the reign of Charles XI. In 1695 he promulgated an edict which required all foreign merchants who were not Lutherans to quit the country within the space of four months. The intervention of the King of England and the States General of Holland secured the repeal of this strange decree. Charles XII. was of another spirit. He tried to make the Reformed Churches forget the persecutions of which they had been the victims. He offered perfect liberty of conscience and fifteen years' freedom from taxes to the merchants and manufacturers of that Communion who came to settle in the Duchy of Deux Ponts. In other ways also he proved himself a staunch and powerful friend of religious tolerance.

(November.)—M. Benoit gives some particulars as to the first Moravian missionaries in France. Persecution had kept alive the zeal of the churches.

They had grown strong by trial, but the reign of tolerance which followed seemed to enfeeble the French Protestants, and the approach of the Revolution turned their attention to other concerns than those of heaven. Pastor Olivier Desmont writes in 1772 that the people wanted discourses philosophical rather than Christian, and preferred antitheses and play of words to thoughts that were solid, simple, and Christian. This state of things was becoming general when these earnest Moravians came to visit the French churches, encouraging the isolated Christians and accomplishing without noise a blessed awakening. Samuel Vincent says they were men who dogmatised very little. For them religion was love, especially love for Jesus. It was in the early years of Count Zinzendorf that these Moravian evangelists—most of whom worked at a trade—turned towards France. In 1737—the eve of John Wesley's return from Georgia—Frédéric de Watteville visited the church of Nimes. Many glimpses of these zealous workers are given in this paper. They did much to save the Protestants from the dangers of intellectualism, recalling them to the fact that the Gospel is a spiritual power. They thus helped to prepare for the happy revival which broke out in French Protestantism during the early days of the Restoration.

LE LIVRE MODERNE (October) is a good number. The first paper, on "The Press of Information and the Private Life of Writers at the Beginning of the Age of Romanticism" (1835) gives some amusing glimpses of the art of interviewing in its infancy. The public to-day demand more details and need entire volumes to satisfy their curiosity. The personality, the artistic tastes, and the character of our favourite writers are always matters of interest. The great demand for photographs which show the studies and studios of contemporary celebrities is another feature of the times. The paper on "The Chevalier d'Éon, as bibliophile, Latinist, and theologian," pleasantly describes the last thirty years of his life in London. He had a valuable collection of books, and especially of manuscripts. Before 1790 he had gathered together the papers of Marshal Vauban, many pieces relating to the history and finances of France, and many Oriental writings. His editions of the Bible, especially those in Hebrew, were very rare. Many manuscripts written by himself are now in the British Museum.

UNSERE ZEIT (October).—Dr. Kuno Frankenstein's statistics of German emigration are worthy of careful consideration. He shows that due allowance must be made for the fact that emigrants from Russia avail themselves of German ports, so that the figures usually given need to be somewhat carefully sifted. Out of 243,283 persons who emigrated from German ports in 1890, 74,820 were from Germany. Of these, 51,407 were from Prussia, 12,665 from the South German States, 2400 from Saxony, 1534 from Hesse, 1302 from Mecklenburg, 950 from Oldenburg, 1211 from the Thuringian States, 581 from Braunschweig, Anhalt, Waldeck, and the two Lippes, 2707 from the Free States, and 63 from Elsass-Lothringen. The districts which are sparsely populated yield the greatest number of emigrants. In some cases the nearness of the sea and the influence of relatives who have already emigrated must be taken into account, whilst the activity of emigration agents is specially great in some regions. The emigrants are in large part adults of working age. Children and old people remain at home. In 1890, 25,903 of the emigrants were without any calling, 19,450 were labourers, 10,721 were engaged in industries of various kinds, 11,678 in trade and commerce. North America exercises a special attraction on the German emigrant. To get to the United States is generally the great ambition of the wanderer. Thirty-three per cent. go there. South America, Australia, and Africa are beginning to be increasingly attractive.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 1).—Signor de Cesare, in an article on "The Future Conclave," refers to the opinion in favour of Cardinal Gibbons' election as Pope expressed in a recent number of the *Sydney Quarterly Review*. All the qualities which the Jesuits would expect in a Pope seem to unite in him; but the Italian reviewer points out that the Jesuits, to whom the propaganda in the great American cities has been entrusted, are not the little politicians

of Italy. In America the society has become Americanised, and educates Catholics and Protestants side by side in its colleges. The Irish Catholics are the chief strength of the Romanist Church in the States. Cardinal Gibbons, an excellent bishop, like all his American brethren, speaks no other language than English, with the nasal twang of the United States. The ceremony when he was made Cardinal had a curious character, because he spoke in English, which was not understood.

(November 1.)—Signor Mosso's "Physical Education and Games in Schools" takes the first place in this number. The writer has been impressed with the eagerness which Londoners evince on Saturday afternoons to escape from their sedentary pursuits, and take part in games of football and cricket. He gives many details of these pastimes and of the organisation of sport in our universities. He considers boating our most elegant pastime, and supplies particulars as to rowing clubs and regattas at the public schools, as well as at Oxford and Cambridge. The comparisons between ourselves and Italy in athletic matters are interesting features of this article.

THE SYDNEY QUARTERLY MAGAZINE (June) has a good paper on Theosophy by the Right Hon. the Countess of Jersey, who met Colonel Olcott on her voyage to India, and visited the headquarters of the sect near Madras. She has not been favourably impressed with "those feats of adepts which it is hard to dignify with any other name than that of jugglery." Some may, she says, be satisfied to join such a society, and may hold aloof from its occult practices; but the ordinary English mind, which leans to solidarity and responsible government, will find such doings a fatal stumbling-block. Theosophy aims to discover the truth underlying various religions. The Countess thinks that Colonel Olcott "has undoubtedly taught an immense number of Buddhists in various parts of Asia to pierce below the rites and ceremonies with which successive ages have overlaid the original doctrines of Gautama, and to find a moral code and pure philosophy of which they had been totally ignorant." A European friend of Lady Jersey's even professes that theosophy has led him "to a genuine in place of a nominal Christianity." America, where spiritualism has always met with ready believers, and where thought is unsatisfied until translated into action, was a fitting birthplace for the society. Its spread in India is explained by the fact that it serves as a kind of half-way house for those—both Hindoos and Europeans—who are dissatisfied with the creeds of their childhood, whilst its mystical and metaphysical side renders it peculiarly congenial to the Indian mind.

THE METHODIST REVIEW (September, October) has a good paper in its "Current Discussions" entitled "Critical Study of the New Testament." It rightly maintains that knowledge of the Greek text holds the highest place in the professional preparation of the young minister. Dr. Arnold used to say that any man under seventy could learn enough Greek to study the New Testament. The writer refers to one Methodist pastor in Ohio who read the Greek Testament through in a single day; another has read it through every year since he entered the ministry. These cases are apparently considered notable. The paper on "The Specialty of Methodism" holds that all else in the system is subordinate to "the salvation of the soul." In a letter on "The Conference Claimant" J. W. Campbell of Cleveland says: "In one of the most wealthy conferences of our Church I have taken an average year for the last decade, and have found that the average amount paid from all sources to each claimant was eighty-seven dollars and a small fraction. In a number of cases the amount received was not more than twenty-five dollars." Mr. Campbell urges that greater care should be taken to prevent men who are unfit for an itinerant life entering the ministry and bringing on the Church the burden of an early superannuation. Larger salaries also ought to be given to the average Methodist minister. Then no one should be allowed to take the anomalous and humiliating position of a "Conference claimant."

(November, December).—Bishop Thoburn, of Calcutta, deals with "Recent Missionary Discussions." He points out that all the great societies have recently been exposed to severe criticism, but thinks that is a sign of the times

which ought to encourage friends of Christian missions. In reference to the Wesleyan controversy the Bishop says: "Mr. Hughes was unfortunate in the selection of a text for the discussion which he inaugurated, and there is reason to believe that he has long since become aware of this fact himself. He was led by the representations of a returned missionary of very limited experience to adopt strong views with reference to the style of living adopted by the missionaries, and their wide separation from the mass of the people among whom they laboured." The Salvation Army, so loudly applauded by Mr. Caine, is weakest of all the societies in its unwillingness to acknowledge failure. "The leaders of this movement seem to have accepted, among their other military maxims, the policy of never confessing defeat; and thus the world has been notified again and again that they have been achieving wonderful success in India, while, as a matter of fact, this success is not apparent to candid observers who view their work with the most friendly feeling." Dr. Thoburn thinks we do not prepare for victory, and are sometimes appalled by our very success, whilst we ought really to lay our plans as those who expect to see the victory. He himself is confident that "the children now in our Sunday-schools will see the day when our own Church will enrol more converts from heathenism in a single year than all the Protestant churches of America have done in the past quarter of a century."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW OF M. E. CHURCH, SOUTH (October).—W. H. Milburn pays a tribute in the opening article to Chauncey Hobart, a Backwoods Methodist preacher, whom he met for the first time in 1843. He was then nearly six feet high, with a wiry figure, and feet so large that when he stopped at a wayside cobbler's to get his boots mended, a passing backwoodsman cried out, "Stranger, you must be the President of the Track Society." Hobart was born in a Vermont Methodist home, but in early life his parents emigrated to the Far West. He was converted under the ministry of W. C. Stribling, who had a mania for big words which almost take away one's breath. Poor Chauncey had to content himself with some wretched quarters during his itinerancy, but he witnessed many days of revival which abundantly repaid him for his hardships. He is still alive, at the age of eighty years, to rejoice in the enormous progress which Methodism has made in the United States by the labours of himself and men of like devotion. In "The Negro and Domestic Service in the South" a lady tells us that the whole existence of the negro is an active protest against hygienic and sanitary law. "If there is one clean kitchen or house in a hundred in the South that is not so by the daily minute supervision of the mistress, it is an exception." The lack of persistence, the tendency to drift, the capriciousness and selfishness of the men, who attempt to control the women's wages and hours of work—these and the well-nigh universal lack of training almost drive housekeepers to despair. The Rev. J. D. Barbee, in an article on the "Government of the M.E. Church, South," says that as the General Conference cannot administer its own laws in person, the Episcopacy is charged with the responsibility of superintending the Annual Conference and seeing that the designs of the great legislative body are executed. That body has passed a very stringent law against any preacher abandoning the appointment assigned him by the bishop. Resistance to his authority is indeed revolt against the whole church.

CENTURY MAGAZINE (October, November, December).—Mr. Stockton's "Christmas Shadrach," in the December number, is one of those clever whimsicalities which we have learned to expect from his pen. The illustrations of the Christmas *Century* are very attractive, and there is a great variety of entertaining reading. The paper on "Mozart—after a Hundred Years" brings out well the bitter tragedy of the great composer's life. Its closing days were little more than a series of struggles for the bare necessities of existence, brightened by a few successes that brought him more fame than money. He was reduced to dire straits. Heavily in debt, his strength failing, his wife ill—every comfort seemed gone. The brilliant success of the "Magic Flute" opened before him a future of comparative ease. But it was too late. His evil fate pursued him even after death. There was no money

to buy a grave. "The greatest musical artist of his time was laid in a common trench, side by side with the nameless poor, without a friend to drop a tear or mark the place where he rested. His wife was ill, prostrated with grief. When she was able to go out, the gravedigger, too, was dead, and no trace of the spot where Mozart lies has ever been found."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (October, November, December).—Constance F. Woolson's second paper on "Cairo," in *Harper* for November, gives a capital description of the old University of El Azhar, where there are seven to ten thousand students—boys and men. Instruction is free, and scholars are admitted at the age of eight. The majority leave when they are twelve or fourteen, but a large number pursue their studies much longer. It is not, in fact, uncommon to see a greybeard studying by the side of a youth who might be his grandson. The illustrations of this paper greatly assist one in forming some conception of a university so different from our English notions. The description of the Viceroys is worth reading. Mehemet Ali—"the first modern"—laboured zealously to make his country rival the European nations without joining them. The terrible stories of cruelty associated with Ismail's rule make one shudder, though his efforts to elevate his country compel admiration. The present Khedive is a Mohammedan Puritan—devout, but not a fanatic. His happy family life and his care for the education of his sons mark him out as an enlightened and noble man. The Christmas number is very attractive with profuse illustrations, many short stories, and one of Mr. Besant's best papers—"A Walk in Tudor London."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (October, November, December).—"Mr. Lowell as a Teacher," in *Scribner* for November, is the reminiscences of a Harvard student who greatly enjoyed the professor's discursive talks. The ten or twelve men in his class gave up note-books in a week. "He would lean back in his chair, and talk away across country till he felt like stopping; or he would thrust his hands into the pockets of his rather shabby sack-coat, and pace the end of the room with his heavy laced boots, and look at nothing in particular, and discourse of things in general." His exuberant literary vitality kept them constantly on the alert. They never knew what he was going to do or say next. The evenings in his library at Elmwood were not less interesting. "His pipe fairly started, Mr. Lowell would begin to talk in his own quizzical way—at one moment beautifully in earnest, at the next so whimsical that you could not quite make out what he meant—about whatever came into his head." Mr. Lang's "Adventures among Books" is quite as entertaining as the chronicle of his boyish love of books. In the Christmas number, besides bright stories, there are some instructive and entertaining articles, like "Afloat on the Nile." The dahabeeyah made a happy home for the party, who spent much time in exploring tombs and rubbish-heaps, visiting Coptic churches and monasteries that were new in Constantine's day, and seeing the wonders left by half a dozen successive civilisations. "Then, too, there were pleasant evenings, when men whose patient study had made Egypt their own, brought their enthusiasm and their anecdotes to eager listeners. Mr. Petrie told of tent life at Koorneh, and how he caught the natives of the Delta unawares with his camera; or M. Grébaut of the clearing of the great temple of Luxor, with its difficulties and hindrances; or M. Bouriant recounted his 'strange experiences' at the museum with visitors who, on entering, clamoured for the mummies of Joseph or Cleopatra, and on being informed they were not there, departed incontinent, expressing their contempt for the whole collection."

ST. NICHOLAS (October, November, December).—"The Christmas Inn," in *St. Nicholas* for December, is one of the most charming papers we have seen about three little children coming to an inn on Christmas Eve; whilst Mr. Lummis' "Strange Corners of our Country" gives an account of the "Grand Cañon of the Colorado," and the "Petrified Forest of Arizona," with some exceedingly good illustrations. It is a very taking number.

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