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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1892.

Art. I.—THE EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE.

1. *The Evidence of Christian Experience:* Being the Ely Lectures for 1890. By Lewis French Stearns, Professor of Christian Theology in Bangor Theological Seminary. James Nisbet & Co. 1891.

2. *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels.* By R. W. Dale, LL.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1890.

A HISTORY of Christian apologetics would be very instructive. Even a superficial examination of the subject, extending from the *Apologies* of Justin and Tertullian down to the *Aids to Faith* of yesterday, shows that the methods employed by defenders of the faith have varied from generation to generation, from century to century. They have varied, like the armour and weapons and tactics employed by the besieged repelling besiegers of material citadels, and fighting for altar and hearth over stone ramparts against fleshly foes. The defence has varied as the methods of attack have changed. The embrasure out of which arrows were shot from cross-bow and arquebus is exchanged for parapets from which rifled cannon threaten ominously, and the armour-plated ship is strengthened again and yet again against the torpedo and the heavy ordnance of the turreted vessel attacking it.

The comparison holds in another and deeper sense. For, as the succession of deadly duels between warring nations is not ended by any of the changes in armour and military procedure, and never will end till the passions which give rise to war are brought to an end, so the age-long conflict between faith and scepticism, the assailants and the defenders of Christianity, does not change its essential character with the changes which mark the method of the warfare. That long battle will never come to an end till the human heart is renewed, and human life regenerated, by the working of that power which is able to subdue all things unto itself.

There is nothing arbitrary or artificial about these changes in the mode of theological warfare. Christianity has a thousand sides; there are ten thousand ways of assailing it, and at least as many of defending a religion which is wide as the world, lofty as God's thoughts, and deep as the profoundest needs of humanity. The line of defence must be as long as the line of possible attack. Canada could be invaded by the United States at any point along a line some three thousand miles in length. Christianity is a historical religion, open to all the objections, while possessing all the advantages, of a religion based upon historical facts. Its sacred records go back to the Creation. They touch, or appear to touch, upon physical and other sciences at a hundred various points, they are involved with the history of nations, and the documents themselves have been subject to the vicissitudes of all MSS. handed down from distant times. Hence, before the very substance of the religion itself is reached there are scores of points at which historical research, literary criticism, and physical science may raise questions and present difficulties. Further, those who profess a religion which claims to be a direct revelation from God, declaring truths beyond the power of reason to discover, must be prepared to meet objections, criticisms, cavils from every point of the argumentative compass, while more than triple brass will be needed to clothe the men who represent a religion which undertakes to regenerate mankind, men who attempt to "turn the world upside down," and effect a complete and uncompromising revolution in its words and ways, its modes of thought, and habits of life.

But further still. The *kind* of vindication of religion which commends itself to one generation seems to another quite beside the mark. The moral and spiritual needs of mankind in one sense are always the same, but in another sense they vary from generation to generation. The truth which was potent to arrest and excite our fathers is to-day a dusty truism, lying secure and valueless among our disused mental furniture. But such a truth has not lost its significance because we do not happen to feel the need of it, and our children will furbish it up in due course, and boast of its discovery, pluming themselves, as we have done, over their own wisdom, so superior to that of their fathers. Fashions come round in other matters besides dress. Lord Bacon described the "idols," the false, delusive appearances of the "cave" and the "tribe" and the "market-place," deceiving the individual, the race, or a particular society in its common social intercourse. None the less are there false lights which lead astray the generations severally, and men who laugh at the folly of their ancestors in being deluded by a will-o'-the-wisp which presents no attractions to them, are led astray as easily and as fatally by an *ignis fatuus* of another colour and aspect.

Hence arises the ready but shallow sneer at "obsolete" Christian evidences. The evidences of Christianity are like its early creeds, fashioned in response to assaults from without, and when the attacking army has failed at one point and shifted its quarters, the abandoned trenches and earthworks behind which the assailed defended themselves have an air of purposelessness. They are deserted because they are no longer wanted. So it has happened with what are known as "external" evidences, the arguments of Butler and Paley in the last century. There is nothing obsolete about the arguments of these two masterly reasoners. The *Analogy* remains an almost perfect, if not very artistic specimen, of solid masonry erected against the Deistic position. Paley's reasonings are unanswerable so long as the evidence of human testimony is held to be admissible in defence of miracle. If the Deist becomes an Agnostic, and the sceptic who tried to show that Christianity was founded on imposture sneers instead at the pious but ignorant delusions of fools eighteen

hundred years ago who would believe any story of the supernatural, it is not the "evidences" current in the eighteenth century that have been proved feeble or inadequate. The proof of their sufficiency lies in the complete change made in the point of hostile attack and the methods employed in conducting it.

It is clear, however, that in our own day the defenders of the Christian faith must be prepared both to furbish up old weapons and to forge new ones. Historical and literary criticism of the Scriptures must be met, each upon its own ground, by those well acquainted with the field. The hottest fight some twenty-five years ago was waged round the documents of the New Testament; in our own time the Old Testament has borne the brunt of the battle. Whether Christians like it or not, however weary they may have grown of the very sound of the word "criticism," it is absolutely necessary for apologists to meet upon their own ground and fight with their own weapons men who profess to show that the Scriptures are untrustworthy or misleading. "Lower," or textual criticism, is recognised as a science, in which orthodox and heterodox meet side by side, determining the accuracy or inaccuracy of tradition as regards the words of the original text. "Higher," or analytical criticism, is also a science, younger indeed, less fully formed and much less reliable, but its methods of investigation into the authorship, date, and structure of literary compositions are rapidly being formed, and critics in this department must be met neither by sneers, nor hard names, nor by dogmatism, but by candid and straightforward argument on the part of men at least as fully acquainted with the contents of Scripture as themselves.

All this, however, is "caviare to the general." However popularised the discussion of some of these vexed questions may be, there is a lingering feeling that the considerations at issue do not form the basis of faith for the multitude. The few must be prepared to argue out every question raised with regard to so sacred a book as the Bible, and every one is concerned in the character of the issues reached. But the world will not stand still while critics are analysing Deuteronomy, and the faith in the Lord Jesus Christ as a Saviour,

which sustains the artisan in the midst of his toil, and the invalid in the sharpest pangs of her suffering, does not depend upon the question whether Moses wrote all the books of the Pentateuch with his own hand. Is it a fact, men are asking amidst all the current discussions about the Old Testament, that our faith as Christians depends upon the maintenance of traditional views concerning the authorship of those books? The Bible is a priceless treasure, all Christians are agreed; every part of it possesses a sacredness which no Christian can bear to see for a moment infringed upon or slighted; its soundness and trustworthiness must be maintained in detail, as well as in general, so far as truth will admit, by those who are competent to discuss the subject. But Christianity, it is being freely said, is not, properly speaking, a book-religion. It possesses a direct access to the human heart and awakens a direct response in human life. Is sufficient account taken of this fact in the elaborate constructions of Christian apologetics? Is the intuitive apprehension of its Divine character, the direct and powerful testimony of personal knowledge and experience to count for nothing as an argument? Others besides the author of *In Memoriam* have known what it is when "faith had fallen asleep" to hear the voice "Believe no more," and hear an "ever-breaking shore that tumbled in the God-less deep." When the triumphant answer to that cold and chilling voice came from within, when

> "A warmth within the breast would melt
> The freezing reason's colder part,
> And like a man in wrath, the heart
> Stood up and answered, *I have felt*,"

was that a delusion, or a mere "subjective" reply available only for him who experienced that inward glow? Christian records, Christian testimony, Christian philosophy, Christian ethics, Christian influence, all these have contributed to strengthen the fabric of Christian apologetics, is there no valid and available argument in Christian experience?

The thoughts of many are moving in this direction. Our readers are probably well acquainted with one of the books placed at the head of this article, Dr. Dale's *Living Christ*

and the Four Gospels, and will remember how in that work both the argument drawn from Christian experience, and that drawn from the literature of the New Testament, are exhibited and urged in a popular but masterly way. The position taken up is that the historical trustworthiness of the books of the New Testament can be conclusively proved, and the larger part of the book is occupied with a sketch of that proof in the full light of the most recent research. But at the same time it is contended that there is a more direct argument, the force of which is quite independent of literary discussion. Dr. Dale states it thus:

"The faith in the living Christ of those who have had the great experiences of His power and grace which I have described, is not shaken by any assaults on the historical trustworthiness of the story of His earthly ministry. Much less can it be shaken by discussions concerning the nature and origin of the ancient Scriptures of the Jewish people. Their confidence in the books, both of the Old Testament and the New, may perhaps have to be suspended until the controversies of scholars are closed, or until, on historical and critical grounds, they can see their own way to firm and definite conclusions about the main questions at issue; but not their confidence in Christ. They may be uncertain about the books; they are sure about Him. Both Christian scholars and the commonalty of Christian people approach the controversies on these ancient records with a settled faith in the power and grace and glory of Christ. Their faith in Him rests on foundations which lie far beyond the reach of scientific and historical criticism. They know for themselves that Christ is the Saviour of men; for they have received through Him the remission of their own sins; He has translated them into the Divine Kingdom; He has given them strength for righteousness, and through Him they have found God" (p. 23).

Dr. Dale is one of the last men to base upon a foundation of mere sentiment conclusions which ought to be logically reasoned out, and the former part of the book, which is devoted to the "Argument from Experience," is a piece of masculine and vigorous reasoning, no less convincing to the mind than appealing strongly to the heart and the practical sense of mankind. But as it is probably well known to the readers of this REVIEW, there is no need to describe the scope of Dr. Dale's argument, though we shall have occasion hereafter to refer to one or two features of it.

The other work mentioned at the beginning of our article

is less well known. Published almost simultaneously with Dr. Dale's book, it shows how the minds of Christian thinkers were at work independently upon the same theme, each giving to their common argument a character and colour of his own. Dr. Stearns—whose decease in the prime of life shortly after the publication of this volume is a distinct loss to the Christian Church in the United States—is almost unknown in this country, and now is likely to be known only by these Ely Lectures, which deserve careful study, especially on the part of all Christian ministers. The writer of these lectures, though comparatively a young man, was evidently a practised student in the wide field of Christian philosophy and theology. He carries his knowledge lightly, and uses it easily and aptly. His style is clear, his arguments plainly and cogently put, and his temper is fair and candid towards opponents, while his grasp of evangelical truth is tenacious and unfaltering. There is nothing weak or sentimental about his treatment of the subject. He avoids the rhetorical *petitiones principii* into which a writer on this subject might easily fall, and those who expect to find in Dr. Stearns' pages an example of the evangelical platitudinising which often characterises those who deal with personal experience, rather than rigorous logic or hard facts, will be disappointed. The philosophy which underlies the proof from Christian experience, and forms its necessary basis, is clearly expounded, as the two chapters on theistic and anthropological presuppositions show. The body of the work is occupied with the "Genesis of the Evidence: its Growth and Verification." Other lectures deal with philosophical and theological objections, while the relation of this particular branch to other Christian evidences is discussed both at the beginning and the close of the book.

It is not our object, however, in this article to follow Dr. Stearns very closely. We content ourselves with the most cordial commendation of his valuable lectures, and hope our readers will examine them for themselves. We shall avail ourselves of extracts from Dr. Stearns, and refer to him from time to time, without professing to give a full account of his argument or criticise his work minutely. We desire to offer some suggestions upon a comparatively unworked field of

Christian thought, rather than to discuss the precise mode in which Dr. Stearns has broken ground in it. We cannot, however, do better just here than draw attention to the way in which Dr. Stearns shows the relation between this particular department and the system of apologetics generally. He says in one place:

"The theological thought of our times has come to realise that a distinction is to be made between apologies of Christianity, which consist in a marshalling of the proofs demanded by particular attacks, and have therefore only a temporary value, and apologetics as a science, which has for its object the complete exhibition of the proof of Christianity, as well as of its principles and methods, and thus its defence against all attacks, from whatever quarter they may come. The old evidences, in spite of all the learning and skill expended on them, were apologies and not scientific systems of apologetics. . . . . What is needed is a positive system of truths adapted to all times and circumstances, by which we may not only meet attacks but forestall them, and carry the warfare into the enemy's country" (pp. 18, 19).

Dr. Stearns has himself furnished no inconsiderable contribution towards such a survey of apologetics, dividing the evidences into historical, rational and practical. The first class includes the proofs for the reality of the facts of redemption, and is largely occupied with questions respecting the authenticity of the books of the Bible, as documents upon which we depend for our knowledge of these facts. Under "rational" evidences may be included all that goes to prove the intrinsic excellence of the Christian system, the way in which it meets the need of man, and its superiority to other religions. The practical evidence Dr. Stearns describes as manifesting itself in the *world*, which Christianity has done so much to raise and purify, in the *church* and in the *individual*, as shown in the present influence of the Christian religion upon the community and the personal life of believers. Closely connected with the last of these is the theme of the author's work and of our article—the evidence of Christian experience, defined thus: "This is derived from the manifestation to the believer himself, in his own inward spiritual life, of the presence and power of God and the Christian religion. It is the evidence that is based upon the Christian's regeneration and sanctification."

The argument is, of course, not entirely new. The germs

of it are to be found in the very earliest apologies, in the writings of Melito and Aristides, in the Epistle to Diognetus, the eloquent outpourings of Tertullian and the philosophical disquisitions of Origen. Naturally, however, it was impossible in the earliest times to develop this line of argument fully even for Christians, while it was almost unavailable against opponents. Nor was it likely that such doctrine would flourish amidst the ecclesiasticism of mediæval times. It is virtually a child of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The Reformers appealed from the authority of the Church to the authority of Scripture, and to the testimony of the individual spirit enlightened by the Spirit of God. "Enlightened by Him," says Calvin in his *Institutes*,* "we no longer believe, either on our own judgment or that of others, that the Scriptures are of God; but in a way superior to human judgment, feel perfectly assured—as much so as if we beheld the divine image visibly impressed upon it—that it came to us, by the instrumentality of men, from the very mouth of God." Richard Baxter, in his *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, enlarges in the copious way characteristic of the Puritans upon the various aspects of the Spirit's testimony to Christ, and in one of the manifold sub-sections of his exposition, says, "The fourth part of the Spirit's testimony to Christ is subsequent, in the work of regeneration and sanctification, in which He effectually illuminateth the mind, and reneweth the soul and life to a true resignation, obedience, and love of God, and to a heavenly mind and conversation, and so proveth Christ to be really and effectively the Saviour."† A different line was taken by Coleridge in England and Schleiermacher in Germany; but the teaching of both these prepared in different ways for the increased stress which has been laid during the present century upon internal evidences and the testimony of the Christian consciousness. Amongst contemporary Germans, Dorner and Dr. Frank of Erlangen are the writers who have developed most fully the argument

* Book i. chapter vii. vol. i. p. 95. Ed. Calvin Transl. Society.

† *Reasons of the Christian Religion*, part ii. chap. vi. sect. 10, iv. *Works*, vol. ii. p. 105.

from experience. The sections referring to this at the beginning of Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine* are known to many; but, unfortunately, the involved style of Professor Frank and (if the truth must be told) his somewhat cloudy thought have prevented his work on *The System of the Christian Certainty* from exercising much influence upon opinion.

The most important new feature in the presentation of this argument is the attempt to give it a scientific character. There is not a little jealousy in some quarters over the use of the word science in connection with religious matters, but all that is meant by it is carefully ascertained and thoroughly verified knowledge, the best attainable in every department of human thought. Theology ought to be scientific in the best sense of the word, though the means of ascertaining exact truth in this department differ widely from those employed in physical research. It might appear, however, that the phenomena of Christian experience do not come within the category of science at all. The world loudly asserts this, and some Christians weakly admit the misrepresentation. Dr. Stearns in one place well says:

"The work upon which we are engaged is one of the highest scientific importance. Let us not unwittingly copy the unbeliever's attitude toward Christian experience, and treat it as though it were a matter of sentiment rather than a subject of rational thought. . . . . Let us have the courage of our convictions. If we are right, here is a field for scientific research of the utmost importance. . . . . If we are not ashamed to make the Christian consciousness a source of theology, why should we be ashamed to make it a ground of evidence? Even unbelief no longer treats the experience of the Christian as a mere delusion, but regards it as a series of phenomena possessing the highest and most striking psychological interest, to which it strives to give a rational, though of course rationalistic, explanation" (pp. 110, 111).

The argument thus opening up before us is valid only within certain limits. Obviously it does not avail against the Agnostic or the Secularist, for, until the way is clear, and the preliminary positions of the existence of God, the soul, and a future life established, there is no common ground on which to meet. Clearly, also, the argument from experience can have weight only with those who admit the fact of sin and the need of deliverance from it. If sin be explained away as

a "defect of race, a taint of blood," salvation, in any moral and spiritual sense of the word, is as unnecessary as it is impossible. But, for men who believe in God and the spiritual nature of man, yet find themselves unable or unwilling to enter upon the complicated questions of literary documents and historical criticism, there is unquestionably a direct, universal, and most powerful argument in favour of the truth of the Christian religion to be drawn from the phenomena of Christian experience. We cannot admit that it is confined to those who are the subjects of this experience. For them, except in moments of extreme depression or severe temptation, this argument is paramount. "One thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see." The Christian has "the witness in himself," and a study of this argument can only serve to show him how defensible on the most rational grounds is that intuitive knowledge, which, for him, needs no elaborate reasoning to establish it.

But that Christians themselves should be convinced, it may be said, is a matter of course. It is desired to formulate a valid argument of scientific character which should have weight with those who have not experienced for themselves the power of Christian truth to change heart and life; one, moreover, which is not to be confused with that drawn from the outward moral effects of Christianity in the world. Such an argument is one based upon *facts*, and it is to give testimony and authentication to other great *facts*. The argument quoted above from Calvin is intended rather to authenticate the Scriptures and the system of Christian doctrine drawn from the Scriptures. It is that *testimonium spiritus sancti* of which we read so much in the writings of the Reformers, which assures the believer, and the believer alone, of the Divine authority of Scripture as able to make him wise unto salvation. It is distinct again from that assurance of personal salvation vouchsafed to the believer, of which we read in Rom. viii. 15, which the Westminster Confession speaks of as "an infallible assurance of faith," and which proved so blessed and useful an element in the Evangelical revival of the last century, when Wesley and the early Methodists urged it as a privilege of all believers, to the immense quickening and deepening of personal

religion. These things are all-important in their place. But is it possible to frame an argument of a more comprehensive character, reasoning from the unquestioned facts in human experience and character, to the alleged spiritual realities which are the cause and the foundation of the whole—an argument which will not only confirm the faith of the believer, but prove an additional buttress to the great structure of Christian evidences, in a time when the forces openly attacking or secretly undermining Christianity are many and great? What are the facts upon which such argument rests, and what conclusions may be drawn from them?

The outline of Christian experience is substantially the same in hundreds of thousands of cases in every generation. Millions of men throughout the history of Christendom have been prepared to "set their seal that God is true" as regards the fulfilment of the promises of His Word in their own history, and they would describe their experience with infinite variety of detail, but with the same essential features. In each case the truth finds the man. Either by the preaching of the Word, or by some message which contains the same glad tidings of God's love to sinners in Jesus Christ His Son, and in and through the existing community the Church, representing the company of those who have passed through the Christian experience themselves—by some one or other of these means, or a combination of them, a man is arrested from without, the truth finds him and lays hold of him. The message begins with what Dr. Stearns calls "the arraignment," the charge of sin and announcement of penalty. The echo of this is heard in the conscience, and a response is made when the sinner is "awakened" in repentance. Repentance is an act of the whole man, the mind, the feelings, and the will, and is followed by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, similarly an act of the whole man, as he rests upon God's mercy in and through Christ for salvation. Thereupon, as with more or less clearness tens of thousands will gladly testify, there ensues an indescribable change, effected both in heart and life. Not only is there joy instead of sorrow, gladness instead of gloom, but new thoughts are awakened in the mind, while new aims, new interests, new sympathies, and new moral and spiritual

power, are manifested in the life. There is a change in the will the intellect, the feelings, and the conscience. Each man is distinctly conscious that he has not wrought this for himself. It is often done suddenly, often quite unexpectedly, always accompanied with more or less of glad surprise. "When the Lord brought again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream." It is *the* turning-point, however, in life. Sometimes it proves to be of transient effect, sometimes men may doubt its reality: it is too often counterfeited, and the whole subject has been too frequently overlaid by cant and false sentiment. But, speaking broadly, for whole communities of Christian men and women, generation after generation, the experience above described has been as real as any other event in their history, far more important than any other, and has been avowed as a crisis revolutionising the whole of their life.

Argument would be of little avail, but for this last feature. If this experience were like St. Paul's vision in 2 Corinth. xii., when whether he was in the body or out of the body, he could not tell, and heard things which it was impossible for man to utter, such an event could hardly be said to have a real existence for any but the person immediately concerned. The analogy, however, is with Paul's vision on the road to Damascus. That not only converted a soul, but it changed a life. The initial stage of Christian life forms only the "Genesis of the Evidence"; the further course of Christian service marks its growth, its steadily increasing verification. We need not sketch in detail the transition from regeneration to sanctification, the growth of the spirit of love to God and man as a new principle of life, the increasing power over sin, the growth in knowledge as well as in grace, the increasing likeness to Christ the Lord, the increasing ability to serve and influence others, which are the recognised features of Christian life, where a man is faithful to the principles he professes and the calling with which he has been called. It is more to the point to notice that this verification is detailed, observable in detail by the Christian as regulating his own inner life, as well as by others who see a certain measure of the result in the life without. Doubtless, there are fluctuations, sometimes

sad and discouraging enough. But in the main, the verification is discernible, and it is strengthened by repeated instances of answers to prayer, by communication with others and corroboration in abundance received from fellow-Christians.

It may well, however, be considered a question whether these features of the Christian life come sufficiently within the scope of "science" in any sense of the term to afford material for exact investigation and cogent argument. This is the pith of the whole matter. Has Christian experience a clear, definite, assignable "evidential value"? On this subject, Dr. Stearns says:

"The entrance into the sphere of Christian experience follows the scientific method in that it is a transformation of probable knowledge into real knowledge by experiment. It is emphatically real knowledge which it claims to have. The very term experience indicates this; it implies the existence of objects with which we come into actual contact. We do not experience the first principles of thought or the processes of logic and mathematics. Still less do we experience the knowledge of probability. In every case, experience implies the presence of real existence acting directly upon and in our consciousness. Accordingly, the certainty belonging to Christian experience is not a mere moral certainty, but a true certainty" (p. 208).

In other words, the fundamental character of Christian experience is that it is based in *real knowledge* and possesses the certainty which belongs to such. The words that we have italicised have a technical meaning which should be clearly apprehended. There are different kinds of human knowledge, varying according to the sphere of thought or life with which they are severally concerned. The methods by which such knowledge is first ascertained and afterwards tested and verified, vary accordingly. Some of this knowledge is probable only, but its scientific character is not affected by that. No one complains that the methods of pure mathematics are not available (without modification) in the region of mechanics, or that the methods of applied mathematics are not available, say, in the region of history. The science of historical criticism has its own rules, it must be based to a large extent upon testimony—*i.e.*, upon only probable evidence—yet it reaches conclusions as valid within its own area as the deductions of Euclid in the sphere of pure geometry. In Christian experi-

ence there is, no doubt, a considerable admixture of merely probable knowledge. It has its assumptions and working hypotheses, its partial inferences, its growing assurance, its merely moral certainties. But in its fundamental character it belongs to *real knowledge*, as bringing us into direct contact with spiritual realities, known to be such, not with a moral, but a *real* certainty. All of us recognise the distinction in Christian life between mere notional (often called intellectual) acquaintance with Christian verities and a real or experimental acquaintance with them. The life of a true Christian is one continuous passage from the notional to the real. He is continually *making his own* the truths of Scripture—*i.e.*, verifying in his own experience what would otherwise be to him mere ideas in a book or in his own mind. Such knowledge, we may well contend, implies not merely a personally comforting, but a scientific certainty. It is that which St. John claims for himself and others, not as those who had literally seen Christ, but who had obtained immediate, indubitable knowledge of Him for themselves—"that which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the word of life." And again the same note is struck at the close of the Epistle which sounded at its opening—"We *know* that whosoever is born of God sinneth not. . . . . We *know* that we are of God. . . . . We *know* that the Son of God is come and hath given us an understanding, that we know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ." St. John deliberately avoids the γινώσκειν which indicates a process, the gradual acquisition of knowledge, and repeats the οἴδαμεν of direct, intuitive, complete possession.* The direct and immediate contact with spiritual realities gives a certainty to knowledge as assured as that of our own existence.

We must not stay to discuss the question whether Dr. Stearns does not press some of his points too far. What he calls "the Trinitarian knowledge of Christian experience," knowledge of the working of God as Father, Son, and Holy

* The subordinate clause in ver. 20 ἵνα γινώσκωμεν (R.V. γινώσκομεν) shows that St. John does not forget that gradual acquisition is in some sense needful.

Spirit, may, no doubt, be maintained as bearing out the general teaching of Scripture and so confirming it for the believer. Whether more than this can be said is doubtful. The authority of Frank may be quoted for the attempt to establish the Christian doctrine of the Trinity on these grounds, but his argument on this subject is the weakest part of his work. We can fully accept Dr. Stearns' statement that the Christian "verifies by his experience the Christian concepts of Father, Christ, and Spirit, in their broad outlines." The cumulative strength of the argument deducible from the slow, steady, constantly repeated verification of Christian truth in Christian experience cannot be expressed in words. We quote one significant sentence from Dr. Stearns:

"When we consider the evidence upon which men base the larger part of their daily conduct, to what a small extent actual first-hand knowledge enters in, how much depends upon hypotheses and analogies more or less reasonable, how much upon the unverified testimony of others, how much upon mere instinct—when we consider this, and compare with it the increasing evidence which the Christian has in his advancing experience, it is not too much to say that we have a far better foundation for the reality of the things we are concerned with in our spiritual life than for that of the things of our secular life" (p. 228).

A very large part, however, of the argument upon this subject must consist in the meeting of objections. Most persons are prepared for the statement of Christian certainty based upon experience, but they are not convinced by it or prepared to grant to it a scientific character, because of doubts or objections floating more or less vaguely in their minds, of which they cannot rid themselves. Dr. Dale devotes one lecture to this subject, but hardly deals with it, as it seems to us, with sufficient fulness. Dr. Stearns, on the other hand, enumerates so many objections as somewhat to bewilder the reader and obscure the exposition. We fasten upon a few of those which it seems most desirable to face and answer.

1. The most obvious and plausible of all objections is that the experience described is private, peculiar, to use a much abused word "subjective," and hence not capable of being made the basis of scientific argument. To this, however, there is an easy double reply. In the first place the "particularism" of

Christian experience is only such as it shares in common with all science. Only to the few is it given to examine for themselves bacteria through the microscope, or stars through the telescope, and fewer still are capable of working out for themselves the mathematical problems necessary to use the knowledge which the telescope affords. If in religion it is necessary to "taste and see" that the Lord is good, and if the experience above described is enjoyable only by those who comply with certain conditions, that does not make their knowledge less real or the evidence it affords less cogent.

But the experience may be universal, and is so in the sense that it is accessible to all, and has been enjoyed by men the most diverse under the most diverse conditions. A plant which will thrive anywhere and maintain its essential characteristics unaltered, might well be described as universal in its habitat, and "particularism" can hardly be asserted of such phenomena as those of Christian experience. Dr. Dale describes very touchingly a kind of incident which, as he truly says, "must often have occurred." He supposes a Christian scholar harassed in the morning by doubts concerning the reality of the redemptive facts and his own experience in relation to them to go out in the afternoon visiting the poor.

"He sat by the side of some poor, aged, and illiterate man, whose strength was slowly wasting, and the conditions of whose life were very cheerless; but the old man had travelled by the same path that all the saints have travelled. As the scholar listened, he could recall at point after point, identical experiences of his own. It was as if the man were telling the story of years which he had spent in some foreign country, which the scholar also had visited. They had seen the same cities, and harbours, and churches, and palaces, the same ruins, the same mountains and rivers, the same crops, the same trees and flowers. The old man's account of them was very different from what his own account would have been, the old man's theories and explanations of them and his own were still more different, but it was certain that what he had seen the old man had seen" (pp. 32, 33).

We draw special attention to the last sentence. This is the test of reality, the "objective" as opposed to the subjective. Vary the conditions, the language, the theories, the point of view, and then, if the essential features of the experience present themselves in spite of all, it is clear that nothing but direct

knowledge of the same great realities will account for the facts. Where could this be better illustrated than in a typical Methodist class-meeting?

2. It is usual, again, to raise the stock objection that all this is "mere feeling." Feeling, of course, is present, but it is the very touchstone which distinguishes the shallow and counterfeit from the real and deep experience that in the latter there is so much more than the mere feeling which characterises the former. As Dr. Stearns very well says: "Feeling is a source of knowledge, but it is not a faculty of knowledge." There is only one faculty of knowledge, the intellect, and while feeling has a most important place in Christian experience, it should be kept in its place. It must never be forgotten that our Christian knowledge is derived from the intellect and the will as well as the feelings, and as *knowledge*, it is reached by the intellect alone, to which it can always give good account of itself. The experience which is resolvable into mere sensibility proves nothing; the experience which affects the whole man—mind, heart, conscience, will, and life—and is cognisable by the sanctified intellect, proves a great deal.

3. Closely connected with this is the objection that Christians imagine a great deal, "persuade themselves" that what the Bible describes as the normal experience must be theirs; in other words, that in this case mere feeling alone is awakened and that of an artificial or imaginary kind. That there are such cases, no one would deny. If there be a real Christian experience, there are as sure to be imitations, as the uttered sound to awake an echo. But one marked feature of Christian experience is that the feelings, the imagination, the expectations, are so often disappointed. And, as Mr. Wilfrid Ward has shown in his *Wish to Believe*, the very desire for the blessings which the experience is to bring makes the true man more critical in his examination of himself and of the facts, fearful lest he should deceive himself and holding the good news "too good to be true."

4. The objection that the same kind of assertion can be made in relation to other religions is fully dealt with both by Dr. Stearns and Dr. Dale. In the first place, the statement is

not wholly true. Taking Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, as illustrations, it may be shown in each case that the parallel by no means holds good. And if, to a certain extent, there is an analogy in the case, say, of one of the best and most spiritual representatives of a non-Christian religion, it is by no means part of our argument to deny that there are elements of truth in most, if not all, religions, and that those who are tenaciously true to such light as they have find access to God and a religious power and reality in connection with their worship and service which go to show that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him."

But we must stay our hand in recapitulating objections, none of which are more formidable than those we have instanced. Let us ask instead: What may, and what may not, be proved by this kind of evidence, and how does it stand related to other parts of Christian apologetics?

It is quite clear that it in no sense supersedes or interferes with the use of the Bible. It cannot prove anything with regard to the several books of Scripture; this must be settled by critical inquiry. But the substantial trustworthiness of Scripture teaching, and to some extent of Scripture facts, is established, and confirmation is given to the authority of Scripture as the one rule of faith and life, by the correspondence with its teaching as exhibited in the actual experience of Christians.

Further, such inquiry as has been here pursued does not in any sense supersede the need of careful dogmatic investigation and definition; does not diminish the importance of systematised theological thought, but rather emphasises the need of it. Experience can prove nothing concerning the doctrine of the Trinity or the person of Christ, in its metaphysical aspects, though sound doctrine on these subjects is in many respects confirmed by experience. Experience cannot obviate the necessity of exact analysis—*e.g.*, into the nature of sin or the meaning and grounds of justification—but it at the same time calls for such investigation, and helps to establish its results. The pedestrian might as well try to dispense with the map-maker. The traveller is, on the other hand, most thankful

for the map, the topography of which he confirms by his own observation. If here and there he finds occasion to criticise or question the accuracy of his map, the doubt can soon be resolved, and the testimony of an independent witness is all the more valuable.

Again, this line of argument does not by itself prove the substantial truth of the Christian religion, or obviate the necessity for examination into its character in comparison with other religions—the exhibition of what are usually called internal evidences. But the evidence of Christian experience does put a stamp of its own on this, as on all other kinds of evidence, removing it from the region of the subjective to the objective—from the sphere of the theoretical to the practical. This it is which enables us to contrast Christianity so favourably with Confucian moralising and Hindu philosophising. Surely it adds a weight of incalculable importance to all arguments concerning the fitness of Christianity for man's needs, when he who is urging them can adduce his own testimony, "It works, for I have proved it," and add the personal experience of millions like himself.

The question of the relation of the evidence of Christian experience to that derived from miracles and prophecy would almost require an article to itself. There is a strong disposition at present to discredit external evidences. As we have hinted, there is a danger of this being carried too far. It is unwise of Christians to discard any bulwarks that have been of service, because they are not needed at the moment. They may—they will—be wanted again. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that, for the present generation especially, there is a directness and a power about the argument from Christian experience which no external evidence based on the supernatural could possibly possess. It may be said, moreover, that in Christian experience there is direct evidence of the supernatural, moral miracles being wrought, as it were, before our very eyes. Even now, as when John the Baptist sent messengers to Jesus, "The blind receive their sight and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear and the dead are raised up," when "the poor have the gospel preached to them."

We close by asking whether practical use may not be made

of the line of thought we have been pursuing. Surely this is no mere abstract question of theological polemics. It would be difficult, we think, in these days of mental unrest and religious anxiety, to name any subject of more practical and living interest. If we have discussed it largely from the point of view of the scientific theologian, it has been in order that the foundations of sound argument might be well and truly laid. But if there be anything of truth in the general contention of this article, that the value of Christian experience as an element in Christian evidences has hardly as yet been duly appreciated, and that for the needs of the present generation that argument should be much more fully developed and brought to bear in the conflict between faith and unfaith, the subject deserves a practical consideration, such as we have only space to sketch and leave with our readers.

1. The first and perhaps the best effect of all would be to stir up Christians to live better and more distinctively Christian lives. The force of this argument is blunted by nothing so much as the outward inconsistencies and the inward haziness and dulness of experience caused by unfaithfulness to Christian privilege and duty. What a brightening of personal religion ought to result, and would result, from an attempt to brighten up this portion of the Christian armour! If Christians had a clearer vision of spiritual truth, a fuller personal enjoyment of it, and a firmer, more tenacious grasp of spiritual things as the only realities, much of the current Christian "apologetics" would be unnecessary.

2. Greater confidence and boldness on the part of Christians with regard to this feature of their life is desirable. They should not be afraid to insist upon that which they know to be reality, and to claim that it should be everywhere estimated as such. There is no need to obtrude the sacred things of personal religion upon those who have no appreciation of them, but, on the other hand, the Christian is not to accept the world's estimate of his religion as something vague, impalpable, unreal, the dream of meditative moments, too shadowy to bear the light of day. It was characteristic of the early Christians to "speak the word of God with boldness," the testimony of their own personal experience included.

3. It would be easier to approach critical problems from this side, and adequately to fill in the whole outline of Christian apologetics, if the practical, experimental part of the argument were once placed upon a firm foundation. It is not true that the critical problems of Biblical literature can be settled by the same kind of arguments only which might be used in the case of Greek histories or other ancient records. The abstract discussions which delight the souls of many Germans and some Englishmen are of little avail for the actual determination of Biblical difficulties. Many fine-spun theories are simply so many cobwebs, easily blown away by the first breath of wind from the experience of actual Christian life. Much of the critical analysis of our time is of the wire-drawn, fine-spun *à priori* character which in the case of the schoolmen is ridiculed as unsubstantial speculation, and which is only tolerated in this practical age because the impression somehow prevails that it is "scientific." A simple-minded Christian who has proved the power of God in his own heart and life can afford to smile at the dreary speculations of rationalists, who examine St. Paul with the vision of the blear-eyed man criticising a picture he cannot really see.

4. If duty in this matter devolves upon any one part of the Christian Church more than another, it is the Methodists who are called upon to bestir themselves. Of the two writers whose books we have referred to, one is a Presbyterian and one a Congregationalist. True, Dr. Dale has always proved himself in this matter more Methodistic than many Methodists, and not once or twice only has he held up the standard of Christian experience, personal assurance, experimental knowledge, when it seemed as if those who professed to be the standard-bearers showed some symptoms of faltering. There is a great field here for a Methodist theologian. There is a greater still for the Methodist Church in the sphere of practical life. But in such a question as this the name "Methodist" is an impertinence, the name "Christian" only can be recognised. In the glorious task of raising the standard of Christian experience and setting it forth more completely as an element of incalculable importance in Christian evidence, "names and sects and parties fall," for

in Christ there is "neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." All may take part in an apologetic which is not of the study nor of the schools, but of the heart, the will, and the life. And when this line of Christian defence is fully manned and fully worked, there will be no need of any other, for from such lives, as in the case of the Thessalonian Church of old, the word of the Lord will be "sounded out" as from a trumpet, so that others "need not to speak anything."

Art. II.—IBSENISM.

1. *Ibsen's Prose Dramas.* Edited by William Archer. In five volumes. London: Walter Scott. 1890.
2. *Life of Henrik Ibsen.* By Henrik Jaeger. Translated by Clara Bell. London: William Heinemann. 1890.

AMONG those signs of our times which are not very encouraging, nor significant of special good to the community where they manifest themselves, it is hardly unjust to rank the increasing vogue among us of such a writer as the Norwegian poet and dramatist whose name lends its title to this paper. Idol of his own special circle of English readers he has long been, and their hymns of praise are beginning, it would seem, to find echoes outside the narrow limits of their band. English journals now refer with easy familiarity to "the creations of Ibsen" when they are describing some revolting criminal case reported from the Northlands where that author found his models, and they specify the particular character to whom the criminal they are discussing bears a wonderful resemblance; they supply details of the preparations for reproducing before London audiences, already familiar with it, Ibsen's best known, but not least questionable play, *A Doll's House*, steps being reported as successfully taken to procure the licence, made necessary by recent legislation, for the appearance of a child-actor in the part of Nora Helmer's

forsaken boy. Nor is it very long since our leading comic journal took the trouble to make the eccentricities of Ibsen's last dramatic heroine the object of one of its sparkling parodies—a doubtful compliment, but such as is accorded only to a sufficiently well-known and tolerably popular writer. Trivial indications these, but they are as significant as the published portraits and notices of the author in our magazines, or as the excellently executed English versions of his works, published at easy prices, which appear in our libraries and bookshops. There is a growing taste, at least, for the writer whose successes have revealed to many good English folk the unsuspected fact that Norway has a literature.

The wild majesty of Norwegian scenery—as beheld by summer tourists—the picturesque appearance and old-world ways of its peasant-folk in their homes by fjord and mountain—the excellent salmon fishing supplied by its rushing waters, are quite familiar articles of an Englishman's mental furniture; but the sort of intellectual and moral life to be found in the cities of the land was practically an unknown quantity for us, until Ibsen, a star of doubtfully benign aspect, arose to shed light on the matter. A fair amount of northern integrity, simplicity, and purity, untainted by the special vices of modern civilisation, was taken for granted as the heritage of the sturdy Norsemen, who were not backward in proclaiming their own freedom from the corruptions of wealthier and mightier peoples. The literary successes of Henrik Ibsen, however, have wrought a change in these ideas. His evidence tells both for and against his fatherland, for if his life-work and his story give proof that the cities of Scandinavia are the theatres of considerable intellectual activity, and that an unmistakable dramatic genius may there develop itself, they tend also to destroy belief in the idyllic uncorrupted virtue of town and country folk in the wild Northland. For not many writers have spoken such bitter things against their own people and their own land. If we would find one who can compare in this respect with Ibsen among our countrymen, we must turn in thought from the last decades of the nineteenth century to the first, and look at Byron and his poetic comrades, malcontent exiles from England, abjuring its "prejudices," social and moral, who—

like Ibsen—found their fatherland uncongenial in every way, and left it for the brighter and softer skies of Italy; and who were not soon wearied of pouring scorn on those traits of English life which were to them specially offensive. In its day, too, Byronism was a fashion much in vogue, put on and worn with conscious delight by some who had learned to see in stormy discontent with one's surroundings, in bitter contempt for mankind at large, and in vague scepticisms, the tokens of superior refinement of nature and of mind, and who indulged a lofty pity for those who did not share their sublime dissatisfaction with things divine and human.

These we may call the distinctive symptoms of the Byron fever; but Ibsenism is a rather different affection. Its *professed* creed is optimistic, and its author has, we are told, "lofty and splendid dreams for the future, of man with freedom of impulse and a purified will—mankind made happy, and living in freedom, innocence, and joy." But under existing conditions, it is far otherwise with men, says the author; the basenesses of the race are infinitely ugly and numerous; and the world mirrored to us in his works is, as Hamlet saw it, "an unweeded garden that grows to seed; things rank and gross in nature possess it merely."

He quarrels with the actual conditions of society as he knows it; a favourite idea of his being "that the State is the foe of the individual, and must therefore be done away with." To what extremes this notion could be carried by him is clear when he is found deploring the collapse of the Paris Commune, which "spoiled his admirable theory of the State—or rather of the No State." Compared with such visions of beatific Anarchy as Ibsen's, the Liberalism affected by Byron and his circle, so alarming to steady-going people of that generation, is tame indeed. It seems slow and almost conservative, contrasted with these wild theories of our own day, that promise the perfecting of human kind through a return to such a social condition as that when "there was no king in Israel; but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." How far from ideal righteousness even the people of Israel were in that state, the Book of Judges tells us with stern fidelity; and the dismal records of the Paris Commune in our own day

show that the lapse of three thousand years has not changed the human heart, nor made it less willing to look on wrong as right, even though "the State" be, for a space, abolished, and its baleful influence withdrawn.

One might call Ibsen, the dramatist, into court as a witness against Ibsen, the politico-socialist dreamer. Through what mysterious processes of spiritual chemistry is a free, innocent, and joyous society to be produced from such base and poor human materials as are the vast majority of his *dramatis personæ?* Is it conceivable that it needs little but the abolition of State control to work such a stupendous transformation? "The worthlessness of mankind, the pettiness, cruelty, pride, imbecility, the general vanity, the foolish pretension, the mock greatness, the pompous dulness, the mean aims, the base successes,"*—these furnish almost as many bitter heart-sickening pages to Ibsen as they do to Jonathan Swift; and if he does not deduce the same terrible consequences from such premisses, if he would energetically deny that "man is and deserves to be the slave of brutes, and ignorance is better than his vaunted reason," the credit must be given to the inconsequence of a poetic nature, which allows him to indulge in dreams of a coming race of radiant purity, blossoming like a lily flower out of the rank corruptions of the past, without any help from God's light or grace; for, in his scheme of things, the only power that has ever proved itself able to work such a divinely glorious transfiguration in fallen man—the love of God made manifest in Christ Jesus, and working by the might of the Holy Spirit—is hardly taken into account at all.

While the rank and file of the human figures that move through the long array of Ibsen's works are, as moral agents, almost beneath contempt in their sordidness, there is a curious incongruity about some of the characters intended to be more noble, which again recalls Byron, but as it were by contrast. The heroes whom the English poet often chose to draw—men of "one virtue and a thousand crimes"—find strange parallels in such heroines as Nora in *A Doll's House*, as Rebecca in

* Thackeray: *English Humourists.*

Rosmersholm, as Inger in *Lady Inger of Östraat*, who are each and all represented as persons worthy of admiration; yet each has been guilty of a crime, which stands out revoltingly among the supposed excellences with which it is associated. Nora, who of all Ibsen's heroines is the most familiar to English readers, has the lightest load of guilt to bear among her guilty compeers. Yet she is really as much of a moral monstrosity as any Byronic Corsair or Giaour, Alp or Manfred. The art of the author is potent enough to make us accept her as a possible human being while we read her story, but when the book is closed the glamour fades away, and we can only wonder at the composite shape—as false to nature as the legendary mermaid—of the child-wife, loved and doted on as a beautiful toy, and quite content to be so loved and doted on through two out of the three acts of the drama; but in the third, transformed all at once into a woman of the most "advanced" views on the marriage question, a woman of cold, iron resolution, who forsakes home, husband and children, and goes out alone into an alien world, "to try to educate herself—to stand quite alone, and know herself and her surroundings—to think out things for herself and try to get clear about them," because in the moment of supreme trial, brought about by her own agency, her husband's character reveals itself as profoundly inferior to what she had dreamed it during her eight years of marriage. "You neither think nor talk like the man I can share my life with," says the girl who has hitherto been satisfied with her husband's kindly contemptuous treatment of her as his "lark," his "song-bird," his "squirrel," a mere embodiment of the animal beauty and delight of existence; her sole business being to brighten with song and dance and freakish sport the leisure moments of a serious, much-occupied, indulgent husband and master. Characters do not so totally transform themselves in real life, nor do their changes come about with such pantomimic suddenness.

But this is not the only glaring improbability of the piece. We are asked to believe that this mere little humming-bird of a woman has stained herself with the guilt of forgery out of the purest filial and conjugal devotion, and that in her incredible ignorance and innocence she deems the fault no fault at all,

since it was done "for love." Her motive for counterfeiting her father's signature to a bond was so beautiful! Without that signature she could not obtain the money which seemed necessary to save her husband's life; her father was on his death-bed, and to trouble him was so unkind! So she writes the name in his stead; tells lie upon lie to account for her possession of the coveted sum; and perseveres in lies for long years, during all which time it has never so much as occurred to her that her conduct was blameworthy. With her "the end justifies the means," indeed! This almost irresponsible being it is whose moral susceptibilities are so exquisitely fine as to be revolted beyond measure by the paroxysm of selfish terror for his *own* good name into which her husband is betrayed, when her long-cherished secret bursts upon him. "He is not the man she thought him," and nothing of the old sweet habit of affection can survive the shock. She must go her separate way and he must go his. As for her poor children, what have they ever been but her *dolls?* There is no true mother-heart living in her; and she leaves them, "in better hands than hers," with remarkable tranquillity. It is herself that she is concerned about, not these poor infants, who are to her the children of a stranger.

The strange inverted morality and the grotesque improbability of the piece would be incomplete without the character of the husband, the just, upright, honourable, truth-loving man, whom the touchstone of trial transforms into a wonder of base selfishness. Let it be admitted that the author intended to vindicate a wife's claim to the noble position of a true equal helpmeet, not the ignoble one of a plaything; he has so managed his dramatic stating of the question that wherever his play is read and admired, and its teaching followed out, the effect can be nothing but disastrous to the purity and dignity of married life. The ideas of Nora Helmer have been put in practice, unless our Transatlantic cousins are false witnesses against themselves, by many married people among *them*, but the results have not been particularly beautiful or noble.

On the character of *Lady Inger*—or *Fru Inger—of Östraat*, we need not linger so long. A historical figure from Norwe-

gian records, though treated by Ibsen with daring disregard of historical accuracy, she is credited with committing a great, bad action—the murder of her son—from motives of exalted patriotism. Feeling herself the fated instrument of Norway's resuscitation, and believing the life of this son a public peril, she sacrifices *him* rather than her country. But though it is no healthy or beneficial interest that is excited by the vivid presentation of such a character and such a deed, there is little in the example that can tell on the morality of commonplace lives, or exercise a baleful influence on the purity and stability of the home.

We cannot so lightly dismiss that sinister Rebecca in *Rosmersholm*, the gifted, strong-willed, reckless seeker after the earthly happiness which she holds her due, and is determined to conquer—bent on "living in the new time that is dawning," and aiding in the triumph of "the new ideas." There is something peculiarly repulsive about her guilt, though it is such that the law could scarcely take cognisance of; for setting her heart fully on Pastor Rosmer, without regard to the fact that he already has a wife, she, in the council-chamber of her sinful heart, dooms that wife as an ill-fitting mate, whose continued existence will be hurtful to her husband's prospects, and she so works on the unhappy woman's mind, with purpose quite relentless, that she succeeds in driving her to suicide, and thus clearing the way for the accomplishment of her own desires. This evil work is, fortunately, not represented in the dramatic action of the play, though its results are. That a late repentance comes on Rebecca, that she sees her crime for the horror that it is, that she confesses it, and escapes by death from the imminent temptation of gathering the full ripe fruit of her sin and assuming the wifely place of her victim, is imperfect compensation indeed for the dramatic presentation of a situation so repulsive.

The inclination which these examples reveal to blend with a thousand gifts, or a thousand graces, a single crime, in the same individual, just as the crude Byronic hero had his one virtue linked to his thousand crimes—this tendency to dwell on the abnormal in character—betrays itself in a much earlier play of the author, *Olaf Liljekrans*, where Alfhild, a maiden reared in

a solitude as complete as the enchanted isle of the *Tempest*, is guilty, in a fit of desperation, of incendiarism, setting fire to the house where her faithless lover's wedding-feast is proceeding. Here again, however, as in the case of Fru Inger, there is something quite exceptional in the character, and remote in the period portrayed; an old ballad of the Scottish Border would be as little allied to the manners and the ideas of to-day.

It is far otherwise with one of those modern social dramas to which, as even an admirer admits, the poet has "too resolutely" devoted himself of late years. He has taken up in *Ghosts* the same theme as our sturdy English Hogarth dealt with in *Marriage à la Mode*, and he holds up to reprobation that terrible institution the *mariage de convenance*. But he has invested his theme with such ghastly repulsiveness that the very reading of the work seems to leave a stain on the spirit of the reader; a scent of sin and corruption breathes out on us from every movement by which the action advances, and the conclusion, instead of inspiring a purifying "pity and terror," leaves behind a sense of absolute horror. It was doubtless the author's intention to bring the heaviest possible indictment against that abstract noun, "Society," which in his scheme of things seems to hold the place of Satan, or he would not have depicted the miserable wife as playing, in deference to Society, the part of a finished hypocrite during almost all her married life, covering with thick-woven lies her secret misery, and persuading the world that her hopelessly immoral husband was a model of all the virtues. Surely a better path was open even to so ill-mated a woman; and she could have been freed from the death-in-life depicted at a less tremendous price than the conjugal infidelity which is the only alternative suggested for her.

Though something of the tainted air of *Ghosts* does cling about too many of the other dramas, there are some that are almost free from it, and that convey a lesson noble in fact as well as in intention; though always that *bête noire*, "Society," stands in the background of the piece as the evil genius; and here and there is grace enough, and even tenderness enough, to make us half forget what deformities and

horrors have been obtruded on our sickened senses by this writer of unquestionable power, this artist who seems to us to have so misread his commission.

Ibsen's own life, domestic and public, is clear and pure and honourable, according to every witness. How comes it that a man of high character and honest meaning and optimistic imaginations, should thus minister to the perverted taste for the repulsive, and should be so dangerous a guide for such readers as take him seriously?

This is a much graver question than if it might be asked of no other writer but Ibsen; his are representative views, and they are not only potent among large classes of men on the Continent, but they may be detected as pervading the minds of more English citizens, especially among the artisan class, than would be easily believed without evidence. In the case of Ibsen himself, the key to his incongruities, to the mixture in him of beauty and repulsiveness, and to the strange ominous opinions shared by him with others, is possibly supplied by his works. They show that he has had no contact with a thoroughly vitalised Christianity; and if he knows that such a thing is, or has been, it is almost as the children of Earth know of Heaven. For him the Church of to-day is hardly as much as the shell of a beautiful life now fled, which at one time animated and fashioned every chamber; it is scarcely as venerable as the fossil-remains of an extinct creature: for it presents itself to him as a province of officialdom, and little more. It is not an unmeaning utterance of Brand, the priestly hero of one of his earlier poems,

> "I take my place in Nature's plan,
> Not as a Christian, but a man,"—

as if the *true* Christian were not "the highest style of man." It is not without intention that his ill-advised Nora is made to say: "I don't know properly what religion is. I know nothing but what our clergyman told me when I was confirmed. He explained that religion was this and that. When I get away from here, I will look into that matter too." For neither the consecrated priest nor the child-wife is religion anything but a certain system of opinions and practices which

the State has stamped with its seal, and which good society approves as a kind of life assurance policy for the world to come, such as it would be imprudent and unbecoming not to possess.

The most impressive evidence of Ibsen's attitude towards Christianity, particularly towards historical Christianity, is not, however, supplied by any of the "social" dramas that are so imbued with the spirit of modern "realism" as to be frequently offensive, and not rarely improbable to a fantastic extent. In the double drama devoted to the story of the Emperor Julian the Apostate—a World-Historic Drama, as its ambitious title runs—may be seen the attitude of this Norwegian playwright, not only towards the Church of the fourth century, but towards the Divine Head of our holy religion Himself.

Emperor and Galilean, though dramatic in form, and though not only dramatic in many of its situations, even to the highest degree, but sometimes distinctly *stagey*, extends to such an extraordinary length, and is framed with such sovereign contempt for the unities, that it is more truly a striking dramatic romance, or better, a dramatised novel, than a play. The time chosen, the manners depicted, and the contrast studiously brought out between Christians and Heathens of the period, remind an English reader rather forcibly of the very different work of a very different man; for the time, the manners, the atmosphere, are very nearly those of Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia*. But world-wide is the distance between the writers who have both chosen to depict the pomp, the pride, the splendour, and the sin of the *dying world*—of the corrupt, magnificent, decaying Roman Empire—into the *old bottles* of which the *new wine* of Christianity could not be poured without tremendous risk.

With Kingsley's attitude we are familiar. Without ignoring the manifold errors and sins of fourth-century Christianity, he writes as a man knowing of his own knowledge that the Truth, which so many held in unrighteousness, must yet inevitably triumph over even the grossest mistakes of its adherents, and must vindicate its Divine origin by its power of rising always gloriously new out of the most pestilential fogs of error. He is not unmindful of the hideousness of much human conduct

at the era of which he is writing; he testifies that the sins of the heathen world at that time were utterly indescribable, while the sins of the Church, though capable of being expressed in words, were heinous sins also. But if the wickedness of the period was incredibly great, he remembers, and he reminds his readers, that the Christian virtues disclosed during the same period were equally great, the circumstances being considered.

It is not so with the writer of *Emperor and Galilean*. The evil of the times confronts us in his pages, a poison-tree of prodigious vastness, luxuriance, and malefic might; the good is manifest also, stronger than the evil, but unlovely in almost every manifestation; and the lesson is carefully insinuated that, though the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ might be true in its degree, it may not be held for the final truth, nor for the truth that shall ultimately triumph. One might read the whole double-drama—longer than the combined length of the two longest Shakesperian plays—and not discover this lesson distinctly formulated, for, contrary to the writer's wont, he has here indulged not a little in mystical and enigmatic expressions. But one could hardly study the work with any care without finding that such an idea breathed throughout its pages, and still clung, like a subtle miasma, about the reader's thoughts when he had shut the book.

When the play opens, we are at Constantinople. Constantius, a professedly Christian emperor, is reigning, but many of the vices reign in his person; and such of the frightful brood as are not exemplified in *him* find embodiment in the servile throngs around him, who dream of no better heaven than the Imperial favour and the worldly joys it can bring, despite the lip-language of religious devotion, which, as Christians, they utter glibly enough—for it is the fashionable court-jargon. Constantius is summed up not inaptly as "a Fury-haunted sinner, the smouldering ruin of what was once a man," "who staggered terror-stricken up to the imperial throne, his purple mantle dripping with the blood" of the kinsfolk he had slain to clear the way for his ambition. He is, however, an assiduous worshipper in the sumptuous temples of the God whom he hopes to propitiate by his slavish devotions, while his remorse, which is not repentance, only terrifies him into new

crimes of peculiar repulsiveness. And amid all the surging crowd of time-servers, of mammon-worshippers, of lovers of pleasure more than God, who come and go round this emperor, the jargon of theological controversy is ever bandied to and fro. Faith is for them a thing of creeds and opinions; it has nothing to do with heart and life.

The Julian of the author's fancy moves through this sordid splendid pageant, an imaginative, superstitious, sceptical, and visionary youth, by turns a hero and a poltroon, a dreamer and a man of action. He is seen drifting quite inevitably to the rock of apostasy, while he passes under the influence of one mistaken guide after another, forsaking the theologian Hekebolius, who has no horror of pious frauds, for the philosopher Libanius, who is again dethroned by the Ephesian necromancer Maximus. The spell of the last-named leader holds the Emperor Julian even to the hour and article of death; and though the oracles he utters are misleading and fatal, and though he has to own himself a blind and misled leader of the blind, there can be little doubt that in *his* mouth the author has chosen to place his own profoundly fatalistic views, and his own visionary hopes of the advent of another spiritual empire, that is in time to supersede the kingdom of God on earth, and is to blend the divine wisdom of the Saviour in impossible union with the wisdom of the Prince of this world. It is in this vein of blasphemous extravagance that the Ephesian magician talks to his neophyte; or, if such is not the sense of his rhapsodies, their sense is undecipherable.

In justice to the author of *Emperor and Galilean*, it must be said that he does not present Christianity only as corrupted by Imperialism. Though his portraiture of the mingled hypocrisy and sensuality, and murderous fear and hate, of the so-called Christian Court of Constantinople is frightfully coloured with hues of hell, he shows us what he doubtless deems the other side of the question, and by introducing the noble figures of Gregory the Great, Basil of Cæsarea, and the angelic form of Basil's sister Makrina, has presented the purer and loftier aspect of the Christianity of the fourth century. Some phrases, too, scattered through the double drama, seem to point to a true appreciation of the "Strange

religion of Love," against which the Emperor Julian vainly employed all his powers as Lord of the whole known world; and Makrina's eloquent lamentation over the apostate Emperor, whom she deems an instrument raised up by the Almighty to scourge the Church for its rancours and dissensions, and to purify it by the fires of persecution, breathes a spirit that might well be called Christ-like, a spirit of glowing compassion for the noble soul gone so far away from the right path, struggling amid such swamps of error, and following such ensnaring meteors of lying signs and wonders.

But taking it as a whole, the religion pictured as Christian in this strange production is not Christianity as we know it and understand it. Ascetic, appalling, it is a system of prohibition and renunciation, its joys unearthly but scarcely heavenly, its requirements so high that they are deemed to be intolerably hard; for it seems as if the plea of the slothful servant in the parable was accepted as giving a true description of the Divine Saviour, the Lord of life and blessedness, "a hard man—an austere man—reaping where He had not sown, and gathering where He had not strawed." It is perhaps too much to charge this excess of misrepresentation on the work; but assuredly the Christ imagined by the author is much more the awful Judge pictured by great pre-Reformation painters like Michael Angelo, as hurling His thunders on a guilty world, than the Good Shepherd giving His life for His sheep, and loving His own even to the end. And His followers are scarcely depicted as the Lord's free men, made free, and triumphantly free, from the bondage of sin and death, by the Truth of God. With but two or three exceptions, already noted, they are "death-desiring Christians," rushing on martyrdom with frenzied ecstasy, and taking a savage delight in physical tortures; or they are half-hearted, insincere, vacillating, and guilty both of worldliness and other-worldliness to a contemptible extent. The whole impression left is one of ghastly caricature. There is terror, there even is grandeur, in the dreams and visions that haunt the last days of the maddening and perishing Julian; but they are nightmare-mockeries of the majesty of heavenly love and compassion in Christ Jesus, as known to His own people. Yet it is

He whom the Emperor's frenzied fancy is made to picture for us in words instinct with a peculiar horror, spoken as they are in the sombre gloom of Julian's last evening on earth, amid the shadowing masses of the twilight trees, where glimmers faintly the still water that has lured Julian with thoughts of self-destruction.

"Where is He now? . . . . What if He goes on and on, and suffers, and dies, and conquers, again and again, from world to world?" (With a great cry) "There He stands! Do you not see Him? There, among the tree-stems, in a crown and purple robe." (Going threateningly to the vision) "Avaunt! Thou art dead! Thy empire is past! Off with the wizard's cloak, carpenter's son! What art Thou doing there? What are Thou hammering at? Ah! . . . . What has become of Him? . . . . Who spoke, I ask? Who was it that said, 'I am hammering the Emperor's coffin'?"

This is not the only instance where the writer has shown audacious skill in adapting doubtful legends to his purpose; such as the story of the dying cry, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"—uttered when, in the thickest of the fight, a spear flung by the hand of a Christian soldier, a forced recruit, has laid Julian low; such as the other tale of the supernatural flames, which, bursting from the underground works of the Temple at Jerusalem, blasted the workmen of the Emperor, and foiled his purpose of rebuilding the doomed ruin, to falsify the words of Christ, "There shall not be left one stone upon another." But in every such instance it is a sinister and terrible effect that is thus achieved; and in none more so than in the passage we have just quoted, where the legendary saying of the Christian soldier, "My Master is making a coffin for Julian," is transferred to the awful visionary shape that forewarns the Emperor of his coming doom.

The Christ who is the Apostate's great and terrible antagonist, whose fear is heavy on Julian, even while his lips deny that "the Galilean" still lives, is styled "the Prince," not of Life, but "of Renunciation," and to Him is ascribed the saying, "Kill the body, that the soul may live;" a perversion significant of many things. This is not our Christ, but another; the Gospel ascribed to Him is not our "glad

tidings," but a message of fear; and, despite many seemingly religious words and phrases—echoes skilfully caught from the great Churchmen of Julian's day—the whole monumental work, *Emperor and Galilean*, witnesses that its author has never known living Christianity, or understood the character of Christ and His teaching.

For want of such knowledge he has lavished his really great powers on works that can scarcely live beyond our day; for the views they laboriously embody are almost certain to drag them down under the waters of oblivion. "What is true in them is not new, and what is new is not true"—the hackneyed saying was never more applicable. And though a grandiose work like *Emperor and Galilean* may escape from the forgetfulness that has devoured so many once-famous books, by reason of its theme and its masterly handling, the reverse fate may be predicted for the "social" dramas, devoted to "actuality and realism," which satirise with more or less coarseness the manners and the men of a special period, in a little-known country, not at present appealing much to the interest of the great world. In times to come, however, these dramas, now so much in vogue, may, after all, be serviceable to some future historian of Norway, as the plays of the Restoration, impossible for the general reader to-day because of their gross faults, were in their way serviceable to Macaulay in reconstructing England under the Stuarts. "But that would be a poor inadequate result of the great literary industry and the real powers of Ibsen?"

It is the best we can foresee.

Art. III.—OLD AGE PENSIONS AND PAUPERISM.

Pauperism, a Picture; and Endowment of Old Age, an Argument. By Charles Booth. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892.

SINCE we referred to the subject of "Provision for Old Age," in October last, several additional plans have been proposed, not the least plausible of which, on the surface, is that to which we now direct our attention. On this and

kindred themes Mr. Booth has earned a hearing, not only by disinterested devotion to the public good, but by the truly scientific method and the laborious industry of his researches. If in this latest work the amateur politician has for the moment gained the ascendency over the expert statistician, and if, in consequence, the result is somewhat disappointing, we cannot be unmindful of the great and lasting services rendered by the author in the past, and also in this most instructive book, to students of our social life. Incidentally, but not without a bearing on his central theme, Mr. Booth presents to us a picture of pauperism which, though partial and typical, will further and facilitate that more thorough and detailed enumeration and classification of paupers so much needed for the better understanding of the problems of poverty, and for the more fruitful discussion of the causes and preventatives of pauperism.

In the first part of the work we have a multitude of minute particulars, including a number of miniature biographies of individual paupers and of family groups of paupers. More than a thousand "cases" have been taken from the books of the Stepney Union, which, as is well known, is distinguished by the fulness and carefulness of its records. Similar inquiries have been made in St. Pancras and in the rural Union of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and side-lights have been thrown upon the subject from the records of the Charity Organisation Society and of various Parochial Charities, as well as from the general pauper statistics of England and Wales. From all these sources a vast amount of information has been gathered both as to the extent, the character, and the causes of pauperism.

With respect to the enumeration of paupers, Mr. Booth has discovered, what was frequently suspected, that the official method of arriving at the numbers for the year by multiplying the number on a single day by three and a half is seriously misleading. By a process which seems to be legitimate and accurate, he arrives at the conclusion that the true multiplier is two. The proportion between the daily and the yearly numbers varies, with indoor and outdoor paupers, with the time of year, with town and country, and with many other

conditions; but, pending the detailed Govern mental Return, which is promised, for the year ending March 25, 1892, Mr. Booth thinks we should be safe in adding 100 per cent. to the daily returns all round. In the case of aged paupers, however, we should not, he says, be warranted in adding more than from 30 to 50 per cent. "As people become older they become more settled in their habits; and a larger and larger proportion of those who occasionally accept relief either enter the House to stay there, or receive out-relief in a permanent form."

The following tables are given as "an approximation to the facts."

I.—*A Year's Pauperism, Indoor and Outdoor combined (excluding Lunatics and Vagabonds).*

Age.	Under 16.	16-60.	60-65.	Over 65.	Total.
Number on July 1, 1890 .	225,327	146,358	41,180	245,687	658,552
Estimated additions for twelve months . . .	40 % 90,130	305 % 445,438	60 % 24,709	40 % 98,275	100 % 658,552
Total	315,457	591,796	65,889	343,962	1,317,104

II.—*Proportion of Paupers to Population at Different Ages.*

Age.	Population.	Paupers (excluding Lunatics).	Ratio of Population.
Under 16 . .	11,144,021	315,457	2.8 per cent.
16-60	15,722,273	591,796	3.8 ,,
60-65	812,028	65,889	8.1 ,,
Over 65 . . .	1,322,696	343,961	25.9 ,,
Total . .	29,001,018	1,317,104	4.5 per cent.

If the widely different results obtained by the official method be noted, the importance of these tables will at once be seen. Using $3\frac{1}{2}$ as the multiplier, the number of paupers for the

year would be, not 1,317,104, but 2,304,932, a difference of 978,828; and the number above 65 years of age would be, not 343,962, but 859,904, relatively the still more enormous difference of 515,942. "Who shall decide when doctors disagree" so flagrantly? One thing is clear: the social theorists and projectors of the day no longer can rely with safety on the usual method of enumeration and of calculation. Mr. Booth's investigations, incomplete as they are, have rendered that impossible.

The particular project to which he has given his name, however, and to the exposition and advocacy of which the latter half of his book is devoted, does not depend on any conjectures or statistics as to the ratio, whether daily or yearly, of paupers to population. Starting from the admitted fact that old age is much the largest direct cause of pauperism, he proposes to provide for all above the age of 65 a gratuitous pension, to be administered apart from the Poor Law authorities, of £13 a year. In this way he hopes not only to provide more adequately and less objectionably for the aged poor, but greatly to facilitate the efforts of Poor Law reformers in the way of abolishing outdoor relief, and dealing vigorously and rigorously with the more objectionable and preventible kinds of pauperism. It is possible, he thinks, to save the children, to "administer" the able-bodied, to punish the criminal; possible even to provide against accident and illness by means of some well-considered extension and modification of the voluntary public hospital system; but so long as aged pauperism is permitted to remain we must be burdened with some general system of outdoor relief. Till "Age and Want, that ill-matched pair," be separated, it is vain to expect that general assent of public opinion essential to widespread reform. In a few small rural Unions—such as Bradfield in Berks, and Brixworth in Northants—marvellous results have been accomplished, it is true, by the total and summary abolition of out-relief. Largely through the influence of one person (of the late Mr. Bland-Garland at Bradfield, and of Mr. Albert Pell at Brixworth), and in the face of a slowly increasing population, the proportion of paupers has been reduced in 20 years at Bradfield from 1 in 13 to 1 in 132, and

at Brixworth from 1 in 11 to 1 in 104; while the rates have fallen from 13*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* 3*d.*, and from 8*s.* 4¼*d.* to 1*s.* 7¾*d.* per head of the population in the £ on the ratable value. Similar results followed the efforts of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, half a century ago. And, as Carlyle exclaimed, "With a Chalmers in every parish much might be possible! But, alas! what assurance is there that in any one British parish there will ever be another?" It should also be noted that in all the instances of reform on record, "model administration of the Poor Law and carefully organised charity went hand in hand with the fostering of every agency likely to raise the state of independent life among the people." It is beyond doubt that a consistent and persistent refusal of out-relief, except in the most extraordinary circumstances, has a tonic effect on the instinct of self-preservation. Even in towns, as is proved by Mr. S. Loch in his excellent *brochure*,* it does not necessarily increase indoor pauperism. In Stepney, for example, according to Mr. Booth's figures, the policy pursued, while it has reduced outdoor paupers from 7,600 to 177, has also during most of the years from 1869 to 1890 kept down the numbers in the workhouses below the level of the year first named.

Nevertheless, as Mr. Booth observes, these results "rarely outlast the peculiar combination of faculty and opportunity upon which they depend, and so lead to disappointment."

"The demand made on human nature is in every way too great. Too much is asked from the administrator, and too much, also, from the people, and from both the demand is of a contradictory character. The administrator needs to be at once kind and stern, and from the people is asked, at the same time, prudential regard for their own future, and effacement of self in response to the claims of helpless relatives. Those who are most ready with help for others are probably by disposition least likely to save money for their own old age. The lavish may have the virtue of generosity, and the close-fisted that of prudence; but we cannot often expect to find all these qualities at once in any one person. Yet, if the perfect administration of the Poor Law, which is advocated as a cure for pauperism, fails to bring about this combination, its efficacy in relieving the rates to-day may be only a cause of their being required to-morrow. . . . . If we are to reduce poor relief everywhere to the scale granted under the rule of Mr. Bland-Garland and Mr. Albert Pell, it can only be by first simplifying

* *Old Age Pensions and Pauperism.* London: Swan Sonnenschein. 1892.

the problem with which the Guardians generally have to deal, and by then putting some pressure on them calculated to exercise a steady influence in the required direction. Both simplification and pressure, as I shall attempt to show, may be found in the endowment of old age, and the result should be the entire abolition of out-relief within measurable time. . . . . It may be urged on those who advocate good administration as a cure that, with their task lightened, the application of the principles of 1834 might soon be made general, uniform, and strict."

Its probable effect in diminishing pauperism, however, is not the only recommendation of the scheme in the eyes of Mr. Booth. He advocates it as essential to the comfort and the welfare of the aged poor themselves. He would like to see them all end their days without losing their freedom, or bearing the stigma of pauperism. He insists that the problem can only be properly approached by considering, not pauperism merely or chiefly, but the much wider field of poverty.

"Where out-relief is freely given there may not be many poor who do not come, more or less, sooner or later upon the rates. But where out-relief is withheld, and especially in towns, we find numbers of people struggling on, working a little, begging a little, helped by their friends, or helped by the Church. . . . . Such people probably live in greater discomfort than those who frankly accept pauperism. . . . . There is a large class of respectable poor who ask for nothing, but are nevertheless very poor. This class deserves our best consideration."

For them Mr. Booth does not claim any high degree of wisdom or morality. Indeed, he goes to what we should think extremes in the way of concessions to their calumniators. He grants that many of them bring themselves to poverty by their recklessness and folly.

"They quarrel with their bread and butter; they throw away their chances; they spend when they should save; they most of them drink, and many of them get drunk; they marry imprudently; they spoil their children; they buy finery; they trust their lodgers, and commit inconceivable follies of many kinds. . . . . All these classes contribute to the volume of old age pauperism; for in old age their stupidities, follies, and sins come home to roost, and were it not for neighbourly kindness, itself perhaps a folly, they would end their lives in the workhouse oftener than is now the case."

And yet he would like to see them all enjoying the blessings, in their old age, of freedom and of home. Speaking of those who are now in receipt of out-relief (and Mr. Booth's scheme

would place all the aged poor substantially in their position, only with a somewhat larger allowance, and without the humiliating and degrading associations and accompaniments of pauperism), he describes how

"they can still remain members of the society to which they are accustomed, can still confer as well as receive favours, mind a baby, sit up with the sick, chop firewood, or weed the garden. They are not cut off from the sympathies of daily existence, and their presence is often a valuable ingredient in the surrounding life. When the end comes, the presence of well-known voices soothes and succours the last hours."

But the most powerful plea in favour of isolated and exceptional treatment of the aged poor is based not so much upon pity, or even charity, as on what we may call reparative justice. Old people have special claims on society, grounded on the special hardships to which they are subjected by the exigencies of modern life. "Old age fares hardly in our times. Life runs more intensely than it did, and the old tend to be thrown out. Not only does work on the whole go faster and require more perfect nerve, but it changes its character more frequently, and new men—young men—are needed to take hold of the new machines or new methods employed. The community gains by this, but the old suffer. They suffer beyond any measure of actual incapacity, for the fact that a man is old is in itself enough to debar him from obtaining work, and it is in vain he makes pretence by dyeing his hair or wearing false teeth."

With these aims, and for these reasons, Mr. Booth proposes to provide a vast endowment fund, from which he would begin at once to pay to every man and woman in the land who has attained the age of 65 a public pension of a crown a week. Any scheme, to be effective, must, he thinks, be universal; if it is to be universal, it must be compulsory; and it can only be made compulsory by means of taxation. The cost for England and Wales alone would for the present be £17,000,000 a year, which, if raised by proportionate taxation, would mean that everybody would pay about 1.7 (or say $1\frac{3}{4}$) per cent. of their income. From this amount might be deducted the four millions which might be levied on the rates in lieu of the present cost of aged paupers and the

anticipated saving to the ratepayers through the reduction or abolition of out-relief in general. This would reduce the additional revenue required to thirteen millions; but if the scheme were extended to Scotland and Ireland three millions more would be needed, bringing up the total to sixteen millions. The cost of administration, which he reckons at a couple of millions, might, he thinks, fairly be deducted from the pensions.

In estimating the incidence of this enormous burden (equivalent to a new National Debt of £500,000,000) on the various parts of the community, Mr. Booth divides the people roughly into five classes: "(1) The quite poor, family income £50 or less; (2) fair working-class position, income £60 to £100 and over; (3) lower middle class, £150 to £200; (4) middle class £300 to £1000; (5) more or less wealthy class, with incomes of £1000 and upwards." Class (1) would pay one-fourth the value of their pensions; class (2) one-third; classes (4) and (5) would pay much more than they would receive; while class (3), which, after (1) and (2), is the most numerous class in the community, would pay and receive about equally. The first two classes include more than half the population. How will they regard the scheme? Is it so certain that they would eventually bear less than their share of the burden? Is it not rather the truth (as Mr. Booth perceives when touching on another point) that "taxation reaches them indirectly, firstly by way of customs and excise duties, which can be recognised in the prices of the goods they buy; and secondly, by *a gradual process, which makes it, I think, certain that, in the end, the burden of national expenditure, however levied, is spread and ultimately borne by the whole industrial community?*" It is for the labouring and lower middle classes, therefore, who would have to bear their full share of the cost, and with whom the ultimate decision rests, to look the matter in the face. The wealthier classes may be trusted to discuss the project from the point of view of their own interest, as well as of the public good. The other classes, if they take to the proposal, may be trusted equally to do the same. Will the scheme be popular with them? Ought we to try to make it popular?

At present there is no popular demand for any such scheme of universal compulsory insurance against old age. The people are not familiar with the facts. They do not fully realise the pressure which has come upon the aged in our time, and are only partially acquainted with the vast amount of indigence among the elderly and aged poor. As for the benefits likely to accrue to them—they are so remote and so contingent that they fail to excite the hope or even the interest of the people at large. Workmen everywhere strike against deferred pay; insurance societies do very little business in deferred annuities. A bird in the hand is universally thought to be worth two in the bush; but, when the two in the bush are reduced to one, as in the scheme before us, it will be difficult to induce the average Englishman to make the exchange. Those who died before sixty-five would pay taxes nearly all their lives and receive nothing in return, except the satisfaction of knowing that they had contributed to the support of those who survive them—a satisfaction considerably disturbed by the reflection that, under a universal old age endowment law they had been compelled to contribute, not as now to the needy, but to the pensions both of those who need them and of those who need them not. Some fatal inequality, most men will feel, lies at the heart of Mr. Booth's proposal; and when they probe it, something like a clear injustice will start up to light. They will see that what we called above a scheme of compulsory insurance against old age is in reality a scheme of compulsory insurance of a hypothetical benefit—a scheme under which each person is to receive 5*s.* a week provided they attain to sixty-five, the chances being equal at twenty-five, and in many occupations at a much later age, that they will not. From a personal and private point of view the plan does not seem likely to excite enthusiasm.

From a public standpoint, the proposal is seen to greater advantage. It has much to recommend it. In simplicity, in comprehensiveness, in probable effectiveness, it has greatly the advantage of its rivals. Unlike Canon Blackley's scheme, and Mr. Chamberlain's, it would begin to take effect at once; it calls for no direct and visible foresight and self-sacrifice; it

reduces the machinery of calculation and collection and administration to a minimum; and lastly, by eliminating the largest, the most patent and most painful factor in the general problem of pauperism, it clears the way for a thorough and effectual solution. If the nation were determined to deal with old age poverty, not as an outcome of the general social conditions, but as an isolated phenomenon, we incline to the opinion of Mr. Fletcher Moulton* and Professor Marshall, that this is, in most respects, the best plan yet proposed. We are not at all clear as to what the effect of it would be on the national character. Mr. Booth feels that this is the most important consideration, and, after a careful and patient examination of the arguments on both sides, comes to the conclusion that his scheme would probably increase the thriftiness of the thrifty without increasing the improvidence of the improvident. The evidence and the arguments seem to us to be pretty evenly balanced for and against the scheme, on this ground, with a faint tremor of inclination in its favour. The cost of the scheme, enormous as it is, ought not to be an insuperable obstacle in the way of a nation with an income of a thousand millions a year. The main questions with such a nation (after the moral one) should be: Is the end to be attained, the divorce between age and want, and the facilitating of Poor Law Reform, worth the cost? Could not the millions be used to better purpose in preventing than in palliating pauperism? Are the means proposed the most effectual ones? And are the means proportioned, or, as would seem at first sight, greatly disproportioned, to the end in view?

Other questions, more purely and directly political, are certain to present themselves, and cannot be ignored. In the present and probable temper of the public mind for many years to come, would it be possible, as Mr. Booth so naïvely hopes, to confine the scheme within the limits of a temporary expedient? Would it not be practically impossible, whatever might be the circumstances of the nation, to diminish, much less to abolish, the endowment when once made? Would

* See his luminous and suggestive paper on "Old Age Pensions" in the *Fortnightly Review* for April.

there not be a continual temptation to increase it at the cost of the wealthier part of the community? Would not rival Chancellors of the Exchequer seek popularity for their party by transferring the burden from the many to the few, and would not the multitude be sure to demand more pension, and at an earlier age, when once relieved, apparently, from the necessity of contributing their full share of the cost? In the long run, as before observed, it would be impossible for the many to profit at the expense of the few; but the run might be a very long one, and exhausting, if not ruinous, to all concerned. Moreover, the incipient communism to which this bold proposal unintentionally points might be infectious in a high degree.

All these, and many minor ones arising out of non-essential matters with which Mr. Booth has needlessly encumbered his plan, are questions for consideration and discussion. Questions so complex and so difficult cannot be answered in a day; but answered they must be before the nation can wisely or safely commit itself to an undertaking so enormous, to an experiment so far-reaching, and so perilous to rich and poor alike.

Art. IV.—HYMNOLOGY.

A Dictionary of Hymnology, setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations. Edited by John Julian, M.A., Vicar of Wincobank, Sheffield. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1892.

STUDENTS of hymnology will feel devoutly grateful to Mr. Julian for this most welcome and valuable volume, for which many have long and anxiously waited. Patient anticipation is now amply rewarded; and the delay in the publication of the volume, of which so large a portion was completed ten years ago, is fully justified by the addition of a large quantity of interesting matter, and by the more

careful revision which the whole has undergone. The result is a most complete and carefully edited treasury of knowledge on a subject which deserves and is receiving a growing amount of attention. Never before has so large a mass of information suitable to aid the hymnologist in his researches been gathered together.

It would be difficult to speak too highly of the patient research, the industry, the care and the minute fidelity of the editor. The Dictionary is the work of an enthusiast; one whose keen appreciation of the importance of the details of his work has prevented him from slighting anything that could give it completeness; and it not only shows him to have been a devoted student himself, but it has enabled him to anticipate the wants and difficulties of students of the subject for a long time to come. The book will prove a veritable mine of wealth to subsequent workers, and will in all probability stimulate many who have begun their inquiries to a more thorough investigation of a theme which is now presented in all its details and wide ramifications. It marks an epoch in the history and development of hymnology, and furnishes materials which put the whole subject of hymn-writing on an entirely new basis. The fruit of many years of toilsome labour in the past, it holds the seeds of many harvests to be gathered in the future. Mr. Julian has been happy in securing the help of many careful and competent students in the various branches of his vast subject, to whom he has given generous praise, notable amongst them being the Rev. James Mearns, who holds the "well-deserved and cheerfully accorded position of assistant editor," and Mr. W. T. Brooke, whose acquaintance with early English hymnody is unrivalled. Much praise is also due to those who with so much pains have prepared the valuable indices, which greatly add to the usefulness of the volume. But the value of the work is mainly due to the editor's own researches, and his most careful and just discrimination. Nor would it be right to omit all reference to his perfect fairness and freedom from prejudice in his judgments upon the productions of the many and various schools of hymn-writers whose books he has examined.

The extent of the work undertaken may be estimated when

it is remembered that all the known hymns that the Church in any age or country has produced have come more or less under review, and no less than 30,000 now in common use are individually annotated; so that the student can trace each hymn to its original source, and through its often changeful history. A biographical notice is given of every known hymn-writer, to the number of near 5000, including some who may seem to have small claim to recognition. A discriminative account is given of the hymnody of every nation or community that has been productive of this kind of literature, while many subsidiary subjects which throw light upon the central theme are judiciously treated. As one instance of the wide extent of the author's research, it may be mentioned that nearly 10,000 MSS., including those in the great public libraries of Europe and America and in private hands, have been used in the preparation of this volume. After a somewhat extended examination of the work, we are not surprised to learn that in the pursuit of minute technical accuracy as much time and attention have frequently been demanded "for the production of one page only, as is usually expended on one hundred pages of ordinary history or criticism." There are, however, some errors which call for a page or two of corrigenda; they are mainly of such a character as to be almost inevitable in dealing with so wide a diversity of topics.

The Church has ever had her Psalter, even from the time when the chosen ones were called out of Egypt; and the songs of the holy community have mutiplied as the ages have rolled by. The treasure now is exceeding great. We are told that the total number of Christian hymns in the 200 or more languages and dialects in which they have been written or translated, is not less than 400,000!

There are two different fountains from which the rills of holy song ran in the earlier periods of the Christian Church's history—one taking its rise in the fields of heathendom, where Scriptural sentiment is conveyed in classic forms; and the other amidst the fruitful realm of Hebrew psalm and song, and partaking more or less of their form and general characteristics. By the aid of this book the student may

trace the progress of the Christian hymn from the first rugged semi-classic forms of the Early Church, giving expression to its simple thought in a string of epithets, as in the hymn of Clement, "full of child-like trust in Christ, as the Shepherd, the Fisher of Souls, the everlasting Word, the eternal Light"; to those of a much higher order, as the "rapt contemplations of the triune Godhead tinged with Platonic phrases," written by Gregory in his cell at Nazianzus; and onwards to those of "the eloquent and philosophic Bishop" Synesius, written at the close of the fourth or opening of the fifth century, which, "though of great spirit, reality, and beauty, lie confessedly on the borderland of Christianity and neo-Platonism," and where often the Platonic rather than the Christian thought inspires the most refined passages. He may come down 200 years later to the poems of Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, which serve well to illustrate "the distinction between the hymns in classical metres and those of the ritual of the Church." And almost without a break he may track the growth of Christian psalmody thence down to the present hour. For although there is not any one article devoted solely to the general history of hymnology, there are most carefully written papers on the rise, development, and characteristics of the hymnody of the several countries where hymn-writing has flourished. Of course, treatises would be out of place in a *Dictionary*, but the large amount of information here collected and so skilfully digested will form the very best foundation for any more extended and scientific treatment of particular topics by subsequent inquirers.

It is interesting to trace the commingling of the two streams —the Hebraistic and the classical; their reciprocal influence, and the result in the subsequent hymnology of the Church. Ample materials for such study are here afforded. A large number of Christian hymns in classical metres remain, but, with few exceptions, they have not a place in their original form in the service-books of the Church. Those which are more oriental in character, and have an affinity with the Hebrew forms, are to be found in use in the Eastern Church. The hymns of Hebrew origin have an especial interest for us on many grounds, pre-eminently for the lofty nature of their

sentiments, their more enduring character, and for the influence they have exerted upon hymn-writing of more recent times. The dominance of the stronger Hebraistic element, more simple in its sublimity, more majestic, suffused with grander conceptions and associations, is quite obvious; and may be said to assert itself in the many metrical renderings of the psalms which have appeared, or are now in common use. The reduplication of the sentiment, which is so marked a feature of the Hebrew parallelism, is not a characteristic of the modern Christian hymn, which, being distinguished more by its form and melody—its metrical precision and rhythmic harmony—is less dependent upon its sentiment, and often suffers in no small degree on this account in comparison with the productions of earlier times.

The determination of the relative influence of the classical and the Hebrew elements in giving form to the earlier hymns of the Church is confessedly beset with not a few difficulties, though much has been done to elucidate this interesting branch of the inquiry. It is most justly said:

"If we could recover a more exact notion of the strophes of Hebrew poetry, of the musical accents, the antiphonal singing, the liturgical use of detached versicles of the psalms, and other characteristics of Hebrew hymnody, a strong light might be thrown on some of the obscure parallels presented by the Greek system. A few points may, however, be noted with tolerable certainty. It is scarcely worth while stating that the songs of the Old Testament, together with other rhythmic passages, passed in their Greek forms into the Christian service. The use of the *Alleluia* and *Hosanna* are equally obvious examples. The *Ter Sanctus* had been partially in previous use in the Jewish ritual; the *Hosanna* which so constantly accompanies it was partly the echo of the Triumphal Entry, but partly also of the older refrain used at the Feast of Tabernacles (See *Dict. of the Bible: Hosanna*). Antiphonal singing, introduced among the Greeks by Ignatius at Antioch, seems clearly traceable to a Hebrew origin, exemplified by the practice of the Therapeutæ, as stated by Philo, and the far older practice of the Temple choirs (1 Chron. vi. 31 *seq.*, and xxv. See *Dict. Christ. Antiq. Antiphon.*) The refrains and short ejaculations of praise, which are such a marked feature of Greek hymns, have analogies in the Psalms and the eighteen prayers of the Synagogue. The use of broken versicles of the Psalms (στιχολογία) and Christian versicles interwoven with them, as well as the longer form Antiphon, are probably derived from the Hebrew use. The Acrostic, on which the strophes of the Canons are threaded, resembles the system of the Alphabetic Acrostic Psalms, and is occasionally itself alphabetical" (*Greek Hymnody*).

The rich treasure of Hebrew song and psalm naturally helped to mould the thoughts of the Early Church, and suggested the forms in which those thoughts should find expression, excepting in those cases where dominant forms of poetry would sway the pen of the writer, as in some instances to-day. It is more than probable that "the inspired songs which ushered in the Nativity" were used as canticles in the Early Church. But the Christian sentiment could not be restricted to these forms, notwithstanding the long-continued scruple, which subsequently reappeared, against singing anything but psalms in public worship, and whatever uncertainty may be attached to the terms "hymns" and "spiritual songs," it seems in the highest degree probable that they point to other forms than those in which the Psalms were written. But whether the form and matter of these may, as it is thought, "be suggested to us by the rhythmic passages in the Epistles of St. Paul, St. James, and St. Peter," is at least open to grave question.

Hebrew poetry, the earliest with which we are familiar, is also the grandest. Less regular, and less controlled by artistic restrictions, it is freer and more natural than other forms that are familiar to us, and is specially adapted to the expression of its sublime and majestic sentiments. It did not expend itself, as did Greek poetry, upon the exploits of its heroes, though some of its commemorative songs are almost incomparable. It was sacred poetry; it concerned itself with God, and its loftier conceptions of the Deity lifted its lyrics far above the odes chanted in praise of gods that were no gods. The sacred relation of the people to Jehovah furnished to the prophet or psalmist subjects fitted to call forth the utmost powers of his genius. Strong in its severe simplicity, the Hebrew poetry afforded a vehicle for the expression of the grandest conceptions that ever thrilled the human heart. It would seem as though one only restraining influence was laid upon the energy of the Hebrew poetic compositions—their narrow national, not to say tribal, exclusiveness. They were the favoured of heaven; all beyond were, to say the least, on a lower plain. And yet this narrowness was not wholly without its redeeming qualities. It introduced the idea of special prerogative and responsibility, and suggested a new theme for thanksgiving. There were

other elements which are much more strongly marked in Christian than in the Hebrew psalmody. The Hebrew lacked the clear, full exposition of the great Redemption. It did not adequately furnish the Christian believer with words in which to express his faith in his Saviour, or his yearning love to Him; his exulting joy in a conscious salvation, his happy sense of sonship, his greater gladness, his stronger hope, his larger charity. He has richer views of the fatherhood of God, and clearer visions of immortality.

We see the Christian hymn taking its rise naturally in the Hebrew psalm, grafted upon it, or a natural outgrowth from it, as the Christian faith is the outgrowth of the earlier beliefs. In form it varied according as Hebrew or Gentile ideas prevailed. The convert from amongst the heathen would give expression to his religious emotions in the forms most familiar to him, until others of a more sacred use supplanted them; while the convert passing over from the ranks of Judaism to Christianity would undoubtedly be influenced by the temple or synagogue songs, which were sacred to him, and a not unsuitable mould in which to cast the sentiments of the new faith he had embraced.

However much the Christian hymn may have been affected in form by the existing secular songs, it would inevitably, with the growth of time, assume a shape best fitted to serve its supreme and lofty purpose, the purpose to which it came most generally to be devoted. It was first an outburst of the Christian feeling. "That the holy enthusiasm of the new life of Christianity would express itself in some similar forms to those of the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis* seems in itself almost inevitable." But the Christian believer who had the gift of song would not be confined to these. He would naturally be led to express his sentiment in the forms which were the most familiar, if not the most sacred.

Though hymns of various kinds are found in the literature of many nations, the use of them as parts of worship seems to have been confined almost exclusively to the Hebrew and Christian Churches. After extended inquiry, Mr. Horden concludes that, so far as the material before us enables us to form an opinion, it is that hymns, as an essential of worship, have

been mostly characteristic of the Christian, and in less degree of its progenitor, the Hebrew religion. Nor is this to be wondered at, since it is the only religion calculated to draw out at once the two elements necessary to such a form of worship—awe and love—awe which lies at the heart of worship, and love which kindles it into adoring song.

That the gift of holy song was granted to the Christian Church from the beginning is obvious from the examples recorded in the New Testament—*e.g.*, the Virgin's Hymn, the song of Zacharias, and the song of Simeon, "the three matin songs of Christianity;" also from the Apocalyptic songs, and the reference to "hymns and spiritual songs" which could be distinguished from "psalms." In the period between the Apostolic age, and the early part of the third century, when we can first speak definitely of hymns and their authors, it is more than probable that no inconsiderable number of sacred songs were produced. But beyond the suggestions of the few recorded examples we can form no precise idea of the nature of these early compositions.

There are three principal channels along which this mingled current of holy song flowed in the early Christian centuries—the Greek, the Syrian, and the Latin or Roman. As to the times when these and subsequent springs of sacred song burst forth, a single sentence may be quoted from Mr. Julian's preface:

"It will be found that whilst the earliest hymns, as the *Magnificat*, the quotations in the Pastoral Epistles, &c., are in Greek, it required less than 170 years for the addition of Syriac to be made to the roll of languages. Latin followed in another 200 years. In another fifty years, the first notes in early English were heard. German was added in the ninth century, Italian in the thirteenth century, Bohemian in the fifteenth century, and others later, until the roll numbers over 200 languages and dialects. Careful attention to the chronology of the subject will also bring out the facts, that whilst Clement of Alexandria was singing in Greek, Bardesanes was inspiring his followers in Syriac. Later on we find that the finest of the early poets were writing contemporaneously—Gregory of Nazianzus and Synesius, in Greek; St. Ambrose, Prudentius, and St. Hilary, in Latin; and Ephraem, the Syrian, in Syriac."

We may add another illustration of the compendious character of this work:

"In the following pages are set forth the countries where, the periods when, the language in which, and in many instances the men by whom the doctrines and ritual, teachings and practices of Christianity were first enshrined in song; and by whom and in what languages and countries the greatest developments have taken place" (p. vi).

It is now full twenty years since Dr. Neale drew attention to the rich vein of sacred song hidden in the sixteen service books of the Eastern Church. He judged that, on a moderate computation, these volumes together comprise 5000 closely printed quarto pages in double columns, of which at least 4000 are poetry. Until the publication of his little book of selections they were quite unknown to the English reader. But, besides rendering this valuable service, he laid the Church under further obligation by rendering many examples into English, in metres familiar and agreeable to our Western taste. In the *Dictionary of Hymnology* the reader will find his way clearly traced along the current of Syriac hymn-writing, from its earliest known example down to the productions of the fourteenth century.

The hymns of the Syrian Church have not found their way into common use in the modern Western Churches, and they have not, therefore, exerted any influence on the formation of our present Christian lyrics. Yet the student will not fail to be interested in the rise of sacred song which in the earliest ages refreshed the churches of Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia; and which is interesting even from the tradition which connects the origin of responsive singing in Christian worship with Ignatius, the martyred bishop of Antioch. A general view of the subject is thus given:

"At an early period in Christian history a fountain of sacred poetry and song burst forth in that region, from which for a time there flowed a stream of marvellous fulness; but soon the stream dwindled, and its flow became intermittent, until by the middle of the fourteenth century, like a river lost in desert sands, it had almost, if not entirely, disappeared."

The names of the principal Syrian hymn writers are given, from Bardesanes, who mixed Gnostic speculations with Christian doctrine, and who wrote as early as the second century, down to Abhd-isho, after whom the creation of Syrian sacred song appears to have ceased. To an account of each of the various

sections into which the Syrian Church is divided there are added annotations of the several English versions of such Syriac hymns as have been rendered into our language from the writings of Ephraem Syrus, acquaintance with whose works is gained chiefly through the translations in the deservedly well-known work, *Hymns of the Ancient Syrian Churches*, by Dr. Henry Burgess.

Interesting as is the study both of the history and character of the Greek and Syriac contributions to the Church's Psalter, Latin hymnody has a greater attractiveness for the English student. This arises from many causes; partly from the vast wealth of its accumulated stores, the product of ten centuries, from Hilary onwards, its golden age closing only in the early decades of the fourteenth century; partly because for so long a time the purer and more elevated thoughts of the Western Church were preserved, and its devotion nourished by them; also from the beauty and rich devotional character of so many of its best examples; and yet further, from the fact that to this branch of the great streams of hymnal writing we are so largely indebted for the variety and delicacy of many of our own hymn-forms.

The article on Latin hymnody is most able and satisfactory. Its author, J. D. Chambers, Esq., Recorder of New Sarum, has already laid hymnological and liturgical students under no small obligation by his previous publications. He brings to his task not only a considerable familiarity with this widely extended subject, but great tact and discrimination in its treatment. The paper is written with a comprehensiveness, and at the same time minuteness of detail, which are truly surprising, when the necessarily limited space at his command is remembered. Reference is made to the principal composers, beginning with St. Hilary in the fourth century and St. Ambrose, who within the limits of the same century gave to the Church, in its fierce conflict with the powers of the world, words so suitable for the encouragement and expression of its pure and simple faith; and in tracing the succession down to more recent and, in respect of Latin hymnody, degenerate times, the growth and gradual transformation of the Latin lyric verse is portrayed with much care through its varying

history. This paper, though only an epitome of a great subject, is worthy of careful study.

An inviting task awaits the pen of some competent and willing student in the production of a complete history of Latin hymnody, and its bearing upon the Christian lyrics of to-day. For although many collections of Latin hymns have been made, and choice selections from them have been published, together with some historical and critical writing, yet the great subject awaits adequate treatment. The mere work of collecting, carried on as it has been to no inconsiderable degree, is yet incomplete. But the further work of sifting the whole, with a view to select hymns which are best calculated to promote the Church's spiritual health, is perhaps the greater work; while an unbounded field is open for comment and annotation. Gratefully acknowledging the service which has been rendered by several writers who have culled selections from the great store, and others who have translated choice examples in order to make the English-reading public familiar with these treasures, we must at the same time give expression to our Protestant sympathies with the aim of the late Archbishop Trench, one of the workers in this field, in his desire to put before the members of the English Church a collection of the best sacred Latin poetry, such as they should be able to accept and approve without having the current of their sympathies checked by that which, however beautiful as poetry, they must out of higher considerations reject.

The spring of Latin hymnody must be traced through Hilary, if only by a narrow channel, to the Eastern Church, to which he acknowledged himself to be indebted. It is, however, to St. Ambrose that we must assign the first place, and a more independent one, as the father and founder of the "original, simple, dignified, objective school of popular Latin hymnody, which for so many ages, almost without admixture, prevailed over the Roman Empire; and before the sixth century penetrated even into Spain, and is still in use in the Divine Office all over Europe." But St. Ambrose rendered further service by the introduction into the Western Churches of the practice, common in the East, of the singing of hymns by the people, so securing for the hymn its highest and best purpose,

as the vehicle of the people's praise. Previously the hymns had been "recited by individuals singly, and among the Italians by clerks only." To what extent the great Reformation Churches of past and present times are indebted for this change cannot be told.

With yet another change must St. Ambrose's name be associated. In most of the hymns which Daniel in his *Thesaurus* attributes to him, and his contemporaries and followers, a change in form is observable. "The ancient classic metres are abandoned, prosody is neglected, accentuation substituted for correct quantity, and the Iambic dimeter is mostly adopted as best suited to congregational singing." This form remained the favourite one for all public worship down to the twelfth century. The influence of St. Ambrose was very great and long-continued. To quote the words of Professor Bird, his Latin hymns and those of his successors form a school which may be said to have held possession of the Church of the whole of Europe for some twelve hundred years.

Latin hymnody has a special claim on our attention arising from its influence on the structure of our own modern hymn-writing. We are indebted to it for our rhythmical forms, and for other features in our English hymns. Referring to the devotional writing of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we find that the ordinary use of hymns in the various formularies of the Western Church had become fixed and settled, and hymns had increased greatly in number, and were "more spiritual, subjective, devout, and mystical." Here another fact of importance is noticed—namely, the supplanting of quantity by accent, and the adoption of terminal rhyme or assonance.

"Neither of these [the writer goes on to say] is a necessary adjunct of Latin hymnody, and they may be thought to detract from its dignity; but the terminations and prosody of the Latin of that age lent themselves so easily thereto, that sacred poetry in general, instead of being founded on the metre and quantity of syllables, assumed rather, as being more facile, syllabism and rhyme. These rhymes were at first merely of vowels or assonances, to be adhered to when convenient, disregarded when otherwise. They might be confined to a single letter, or fall on an unaccented syllable, or be found in the last verse only."

And it is very justly added that neither the Church nor

individuals can be blamed for thus following "the universal promptings of human nature peculiar to no age, which, in sacred compositions, as in others, look for smoothness and ease, for the music of language, for an assistance to memory, and to rivet the attention; to which the music may form an harmonious accompaniment."

To this must be added the adoption of metre. The mediæval hymnists made use of all the principal feet and their compounds that are found in the Greek and Latin classical verses. Gradually these underwent change, or were abandoned, and Church song was composed "mostly in alliterative and rhythmical measure, judging of the melody by the ear, and attending to the artificial distribution of the accent, and not to the quantity of the syllable."

"It will be found on examination that after Bede's time those hymns in the English hymn-books up to the eleventh and twelfth centuries are mainly in *Iambic* or *Trochaic* metres, and composed with little regard to prosody. Classical versification, founded on measure and quantity, was gradually transformed into the more modern, based on the number of syllables, accentuation, alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. At the opening of the twelfth century this syllabism and rhyme ruled lyrical verse."

This fruitful subject tempts our pen—its deep interest will be our apology for these instructive quotations. But our space is limited, and we must leave this most attractive field of inquiry and the remaining pages devoted to it, every paragraph of which suggests a course of profitable research.

With great satisfaction we turn to the article on the German Hymnody, which exceeds all others in the richness and abundance of its treasures. If at the beginning of the fourteenth century "the golden age of Latin hymnody may be said to have expired, and its sun to have gone down in glory," streaks of morning light soon broke over another land It was amidst the struggles of the Reformation, particularly in its later stages, that the true lyrical hymn emerged. The Church hymn, so justly defined as being, in the strictest sense of the term, *a popular religious lyric in praise of God, to be sung by the congregation in public worship*, it is truly said was born with the German Reformation. And how quickly did the new life of the Spirit then, as ever, express itself in holy

song! The greatness, the reality, the joyfulness, the exalted spiritual character of the emancipation which the Church then underwent is represented by the prolific outpouring of sacred song. The abounding stores have increased to so great a degree that the number of hymns in the German language is estimated to be not less than 100,000, one-fourth of the entire lyric possessions of the whole Church. Of these not less than 10,000 have become more or less popular, and are incorporated in the psalmody of other lands, and it is affirmed that nearly 1000 are "classical and immortal."

The article on German hymnody is written by Dr. Philip Schaff, who in other ways has illustrated the wealth and beauty of the German Psalter. In his own characteristic style he thus writes:

"To this treasury of German song several hundred men and women of all ranks and conditions—theologians and pastors, princes and princesses, generals and statesmen, physicians and jurists, merchants and travellers, labourers and private persons—have made contributions, laying them on the common altar of devotion. Many of these hymns, and just those possessed of the greatest vigour and unction, full of the most exulting faith and the richest comfort, had their origin amid the conflicts and storms of the Reformation, or the fearful devastations and nameless miseries of the Thirty Years' War; others belong to the revival period of the Spenerian Pietism and the Moravian Brotherhood, and reflect its earnest struggle after holiness, the fire of the first love and the sweet enjoyment of the soul's intercourse with her heavenly bridegroom; not a few of them sprang up even in the unbelieving age of 'illumination' and rationalism like flowers from dry ground, or Alpine roses on fields of snow; others again proclaim, in fresh and joyous tones, the dawn of reviving faith in the land where the Reformation had its birth. Thus these hymns constitute a most graphic book of confession for German Evangelical Christianity, a sacred band which enriches its various periods, an abiding memorial of its victories, its sorrows and its joys, a clear mirror showing its deepest experiences, and an eloquent witness for the all-conquering and invincible life-power of the evangelical Christian faith. The treasures of German hymnody have enriched churches of other tongues and passed into Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and modern English and American hymn-books. John Wesley was one of the first English divines who appreciated its value; and while his brother Charles produced an immense number of original hymns, John freely reproduced several hymns of Paul Gerhardt, Tersteegen, and Zinzendorff."

In the article the different periods of German hymnological literature are distinguished, the character of the hymns of

each is delineated, the principal writers named, and various illustrative, historic, and other details given, all together constituting an instructive review of the whole subject. Scattered throughout the book are notices of all the German hymns now in popular use, and biographical and other records of their authors. The German compositions, though they have not greatly affected the forms of our English hymns, have had some slight measure of influence upon them; several of the metres used by Watts, the Wesleys, and others being based on German models. But their lofty character, spiritual richness, depth and fervour have been very firmly and unmistakably impressed, to our great gain, upon our psalmody of the last and present centuries.

English hymnody, embracing all hymns associated with the Church of England and Nonconformist bodies in England from the Reformation, is a very wide subject. It is treated in no less than twenty-nine separate articles, giving such a view of the acquisitions of the English-speaking churches, in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, as has never before been presented to the public. Some of these articles are of special interest. They embrace Early English Hymnody, the Hymns of the Church of England, the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, English Roman Catholic, Unitarian, and other collections. An account is also given of English Psalters, metrical Litanies and Graces, children's Hymns, Carols and Doxologies, Hymns for hospitals and invalids, soldiers and sailors, and public schools; together with Hymns translated or composed in connection with the Foreign Missions of the churches, an entirely new compilation.

Many of the sections into which the great subject of hymnology is here spread require individual and more extended treatment than we can give. But we hope that we have been able to embody in the space at our command an idea of the character of this colossal work, and such particulars of it as will stimulate our readers to further and fuller examination of it.

The important place which is assigned to hymn singing in our modern forms of worship invests this study with a very high significance. It is surprising that a more abundant and

critical literature on the subject has not appeared long ago. Very numerous congregations are dependent chiefly upon hymns for the means by which they express the emotions of their hearts during their weekly worship; while devout Christians who find a hymn-book a valuable manual of devotion for family or private use, are equally dependent upon the judgment and taste of others for the particular character of the hymns brought within their reach. It may be mentioned that several carefully selected compilations of hymns have recently been published, to the great benefit of the many who thankfully avail themselves of this kind of writing for their spiritual edification.

The influence of written hymns upon the general religious thought of the nation; their power in awakening, sustaining, and guiding religious sentiments, and in aiding the culture of the religious character, must lay the whole Church under deep obligations to the hymn writer. But it puts within that writer's hand an instrument of great power, and imposes upon him a proportionately heavy responsibility. Every one that "hath a psalm" may sing it, if only it "be done unto edifying." It is not every rhythmical composition of a religious sort, however, that is worthy to be called a psalm, or to be used in the solemnities of divine worship, or that is calculated to advance the spiritual and moral culture of the reader. It would be interesting to analyse the causes of the acceptableness of some of the hymns that are in very common use, and appear to be great favourites with a large number of hymn singers. With a few exceptions, it cannot be said that the popularity of hymns is in the ratio of their excellence. In very many instances it is obvious that hymns of a very mediocre character have gained favour with the public because they have been introduced to notice in company with some sprightly and animating tune. The accumulation of hymns of a very high order is now so great that the utmost care, and even severity of judgment, should be exercised in the selections that are made for either public or private use.

The work before us does not profess to be a critical treatise on hymns; nor is any one article devoted to the discussion of the essential properties of a true hymn. But scattered

throughout the volume are not a few casual observations which abundantly show that the editor has a just appreciation of the proper characteristics of the Christian lyric, whether designed only for quiet perusal and to aid reflection, or intended to be employed in the solemnities of public worship.

The hymn has its own purpose to serve, a very important and useful purpose. Its entire character should conduce to the fulfilment of that purpose. The sacred song is fitted, if not designed, to supply an ever-fresh inspiration of holy thought, to awaken slumbering and buried sentiment, to quicken it into holy activity, to direct, control, and intensify spiritual aspirations, and to provide a vehicle in which they may find their appropriate expression. It is most natural, therefore, that they should be employed in the exercises of public and private devotion. Few worshippers are able to provide themselves with a current of religious thought, or suitable words in which to express those they have. How dull and leaden are our imaginations! How incompetent to declare the deeper emotions of our hearts. To all this our trembling lips testify. The words of a hymn are to the silent spirit as the fingers of the player to the light strings of the harp, whose mute melodies would remain unuttered but for the skill of the tutored performer. The hymn with its fulness and freshness of thought, its chaste and elevated language, its pleasing rhythm, its appropriately modulated tones, gives welcome help to the feeble, fluttering spirit, and turns the service of song into a pure delight. By means of a true psalm qualities of character are evoked, hopes are inspired, effort is aroused, faith is encouraged, the spiritual vision is expanded, devotion is cherished, and the soul is borne aloft on wings of holy contemplation, desire, or praise. With the most sacred thoughts in the mind, the most select of human words on the lips, the spiritual service becomes a spiritual joy; and if with rapid fingers the strings of the lyre are struck, the pleasing vibrations continue long after it has been laid aside; and echoes of the song and of the hallowed sentiment recur again and again to the sensitive spirit in the toil and tumult of life, and often lift the singer to an ecstasy of spiritual delight.

But the Christian hymn serves another purpose, worthy in

itself if subordinate to the former. In calmer and more thoughtful moments it becomes a means of most precious instruction. For the purposes of devotional reading, the hymn takes its place next to the Holy Scriptures. What holy sentiment fails to find its utterance in the psalm, the hymn, or the spiritual song? The quiet perusal of these, the best thoughts of the best of men, written in their best moments and in their best language, with their delicate rhythm and metrical cadence, cannot but be a solace, a joy, an inspiration. They are a precious heritage of the Church which is daily being augmented; and the constant use of them for meditation and song nourishes the spirit of poetry in the hearts of the many sons of Asaph whom God has taught to prepare songs for his sanctuary.

Art. V.—DR. DALLINGER ON THE MICROSCOPE.

The Microscope and its Revelations. By the late Dr. Carpenter, C.B., F.R.S. Seventh Edition. By the Rev. Dr. Dallinger, F.R.S. London: J. & A. Churchill.

IT has been understood for several years, by those interested in microscopy, that Dr. Dallinger was engaged on a new edition of Carpenter's well-known text-book. Although professedly only another edition of Carpenter's treatise, the portly volume now issued is, in fact, a new work. Nearly one-half of it is exclusively from Dr. Dallinger's pen, and the remainder has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date. The last edition, published during the life of Dr. Carpenter, about ten years ago, was a vast improvement on its predecessors, and was rendered necessary by the great advances made in the manufacture of objectives and the publication of Professor Abbe's investigations of the laws of microscopical vision. Quite recently another epoch in microscopical studies has been inaugurated, in consequence of the introduction of a new kind of optical glass for lenses, capable of giving much clearer definition than had previously been attained. It is owing to

this discovery, which will be explained later on, that object-glasses of a totally different character and of a much higher value have been constructed, and that more perfect delineations of minute structures can be obtained. Hence it became important to revise the one text-book on microscopy which had come to be regarded as essential to the student, so as to incorporate the latest results of Abbe's researches, and to set forth definitely their relation to the improved objectives.

This necessity being felt, it was not surprising that Dr. Dallinger should have been chosen for the difficult task. Dr. Carpenter had already referred to him in the sixth edition as "the highest authority" on practical microscopy, and his pre-eminence in this department is universally acknowledged. His long and laborious studies among the lowest forms of life settled the question, so far as the present facts of science are concerned, of spontaneous generation, and at the same time raised him to a high position as an original worker.

Although this controversy is a familiar story to all who are versed in natural science, it will no doubt be of interest to the general reader to have the main facts of it put once more within his reach. The inquiry into the origin of species naturally gave a new importance to the question as to the beginnings of life. This question was looked at in a two-fold aspect. There was first to be dealt with the suggestion, old enough, but never till the days of Haeckel reduced to scientific form, that the non-living might under some circumstances produce the living. This is the theory of spontaneous generation, pure and simple, scientifically defined by the term Abiogenesis. But there was also the subordinate question as to whether an organism ever produced progeny unlike itself, not by way of the Darwinian hypothesis of development, but as direct and immediate offspring, one species giving birth to another species clearly and distinctly marked off from the one which gave it birth. This is technically referred to as Heterogenesis, the origin of living forms from specifically different organisms.

There could be no difficulty in answering these questions in regard to the larger animals. The conflict raged around those minute creatures which only the highest powers of the

microscope could reveal, and whose organisation was so simple as to render such transformations conceivable. Dr. Bastian had given in his *Beginnings of Life* some remarkable instances of supposed heterogenesis. He declared he had observed monads developing from bacteria. In almost any decomposing animal substance there will soon be found both monads and bacteria, oval and spherical forms in multitudes, darting here and there, twisting about, wriggling, revolving, swimming—in fact, performing every kind of movement. At an early stage of their growth it is impossible to distinguish the monads from the bacteria even with the best microscopical appliances. Now it can easily be seen that any one examining these crowds of organisms, and supposing them to be all alike, or that nothing was there but what could be detected with the microscope, would certainly fall into error when, after an absence from the microscope of a few minutes, he should return to find great differences among them. This is what Dr. Bastian did. His mass of supposed bacteria was really made up of immature bacteria and monads, the latter of which, after an interval, had outgrown the former. If he had separated an individual and watched it continuously, he would have found that bacteria never produced anything but bacteria, and that monads produced only their like.

For want of this patient and continuous observation Dr. Bastian made another mistake. Monads, in the course of their development or growth, pass through various forms, some of which are strikingly similar in shape to other lowly creatures. Hence, by intermittent observation, it might be concluded that a monad had become an amœba and then a bacterium, whereas the fact is that the amœba form is merely a stage in the life history of the monad, and the supposed bacteria arising from this are nothing more than the somewhat advanced spores of the monad. Those readers who have access to Dr. Dallinger's new book will find an admirable plate at page 682 which will make this matter more intelligible than mere words can do. The method pursued by Dr. Dallinger in his treatment of Dr. Bastian's startling statements was simply to watch individual organisms throughout their whole life-cycles. A single monad was observed to go on multiplying itself by division or fission

of its body until at length this exhaustive process induced a less active state. "After a period varying from eight to ten days there always appears in the unaltered and unchanged field of observation normal forms, with a remarkable diffluent or amœba-like envelope, ... but directly the diffluent sarcode of one touches that of another they at once melt together." This fusion of two individuals was not perceived by Bastian, and the resulting form was the one supposed by him to be an amœba. After the fusion is complete a period of quiescence ensues, and at length the sac bursts and emits a dense cloud of spores. These spores were continuously watched, and in every case they developed into monads and nothing else.. Here then is a complete circuit which could only be properly understood by following it without interruption from beginning to end. To come upon it at intervals, as Bastian did, could bring nothing but mistakes and delusions. These and similar observations settled the question of heterogenesis, or the production of one species immediately from another. It became a canon in science that species produce only their like, with such modifications, of course, as do not touch upon essentially specific characters.

The question of abiogenesis, the evolution of living forms from dead matter, was not so easy to deal with, owing to the fact that the spores or germinal particles of bacteria are too minute in some instances to be discernible with even the very highest powers of the microscope. Dr. Bastian, having destroyed all the bacteria in a certain fluid by boiling them in a sealed flask, yet found bacteria later on when he opened the flask. Hence he supposed that living bacteria had originated out of the débris of the dead ones. His mistake arose from his not understanding, what is now well enough understood, that boiling, although it destroys bacteria in general, yet does not destroy their spores, which spores did not come within the limits of his optical powers. At this juncture Professor Tyndall was able to supply a physical demonstration that these spores or germs really existed, notwithstanding that the microscope failed to reveal them. It is well known that an electric beam becomes invisible in a perfect vacuum. There are no atoms of matter there to reflect the light. Professor

Tyndall constructed a glass case, and allowed it to stand till all the floating germs within it had settled to the bottom, and then passed an electric beam through it. This shone brightly enough on each side of the case, but not within. Then bottles containing sterilised fluid were placed in the case. The fluid remained sterilised, as was demonstrated by passing the electric beam through the case, whereas similar bottles of fluid in the ordinary air of the laboratory never failed to yield bacteria after a certain length of time. This was a critical experiment, but it was confirmed in other ways. Flasks filled with the fluid were subjected to much greater heat than Dr. Bastian had used, when it was found that the germs were destroyed, thus showing that Dr. Bastian had destroyed only the mature forms by boiling and not the germs. Moreover, with the finest recent lenses the granular matter emitted from many forms can be observed so distinctly as to make it practically certain that it consists of spores, while even in regard to those germs which are ultra-microscopical their growth can be taken up at a point sufficiently early to render any doubt as to their real existence well-nigh inconceivable. Abiogenesis therefore is disposed of. Where there are no germs no bacteria are produced. The non-living never develop into life. Not only is this the judgment of Dr. Dallinger, but such men as Huxley, Tyndall, and Haeckel have arrived at the same conviction. Professor Huxley affirms that "at the present moment there is not a shadow of trustworthy evidence that abiogenesis does take place or has taken place within the period during which life has appeared on the globe" (*Anat. of Invert. Animals*, p. 39); and Professor Tyndall has seen his way to declare with equal emphasis: "When in our day I seek for experimental evidence of the transformation of the non-living into the living, I am led inexorably to the conclusion that no such evidence exists, and that in the lowest, as in the highest of organised creatures, the method of Nature is that life shall be the issue of antecedent life" (*Proc. Royal Institution*, 1877, p. 477).

The brief account here given of this exciting controversy may be taken not only to indicate the grounds on which Dr. Dallinger's reputation as a microscopist is based, but also as

serving to show the surpassing importance of the microscope as an instrument of accurate research in some of the most vital and profound problems that affect mankind. By many it has been regarded as merely a toy, capable of affording entertainment in opening up curious and beautiful forms otherwise invisible. But it is far more than this. True, like the genie of Oriental fable, the mystic lens reveals worlds of wonder, and peers into the most carefully guarded beauties of Nature, but it has also won for itself almost the chief place among the appliances of scientific research, and is absolutely essential to the proper study of botany, physiology, anatomy, and geology. For illustration of this, let the thoughtful reader turn to the various chapters of Dr. Dallinger's volume, in which these branches of natural science are treated of one after the other. A mere glance through this part of the book will convince him that no subject there dealt with can be thoroughly mastered without the help of the microscope, and that he who has never used one is only half educated, for he is ignorant of half, nay, more than half, of the commonest things that lie within reach of his fingers.

Dr. Dallinger gives us a detailed account of the origin and development of the microscope. This is almost a new feature in works of this kind. Mr. Quekett's well-known treatise contains a brief survey of the history of the microscope, but very much has been brought to light on this subject since his days, thanks to the enquiries of Mr. John Mayall and Mr. Frank Crisp. Quekett ascribes the honour of the invention to Zacharias Jansen in 1590, and that opinion prevailed in this country until quite recently. Dr. Dallinger thinks there is ample historical evidence that Galileo was the discoverer of the compound microscope in 1610. The simple magnifying glass, consisting of a single lens, had been variously used before that date, and the Jansens had already become celebrated as spectacle-makers. But Professor Govi, in an exhaustive memoir published in 1888, makes it certain that the invention of the compound form was due solely to Galileo, and that he was "led to the discovery of the microscope from that of the telescope." Viviani records that one was sent to Sigismund, King of Poland, in 1612. This is an

interesting point, and now that something like a final demonstration has been arrived at, it is well that it should be put on record in a book destined to receive the attention that Dr. Dallinger's volume will command.

The long and interesting chapter in which the successive stages through which the microscope has passed in attaining to its present marvellous perfection and elegance, is valuable not only from an antiquarian point of view, but also on account of the instruction which the practical microscopist may derive from it. As Dr. Dallinger observes: "We may obtain much insight into the nature of what is indispensable and desirable in the microscope, both on its mechanical and optical sides, by a thoughtful perusal of these details. It will do more to enable the student to infer what a good microscope should be than the most exhaustive account of the varieties of instrument at this time produced by the several makers can possibly do."

After several modifications of the single microscope, or monocular, the first great advance in form was the invention of a binocular, in 1677, by Chérubin d'Orléans. This consisted of two compound microscopes joined together, so as to be applicable to both eyes at once, and consequently was constructed on a quite different principle from the modern binocular, in which, except that there are two eye-pieces, the optical part is identical with that of the monocular or single-tubed instrument, the light being broken up into two beams and thrown into the pair of tubes and eye-pieces by the insertion above the objective of a prism of Iceland spar. However, the idea was born, and henceforth it shared in the continued development of microscopical appliances in general. It is curious that not till 1716 was a mirror used for the purpose of reflecting light through the object from beneath. Simple as this improvement may seem, it was, in fact, a complete revolution in microscopical methods, as every one will at once realise who has the vaguest conception of what can be done by transmitting light through a transparent object, such as all the minutest organisms are, in contrast with the poor results obtained by other methods of illumination.

The next important improvement relates to what is called

achromatism, or the elimination of those fringes of colour which blur the images formed by all imperfectly constructed lenses. We shall have to refer to this matter presently, when considering the development of the objective. It will be sufficient to say now that it was this discovery of achromatism that did more than anything else to give to microscopical object-glasses their strictly scientific value. Although Martin, in 1759, constructed an achromatic objective, yet it was long before anything very satisfactory was done in this respect. Lister wrote a paper for the Royal Society, in 1829, on the question of curing chromatic aberrations in lenses, which at once excited a vast influence on the manufacture of object-glasses. Andrew Ross and others at once adopted Lister's principles, and henceforward this vital part of the microscope continued to acquire increasing delicacy and precision.

Not the least useful part of a book on the microscope is that which furnishes hints to the inexperienced as to what qualities should be looked for in an instrument. With critical delicacy Dr. Dallinger passes in review almost every style and pattern that the intending purchaser is likely to meet with, and any one who will glance over the pages devoted to this practical purpose will hardly be likely to make a costly blunder. It is not easy to say which of the numerous instruments now made deserves to be ranked as the very best. This is not the place to give even an abstract of this eminent specialist's judgment upon the work of the various opticians. But we may rapidly enumerate the points that ought to be considered in the choice of a microscope. Dr. Dallinger thus arranges them in their relative order of importance: (1) A coarse adjustment by rack and pinion for the purpose of rapidly moving the tube up and down. (2) A substage, which is made to hold all kinds of illuminating apparatus, condensers, polarising prisms, &c. (3) A fine adjustment, the screw of which is so fine as to permit of the most accurate focussing when very delicate manipulations are being made, and minute objects are to be examined from top to bottom. (4) Mechanical movements to substage; in many observations much depends on the position of the illuminating apparatus and the stops in the substage, and the finest work requires

that these should be easily and accurately moved. (5) Mechanical stage—that is, a stage on which the object is examined, and which has arrangements whereby it can be moved in any direction and to the smallest distance without the vibration or jerks that would be caused by touching it with the fingers. (6) Rackwork to draw tube. The lengthening of the tube increases magnification, but if it be drawn out by sliding, as in common stands, the whole arrangement is liable to be disturbed, especially where living objects are on the stage. (7) Finder to stage, the use of which is to register the position of a very minute object on the slide, so as at once to enable us to detect it. Other points are considered, but they are such as only the advanced worker is likely to care about.

We must now make some reference to recent improvements in the manufacture of objectives, for this, after all, is the most important matter in practical and scientific microscopy. Everything in the construction of the stand, every quality in the almost endless series of accessories and appliances, exists for the sake of the objective. This is the image-forming part of the instrument, and it is this which effects the main proportion of the magnification. Upon its qualities depends the value of the work that can be done. However stable or elegant may be the other parts of the instrument, if the objective be crudely made, or if its corrections have been imperfectly constructed, all is in vain. Nothing but illusions and distortions will be seen. It is comparatively easy to manufacture object-glasses which give great magnification, but magnifying power is of no value without clear and perfect definition of the fine structures to be examined. Even if a wheel-animalcule could be made to appear as large as a windmill no advantage would arise if we could not tell whether we were looking at the delicate cilia of the rotifer or the sails of the corn-grinding machine.

The objective is composed of a number of lenses of various kinds and shapes combined together on strict mathematical and optical principles. In the more elaborate object-glasses, there are two or three combinations of lenses, each combination consisting of a doublet or triplet—that is, two or three

lenses of different curvature, and made of different kinds of glass, are cemented together with transparent Canada balsam. The reasons for combining lenses together in this way can be made plain without touching upon the mathematical and technical considerations involved. Every one knows that a ray of light in passing into a denser medium than air is bent, or as it is called refracted. The appearance of a stick plunged into water is the most familiar example of this. In the case of a spherical surface, this property gives rise to curious results. Similar rays of light falling on the curved surface of the lens are bent in such a way as theoretically to meet, after their emergence from the lens, at the same point, called the focus. But in practice it is found that only those rays which fall near the central or principal axis of the lens actually meet at the same point. Rays which fall near the outer zone, or periphery of a lens, will focus at points more or less distant from the principal focus. So, then, the image of an object looked at through a single uncorrected lens would be blurred and indistinct. An illustration of this in an exaggerated form is the appearance of things outside as seen through a knob in the window-pane. This phenomenon is known as the spherical aberration of lenses, and constitutes the first defect which the optician has to remedy. In the case of large lenses the evil can be overcome to a great extent by grinding the surface of the lens at different points or zones, thus giving rise to different angles of refraction for different portions of the spherical surface. By this tedious process all the rays can be got to focus in the same point. But such a method of correction would be most laborious and costly in smaller lenses, and where the smallest lenses are concerned—those which give the highest magnification—such a plan is impracticable. No satisfactory correction can be easily ensured except by combining together lenses which neutralise each other's aberration more or less, the peripheral portions which may remain uncorrected being stopped out, so that no light can pass through such portions. Dr. Wollaston was perhaps the first to accomplish this in anything like a successful manner. He constructed a doublet, consisting of two plano-convex lenses, so placed that their spherical aberrations were opposite, and so mutually

destructive, or nearly so. In practice, lenses of different kinds of glass are used, having, of course, different refractive powers, but as these powers are well known for all materials, or can be found, the problem becomes practicable. Commonly, lenses of crown glass and flint glass are combined in order to neutralise spherical aberration, and for the reason which we must now explain.

In addition to the defect of spherical aberration lenses are beset with another difficulty, which arises from the fact that the so-called ray of light really consists of a number of primary or elementary rays of different colours which do not focus in the same point. This dispersion causes an image seen through an uncorrected lens to appear fringed with different hues. Such effects, or phenomena, constitute what is commonly called chromatic aberration. The utility of an objective will depend on the degree to which these defects have been remedied, that is, the extent to which it has been made achromatic. We have alluded to Lister's efforts in relation to this matter. From this time, about 1830, the problem has been dealt with on strictly scientific and mathematical lines. Amici, at the same period, was also attending to this subject, and to the joint labours of these eminent men must be attributed the bringing of the dry achromatic objective to perfection, so far as the principles and formulæ of its construction are concerned. In 1850 an objective emanated from one or other of these—it is not certain which—embodying the latest results of optical investigations. Its chief feature was a triple combination placed at the back. It also had a triple front and a doublet between. Of this Dr. Dallinger says: "It may well be doubted if anything will ever surpass the results obtained by English opticians in achromatic objectives constructed with this triple front, double middle, and triple back combinations." Less complex combinations are more common, and, of course, less costly.

There is, however, another element concerned in this discussion and which we must try to explain, before the question of achromatism can be further proceeded with. This element is indicated in the much-used expression, "numerical aperture." So long as objectives were used without placing on the object

examined a drop of water or oil, it was easy to compare their apertures. The part of the lens stopped out could be measured, and the number of degrees of the aperture or opening through which the light could pass, ascertained. Supposing the whole surface of a hemispherical lens were available for the ingress or egress of light, the aperture would of course be 180°. But it became possible, by adopting various devices, to utilise rays which would not otherwise pass through a hemisphere. The first of these devices was introduced by Amici a quarter of a century ago, and was called water immersion. A drop of water is placed on the glass covering the object, and the front of the objective is brought into contact with this water. The effect of this is to refract, or bend in, more light into the objective than would have been the case without the drop of water. Very soon other fluids were used for the same purpose. The more dense the fluid the greater would be the refraction, and consequently the higher the intensity of the light utilised. At length cedar oil was adopted, the refractive power of which is about the same as that of the crown glass used for the front of the objective and the unannealed glass which covers the object. This device was consequently called homogeneous immersion.

By this arrangement more light is brought into the lens, and therefore the measurement of the apertures of different lenses would present no means of determining their relative capacity for utilising light. A dry lens having the same angular aperture as others used with water or oil would be far inferior to the latter. Hence arose the term "numerical aperture" to describe the basis upon which dry and immersion lenses could be compared. Numerical aperture is the ratio between the utilised diameter of the back lens of the objective and its focal length.

Without pursuing this point into details, it can readily be seen how valuable a feature of an objective is a high numerical aperture, the lenses being so minute. An approximate idea of the significance of immersion may be obtained from the fact that whereas 1 represents the maximum N.A., the highest possible, of a dry lens, homogenous lenses are now commonly made with N.A. 1.4, often 1.5, and in one case 1.6.

Denser transparent media would make it possible to increase this, and it is conceivable that certain manipulations of the light might bring us to the theoretical limit of 2, which would be equivalent to the whole surface of a sphere.

We are now able to resume the question of achromatism. These wide apertures increase the defect of chromatic aberration, as the reader will already have inferred from what has been said in regard to the cause of the evil. Of the seven colours of the spectrum only two could be brought to a co-incident focus by combining crown and flint glass, owing to the fact that crown and flint glass disperse light unequally. The red and violet of the spectrum, for example, might be brought together by a proper combination of crown and flint lenses, but the other colours would remain uncorrected, and with wide apertures would be noticeable in a most unpleasant degree.

Professor Abbe set himself, in 1881, to the consideration of this important and intricate problem. In conjunction with Dr. Schott, a laborious series of experiments were made, and at length a glass was manufactured whose dispersion is proportional in different parts of the spectrum. The complete cure of chromatic aberration is now possible, and objectives are constructed which, with compensating eye-pieces, are achromatic in a sense not previously realised. They are usually described as apochromatic objectives. They owe their characteristic properties largely to the presence of fluorite, a mineral which gives less refraction and dispersion than any other optical glass known. At present fluorite is difficult to obtain, but it is quite within the bounds of possibility that other materials may yet be discovered which possess similar qualities.

These lenses inaugurate a new era in microscopy. The former objectives were made to insure magnifying power; but now aperture is the chief desideratum. With the Abbe-Schott glass the great apertures referred to are realised without fear of aberration, and the gain is all the greater from the fact that, as Abbe points out, those rays which are remote from the principal axis of the lens are of primary value in resolving minute structures. This fact is explained by what is usually called the diffraction theory of microscopical vision, for an account of which abstruse subject we must refer the student to

Dr. Dallinger's volume. As an example of the superiority of the newest objectives over all previously made, we may quote the following paragraph :

"A minute oval organism, from the 1-3000th to the 1-5000th of an inch in long diameter, was known to possess a distinct nucleus; the long diameter of this was from the 1-10th to the 1-15th of the diameter of the whole body of the organism. In the observations of ten to fifteen years since the cyclic changes of the entire organism were clearly visible and constantly observed; but of the *nucleus* nothing could be made out save that it *appeared* to share the changes in self-division and genetic reproduction *initiated* by the organism as a whole. But by lenses of N.A. 1.5 and the finest apochromatic objectives of Zeiss, especially a most beautifully corrected 3mm. and 2mm., structure of a remarkable kind has been demonstrated in the nucleus, and it has been shown that the *initiation* of the great cyclic changes takes place in the *nucleus*, and is then shared in by the organism as a whole. In short, we have discovered as much concerning the 'inaccessible' nucleus—which may be not more than, say, a twelfth of the long diameter of the whole organism—by means of *lower powers*, but *greater apertures*, as we were able to find concerning the complete body of the saprophyte with dry objectives." (P. 80.)

Those who are aware of the essential relation of the nucleus to cell-growth will at once appreciate the value of objectives which give such perfect definition. Indeed in all investigations of microscopical structures the defining and resolving powers of an objective are of far higher importance than its magnifying power. Their size is quite a secondary matter. It is distinctness that is most wanted. And it is precisely this which the apochromatic objectives most effectively ensure.

We must not permit ourselves to enter into those fairy lands of science through which Dr. Dallinger's book conducts us, fascinating as these realms are to the happy possessor of a good microscope. For him every atom becomes a world, the rankest ditch a paradise. Almost every science is barred to all but the microscopist, and the vast problems of life and development depend for their solution upon his researches. Such being the functions of the instrument whose origin and development we have been briefly recounting, it is no wonder that the student of science sometimes bursts out into fervent descriptions of its qualities, as Dr. Dallinger does here and there, or that the whole scientific world is grateful for such a masterly book as the one into which we have too scantily dipped.

Art. VI.—RECENT SPECULATIONS AS TO CHRIST'S PERSON.

1. *The Incarnation of the Son of God: being the Bampton Lectures for the year* 1891. By Charles Gore, M.A. London: John Murray. 1891.
2. *An Inquiry into the Nature of our Lord's Knowledge as Man.* By W. S. Swayne, M.A. With a Preface by the Bishop of Salisbury. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.
3. *Church Quarterly Review,* October 1891, and January 1892. Articles on Mr. Swayne's and Mr. Gore's Works.
4. *The Thinker,* February 1892. Article by Professor W. F. Adeney, M.A., on Mr. Swayne's and Mr. Gore's Works.

THE announcement that the Bampton Lecturer of 1891 was to treat of the doctrine of the Incarnation took many by surprise. Dr. Liddon's work of twenty-five years before seemed to have exhausted the subject. Still, the choice of subject, however bold it might seem, has been amply justified by the result. Mr. Gore's work can never come into competition with the work of his predecessor. The difference between the two works is less in style and ability than in the line of discussion adopted. On the score of sheer ability, the later is not unworthy to rank with the earlier volume. But while Dr. Liddon's work, passing by the secondary controversies of the day, dealt chiefly with the essence of the great argument itself, Mr. Gore puts the relation of the doctrine to present-day questions in the front place. The two discussions of the same theme, instead of clashing, scarcely touch at any point. Let any one compare the almost exhaustive treatment of Scripture evidence in Liddon, covering three or even four chapters, with one chapter given to this point in Mr. Gore's work, and he will see the difference at once. The later work thus assumes and supplements the earlier one. The modern stamp is on every page of Mr. Gore's book. The skill with

which the lecturer has divined the points at which the doctrine cuts across modern thought is remarkable, and the vindication is in most respects scarcely less skilful. If it were our object to point out the strong sides of the work, we should refer to the argument on the relation of the supernatural to the natural in the second lecture, to the brief criticism of Dr. Hatch's views (p. 99), to the description of the negative character of early Church definitions (p. 106), and much else equally good. But our object is rather to discuss a new position which the author has taken up, a position of more questionable soundness and value.

The lecturer distinctly argues in favour of the position that our Lord's human nature was like ours, in regard to knowledge, or rather ignorance. Not that he states the view in so many words. The most explicit utterance we can find is the following: "The record seems to assure us that our Lord in His mortal life was not habitually living in the exercise of omniscience." The qualified nature of this statement is obvious. Our own impression is that the drift of the whole exposition would justify and seem to require a stronger conclusion. The position, of course, is not new in itself; it is only new in a leading representative of the very highest school of orthodoxy in English theology. Nor is the motive of so remarkable a step hard to discover. It is the desire to meet the pressure of modern difficulties. In the essay on "Inspiration" in *Lux Mundi*, the author plainly expressed a sense of the necessity of adjusting that doctrine to supposed recent discoveries of Biblical science. In the present work he seeks in the same way to adjust the doctrine of the Incarnation to the same circumstances. It is not indeed certain that the author himself accepts these new conclusions of modern criticism. Some sentences give the impression that he is rather arguing on the ground occupied by others—*i.e.*, on the supposition of certain conclusions being true. The following sentence is suggestive: "If we do not ourselves feel any difficulty about the matter, it is surely right that we should be very loth to ask men who do feel the difficulty to accept, as matter of revelation, what seems to them an improbable literary theory." It is difficult to avoid the impression that the motive of the entire volume is

to be found in this statement. At least, the argument on this head is worked out most elaborately and emphatically. The new ground taken up may be quite sound, but certainly it will surprise and even startle many. We doubt whether the teaching of the *Lux Mundi* essay was so bold, because there is no generally accepted theory of Inspiration, whereas there is, in the Creeds, a very definite theory, within certain limits, of the Incarnation.

It is needless to say that the author abides by the definitions of the Lord's Person given in the early Creeds. Lectures iv. and v. are brief but clear and able assertions of Christ's Divinity, just as the following lectures are of His Humanity. "Perfect God and perfect man" is the starting-point of the discussion. It is equally needless to say that those who hesitate to follow the new development of thought abide by the same positions. Mr. Gore also maintains that our Lord's human nature was impeccable and infallible. "When men suggest fallibility in our Lord's teaching, or peccability in His character, it is as much in the teeth of the Gospel record as when, on the other hand, they deny Him limitation of knowledge, or the reality of a human moral trial in the days of His flesh." At first sight it may seem impossible to combine infallibility with limitation of knowledge. The reply, we suppose, would be that when Christ spoke under human limitations of knowledge He was not professedly teaching anything —if the expression may be allowed, He was not speaking *ex cathedrâ*. At least, this we shall find is the substance of the answer given. Whether it is tenable or not is another question.

Let us look more closely at the author's position. The reasons from Scripture for the new position are briefly sketched (pp. 147–151). They are such as—The surprise often expressed by Christ, the questions He asks, His habit of prayer, especially the prayer of the Passion, the well-known statement about the Son and the judgment (Mark xiii. 32), the subordination of the Son so prominent in St. John, and the silence on matters of natural knowledge. This subjection to limitation of knowledge on the part of the Son is of course voluntary, and part of the self-abnegation involved in the Incarnation. We must not think of it as the result of separate acts of

volition, but rather as the result of the condition accepted once for all at first. It is possible to God, but not so much because He is almighty, but because He is love, just as self-sacrifice is possible to man. "God declares His almighty power most chiefly in such an act of voluntary self-limitation for the purposes of sympathy. It is physical power which makes itself felt only in self-assertion and pressure; it is the higher power of love which is shown in self-effacement." Sympathy means the power to transfer ourselves into another's state. Mr. Gore's words go a long way. He says in a note on p. 266:

"It is not enough to recognise that our Lord was ignorant of a divine secret in respect of His human nature, unless we recognise also that He was so truly acting under conditions of human nature as Himself to be ignorant. 'The Son' did not know. This involves no change in God, because it was simply an external exhibition of an eternal capacity for self-sacrifice in the being of God. . . . . The Incarnate Son was *personally, within the sphere of the Incarnation, accepting the limitation of humanity.*"

The force of the Pauline "self-emptying" is described in bold language. "Form," in the Philippian passage, is defined as "the permanent characteristics of a thing."

"Jesus Christ in His pre-existent state was living in the permanent characteristics of the life of God. In such a life it was His right to remain. It belonged to Him. But He regarded not His prerogatives as a man regards a prize he must clutch at. For love of us He abjured the prerogatives of equality with God. By an act of deliberate self-abnegation He so emptied Himself as to assume the permanent characteristics of the human or servile life: He took the *form* of a servant. . . . . Remaining in unchanged personality, He abandoned certain prerogatives of the Divine mode of existence in order to assume the human."

"In a certain aspect the Incarnation is the folding round the Godhead of the veil of the humanity, to hide its glory, but it is much more than this. It is a ceasing to exercise certain natural prerogatives of the divine existence; it is a coming to exist for love of us under conditions of being not natural to the Son of God."

A friendly critic in the *Guardian* (Dec. 9, 1891) protests against the word "abandoned" as too strong, and thinks that the context modifies it. On the contrary, we think that no other word expresses the meaning of the entire exposition.

What is the practical application given to the new teaching? We find this in a subsequent lecture, where the question of

our Lord's references on several occasions to matters of Old Testament authorship is discussed. The author holds that incidental references of Christ to Mosaic utterances do not authoritatively commit us to the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch, and that similar references to Jonah and the Deluge do not bind us to their historical character. Christ could only use the current titles, "just as men will always speak of the poetry of Homer even if the composite origin of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* comes to be universally recognised." Psalm cx. is taken as a typical case. It is suggested that Christ is here arguing on the ground of His opponents, as in Matt. xii. 27 and Mark x. 18. It was permissible for Him to do so. Sometimes He teaches categorically, "as one having authority;" at other times He questions, stimulates, criticises. "It is easier to conceive of our Lord using this sort of argument, if we accept the position that He, the very God, habitually spoke, in His incarnate life on earth, under the limitations of a properly human consciousness." We confess to some sense of incongruity in the application. The ascription to the Incarnate One of human ignorance is used to explain, not some alleged error of fact, but simply the use of a not uncommon mode of argument.

It is a curious indication of the trend of present thought on the subject that Mr. Swayne, a member of the same theological school, writing contemporaneously and independently, comes, in his brief, careful treatise, to precisely the same conclusion, the preface by the Bishop of Salisbury giving still more importance to the essay. Here, again, the inspiring motive is evidently the pressure of Old Testament criticism. Mr. Swayne says substantially that the question of authorship was not before Christ; He simply uses the accepted titles. If He knew any of the titles to be wrong, it does not follow that He would have corrected them. The pages (10–15) which deal with the signs in Christ's life of supernatural knowledge in discernment of the human heart and revelation of spiritual truth are particularly interesting. The bulk of the essay is a discussion of the two passages (Luke ii. 52, Mark xiii. 32), which have for ages been a difficulty on this subject. Mr. Swayne reviews and dismisses as unsatisfactory the Patristic expositions, and

thinks we can do no other than accept a self-limitation of love in regard to knowledge as to other things. The question he puts is, "Was our Lord as man omniscient?" In careful language he gives a negative answer. He lays decisive stress on the change which has taken place from the physical or metaphysical to the ethical conception of God. The former was the scholastic mode of thought. "But hold, as the earlier Greek theologians held, that God is, in the first place and essentially, Love, and it becomes evident that Love can limit its own outgoings, can empty itself of wisdom, glory, and power, and yet be true to itself, yet be Love." Two interpretations of the Lord's Kenosis he rejects—one which makes it equivalent merely to condescension, and another which pushes it to the length of "depotentiating" the divine. A third he accepts—the one which makes it "a voluntary act of self-limitation proceeding from a Holy Love. In no other way could the love of God have been so perfectly manifested."

By another strange coincidence a writer in the *Church Quarterly* for October, 1891, evidently a learned and accomplished theologian (presumably the writer of the second article in January, 1892), also writing contemporaneously and independently, by anticipation criticises and rejects the very theory advocated by the two writers already mentioned. What does he say of the idea of a Kenosis, even in a milder form than the one of our own days? "If this idea is taken in any real sense, it is impossible to reconcile it with orthodox faith; and, in addition to this, it involves consequences of the gravest import, both theological and philosophical." Then, after endeavouring to show that the exegesis of Phil. ii. 7 is exegetically mistaken, he proceeds:

"How is a limitation of the Divine Being in Christ at all thinkable? Is it not clear that to suppose such a limitation is simply to destroy our belief in His Godhead? For our idea of God is that of the Being who cannot be limited. . . . . Dorner tells us how the pressure of this difficulty led to the device of ignoring the infinity of God. Luther, he tells us, held that the divine nature is ethical, that it consists in righteousness, holiness and love. Undoubtedly the divine nature is ethical; undoubtedly God is righteousness, holiness and love. But to make the affirmation of this side of the Divine Being a practical denial of God's infinity, is nothing else than to substitute for the true conception of God a finite and anthropomorphical image."

The writer goes on to advance a theory of his own by which to explain Mark xiii. 32. We do not need to discuss it. In brief, it is that, while knowledge in God and in man must be essentially the same, it must also be different in important respects, just as, for example, different languages have essentially the same laws of formation and yet are very different in outward structure. So, before divine can become human knowledge it must undergo a process of translation, as in the case of different languages. Professor Adeney criticises the theory sufficiently. However interesting and able as a speculation, it remains a speculation and works out to nothing else. A skilful cross-examiner could speedily show that it affords no relief, or only removes one difficulty to raise others.

To return to our main subject, Mr. Gore betrays the consciousness that he is departing from, or going beyond, the old paths of theological exposition. There can of course be no objection to this if the new paths are safer and better. The two passages discussed by Mr. Swayne were the crux of Patristic faith. Plainly, the Fathers and Schoolmen did not know what to make of them. There was a strong tendency to explain them away by giving them an unreal sense (see Swayne, pp. 21, 31). Theodoret, of the school of Antioch, protested against this tendency, saying: "If He knew the day, and, wishing to conceal it, said He was ignorant, see what blasphemy is the result. Truth tells a lie." Mr. Gore's apology for departing from the spirit of the Fathers is that we have to deal with questions which did not exist in their days (p. 164). We only refer to the explanation as indicating the consciousness of a new departure.

In submitting some remarks on the positions we have tried to expound, we may first of all notice one or two minor points. It may seem strange at first sight that, while there is no difficulty in conceiving limitations in regard to other attributes, there is difficulty in regard to knowledge. If we were asked: Was our Lord as man omnipotent or omnipresent? we should have no difficulty in replying. Is the explanation of the difference to be found with the writer in the *Church Quarterly* (Oct. 1891, p. 13), first in the connection of knowledge with a person, and secondly, in its independence of the

will? If we know a thing we cannot will not to know it. Hence the writer rejects the notion of a *voluntary* self-limitation of knowledge. The difficulty is increased by the consideration that, according to the old view, the personality of Christ's human nature resides in the divine Son.

Again, it may be doubted whether the criticism of Ps. cx., which is a principal occasion of this discussion, is finally established? Delitzsch, in his Commentary, does not accept it.*

Will it be possible on the new doctrine to maintain the infallibility of Christ as a teacher? We know that Mr. Gore strenuously maintains the affirmative, and sees no logical inconsistency in doing so. Certainly there is a strong appearance of contradiction. If the two positions are consistent the consistency should be more apparent to the ordinary understanding than it is. No harmony that rests on subtle discrimination can be permanent. One writer, at least, has no doubt. "One of the most distressing things arising out of the Lutheran view of the Incarnation," the identity of which with the one now under notice will presently appear, "is that it leads to the doctrine of our Lord's fallibility. . . . . No doubt there are those amongst us, who are influenced by the Lutheran view, who would be shocked and distressed at the idea of our Lord's fallibility. Without wishing to hurt their feelings, we would simply point out that the conclusion lies in the premises, and, however much they may wish it otherwise, it must and will be drawn" (*Church Quarterly*, Oct. 1891).

The point to which we wish to call especial attention is that the new position commits us to the Kenotist theory of the Incarnation, advocated by some modern German divines. This modern Kenotist doctrine is different from the older Lutheran Kenotist theory criticised in the *Church Quarterly*. A word of explanation here may be useful. The older Kenosis had reference to the peculiar view of the *Communicatio Idiomatum* held in Lutheranism. The old Catholic *Communicatio* simply includes, as the Bishop of Salisbury states in his preface, the ascription to the divine person of the Son of the attributes of either nature; the Lutheran doctrine means

* *Commentary on Psalms*, vol. iii. p. 161. Hodder & Stoughton.

the communication of divine attributes to Christ's human nature in virtue of the Incarnation. This is applied in support of the doctrine of consubstantiation. Then arises the question, How can the possession of divine attributes by Christ's human nature be reconciled with their apparent absence in His earthly life? It was to meet this difficulty that the theories of Krypsis and Kenosis were devised. According to one those attributes in Christ's humanity were hidden, according to the other they were renounced for a time. Thus is the Pauline "self-emptying" explained. But the modern Kenosis of writers like Gess, Ebrard, Thomasius, Martensen and others, goes much farther. It is applied, not to the God-man, who has been previously invested as man with divine powers, but to the pre-existent Son, and is thus a theory of the Incarnation itself. The principle, no doubt, is the same in both. Any criticism which applies to the first applies *à fortiori* to the second. The latter is Kenosis on a grander scale. The doctrine of the Bampton Lecture on the subject is precisely the doctrine of this modern German school in a tentative form. The language used ("abandonment," &c.) is just such language as members of that school habitually use. The mode of Scripture proof adopted, and the representation of Christ's miracles and teaching are the same. The way in which all Christ's miracles and teaching are ascribed to delegated power and wisdom on pp. 146 and 149, forcibly reminds us of the German style of writing. What the full theory is, and what consequences it leads to, may be sufficiently seen in Lecture iv. of Dr. Bruce's *Humiliation of Christ*, to which Mr. Gore alludes in a note on p. 267, mentioning, and seemingly adopting, Martensen's more moderate type of Kenotism. It is worth while to illustrate the kinship of teaching by quoting a few sentences from Dr. Bruce's account of the doctrine of Thomasius, who is, like Martensen, a Kenotist of moderate views:

"Incarnation is for the Son of God necessarily self-limitation, self-emptying, not indeed of that which is essential to Deity in order to be God, but of the divine manner of existence, and of the divine glory which he had from the beginning with the Father, and which He manifested or exercised in governing the world. . . . . God is not destroyed by self-limitation, for self-limitation

is an act of will, therefore not negation but affirmation of existence. The essence of God is not stiff, dead substance, but out-and-out will, life, action, self-asserting, self-willing, self-controlling self. . . . . God is love, and if limits are to be placed to God's power of self-exinanition, they must be wide enough to give ample room for His love to display itself. God may descend as far as love requires. . . . . This theory, according to its author, does not disturb the immanent Trinity, for it makes the Son of God in becoming man part with no essential attributes of Deity. It strips Him indeed of omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, the Redeemer being, during His earthly state, neither almighty, nor omniscient, nor omnipresent. But these are not *essential* attributes of God; they are only attributes expressive of His free relation to the world which He has made; attributes, therefore, not of the immanent, but only of the economical Trinity, with which God can part and yet be God, retaining all essential attributes of Deity—absolute power, truth, holiness and love."

Others give up even the latter. Dr. Bruce, while justly praising the spirit of these writers, points out the difficulties which their teachings involve. He asks how the same act can include assumption and self-limitation. He also shows that the Kenosis reduces the Logos to a state of impotence, and to such impotence that His Kenosis becomes a matter of physical necessity, not of free will. He allows that the Martensen form is more feasible, though it raises questions which are not answered. "On the whole, with every desire to give the Kenotic theory a fair and candid hearing, one cannot but feel that there are difficulties connected with it which 'puzzle' the mind and give the judgment 'pause.'" The theory is criticised severely enough by German divines like Kahnis, Luthardt, Dorner.*

We do not refer to this aspect of the subject in order to raise prejudice, but simply to see where we are being led, to find out what is involved in propositions offered to our acceptance. It is only right, before taking the first step, to ask what the second will be. In the same way we should object to any theory of Church polity which would logically develop into a Pope and college of Cardinals. Now, according to Kenotist theories, it is only the human in Christ that is in evidence; the divine is suppressed and put out of sight for the time. The presence of the divine rests only on the assertion

* *System of Christian Doctrine*, vol. iii. p. 263.

of Christ and the apostles, and is to us a matter of faith. Words and acts which were once regarded as direct effects of divinity are merely the effects of delegated power as in apostles and prophets.* The human, indeed, is said to be a form assumed by the divine Son; but there is no more proof of this than in the case of inspired men. The divine is sunk for the time in the human. So the Germans say, and we can only read Mr. Gore in the same sense. "The divine Sonship is impressively asserted at the baptism in the river Jordan. Again, Jesus Christ manifests His consciousness of it in His relation to John the Baptist; and, henceforth, throughout our Lord's ministerial life, it is not possible for one who accepts, even generally, the historical character of the Synoptic Gospels and of St. John's, to doubt that He knew His eternal pre-existence and Sonship; but the consciousness is not allowed to interfere with the really human development of life" (p. 145). Thus, the Divinity of Christ rests on Christ's bare word. God is not seen; man only is seen. The evidence left may be enough for those already believers; but what of non-believers? What, too, of Matt. xvi. 16? There must have been something in Christ which drew out the confession. What of John xiv. 9? All this may be consistent with the Christology of the Creeds and of the old theology, as is asserted; but it has yet to be shown to be so. The German advocates of the doctrine—men of the sincerest faith and of almost incomparable ability—are continually repeating that it is in strict continuity with preceding definitions, but we have not yet found them giving any proof. It may be consistent with Pearson, Jackson, Hooker, Owen; but to us it seems the opposite. How can we say with Hooker, that Christ does some things as man, some as God, some as God-man? To all appearance He does everything as man. What will become of a doctrine, the proof of which is withdrawn from sight? If the man in Christ is always in evidence, and God not, what will be the effect on belief? Will the critics, whose favour is sought so

* See Gore, p. 146. The evidences of supernatural power given by Mr. Swayne (pp. 10–15) would all have to be explained in the same way.

assiduously, respect the infallibility which is carefully reserved by Mr. Gore?

"Unbelieving critics do not like the supernatural tokens in Christ, and if they do not always avowedly reject them in the lump, they at least deny or ignore them as they come up one by one. The Kenotist does not deny them, but practically he gets rid of them to a greater or less extent by his theory. This is all very well so long as we approach the question from the side of Divine Revelation. But suppose we come to it from the other side—from the side of pure naturalism. Then the question before us is: Is it more reasonable to suppose that in Christ an Infinite Being was held in restraint, or that the supposition of His possessing such an Infinite Being is a mistake? The Naturalist might argue: 'We are both agreed, the Kenotists and ourselves, that such an Infinite Being was not manifested; why, then, should we suppose it to exist at all?' It is plain that the balance of argument is on the side of the Naturalist." (*Church Quarterly*, October, 1891, p. 9.)

The apologetic application of the theory is an original idea of the English lecturer; but the apology is of a strange sort. The defence looks uncommonly like a surrender at discretion. Such evidently is the judgment of the Anglican theologian just quoted, and he is referring only to the earlier and lower form of Lutheran Kenosis. Speaking of this "new view of the Incarnation," he says: "We are distressed to see the extent to which it has been admitted, we think unwittingly, in many quarters; and we wished to raise a note of warning, and, if it might be, to show what it really is, and whither it tends."

Since these words were written the Bampton Lecture has appeared, and it is interesting to read the judgment expressed by so able a representative of Anglican theology (probably the same writer) in the later article (*Church Quarterly*, January, 1892). After arguing that the Incarnation meets profound needs of human nature, and stating the old form of the doctrine, the writer discusses Mr. Gore's book. First, he summarises the lectures, then bestows generous praise on its strong points, and finally criticises the features to which he takes exception, along with others the limitation of knowledge ascribed to Christ. We are surprised at two things: first, at the mildness of the condemnation, especially as the work criticised affirms the precise positions which were condemned in the previous article; and secondly, at the omission of all

reference to the Kenotist theory which the positions impugned presuppose. Still the critic directly traverses, one by one, the reasons from Scripture adduced by the lecturer, such as the surprise expressed by Christ and His prayers, and dissents from the conclusions. After referring to Patristic explanations of Mark xiii. 32, he proceeds: "To Archdeacon Wilberforce it was merely an assertion that our Lord did not know through the use of His human faculties; to Dr. Liddon it was a declaration of human ignorance of one specified fact on the part of the Son of Man, who in all other respects was omniscient; to Mr. Gore it expresses a part of our Lord's habitual ignorance as man of all which was not specially revealed to Him by the Father, or learnt in the ordinary course of life." The critic expresses a preference for Dr. Liddon's view as given at length in his Bampton Lecture (p. 464, 2nd ed.), adding: "There is no ground supplied by this passage for so extensive a nescience on the part of the Son of Man as Mr. Gore's position requires." "It is true that in the humiliation of the Incarnation He submitted Himself to hunger and thirst and weariness and death. But this is a different thing from the Divine Person withholding knowledge from the human mind in which He acted, and which was the mind of God. To speak of the voluntary withholding of knowledge by the Divine Person from His own human mind seems to us to ignore what the nature of knowledge implies." "We deeply regret that Mr. Gore has repeated the opinion he has elsewhere expressed, that our Lord's teaching has no bearing on particular questions of Old Testament criticism. Whatever be the facts about some details, a real Mosaic legislation, including Deut. xxiv. 1, and Lev. xii. 3, an historical flood, a true history of Jonah, are, we think, imperatively required by the words of Christ. We are unable to see that our Lord's reference to Ps. cx. is of such a kind as to leave His infallibility and honesty unaffected if that Psalm was not written by David."* These sentences at least mark the wide divergence between the old Anglican Christology and the new. We may agree or not

* Liddon's discussion of these questions is still well worth study (Bampton Lectures, pp. 453-472, 2nd ed.)

with all the arguments by which the old doctrine is defended, but so far we think that the old is better.

Our purpose has been not to expound and criticise Kenotism, which is not so much as mentioned in the Bampton Lecture, although it must have been present to the author's mind, but simply to indicate the issues of the special views there advocated. The Kenotist theory of the Incarnation is, perhaps, the most daring one ever attempted on the most mysterious of all subjects, a subject more mysterious even than the nature of the Godhead simply, because dealing with the union of the infinite and finite in one personal life. Even to read the barest abstract, such as is given by Dr. Bruce, to say nothing of the detailed expositions of the original writers, makes one's brain reel. It is given to few to keep calm on such dizzy heights. The one aim is to secure the unity of Christ's Person, which, Kenotists say, is asserted in the Creeds, but not demonstrated. If we were criticising the theory, we should have to reply that this end is only secured by sacrificing the distinction of the natures, which in that theory is only asserted, not demonstrated. We can no longer say ἀτρέπτως, ἀσυγχύτως. With all our respect for the noble motives and characters of the authors of the doctrine, and feeling all the fascination of the subject and of speculations which we cannot accept, we also feel that the very attempt to give a positive theory of God's greatest act of love is rather to follow in the steps of those whom early Councils condemned, than of the wise moderation and abstinence of the Councils themselves. Mr. Gore justly reminds us (pp. 106–108, 144) that these famous definitions were rather negations of error than explanations of truth—"negatives which block false lines of development; notice-boards which warn us off false approaches." He justly condemns the mediæval readiness to dogmatise on divine mysteries. This charge seems to bear with full force on the theories we have mentioned. They rush in where angels fear to tread. The tendency is to leave us only a human Christ, the divine Christ being left to our faith, but withdrawn from our gaze. Even apart from the question of truth or falsehood, apart from the one-sided exegesis necessary to establish the position, the price is too high for the result gained. To smooth the path of friendly

critics at the cost of putting the most effective weapons into the hands of deadly enemies, is not work that pays. Of course, if truth requires the sacrifice, it must be made regardless of consequences; but we hope that enough has been said to show that the sacrifice is not imperative, and a full examination would, we are sure, lead to the same conclusion. The sacrifice, as it seems to us, would amount to a revolution in Christian thought and life which we do not care to contemplate.

The two particular passages of Scripture which are so prominent in the discussion may perhaps press now at a new point, but they scarcely press more severely than they have always done. The early Fathers wrestled bravely, perhaps fruitlessly, with them, as the catena of explanations in Dr. Liddon and Mr. Swayne shows. The difficulty is only a part of the great mystery of the Incarnation. If the Fathers were in danger of giving too little weight to the reality of the human in Christ, are we not in danger on the opposite side? Do we get rid of mystery by minimising or entirely eliminating the divine? Can any but a divine Christ in the highest sense be the captain of our salvation in the good fight against the almost overwhelming forces of evil? And if He is divine, must not the fact be sufficiently in evidence? Must not the one truth make itself felt as much as the other? Why has the best theology always held itself committed to faith in Christ's absolute impeccability, to say nothing of infallibility? Because of the weight with which the divine in Christ, and the unique relation of the human in Christ to the divine, have pressed on the Christian conscience. There is no other reason for exempting Christ from the apparently universal law of probation for moral creatures. Consistency requires us to recognise this fact in all cases or in none. The attempt made in our days in several quarters to predicate fallibility of Christ and the Scriptures in literary and historical matters, and to assert infallibility in the higher region of spiritual and divine truth, seems to us a most critical operation. It may succeed among scholars, but it must break down among ordinary Christians. In a word, neither truth nor safety will permit the concessions advocated in very high quarters.

Art. VII.—BARON DE MARBOT.

1. *The Memoirs of Baron de Marbot, late Lieutenant-General in the French Army.* Translated from the French by Arthur John Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In Two Volumes. With Portraits and Maps. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1892.
2. *Mémoires du Général Baron de Marbot.* Tomes I.–III. Paris. 1891.

IT is an obvious fact, into the reasons of which it is unnecessary here to inquire, that our neighbours across the Channel excel us in the vivacity, the *verve* of their narrative literature. Whether it is Madame de Sévigné, who depicts in charming letters the society of the seventeenth century, or Le Sage, who relates the adventures of the ingenuous Gil Blas; or Thiers, who exercises his imaginative powers on the field of history, we are led forward at least as much by the subtle combination of sparkle and ease in the style as by the value and interest of the matter. French is still what it was in the days of Horace Walpole, "the language of raillery, the language of anecdote, the language of memoirs, the language of correspondence." *

In Mr. Butler's excellent translation of the Baron de Marbot's Memoirs we have ample proof that the grace and spirit of the original need not be lost in the process of transfusion into another tongue. The Baron tells his story with a "go" that seldom flags, and with a frankness that commands our belief in his veracity. Endowed with quick perception, great bodily activity, undaunted courage, and, above all, with a singularly clear judgment as to all military movements, he is a model reporter of the battles in which he took part—a forerunner of the daring and accomplished war correspondent of the present age. He could not, of course, make notes as the business of each day went on and he was dashing over the field, often in the thick of the fight, on his

* Macaulay: Essay on *Horace Walpole.* (October, 1833.)

duty as aide-de-camp; but he took advantage of any interval of inaction—as at Salamanca in 1811—to commit his "recollections of the recent campaign to paper;" notes which, he says, "I have found very useful in writing these Memoirs." He is, perhaps, the more trustworthy because he is not afflicted with an unsoldierlike excess of modesty, but gives fair prominence to his own achievements—and they were neither few nor small—and is by no means loth to tell a good story in which the laugh goes against himself. His narrative, dealing with some of the most stirring episodes in European history, is full of romantic adventures, hairbreadth escapes, and all the freaks and fortunes of war, but is not wanting in incidents connected with the domestic life of the day. Where his account of public affairs is weak or one-sided, it will generally be found that he has had to rely on Thiers, and writers of his stamp, more patriotic—or Napoleonic—than accurate. Perchance some at least of the minute details which are filled in with such a nicely judicious touch, to heighten the effect of his dramatic presentments, may be due to a vivid imagination aiding in the embellishment of an incomplete recollection; but his remarkable narrative may mostly be relied on, confirmed as it is in the main by authentic testimony. To have reproduced so vividly the wondrous panorama of which the Baron was eye-witness, stretching from the beginning of the Revolution to the Restoration of 1814, marks him as a man of high literary ability. At the same time the English reader will feel much indebted to Mr. Butler for his judicious condensations, which have brought the *Mémoires* into more reasonable measure without detracting from their interest and value.

General Marbot's father was a landed proprietor, descended from an old family of noble origin. Marcellin, our author, was born in 1782, at his father's château of Larivière, in the vale of Beaulieu, and was just in time to be a witness of the first indications of the coming Revolution, which was to have such disastrous results for thousands of families in France. His own family did not escape the discord which was sown in the provinces by the assembling of the States General. His father, who was fully alive to the abuses which had prevailed

in the land, was in favour of the proposed reforms, but was, of course, perfectly unaware of the atrocities that were to follow in their train. But his three brothers-in-law and his friends were dead against any alteration in the established order of things; and the observant little Marcellin noted his mother's tearful efforts to keep the peace between them, without understanding the reason of the lamentable feud. Soon France was divided into departments, and his father was appointed administrator of the department of Corrèze, and then member of the Legislative Assembly; while his three uncles, in common with nearly all the nobility of the district, had emigrated.

M. Marbot's own devotion to the revolutionary cause did not preserve his property from confiscation. While he was serving as captain in the army of the Pyrenees, a house he had bought at Saint Céré was declared public property and sold by auction; and finally the family dwelling was visited, and the title-deeds of the feudal rents were demanded and were burnt in the courtyard. After this patriotic performance the mob, who had a friendly feeling for Marbot senior, though rather a strange way of showing it, withdrew, shouting, "Hurrah for the nation and Citizen Marbot!" Madame Marbot, feeling her position to be rather insecure with such surroundings, decided to leave home for a time and go to Rennes; and little Marcellin was about to go with her, but, being attacked with painful boils, had to be left in charge of a friend, the mistress of a small school for girls at Turenne, where his mother had been one of the first pupils. Here he was very content and happy, and his stay, instead of a few weeks, turned out to be of four years' duration. No doubt his abode with these gentle ladies contributed considerably to foster that kindness of heart which displayed itself on many occasions in his after life. Of this gracious quality we have an early instance in the following extract, which will serve as a specimen of Marbot's pleasant fashion of writing, and as a picture of a minor incident in those terrible days of revolution. It was in November, 1793, that his father, then in command of a camp at Toulouse, came to see him at Turenne, and, after abundance of caresses, decided that it was time for the boy to receive a more masculine education. While grateful to the ladies who had taken

maternal care of the little lad, he found on examination that, though well up in prayers and hymns, his knowledge of history, geography, and even spelling, was very limited. So Marcellin had to leave the pleasant female society which had petted and protected him so long, and to be placed, with his brother Adolphe, at the military college of Sorèze, "the only large establishment of the kind which the Revolution had spared." On the road to Toulouse the young traveller saw a sight that he had never seen before:

"A marching column of gendarmes, national guards, and volunteers entered the little town (Cressensac), their band playing. I thought it grand, but could not understand why they should have in the middle of them a dozen carriages full of old gentlemen, ladies and children, all looking very sad. My father was furious at the sight. He drew back from the window, and as he strode up and down the room with his aide-de-camp I heard him exclaim: 'Those scoundrels of the Convention have spoilt the Revolution, which might have been so splendid! There is another batch of innocent people being taken off to prison because they are of good family, or have relations who have gone abroad! It is terrible!' I understood him perfectly, and, like him, I vowed hatred to the party of terror who spoilt the Revolution of 1789. I may be asked: Why, then, did my father continue to serve a Government for which he had no esteem? Because he held that to repel the enemy from French territory was under all circumstances honourable, and in no way pledged a soldier to approval of the atrocities committed by the Convention in its internal administration.

"What my father had said awakened my lively interest in the persons whom the carriages contained. I found out that they were noble families who had been that morning arrested in their houses, and were being carried to prison at Souilhac. I was wondering how these old men, women and children could be dangerous to the country, when I heard one of the children ask for food. A lady begged a national guard to let her get out to buy provisions; he refused harshly. The lady then held out an *assignat*, and asked him to be so kind as to get her a loaf; to which he replied, 'Do you think I am one of your old lackeys?' His brutality disgusted me, and having noticed that our servant, Spire, had placed in the pocket of the carriage sundry rolls, each lined with a sausage, I took two of them, and approaching the carriage where the children were, I threw these in when the guard's back was turned. Mother and children made such expressive signs of gratitude that I decided to victual all the prisoners, and accordingly took them all the stores that Spire had packed for the nourishment of four persons during the forty-eight hours which it would take us to reach Toulouse. We started without any suspicion on his part of the way in which I had disposed of them. The children kissed their hands to me, the parents bowed, and we set off. We had

not gone a hundred yards when my father, who in his haste to escape from a sight which distressed him had not taken a meal at the inn, felt hungry, and asked for the provisions. Spire mentioned the pockets in which he had placed them. My father and M. Gault rummaged the whole carriage and found nothing. My father pitched into Spire; Spire, from the coach-box, swore by all the fiends that he had victualled the carriage for two days. I was rather in a quandary; however, not liking to let poor Spire be scolded any more, I confessed what I had done, fully expecting a slight reproof for having acted on my own authority. But my father only kissed me, and long afterwards he used to delight to speak of my conduct on that occasion. This is why, my children, I thought I might relate it to you. There is always happiness in the recollection of praise earned from those whom we have loved and lost."

Only in his twelfth year, unused to the rough ways of schoolboys, young Marbot felt his heart sink within him when he saw the high, gloomy walls of the Benedictine cloisters in which he was to be shut up for a time; still more so when his father left him, a new boy, amongst a crowd of staring youngsters. His first six months there constituted one of the saddest periods of his life. Gradually, however, he got used to the work, and his spirits rose accordingly. At the time of his entrance into the college the sanguinary rule of the Convention was at its height, and its commissioners were travelling through the provinces on their mission of revision and destruction. When these great men arrived at Sorèze, the pupils arrayed themselves in their military uniforms, and were drilled in their presence; then they acted pieces, "inspired by the purest patriotism," sang national hymns, and, as opportunity offered, expatiated on the excellence of Republican government. One day Deputy Chabot, examining young Marbot on Roman history, asked him what he thought of Coriolanus, who, when his ungrateful fellow-citizens offended him, took refuge with the Volsci, their sworn enemies. Dom Ferlus, the principal, and his masters were in terror lest the boy should express approval of the old Roman's conduct; but, to their great satisfaction, and to the deputy's delight, he laid down the palatable principle that "a good citizen should never bear arms against his country, nor dream of revenging himself on her, however just grounds he might have for discontent." But he says:

"This little success in no way diminished my hatred for the Convention. Young as I was, I had sense enough to understand that in order to save the country it was not necessary to bathe in the blood of Frenchmen, and that the guillotinings and massacres were odious crimes. There is no need here to speak of the oppression under which our unhappy country then suffered; you have read it in history. But no colours that history can employ to depict the horrors of which the Terrorists were guilty can bring the picture up to the reality. What was most surprising was the stupidity of the masses in allowing themselves to be led by men of whom very few had any capacity; for nearly all the members of the Convention were below the average in ability. Even their boasted courage was due mainly to their fear of each other, since it was through dread of being guillotined that they acquiesced in the wishes of their leaders."

At Sorèze he remained until he was sixteen and a half, and then rejoined his family in Paris, where his father soon afterwards was put in command of the 17th division by Bernadotte, then War Minister. At his home young Marbot met such men as Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, Napper Tandy, the Irish refugee, General Joubert, and Cambacéres; and in his mother's company he often saw Mesdames Bonaparte and De Condorcet, and occasionally Madame de Staël. Meantime the Directory was coming to grief. A strong man was needed to sweep aside the mediocrities, distinguished chiefly by brutality, who had succeeded each other so rapidly in the government of unhappy France. The Abbé Sieyès, President of the Directory, was the chief mover in a plan to change the form of government, and was seeking the aid of General Bonaparte, whom he proposed to raise into power, and then to make use of for military purposes, reserving to himself the real direction of affairs. In this latter expectation the crafty Abbé was sadly mistaken. To carry out his scheme he found it necessary to make sure of the support of the army, and accordingly tried to win over Bernadotte and General Marbot. The latter met the advances made through friends with the manly answer that while he was well aware that prompt remedies were required, he had sworn to maintain the Constitution of the year 3, and was not going to use his authority or his troops to bring about its overthrow. He then waited on Sieyès, resigned his command of the Paris division, and requested to have one on active service. After a time General

Lefebvre succeeded to his post, and he accepted a command in Italy, taking with him his son Marcellin, whom he had now enlisted in the First Hussars.

On their road southward they noticed, as they were changing horses within a few leagues of Lyons, that all the post-horses were adorned with tri-coloured ribbons and the houses with flags. They were told, as the reason for this display, that Bonaparte had just arrived at Lyons. General Marbot thought he knew better, being sure that the little Corsican was at the other end of Egypt. Entering Lyons, the travellers found all the houses illuminated and beflagged; fireworks fizzed about; people were dancing in the open spaces, and the air rang with shouts, "Hurrah for Bonaparte! He will save the country!" The evidence was irresistible. "Of course," said General Marbot, "I thought they would bring him, but I never suspected it would be so soon; they have played their game well. We shall see great events come to pass. Now I am sure that I was right in getting away from Paris; with the army I shall be able to serve my country without being mixed up in a *coup d'état*. It may be as necessary as it seems, but I dislike it altogether." When they reached the hotel where apartments had been engaged for them a week before, they found it hung with lanterns and guarded by grenadiers. The faithless landlord had given Bonaparte their rooms. Marbot kept his temper and went to another hotel, whither presently Bonaparte followed him to express his regret for this slight, done without his knowledge. While the two generals were closeted together, young Marbot enjoyed the company of the officers who had returned with Bonaparte from Egypt, and was never tired of studying their martial air, their bronzed faces, strange costumes, and Turkish sabres. Lannes and Murat were old friends of the family. The latter, who had been shopboy to a haberdasher at Saint Céré, kissed the young hussar and reminded him that he had often carried him when a baby. At this and a subsequent interview Bonaparte endeavoured to win over General Marbot to his ambitious plans; and, finding this not to be possible, tried, as the next best thing, to get it understood by people that he had succeeded in his purpose.

General Marbot, after the second interview, made arrangements for leaving Lyons on the following day, but found that all the post-horses had been engaged for General Bonaparte, who was about to make a tour of inspection. Young Marbot expected that his father would be angry, but the philosophic general suppressed his wrath, and simply said, "There's the beginning of omnipotence." The difficulty of locomotion was met by shipping the carriages on the Rhone, and descending that river amid charming scenery. Here we come upon one of the adventures in which these Memoirs are rich. We refer the reader to the book itself for Marbot's description of their voyage to Avignon, with their shipwreck on the sandbank of a regular Crusoeish island, which, however, proved not to be uninhabited, for some natives showed the wrecked soldiers no small kindness. It is closely followed by an amusing account of an adventure on *terra firma*. The patriots of Cavaillon, having been informed that General Marbot was in their neighbourhood, detained by the rise of the river Durance, begged that he would accept a banquet in his honour. Though averse to such displays, the general yielded at last, and he and his party found the best hotel at Cavaillon adorned with garlands and lined with all the local rank and fashion. The dishes were "most elaborate"; there was especially a profusion of ortolans, which abound in that part, but are not to be had for nothing. All went off brilliantly. Next morning, however, the landlord presented M. Gault, the general's aide, with a bill for 1500 francs, "the good patriots not having paid a mortal sou!" Marbot was at first astonished, then burst into shouts of laughter. Far from being vexed, he was much amused by the wrath of Gault, who kept saying, "I do not wonder that those scamps ordered such quantities of ortolans, regardless of cost, and called for all those bottles of expensive wines."

Arrived at Nice, young Marbot joined his regiment, and was put under the tutorship of Sergeant Pertelay, who had been recommended as a suitable Mentor for the hussar neophyte. It turned out, however, that there were two brothers of that name, both sergeants, but the elder the wicked one, the younger the virtuous one. Pertelay junior was gentle, well-mannered, highly educated, but was not in the Nice

squadron; so the job fell to the elder brother, the wrong man, who happened to be in the troop which Marbot was entering, and is thus described:

"He came to my father's house, and what did we behold? A jolly ruffian—very well set up, I must admit—with his shako over his ear, his sabre trailing, his florid countenance divided by an enormous scar, moustaches half a foot long, waxed and turned up to his ears, on his temples two long locks of hair plaited, which came from under his shako and fell on his breast, and withal such an air!—a regular rowdy air, heightened still further by his words jerked out in the most barbarous French-Alsatian gibberish."

We must pass over Marbot's experiences under this rough tutor—including such comedy as the adornment of his boyish face with enormous moustaches made with daubs of blacking, and such tragi-comedy as his being arrested at the very firing-point of his first duel and taken before his stern Roman father—and pass on to his entrance on active service. General Séras, whose division was stationed next to General Marbot's on the Mediterranean coast, had received orders from Championnet, the commander-in-chief, to push a reconnaissance into the Ligurian valleys, and begged a loan of fifty hussars from General Marbot for that purpose. Young Marbot was a private in this detachment, which was under the command of a showy young fellow, Sergeant Canon, who made admirable arrangements for the hazardous expedition—sending out a small advance-guard, covering his flank with scouts, &c.—but when they were getting within the neighbourhood of the Austrians he began to writhe on his horse, saying that he was in horrible pain and must hand over the command to the next in seniority. This was Sergeant Pertelay. But the rough Alsatian would not accept the offer, declaring that he could not read French, and so would be unable to understand the general's written instructions. The other sergeants and corporals refused on similar grounds, and finally all these veterans said to Marbot, a stripling of seventeen summers, "Take command yourself, we will follow you and obey you implicitly." The young private had military instincts, and nothing suited him better than an enterprise like this, with a strong dash of peril in it. The result was a brilliant success, and the capture of several prisoners. Meantime Sergeant

Canon had returned to an inn which they had passed; and there, some hours later, General Séras, who had seen smoke on the horizon and feared for the fate of the little detachment, found him asleep by the fire, with a huge ham, two empty bottles, and a cup of coffee in front of him. The general was wrathful, and the brave sergeant's plea of sudden indisposition was fatally invalidated by the palpable remains of his mighty meal. Just then Pertelay and two hussars galloped up with seventeen prisoners, and, hearing the general's reproaches to Canon, the rough campaigner said, "Do not scold him, general; he is such a coward that if he had led us we were bound to fail." Justice was done on the spot: Canon was degraded to the ranks, and young Marbot, on his arrival, was made sergeant.

Soon the regiment was transferred by the commander-in-chief across the Apennines into Piedmont, and was engaged in a series of actions with varying success. In some of these fights Marbot had an opportunity of seeing Brigadier-General Macard, "a soldier of fortune, who had been carried by the whirlwind of the Revolution, almost without intermediate steps, from the rank of trumpet-major to that of general officer." Of this worthy he gives an amusing anecdote:

"General Macard was, as might be expected, completely ignorant, which sometimes caused great amusement to the better-educated officers under his command. One day one of these came to ask leave to go into the neighbouring town to order himself a pair of boots. 'By Jove!' said the general, 'that will suit well. As you are going to a shoemaker just come here and take my measure and order me a pair too.' The officer, much surprised, replied that he could not take his measure, as, never having been a shoemaker, he had not the least idea how to set about it. 'What!' cried the general, 'I sometimes see you pass whole days looking at the mountains, pencilling and drawing lines, and when I ask you what you are doing you answer that you are measuring the mountains. Well, if you can measure objects more than a league away from you, what do you mean by telling me that you cannot take my measure for a pair of boots when you have got me under your hand? Come, take my measure without any more ado.' The officer assured him that it was impossible; the general insisted, got angry, began to swear, and it was only with great difficulty that other officers, attracted by the noise, succeeded in bringing this ridiculous scene to an end. The general never would understand how an officer who measured the mountains could be unable to measure a man for a pair of boots."

Before this the right Sergeant Pertelay, the younger and virtuous one, had rejoined his corps, and Marbot and he became great friends. Pertelay junior was as brave as intelligent; his career was cut short in an exploit in which he captured six guns, but a round shot broke his back when he and his hussars were almost within the French lines. The dashing deed brought Marbot another rapid promotion. The commander-in-chief had seen the action, and, calling together the remains of the detachment, dispensed praise and rewards. The elder Pertelay, who had been wounded and was in great pain of mind on account of the loss of his brother, whom he adored, received a sword of honour; and Marbot, nominated by the acclamation of his comrades, was made a sub-lieutenant.

Great events were now approaching in Italy. Masséna, having succeeded Championnet, who had died heart-broken on account of his inability to provision his troops and keep them together, had received reinforcements, and had got his men into something like order; and a famous campaign was about to begin. The wily Italian had persuaded General Marbot to stay with him in a post of extreme difficulty, instead of returning to France to take command of the advanced guard of the army of the Rhine—a step which his son deeply regretted; but "destiny," as the fatalistic Frenchman phrases it, "had decided otherwise, and my poor father's grave was marked out on the soil of Italy." As soon as the barrier of snow which lay between the two armies melted away, the Austrians made their attack, and Marbot the younger was over head and ears in happiness. The sight of troops on the march, and the clatter of artillery, roused all his martial ardour. A superior force attacked his father's division, and compelled it to retreat on Genoa, in which place it was shut up with the two other divisions of the right wing. Young Marbot, though he knew that they had been beaten, was delighted that he had, with his own hand, captured an officer of the Barco Hussars, whose plume he fastened on the headstall of his own horse. But his boyish vanity was soon quelled by a terrible catastrophe. In the course of the retreat his father was hit with a ball in the left leg, and the shock was so great that he must have fallen from his horse if he had not leant

upon his son, to whom he was just then giving an order to carry. He was conveyed to Genoa, and placed in the Centurione Palace.

The memorable siege of Genoa now began; the Austrians blockading the place by land, and the English by sea. It lasted two months, during which the garrison and the inhabitants suffered fearfully from famine and typhus. Marbot gives a vivid picture of the privation and distress in the beleaguered city. The troops, privileged beyond the starving multitude, received a wretched ration of a quarter of a pound of horseflesh, and a quarter of a pound of so-called bread, "a horrible compound of damaged flour, sawdust, starch, hair-powder, oatmeal, linseed, rancid nuts, and other nasty substances, to which a little solidity was given by the admixture of a small portion of cocoa." Little marvel that out of 16,000 Frenchmen, 10,000 died. Meanwhile, the wounded general took the fatal fever, and lay fading away, agitated by the noise of the fire of shells, and by the cries of the dying.

"At last, one night, while I was kneeling by his bedside, bathing his wound, he spoke to me with his mind perfectly clear. Then, feeling his end approaching, he laid his hand upon my head, stroked it caressingly, and said: 'Poor child! what is to become of you with no one to look after you, in the midst of the horrors of this terrible siege?' He murmured a few words, among which I made out my mother's name, dropped his arms, and closed his eyes."

Such was the end of a gallant soldier and right honourable man. We must pass over Marbot's details of his own sad experiences in Genoa, and give a glance at the stirring scenes on the canvas before us. The summits and slopes of the hills surrounding Genoa were studded with forts and redoubts, which furnished plenty of exercise for the Austrians, who were always attacking these positions; and as they carried one, the French set about retaking it. It was "a perpetual see-saw with varying chances." In one of these fights Soult, Masséna's right-hand man, was wounded in the knee, and taken prisoner. Inspirited with this success, the Austrians drove the French smartly back to the walls of the city, and were preparing to assault it, when a tremendous storm darkened the sky, and the rain fell in torrents. This abated the ardour

of the assailants, most of whom sought shelter in cottages or under trees. Masséna, whose *forte* lay in taking advantage of unforeseen circumstances, harangued his soldiers and led them, in the height of the storm, against the Austrians, who, not expecting such rain-disdaining audacity, retired in disorder, 3000 of their grenadiers being taken prisoners. These pages teem with the horrors of war, and the treatment of these poor fellows forms not the least harrowing among the tragic details. They were sent on board the hulks in the harbour, and put upon half-rations—that is, half of the wretched allowance measured out to the French soldiers. The siege lasted fifteen days after this capture, and Marbot describes the unhappy Austrians as "yelling with rage and hunger; at last, after having eaten their shoes, knapsacks, pouches, and even, according to rumour, the bodies of some of their comrades, they nearly all died of starvation." With the facile ingenuity of a Frenchman Marbot throws the blame of this barbarism on the Austrian general and the English admiral. But to our insular perception it seems plain that Masséna should have either fed or freed his prisoners. The French generals of those days were merciful only by fits and starts. Constant familiarity with wholesale human suffering blunted what finer feelings they may have possessed in early life.

Meanwhile, the garrison itself was at its last gasp. Absolutely no food was left, when Masséna took counsel with his officers, and decided to offer terms of evacuation. The allies were generous. "General," said Admiral Lord Keith, "your defence has been so heroic that we can refuse you nothing." The famished French were allowed to march out with their arms, and to proceed to Nice, where they were to be free to take part in further hostilities. Marbot was selected as one of the two officers to convey the tidings to Bonaparte, whom he reached at Milan the next evening, and who spoke to the youth with much sympathy on account of his recent loss, and promised, if he behaved well, to act a father's part toward him. He then kept him near him, and Marbot was one of his ordinaries on the battle-field of Marengo. Of this memorable fight he gives no details, but states that the French would probably have been defeated if Ott's 25,000 men had

come up in time. Returning to Genoa, he found himself free to make his way back to France, and, with a sad heart, rejoined his widowed mother at Carrière, near the forest of Saint Germain. There he sank for a time into a low state of spirits, but soon emerged from Despond as a member of Bernadotte's staff, and went to Brest; then was transferred to the 25th Mounted Chasseurs, and had to join his regiment in Spain. His experiences on his way to Salamanca are well given, and have the true Franco-Spanish ring.

In the beginning of 1802, after a pleasant stay in Spain, and a little skirmishing in Portugal, he recrossed the Bidassoa, and an amusing adventure marked his re-appearance on his native soil. He was arrested as a runaway conscript by two drunken gendarmes, and had some difficulty in regaining his liberty. Marbot tells the story with his customary unction; as also one about Captain B—— and his artificial calves, which would get into the wrong place—an incident that might well have figured in *Harry Lorrequer* or *Jack Hinton*.

With the signature of the Treaty of Amiens on March 27, 1802, a short peace commenced, and Marbot, who was anxious to be near his mother at Paris, was fortunate enough to be appointed to attend the cavalry school at Versailles, as a representative of his regiment, to which, on the completion of his term, he would have to return, to instruct others. While he was here great events were rushing on. The peace was soon broken, and Marbot got placed on the staff of Marshal Augereau, who owed the father a debt of gratitude and was anxious to show kindness to the son. Early in 1805 Napoleon —now Emperor—was full of plans for the invasion of England. He knew that he could not transport his troops to the island in small boats and pinnaces, which would have been swamped at the least touch of larger vessels. His scheme was to assemble all the sail of the line unexpectedly, annihilate the English fleet, and so command the passage of the Channel, if only for three days. Marbot lays the blame of the failure of this absurd plan on Admiral Villeneuve, who was to have decoyed the English fleet away to the West Indies, and then, giving it the slip, to have sailed back round the north of Scotland; but who, instead of executing the latter part of the

programme, made for Cadiz, and there was repairing his ships, when the English came up, and he found himself blockaded. This account, which Marbot has taken from the inaccurate pages of Thiers, is utterly incorrect. Not only had England at the time abundance of ships, large and small, in the British and Irish Channels and on the Spanish and Portuguese coasts, ready to give good account of the foe, but it was the fashion of the day for the French men-of-war to be beaten by far inferior forces; as happened to Villeneuve himself on July 22 of this year.*

From this time forward for ten years—1805 to 1815—Marbot was almost continuously on campaign. Numerous as were the wars of the Empire during this period most military men enjoyed one or more years of rest. But that was not his lot. "Constantly sent from north to south, and from south to north," he says, "wherever there was fighting going on, I did not pass one of these ten years without coming under fire, or without shedding my blood on the soil of some part of Europe." His moving accidents and narrow escapes were numerous, and are told with dramatic effect. His position as a staff officer gave him rare opportunities for observation, and fitted him to describe in after years the tactical movements in the string of great battles with clearness, and to criticise them with professional skill and judgment. Throughout the whole runs a *bonhomie* as agreeable to the reader as it is creditable to the writer. While regarding Napoleon with an ever-increasing admiration, he points out his faults and emphasises his mistakes in an outspoken, dispassionate manner. In his mention of Trafalgar he speaks of Nelson as "bearing to his grave the reputation of the first seaman of the age"; and he makes some severe reflections on the daring deceit and lying by which Murat and Lannes made themselves masters of the bridges over the Danube.

His account of the advance of the French into Austria is given with great pictorial power: incidents and horrors come fast and thick. Here we have the burning of Hollabrunn, which had the misfortune to offer an excellent military position:

* For fuller information on this topic see a letter from "N. M." in the *Times* of April 14 last.

"We were obliged to wait twenty-four hours at Hollabrunn, until the way was cleared through its streets destroyed by the fire, and still full of burning planks, beams, and fragments of furniture. This unlucky town had been so completely burnt that we could not find a single house to take shelter in. During our compulsory stay in the place we were appalled by a horrible spectacle. The wounded, especially the Russians, had during the fight taken refuge in the houses, where they were soon overtaken by the fire. At the approach of this new danger all who were able to move had fled; but many, wounded in the legs or otherwise severely injured, had been burnt alive under the ruins. Some had endeavoured to escape by crawling on the ground, but the fire had pursued them into the streets, and one might see thousands of the poor fellows half reduced to ashes; some of them were even yet breathing. The corpses of the men and horses killed in the fight had also been roasted, so that from the unhappy town of Hollabrunn emanated a horrible and sickening odour of roasted flesh, perceptible at some leagues' distance."

Four years later Marbot was again at this too convenient battle-spot, and, though the mischief caused by the fire of 1805 was barely repaired, saw it again burnt, and again piled with dead and dying men in a half-roasted state.

A few days before the battle of Austerlitz the young officer had to act a part in one of those comedies of which the Emperor did not disdain to make use. "If Napoleon was often deceived," he says, "he often used artifice to secure the success of his plans." The King of Prussia was vacillating in deep uncertainty as to which was the strongest side—the French, or the Austrian and Russian allies. He sent his ambassador, Von Haugwitz, to the French headquarters, to judge of the state of affairs. A day or two previously Marbot and a comrade had arrived with the Austrian colours taken at Bregenz, and presented them to the Emperor with grand ceremonial. To impress the Prussian statesman on his arrival, Napoleon had the same ceremony gone through, the same trophies exhibited, the same exultant letter from Augereau presented, just as if the affair was all fresh and new. Marbot had again to give details of the victory; and, taking into account his rare talent in that line, we can quite believe him when he says: "I depicted in the most vivid colours the defeat of the Austrians, their dejection, and the enthusiasm of the French troops."

On December 2, 1805, the famous battle was fought near the

village of Austerlitz, and Napoleon, now at the height of his successes, drove the vanquished Austrians and Russians before him with terrible slaughter.

"The greater part of the enemy, chiefly Russians, sought to pass over the ice. It was very thick, and five or six thousand men, keeping some kind of order, had reached the middle of the Satschan Lake, when Napoleon, calling up the artillery of his guard, gave the order to fire on the ice. It broke at countless points, and a mighty cracking was heard. The water, oozing through the fissures, soon covered the floes, and we saw thousands of Russians, with their horses, guns, and waggons, slowly settle down into the depths. It was a horribly majestic spectacle, which I shall never forget. In an instant the surface of the lake was covered with everything that could swim. Men and horses struggled in the water amongst the floes. Some—a very small number—succeeded in saving themselves by the help of poles and ropes, which our soldiers reached to them from the shore, but the greater part were drowned."

At Austerlitz General Morland was killed, and the Emperor decided that his body should be placed in the memorial building which he proposed to erect at Paris—a decision which led to rather uncanny results:

"The surgeons, having neither the time nor the materials necessary to embalm the general's body on the battle-field, put it into a barrel of rum, which was transported to Paris. But, subsequent events having delayed the construction of the monument destined for General Morland, the barrel in which he had been placed was still standing in one of the rooms of the School of Medicine when Napoleon lost the Empire in 1814. Not long afterwards the barrel broke through decay, and people were much surprised to find that the rum had made the General's moustaches grow to such an extraordinary extent that they fell below the waist. The corpse was in perfect preservation; but, in order to get possession of it, the family was obliged to bring an action against some scientific man who had made a curiosity of it. Cultivate the love of glory, and go and get killed, to let some oaf of a naturalist set you up in his library between a rhinoceros horn and a stuffed crocodile!"

In this battle Marbot received no wound, though often in the thick of the fight, carrying the Emperor's orders to his generals at various points of the field. Next day he performed a heroic feat in the rescue of a wounded Russian officer from a piece of ice floating in the Satschan Lake—a deed of daring in which he risked his own life, and which delighted the Emperor, who was a witness of the exciting scene. Presently he was sent with a letter to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt—a polite notice from General Augereau, who was about

to enter his territory. He could not find the Landgrave, but interviewed the Landgravine, who was the greater potentate of the two; made a favourable impression on this able and courageous lady, whom he thinks one might call "a masterful woman"; and proved his own ability to conduct a delicate piece of diplomacy to a successful issue. At this point we get one of those brief notes on the tendency of public affairs, and the little indications of the still distant cloud of reverse, which add so much solid value to Marbot's sparkling narrative:

"Young as I was at this time, I formed the opinion that, in reducing the number of the petty German principalities, Napoleon made a great mistake. As a matter of fact, in the old wars with France the eight hundred princes of the German body could not act together. Some furnished only a company, some a section, several *half a soldier*, so that the union of the various contingents formed an army entirely incapable of concerted action, and liable to disband at the first reverse. But when Napoleon had reduced the number of States to thirty-two there was a beginning of centralisation for the forces of Germany. The sovereigns who had been retained with augmented power formed well-organised little armies. This was the end at which the Emperor aimed, in the hope of thus employing to his own profit all the military resources of the country; and indeed, so long as we were prosperous, he obtained his end. But with our first check the thirty-two sovereigns came to an understanding, and combined against France. In coalition with Russia they overthrew the Emperor Napoleon, who was thus punished for deserting the ancient policy of the French kings."

In a similar tone is his account of his mission to the Court of Berlin, and of the rising anti-French feeling which at last compelled the hesitating king to reply to Napoleon's blunt question, "Are you for or against me?" by a tardy declaration of war. Tardy indeed, yet sadly premature, for the Russian allies had not yet come up, and the Prussian troops, though well taught, were badly organised, and were no match for "the conquerors of Egypt, Italy, and Germany."

Coming to Jena, Marbot reveals for the first time the circumstances which enabled the Emperor to conduct his infantry at night by an unguarded path up the steep sides of the Landgrafenberg and down on to a narrow platform, whence they debouched on to the plain in the morning fog, while the Prussians were massed on the Weimar road, carefully watching what they supposed to be the only way by which the French

could arrive. When a light breeze and the first cannon shots had dispersed the fog, the Prussians were aghast at seeing the enemy deployed in line in their front, and advancing to the conflict. Marbot gives a brief but clear account of the battle. One sentence furnishes the key to the result: "The Prussian infantry fought badly, and the cavalry did not do much better."

Passing on to the battle of Eylau, where both French and Russians suffered severely, and the victory has been claimed by both, Marbot, of course, takes a French view of the matter; but even from his statement it is evident that Napoleon was for the time incapacitated for any grand operations. It was on this field that our gallant author had one of the numerous narrow escapes which enliven the book. While executing a dangerous errand, Marbot—now Captain—had been struck by a cannon-ball, which went through the hinder peak of his hat, and gave his head, to which the hat was strapped, a violent shock; blood flowed from his nose, ears, and eyes, and, though he retained his sight, hearing, and consciousness, his limbs were paralysed. While in this helpless state he was assailed by a drunken Russian grenadier, who made several thrusts at him with the bayonet, and at last drove it into his mare's thigh. The sequel was horrible. The wounded animal, an exceptionally ferocious one, "sprang at the Russian, and at one mouthful tore off his nose, lips, eyebrows, and all the skin of his face, making of him a living death's-head, dripping with blood." Finally the dreadful creature, having lost much blood by a dissevered vein, suddenly fell over on one side, pitching her rider over on the other. There he lay, unconscious, among the slain, and was stripped by a French soldier—an act of routine which led to his identification and rescue from his perilous position in the snow. Invalided, and sent home to Paris, he had the joy of seeing his mother again, whose kind care, with the genial spring, completed his restoration. The hat pierced by the cannon-ball was preserved as a family relic. It is pleasant to note that, on revisiting Eylau a few months later, when in pursuit of the Russians, he gratefully recalled "the combination of really providential events" which had there saved his life.

The battle of Friedland now came on (June 14, 1807), and with it another adventure for our little captain. His ferocious mare Lisette was knocked up with posting backwards and forwards, and his new horse was so frightened by the sight of burning houses and the scent of roasted flesh that it refused to advance or retreat. Marbot wisely accommodated himself to circumstances, slipped off the immovable animal, and made his way along by the houses to join Ney in a square exposed to a less deadly shower of bullets. If all these little stories of his are to be taken as perfectly correct and free from the loving embellishments which lapse of years is apt to bestow, he certainly was privileged to possess more lives than the proverbial cat.

Three days after its victory at Friedland the French army came in sight of Tilsit, and on June 25 Marbot had from the quay a good view of the meeting of the French and Russian Emperors in a pavilion set up on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen. The two potentates met and embraced amid loud cheers from both camps, pitched on opposite sides of the river. Next day the King of Prussia was presented to Napoleon in the same pavilion, and was received "politely but coldly." The outcome of subsequent interviews between the two Emperors was the Treaty of Tilsit, which restored peace to the great Continental powers, at the cost chiefly of Prussia. In creating a kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome, Napoleon, shrewd as he was, took a fatal step. "The hatred and contempt," says Marbot, "which these new kings"—Jerome, Joseph, and Louis—"brought on themselves contributed very largely to the fall of the Emperor."

We must pass over our author's experiences in Spain during the campaigns of 1808-9. They include some wonderful adventures and miraculous escapes. In the siege of Saragossa, which is drawn with a master's hand, he was unfortunate enough to be disabled when on the point of covering himself with glory by leading the assault. Probably, however, this painful wound saved his life. Of course his accounts of the engagements with the English are coloured by his own nationality; as when he mentions the battle of Corunna, and states that Moore's army "only succeeded in reaching its vessels

after immense loss;" the fact being, as Mr. Butler reminds the reader, that in that famous fight the English lost about 800, the French nearly four times as many. Marbot allows that Sir John's death and the embarkation of the British did not turn out such an advantage as the French had imagined; "for General Moore was replaced by Wellington, who afterwards did us so much harm."

Early in 1809 his ground was once more changed. Napoleon left Spain in order again to fight the Austrians; and Marshal Lannes, on whose staff Marbot was, had soon to follow him to Paris, thence to accompany him into Germany. Battles and perils now come thick on the ground. A brilliant chapter is devoted to Eckmühl; the next tells how they took Ratisbon, and how the Emperor, before the assault, received a slight wound in the ankle, and, when it was dressed, rode down the front of the line to satisfy the curiosity and anxiety of his troops. At Ratisbon Marbot distinguished himself, and was *nominated* major, but not actually appointed. He had performed a perilous exploit, crossing the swollen Danube in an open boat in the darkness of night, and capturing three Austrian soldiers, to the delight of the Emperor, who, laying his hand on his shoulder, wet and muddy as he was, gave his most signal sign of satisfaction by pinching the young hero's ear. When he had heard every detail of the story, which is here pictured forth with grand effect, he said, "I am very well pleased with you, *Major* Marbot." Breakfast with the Emperor completed the happiness of the man whom he delighted to honour. All the same, Marbot's commission was not made out till another month had passed, and he had yet another wound to show for it. In the disastrous battles at Aspern and Essling he was again severely wounded. Here, also, Marshal Lannes, one of Napoleon's best generals, received his death wound, much to the grief of his deeply-attached aide, Marbot, who nursed him tenderly through the high fever which followed the amputation of his leg, and on whose shoulder his head rested when he died.

When Marbot had sufficiently recovered from his wound he went as aide-de-camp to Masséna, and in the decisive battle of Wagram was more than once in danger from the blazing corn,

set on fire by errant shells and gun wadding, two of his horses being disabled in crossing the fields, where the ashes of the burnt straw were still hot. His personal adventures throughout lend additional charm to his clear, living descriptions of these historic battles, wherein he had to play the dangerous part of messenger in the thickest of the fight, and sometimes in the still greater dangers of a retreat. One of the minor touches which lighten his more sombre pictures may be found in his sketch of two Jew spies, one of whom having been bayonetted by the Austrians, his brother, on arriving with the French on the scene, relieved his fraternal feelings by fearful shrieks, then rummaged the dead man's pockets, and finally stripped him, in order to sell his garments later on. "There," says the anti-Semitic Baron, "you have a good picture of the Jewish character."

An armistice was concluded before Znaim, just when a desperate bayonet fight was about to take place, and Marbot had the perilous duty of rushing between the two approaching lines, crying, "Peace! peace!" While giving with his left hand the sign for a halt, a bullet struck him on the wrist, and the young Austrian aide entrusted with a similar errand got one through his shoulder. Soon followed the Treaty of Schönbrunn, and the gallant Frenchman was enabled to recruit his health for a time at his mother's house at Paris. The year 1810 opened happily for him. He enjoyed the peaceful home life, and was soon well enough to go into society, and to get engaged to a young lady, Mlle. Desbrières, whom he married in the following year. But before that happy moment arrived he had to go through another perilous campaign—this time in the Peninsula, under Masséna. He was present in the crushing defeat at Busaco, and there learnt a wholesome respect for English valour and English ways of proceeding. His remarks on military matters show keen observation, and shed fresh light on some of the moves in that famous game of war, when Wellington checkmated the resplendent and too confident Napoleonic marshals. To counterbalance the disasters to his countrymen, which he has here to record, Marbot gives a full account of his desperate and triumphant encounter, single-handed, with an English officer and two hussars. It is

true it reads a little too much like the exploits of Thackeray's Major Gahagan. But, on the true Catholic principle, that the existence of the relic proves the miracle or martyrdom, we are bound to believe Marbot's seeming "bouncer," since at the time of writing his family had still got the shako which he wore, ornamented with numerous notches from English sabres.

Masséna, one of the most experienced of Napoleon's marshals, was no match for the great English general; he was hampered by his female baggage, and thwarted by his fellow-marshals. Marbot points out his principal mistakes in a well-written *résumé*, and expresses the opinion that the principal cause of the French reverses was the immense superiority of the English infantry in accurate shooting. In June, 1811, Masséna having resigned his command, Marbot received leave to return to France. Of three dreary weeks of waiting at Salamanca he took advantage to commit to paper his recollections of the recent campaign, and these notes he subsequently found of great assistance in writing his *Memoirs*. On his re-appearance at the Tuileries the Emperor asked him how many wounds he had now had, and on receiving the reply, "Eight, sir," said, "Well, they are eight good quarterings of nobility for you." In November he got married, and enjoyed a few months of peace in the society of his family and friends at Paris. In the following March he had to leave home to join his new regiment in Swedish Pomerania, and march with it toward Russia. The Emperor was bent upon war with that Power, and had gathered together his Grand Army, 450,000 strong, in order to commence the disastrous campaign of 1812. We need not here revive the details of that ill-omened undertaking, which caused so much misery, not only to the country invaded, but also to the French themselves, 350,000 brave men perishing on the snowy plains of Russia. Marbot and his Chasseurs, though they did not march with the main body to Moscow, distinguished themselves in several engagements; and he gives a clear account of the course of the war, describes with his usual force some incidents of the retreat, and points out with satisfaction the methods which he himself adopted to preserve the lives and promote the comfort of his men. He also indulges in a dispassionate criticism on the Emperor's

fatal mistakes in the constitution and handling of his great army. But though he sees many of the flaws in the inward stuff and outer make-up of his splendid idol, he would scarcely have concurred in the sterner view taken of Napoleon in Mr. Swinburne's fine lines in his new drama, *The Sisters,*

> "Could he [the Duke], suppose he had been—impossibly—
> Beaten and burnt out of the country, lashed,
> Lashed like a hound and hunted like a hare
> Back to his form or kennel through the snow,
> Have left his men dropping like flies, devoured
> By winter as if by fire, starved, frozen, blind,
> Maimed, mad with torment, dying in hell, while he
> Scurried and scuttled off in comfort?"

Marbot, on the contrary, approves of his hastening back to Paris, as being at that time "the sole means of saving France from civil war, and an invasion by our so-called allies."

He had the ill-fortune to be again wounded, but was thankful to get safely back to France early in 1813, and to be visited at Mons by his wife and the little son who had been born to him in his absence in Russia. "It was one of the happiest days of my life." On the resumption of hostilities he returned to active warfare, and took part in the campaign which led up to the fatal battle of Leipzig, and ultimately to Napoleon's abdication. He was not present at the French victory at Dresden, being then under the command of Marshal Macdonald, a brave and capable general, who essayed on the same date, August 26, to gain a victory at the Katzbach, and so make up for some past ill-luck. But it was not to be. The French lost the day, and were thoroughly routed. The dangers of the position were increased by a fearful storm, which swelled the stream, and rendered it unfordable, and so caught the fugitives in a trap—13,000 men being lost in slain and drowned. Macdonald had made a mistake, as he bravely acknowledged to his officers, with the frankness which was a part of his noble nature.* It was on account of his remarkable services in this unlucky encounter, and Macdonald's

* For a very interesting account of the career and services of this estimable Scoto-Frenchman we refer our readers to his *Recollections*, recently published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. A charming and reliable book.

high eulogy on him and his regiment, that Marbot was raised to the rank of Baron.

Early in the morning on which the battle of Leipzig was fought the newly made Baron was very near immortalising himself by a clever capture, which would have included the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who, with a party of officers, were reconnoitring from the top of the Kulenberg. A trooper's unauthorised discharge of his carbine shattered his well-arranged plan, and saved the "destinies of Europe" from a change which would have been anything but a blessing to the world outside the restless bosom of the cruel Corsican. Of the great battle itself Marbot gives a full account. On the first day he was wounded in the thigh by the arrow of one of the Bashkirs, whom he describes as "certainly the least dangerous troops in the world." After a day's inaction, the third day—October 18, 1813—found Napoleon in a fatal fix, hemmed in on nearly every side, and obliged to make arrangements for a retreat. Of this movement, in which so many poor fellows miserably perished, our author gives the painful particulars. As his narrative traverses the dreary months of reverse, it naturally becomes more condensed and less cheerful in tone. March 1814, he tells us, was one of the saddest times of his life, although he spent it in the company of those who were dearest to him. The Imperial Government, which he had so long defended at the cost of his blood, was crumbling away on all sides. With its fall, and the abdication of Napoleon, the gallant Baron's brilliant story comes to an end.

From the Epilogue we learn that at the first Restoration he was retained in the army, but when Napoleon returned from Elba he and his regiment went over to him and fought for him at Waterloo. Writing ten days after that battle, he says: "I cannot get over our defeat. We were manœuvred like so many pumpkins. . . . . The big generals were making bad speeches at Paris; the small ones lose their heads, and all goes wrong." After this he was exiled from France, but in 1818 was recalled and placed on half-pay. In 1830 he became aide-de-camp to the Duke of Orleans, with the rank of major-general. After seeing some service in Algiers, he closed his honourable career in peace in November 1854.

We have endeavoured to give some slight idea of the rich and varied contents of these remarkable volumes, but have necessarily left many points untouched. Attractive and intensely interesting as the work is, it is not a mere book of passing amusement. It throws fresh light on some of the obscurer proceedings of European statesmanship at the beginning of the century. It contains the clear-headed judgment on cardinal points of history of one who took an active part, however subordinate, in the great drama of the day. And over these memorable pages is shed the bright light of native genius, the fascinating power of the accomplished story-teller.

Art. VIII.—TOWN AND COUNTRY.

1. *The Small Holdings Act*, 1892.
2. *The Allotments Acts*, 1887 & 1890.
3. *Return of Allotments and Small Holdings in Great Britain:* obtained for the Board of Agriculture by the Inland Revenue Department, 1890.
4. *The English Poor:* A Sketch of their Social and Economic History. By T. Mackay. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1889.
5. *The Industrial History of England.* By H. de B. Gibbins, M.A. University Extension Series. London: Methuen & Co., 18 Bury Street. 1890.
6. *The Exodus from the Villages.* Letters to *The Guardian*, contributed by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D. February and March 1892.
7. *The Old and the New English Country Life.* By T. E. Kebbel, M.A. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1891.

THOUGH the Small Holdings Act, 1892, is declared by its promoters to be "only an experiment," it is, when considered in connection with the Local Government Act, 1888,

on which it depends, and the Allotments Acts, 1887 and 1890, of which it is the corollary, undoubtedly a somewhat momentous one. Not only is it based on a principle diametrically opposite to that of the earliest legislation for checking wholesale migrations to the towns, which began in 1489 and was not finally abandoned till 1600, but it is also the first attempt made by the Legislature for three centuries to solve a problem which has from time to time continued to force itself on the attention of statesmen, political economists, and philanthropists. The importance of this problem in connection with agriculture and trade, and the resources of our food supply, is universally admitted; and it has also another less noticed, but scarcely less important aspect, namely, its influence on the relation between town and country life, the action and reaction of which on each other have largely contributed to the formation of the national character and institutions. We propose, therefore, to examine, *first*, the historical development of this relation between urban and rural society; and, *secondly*, what effect the remedy devised for dealing with the latest migration from the country to the towns is calculated to have upon it.

1. The primary object of the Small Holdings Act may be said to be the resuscitation of the nearly extinct class of small freeholders or yeomen, which originated in the Anglo-Saxon *socagers*, and therefore dates back to the days when England was in the main a land of villages and manors; when agriculture and the trades connected with it were almost the only national industries; and a "landless man" was altogether outside the pale of social life.

The fact that the urban is now two and a half times as great as the rural population, makes it hard to realise that in 1769, little more than a century ago, the two populations were nearly equal, and that a century earlier still, in 1688, the rural population was three times as great as the urban. We are apt, therefore, to forget that during the first four centuries of our history almost every individual in the kingdom derived his maintenance from the ownership or occupancy of, or from services connected with land; and that as property—"the surplus of maintenance over and above what is necessary for

the hand-to-mouth life of a savage"*—is the basis of all gradations of class, land was the form of property which first determined the composition of the numerous classes comprised in our social order. It is important, however, to remember that modern society is the product of our gradual development from an agricultural into an industrial community—a process which has divided the nation into two distinct sections, differing alike in their modes of life, forms of local government, and political tendencies.

The Norman Conquest converted the limited feudalism of the Anglo-Saxons into a system of socialism "more thorough," as Mr. Mackay observes, "than has ever been imagined by modern enthusiasts."† Designed to maintain a great military organisation, of which the king was the head, by making all land subservient to the feudal ideal, and assigning a definite place to each class, of baron, tenant, cottager, or serf, upon it, it bound the mass of the people more closely than ever to agricultural pursuits, and checked commercial enterprise; while, by establishing the custom of primogeniture to prevent the subdivision of property, it threw manorial rights and the property connected with them into the hands of a limited class.

By the end of the fifteenth century, however, feudalism, already weakened by the establishment of national representation, the centralisation of government, and the curtailment of the powers of its great ally, the Church, had received its deathblow in the destruction of the great baronial families in the Wars of the Roses. The old feudal manors had passed into the hands of a new set of proprietors, who, regarding land from a commercial point of view, no longer cared to keep up the number of their tenantry for the purposes of warfare. The emancipated rural population had acquired the position of a peasant proprietary, the condition of which probably more nearly approached that of the higher classes than at any period of our history. The more favoured portion, the successors of the *socagers*, had become copyholders, with a certainty of tenure so long as they performed the duties prescribed by the custom of the manor; while the remainder

* *The English Poor*, p. vii. † *Ibid.* p. 33.

had become "hired villeins"—the predecessors of the hired labourer—chiefly through the alienation by lords of manors of portions of their lands to purchasers, who employed the labourers attached to them as free servants, whose villeinage to their original lord thus became merely nominal.* In addition to this, from the time of the immigration of Flemish weavers, in the fourteenth century, England had begun to become a manufacturing country; and, owing to the growth of the wool trade—of which, as the sole wool-producing country in the north of Europe, she soon acquired the monopoly—industrial enterprise had taken an important place in the national life, and its representatives, the burgesses, had been admitted to Parliament on equal terms with those of the landed interest, the knights of the shire.

The growth of the wool trade, however, was not only the cause of the first migration to the towns, but also mainly contributed to complete the severance of the bulk of the rural population from the soil, which was primarily due to the effects of the terrible pestilence which visited the country between 1345 and 1349. One of the results of "The Black Death," which destroyed from one-third to one-half of the population, was, by greatly reducing the number of hired labourers, to raise their wages from 40 to 70 per cent.† In spite of numerous Acts, such as the Statute of Labourers (23 Ed. III.), designed to compel them to work at the old rates, wages continued high from 1350 to 1500, and as the price of agricultural produce remained unchanged, the labourer was for a time master of the situation. The effect of this was to create an improvident labouring class dependent solely on wages for its existence, and to check the growth of the class of peasant proprietors, with its healthy ambition for the acquisition of land by means of thrift and careful husbandry. At the same time it drove the landlords, through the losses entailed by the high rate of wages, either to let the land they

* Many also obtained freedom through manumission, which the Church encouraged the lords to grant to their villeins, or by barring their lord's claim by flight to a walled town or borough, and a residence in it for a year.

† Those of women were doubled, and the value of artisan labour rose from 50 to 90 per cent.

had hitherto farmed themselves to farmers, thus beginning the present system of landlord and tenant; or, more frequently, to turn their arable land into sheep pastures, in order to avail themselves of the growth of the wool trade. The accumulation of land in the hands of a few wealthy individuals employing as few labourers as possible now increased to such a dangerous extent that the Legislature was at last driven to pass the well-known ordinance of Henry VII., "that all houses of husbandry should be maintained for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them, under penalty of forfeiture to the king." This was followed by a series of statutes on behalf of the labourer, ending with one of Queen Elizabeth in 1600, that no cottage should be built without four acres of land attached to it; but neither these, nor the denunciations of statesmen like Sir Thomas More, who dealt with the subject in his *Utopia* in 1526, and of divines like Latimer, who preached against it twenty years later, had any effect in checking the evil. In the meantime wages had been reduced to their original low level by the enormous increase of the landless labouring class, which, after the dissolution of the Monasteries, was swelled by the addition of the mass of retainers, labourers, and poor dependents, employed or maintained by the monks, and the growth of which was fostered by the enervating influence of a compulsory poor law. Hence, while the great nobles had been enriched by grants of the lands confiscated from the Church of Rome at the Reformation, and the landowners by the profits of their sheep farms, the seventeenth century found the small farmers impoverished, and a large proportion of the working class pauperised.

It is during this century that we find town society and country society beginning to assume their modern forms.

The foundation of the great commercial companies, the discoveries in the New World, the development of the coal and iron trades, and the impetus given to manufactures by the Huguenot immigration on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, had all contributed to increase the wealth and importance of the towns. Through their power over the purse-strings they had obtained from the Crown or feudal lords charters confirming

local customs and franchises, and had begun to lay the foundation of that system of self-government which in its fully developed form has now been established in the counties. They were already the representatives of the progressive and democratic elements in the national life, but in the counties, where the parish, the successor of the Anglo-Saxon township, was still the unit of government, and where social status still depended on landed property, the old principles of local administration still survived under changed conditions. The feudal lords had been replaced by the country gentry—a class dating from Queen Elizabeth's reign, and composed of the knights, who assumed a more important position on the destruction of the great barons, the new order of baronets, and the more successful of the yeoman class, as well as of the traders, merchants, and professional men, who, then as now, had invested their fortunes in landed property. The greater tenants of the manor had been succeeded by the farmers and yeomen, and the Norman villeins by the agricultural labourer; while the lord's chaplain or the secular Romish priest had been replaced by a clergyman of the State Church, which represented the national compromise between Popery and Puritanism. But each parish was, and still remained till fifty years ago, as Mr. Kebbel points out, self-contained and self-sufficing, with a life of its own, and with its own traditions and idiosyncracies—a miniature of the State, containing the aristocratic and democratic elements in its society, the government of which was shared by the landed interest, the Church, and the commonalty, and the members of which were united by the common interests of lives passed within its limits, by hereditary connection, and by constant personal intercourse.*

During the eighteenth century the great landowners rendered great service to agriculture by devoting their time and income to improving its methods. During the first half of it the labourer, according to Hallam, lived in great comfort, and village life had a heartiness and provided an amount of simple amusement—village feasts, May-poles, harvest-homes, and

* *The Old and the New Country Life*, p. 4; *cf.* Erskine May's *Constitutional History*, viii, p. 276.

sports and pastimes exciting keen emulation between adjacent parishes, each of which had a strong *esprit de corps*—which, according to qualified judges, such as Mr. Kebbel and Dr. Jessopp, have now almost disappeared. Until this time, too, the employments of the peasantry were not confined solely to agriculture, for manufactures were still carried on in the home, chiefly under the direction of small capitalists, who, though employing others, were also themselves manual workers—a system which kept employers and employed more on the same level. These village industries had survived in spite of the jealousy of the towns, whose influence procured the passing of such Acts as those of Henry VIII. which restricted the making of coverlets in Yorkshire, "but by the inhabitants of York," and declared worsted yarn to be "the private commodity of the city of Norwich." As late as the reign of Charles II. we find towns enjoying monopolies of this kind petitioning the Crown that adjacent villages should be restrained from carrying on some manufacture which impaired their rights—a course which not unfrequently ruined both the petitioners and the villages by driving the trade to another part of the country.

The final triumph of the towns in this respect was, however, ensured by the removal of manufactures from the cottages to the factories through the invention of machinery and the development of the means of intercommunication, which at the same time totally changed the conditions of life for the artisan class by creating the capitalist employer, and massing the workmen in large industrial centres. The new industrial movement speedily absorbed not only the surplus of the agricultural population, but a large proportion of the yeoman freeholders, whom Geoffrey King fifty years earlier had estimated at 120,000 out of a population of 5,500,000. This second great migration to the towns was also furthered by the period of agricultural depression which set in after the close of the American War, by the encouragement given to the reckless increase of the wage-earning class through the grant of poor relief in aid of wages to able-bodied men, and by the enclosure of commons and of the "common" or "open" fields in many parishes—the communal arable land of the old manors, which was divided into allotments by narrow strips or balks of un-

ploughed land, and the ownership of which was limited to certain months of the year. Though there seems little doubt that the Acts authorising both these forms of enclosure were beneficial to the growth of scientific agriculture, it is equally certain that the first deprived the labourers of valuable commonable rights, and that the other, by throwing the land formerly held by a number of small farmers as owners or proprietors into the hands of a few wealthy graziers, entirely destroyed some villages and reduced the population in others by one-half.* Though the first Enclosure Act was passed in Charles II.'s reign, only 318,778 acres had been enclosed at the end of that of George II., but this number was increased by nearly 6,000,000 between 1760 and 1832.

Another and more serious blow was dealt to the old rural life by the new Poor-Law Act of 1834, which, though it remedied the abuses arising from the maladministration of out-door relief, destroyed the individuality of the parish by grouping numbers of parishes together to form Poor Law Unions, and severed the intimate connection which had for centuries existed between the poor and the landed proprietors —the aristocracy and democracy of rural life—by vesting in the Guardians the power of granting relief till then exercised by the magistrates. The country gentlemen, as has been strikingly said by Mr. Gladstone, have for many generations honourably discharged an "immense mass of public duties bearing upon every subject of political, social, and moral interest, without fee and without reward," and occupied a position "marked by residence, by personal familiarity, and by sympathy with the people among whom they live; by long traditional connection handed on from generation to generation." That position, permanently impaired by the new Poor Law system and the agitation against the Corn Laws which followed it, has been still further weakened by the strained relations between landlords and tenants, caused by the long-continued agricultural depression due to the foreign competition arising from Free Trade, and a succession of bad seasons,

* As to the latter class of Acts enclosing "open fields," see an able article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April 1892, on "The History of Small Holdings."

entailing a total loss in spendable income to the agricultural classes of all ranks estimated by Sir James Caird in 1886 at nearly £43,000,000 per annum.

On the other hand, while all the elements of the old fabric of country society have been thus weakened, the great increase and diffusion of the national wealth resulting from the progress of the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century, combined with the development of the representative system in municipal and political life, have transferred the balance of political power from the landed to the commercial and manufacturing classes. One of the most important results of this triumph of the "town" over the "country" life, has been the introduction of the municipal form of local government into the counties through the Local Government Act, 1888, which, while transferring the administrative duties formerly entrusted to the country gentry to councils elected by the ratepayers, has also still further destroyed the individuality of the parish as the keystone of rural life by grouping together several parishes in order to form the new electoral districts.

The predominance acquired by the industrial element in the national life has also been the main cause of the long-continued influx of population into the towns, which has led to the passing of the Small Agricultural Holdings Act, and the extent of which may be gathered from the fact that, while the urban population has during the last ten years increased by 15·3 per cent., that of the rural districts has only increased by 3·4 per cent. The Legislature proposes to check this depopulation of the villages, not, as was attempted in the case of the first great migration from them, by restraining departure from them, and compelling "the maintenance of houses of agriculture," * but by inducing the labouring class to return to them as peasant proprietors, and we must now proceed to consider the probable results of this proposal.

2. It is pointed out by Dr. Jessopp that the present migration is not, like preceding ones, confined to the yeoman or labourer, but includes all classes, "even to domestic servants."

The country gentry—a class with numerous grades of station fixed by incomes ranging from £10,000 to £3000 a year—now rarely reside on their properties for more than

* Ordinance of Henry VII., see *ante*.

two months in the year. In many cases they let them for equally short periods, but still more frequently shut up their houses altogether, thus depriving their own village and the neighbouring towns of the profits accruing from their expenditure on the necessaries of life, and from the labour required for keeping up the houses, pleasure-grounds, and shootings, &c. In Norfolk, according to Dr. Jessopp, "you may ride over 80,000 acres in the county with never a resident landlord, great or small," and the statement probably applies equally to every other agricultural county in the kingdom. This absenteeism, though in some cases due to a preference for London life and foreign travel, and a distaste for country pursuits, is chiefly attributable to the impossibility of maintaining large establishments with incomes reduced to half their original amount by agricultural depression.

The clergy now refuse to accept country livings or curacies, partly because they can no longer maintain themselves in them without private means, partly because the limited population does not give "sufficient scope," as they think, for their energies. Doctors and solicitors talk of country practices as refuges for the destitute; and retired professional men, merchants, and traders, who formerly "settled" in the country, now go to the towns on account of the "dullness" of country life.

The farmers—a term comprising both gentleman farmers and yeomen farming their own land, and also farmers cultivating leased land, the farms usually varying in extent from 300 to 800 acres—are everywhere abandoning their farms, not only because they can no longer live on them in the style to which they have lately grown accustomed, but also because, owing to the scarcity of labour, it is a struggle to maintain themselves on them, even if they return to the more simple life of their predecessors.

Lastly, the labourers—a class comprising, at the top of the scale, thatchers, shepherds, wheelwrights, &c., earning from 15*s.* to 30*s.* a week; then carters, foggers, shepherds, &c., earning from 12*s.* to 13*s.* a week, *plus* harvest money; and, at the bottom, the general labourer with a minimum wage of 12*s.* a week*—are also leaving the land.

* Kebbel, pp. 166–9. *Cf.* articles by Mrs. Batson on "Hodge at Home," and by Mr. Beer on "Farm Labourers and their Friends," in the *Nineteenth Century*,

One of the reasons assigned for their migration is that they "cannot get work," another that they want "a better position," a third that they have acquired a taste for "town life," and a fourth that they cannot stand the cottages. But whatever substratum of truth there may be in these and similar theories, they all fall to the ground when weighed against the fact that the labourer, as is clearly shown by Dr. Jessopp and Mr. Kebbel, is in a better position than he has been at any time during the last 120 years, and has risen, while the proprietor and tenant-farmer have fallen in the scale of prosperity. His inability to get work is too often due to laziness and indifference, which prevent him from undertaking skilled labour, such as thatching, hedging, draining, &c. If, however, he is fairly industrious, his average income, including his wife's and children's earnings, is £60, to which must also be added the produce of his garden, and frequently also of an allotment, the estimated annual profit of which is £5.* He and his family enjoy comforts and luxuries, in the way of food, clothing, and education, of which his fathers and grandfathers—whose wives worked in the fields almost as hard as the men—never dreamed. If he wants a "better position," steady industry can generally secure it for him. Norfolk—a typical agricultural county—"swarms," according to Dr. Jessopp, "with small farmers, small shopkeepers, cattle-dealers, coal-dealers, pig-jobbers, and publicans, who have broken away from every-day labour and are thriving men—some of them men who have made their pile." He instances a parish of 3500 acres, containing twelve thriving tenant-farmers, occupying tracts of land of from 7 to 120 acres, every one of whom began life as agricultural labourers; and the present writer is acquainted with similar, though less striking, examples. In one of the poorest parishes in Somersetshire, with a population of 80, and no resident squire, two day-labourers have recently become farmers. Cottages, as a rule, are immeasurably superior to those inhabited by the past generation—though there are still undoubtedly scores which ought to be pulled down—and

January 1892, and by the Rev. W. Tuckwell on "Village Life in France and England," in *Contemporary Review*, March 1892.

* See *The Old and the New Country Life*, pp. 166-9; and *The Exodus from the Villages*, Letters ii. iii. and iv.

even the worst compare favourably with the poorer dwellings in the towns, described by Mr. Booth in his *Life and Labour of the London Poor.** If the town be more attractive in the way of music halls, theatres, and gas lamps, it is lacking in opportunities for cricket and football, fishing and shooting, in which the country districts abound; and these latter are far better supplied with "amusement" as regards "entertainments," concerts, and even "dances," than the supercilious townsman is wont to imagine. The educated young labourer knows all this perfectly well, and if he leaves the country, it is not with the mere idea of getting more wages or a more comfortable house, but because, in spite of this knowledge, he has, like other young men, a love of adventure, to which the town still appeals, as it did to Dick Whittington, as an El Dorado with indefinite possibilities of rising in the social scale. And lastly, there are now indications—in addition to the evidence on the point quoted from Dr. Jessopp—that the migration, as far as he is concerned, is beginning to decrease, and that the labourer is of all classes the most willing to return to the land, if he can get a surer footing there than mere dependence on wages. The return of allotments and small holdings in Great Britain, obtained for the Board of Agriculture by the Inland Revenue Department in 1890, shows that between 1873 and 1890 the number of allotments under 1 acre rose from 246,398 to 455,055, the increase between 1886 and 1890 being three times as rapid as between 1873 and 1886; while the number of small-holdings under 50 acres rose, between 1875 and 1889, from 389,941 to 409,422, the increase during the last four years being greater by nearly 15,000 than during the ten preceding ones. If from returns made in 1886 we add to these figures 39,115 detached railway allotments of under 1 acre, 262,614 garden allotments of and over 1-8th acre attached to cottages, 6142 railway garden allotments of and over 1-8th acre attached to cottages, and 128,448 potato grounds and cow runs, we get a grand total of 1,300,746 allotments and small holdings, which, according to Major Corgie, director of the Statistical

* Vol. i. chap. ii.

Department, is considerably under the actual amount of land thus occupied in Great Britain.

The Small Holdings Act and the Allotments Acts of 1887 and 1890 are intended to encourage this growing desire among the labouring class for the acquisition of land. The Allotments Act provides for the acquisition of allotments of one acre through the local sanitary authority, who, if unable to obtain the necessary land by voluntary arrangement, can do so by compulsion, as in the case of gas and water companies. Its machinery can be set in motion by petition from any six electors or ratepayers, and an appeal lies to the County Councils where local authorities neglect to enforce it. The Small Holdings Act provides for the acquisition of holdings which *must* exceed one acre, but *must not* exceed fifty acres, or, if exceeding them, must have an annual value not exceeding £50, and its machinery can be set in motion by petition from any one or more county electors to the County Council. The Council, if satisfied, on the report of a specially appointed committee, that the demand for small holdings alleged in the petition really exists in their county, may purchase land and adapt it for the purpose by dividing and fencing it, making roads, erecting buildings, and executing any necessary works for drainage or water supply, &c. &c.; but, unlike the sanitary authority in the case of allotments, they have no compulsory powers. The holdings may be sold, or, provided they do not exceed fifteen acres in extent, may be let by the Council to any persons desirous of themselves cultivating them. The purchaser must complete the purchase within a month by paying one-fifth of the purchase-money, the residue being secured by a charge on the holding in favour of the Council, and being repaid by half-yearly instalments, with such interest and within such terms, not exceeding fifty years from the date of the sale, as may be agreed on with the Council. The holding must be cultivated by the owner, and must not be used for any other purpose than agriculture—a term including horticulture and the keeping of live stock, poultry, and bees. It must not be let or subdivided without the consent of the County Council, and any buildings erected on it—only one dwelling-house is allowed—must satisfy their requirements as to sanitation and over-crowding. Holdings too small for the erection

of dwellings are to be managed by a committee consisting of the County Councillor representing the electoral division in which they are situate, two other County Councillors, and two of the allotment managers for the parish or area in which they are situate, or, failing these, two persons chosen, as prescribed by the Allotments Act, by the Parliamentary electors. The County Council, which may borrow money if needful, in accordance with the Local Government Act, 1888, is only to acquire land at such prices as will recoup their expenses, and may let, sell, or exchange land which proves unsuitable or superfluous. Lastly, it may, on the security of the holding, advance three-fourths of the purchase-money to any tenant of such holding, situate within the county, who has agreed with his landlord for its purchase.

It will be evident from this brief summary, that the aim of the Allotments and Small Holdings Act is to restore to the labouring class—which, through the Act of 1888, has now obtained a share in the local government of the country districts—the interest in the land of which it was deprived four centuries ago.

As regards the economic advantages of this policy, it is clear that it will do little to supply the scarcity of labour, and that the prosperity of the classes dependent for their income on land can only be restored by the investment in agriculture of more of the capital which now is invested abroad, the reduction of farm rents, more highly paid labourers, and greater facilities—such as light railways and agricultural tramways—for transit. It must also be admitted that the preponderance of opinion, as expressed by experts such as Arthur Young in the last, and confirmed by the Reports of one Select Committee and two Royal Commissions in the present century, is against small as compared with large farms, and that even the Report of Mr. Chamberlain's Select Committee of 1889–90, on which the new Act is based, treats the value of *la petite culture* as an open question.* Against this it may be urged that *la petite culture* has never yet had a fair trial, and that those embarking in it will now,

* The Reports of the Select Committee on Agricultural Districts, 1836, the Commission on Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, 1867, and the Duke of Richmond's Commission, 1881. See the article in *Blackwood* above referred to; and *cf. The History of the Allotment System*, by the Earl of Onslow, 1886.

it is to be hoped, ere long be enabled to obtain some knowledge of the science of agriculture through agricultural colleges, and from lectures under the auspices of County Councils; while the towns—in spite of the import of food from all quarters of the globe—are now more than ever dependent on the country for their increasing daily needs. Agriculture, though subject, like other trades, to depression, can never cease to exist, and it yet remains to see the effects upon it of the energy, science, and capital which have been so long devoted to manufactures.

Be this as it may, however, few will be found to contest the conclusions arrived at by the Committee of 1888, and since publicly advocated in the speeches of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain, that the moral benefits of converting the wage-earning labourer, whose precarious existence inevitably fosters recklessness and extravagance, into a thrifty and industrious peasant proprietor, with a stake in the land, largely counterbalance any possible loss in production which the process may entail.

But there is also another aspect of the question to be considered. The creation of a peasant proprietary cannot restore to country life its old value as a counterpoise to town life, if rural society is at the same time to be deprived of the benefits of the wealth and services of the country gentry and professional classes, whose culture and administrative capacity have hitherto determined the standard of life in it, and of the farmers, who represent the inherited agricultural experience of the nation, and form a most valuable connecting link between the squires and the labourers. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has recently given a striking description of the narrow views, petty aims, and dreary life of the country society of the United States, in which small freeholders are the predominant and almost sole element; and no one who has realised the benefits of a society like our own, composed of numerous grades insensibly blended with each other, and deriving mutual benefit from influences insensibly imparted, can wish to see our rural districts converted into colonies of peasant proprietors. One of the chief merits of country society is that the relations between the higher and lower classes, relieved by hereditary connection and personal intercourse, permit of real intimacy between them, and present few of the glaring contrasts exhi-

bited between those of capital and labour in the busy life of the towns, where neighbours may remain strangers for life, and intercourse even between intimates is hurried and formal. In addition to this, it is the chief source of the love of field sports, of an open-air life, and of Nature in all her aspects, which serves as an invaluable corrective to the physical and moral evils inseparable from the crowded and feverish life of the towns. The destruction of these characteristics of the country life would be an immense loss to the nation, but it is only by the co-operation of the wealthy and leisured classes that they can be preserved.

"The old order" of rural society is indeed "yielding place to new." The fact that the Small Holdings Act enables the popularly elected County Council to become a landowner, on which any future Government may confer the powers of compulsorily acquiring land entrusted to Sanitary Authorities as respects allotments, of itself suggests startling possibilities of change in the future. The facilities for locomotion and the transmission of news have destroyed the isolation which helped to preserve the self-contained life of the old parish; and the ideals of individual progress, independent judgment, and competition have superseded those of national loyalty, respect for authority as such, and the mutual obligations between class and class, which, with all its faults, were embodied in the spirit of the eighteenth century.

On the other hand, the removal of many of the inequalities engendering class jealousies has enabled all classes to understand each other better, and the rich, by realising their hardships more thoroughly, to sympathise with the poor, while the success of co-operation has shown the benefits of united action. "Though much is taken"—much that has been rightly swept away—"much remains." Sufficient of the old framework of country society has been preserved to enable its natural leaders, the country gentry, by really making their homes among those on whom their position enables them to confer vital moral and material benefit, to convert the new elements introduced into it from a possible source of destruction into the means for its restoration on a broader and nobler basis. It is a task that they alone can perform, but which must entail many sacrifices—a simpler mode of life and the

renunciation of many pleasures—on a class which has already suffered from agricultural depression far greater privations than is generally understood. It has, however, been the pride of that class for centuries to serve its country, as Mr. Gladstone says, "without fee and without reward," and we agree with Mr. Kebbel that they are bound "by a thousand traditions and by every dictate of honour and patriotism" to attempt it.

Art. IX.—THE CHÂTEAUX OF THE LOIRE.

1. *Old Touraine: The Life and History of the famous Châteaux of France.* By Theodore Andrea Cook, B.A., sometime Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford. Two volumes. London: Percival & Co. 1892.
2. *The Renaissance of Art in France.* By Mrs. Mark Pattison. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1879.
3. *A Handbook for Travellers in France.* Part I. London: John Murray. 1892.

THE famous town of Tours, on the banks of the rapid and sandy stream of the Loire, lies a hundred and forty-five miles south-west of Paris. The charms of its situation have been much over-rated, but it is a place with a great history. Under the proud name of Cæsarodunum it is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, and in the third century holds rank as a free State. After three hundred years of ease and prosperity under its Roman masters, days of fighting began, when new walls had to be built round Tours, and the citizens, who had grown accustomed to peace, were compelled to buckle on their armour and defend their good town against its foes. All the tides of life in those early ages flowed by Tours. It was the centre of the great network of Roman roads which bound together Poitiers, Chartres, Bruges, Orleans, Le Mans and Angers. From this town Christianity spread throughout Gaul. Its first bishop, St. Gatien, was one of a party of missionaries sent from Rome to evangelise the Gallic provinces; St. Lidorius,

the second bishop, began the cathedral—the oldest in Touraine —in memory of his predecessor. Before the end of the fourth century St. Martin was installed as Metropolitan. He had served in the army under Constantine, had been imprisoned and flogged at Milan for denouncing Arianism, and had founded the Convent of Ligugé in the wilds of Poitiers, probably the oldest monastic establishment in France. When Lidorius died, in 370, the clergy insisted on having him as their head. Their choice was justified by the rapid spread of Christianity. On every side the heathen of Gaul hastened to join the Church. At last St. Martin, worn down by toil, retreated for rest to St. Symphorien, on the opposite bank of the Loire, "backed by the limestone rock and peering down across the greensward to the river, where later on was to rise the noble Abbey of Marmontier, whose greatest abbot was the famous Alcuin of York." Our Martinmas still keeps alive the memory of the great prelate's festival on the 11th of November. His tomb, says Mr. Cook, "was the ancient sanctuary, the Delphic oracle of France, the centre of the Merovingian world, where its kings came to question destiny at the shrine round which the Counts of Blois and of Anjou broke so many lances. Mans, Angers, and all Brittany were dependent on the See of Tours, whose canons were the Capels and Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, the Count of Flanders and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Archbishops of Mayence, of Cologne, and Compostello." Tours prospered through the concourse of pilgrims to its shrine. Its population multiplied tenfold; its mint became as famous as that of Paris; its silks were finer than any other part of France could produce, until Nantes and Lyons began to vie with its artificers. Charlemagne, eager to secure a worthy man for the See, summoned Alcuin, who had been trained under our own Bede, from Rome, and made him bishop. The Emperor's three sons were taught in his famous school. He begged Charlemagne's permission to send to England for some books, the "flowers of British learning; so that they may be found not only in the garden close of York, but that Touraine also may have its share in the fruits of Paradise."

Dark days came when the Northmen rowed up the Loire

and burned St. Martin's Abbey, but the Counts of Anjou restored the place and granted many privileges to the brave citizens. Fulk the Good might now be seen sitting beside the Dean in the Abbey. He waged no wars and cared little for politics. Legend has gathered round his memory. Once, it is said, after all had refused the man's appeal, he bore a loathsome leper on his shoulders to the shrine of St. Martin, to find whilst sitting in the choir that the leper was Christ himself. But it is another Count—Fulk Nerra, the Black Falcon—who has left his stamp most deeply on Touraine. Every town in the region has its legend of this dashing soldier. He was a born fighter, who led his cavalry again and again on the foe at Conquereux, "as the storm wind sweeps down upon the thick cornrigs." That victory made him master of the lower reaches of the Loire. He already held Amboise through his mother's right; Loches had come to him through his wife. Both these fortresses became centres from which he kept up his fierce struggle with Odo, Count of Blois. He now built a long crescent of forts from Angers, on the west of Tours, to Amboise on the east, with a view to cut out Touraine from the domains of Odo. An occasional visit to the Holy Land, and the erection of an Abbey at Beaulieu, beneath his high tower at Loches, were meant as atonement for many a deed of blood. Mad bursts of passion, which would have wrecked most men's lives, "seem scarcely to have made a break in his cool, calculating, far-seeing policy; a rapid and unerring perception of his own ends, a relentless obstinacy in pursuing them." Fulk had turned northwards to Maine—thus giving the first sign of the advancing wave of Norman conquest—when he was called home to repel a sharp invasion from Blois. The Black Falcon retook two of his captured fortresses and seized Chinon. All Touraine, except its capital, now belonged to the Counts of Anjou. The conqueror paid a pilgrimage to Palestine, and died near Metz on his way homeward. It was left for his son, Geoffrey Martel, to stretch the boundary of his realm over Maine and capture Tours after an obstinate siege. More than seventy years later, in 1119, Matilda of Anjou married our Prince William, son of Henry Beauclerc. The future lord of England, Normandy and

Anjou was drowned next year in the *White Ship*, amid the lamentations of three kingdoms. Henry I. now married his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V., to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, Count of Anjou. A family gathering was held in the great Abbey of Fontevrault. Fulk had received the cross from Archbishop Hildebert in the Cathedral of Tours, and had come to the Abbey to see his widowed daughter, whom the loss of the *White Ship* had driven to the cloisters. Other members of the house gathered to bid farewell to the Count. Geoffrey Plantaganet, who wore a spray of the golden broom which brightens the fields of his native province, was there, his "fair and ruddy countenance lit up by the lightning glance of a pair of brilliant eyes." His broad shoulders and active frame bore witness that he was no unworthy scion of his brave house. But Geoffrey was also a man of culture, whose intellectual gifts lifted him far above the ordinary fighting baron of those turbulent times. A few years after the scene at Fontevrault Matilda bore a son at Le Mans, who afterwards became King Henry II. of England. The old feud between Anjou and Blois broke out again when Stephen, third son of the Count of Blois, succeeded in grasping the English crown. It was not till 1154 that Henry Plantagenet was crowned at Westminster. He was the true descendant of the Black Falcon, and made his court "a very pandemonium of energy." His power steadily grew on both sides of the Channel. Thomas-à-Becket filled a large place in the history of those days. In 1163, as Archbishop of Canterbury, he attended a council held by the Pope at Tours; in 1170 he met his royal master, to whom he had been reconciled the previous year, at Tours. Henry was on his way to Amboise, whence he wrote, in Becket's presence, a letter instructing his son to restore the Archbishop's estates.

Tours is the best centre from which to visit "the myriad *châteaux* of the Loire," which still bear "witness to the skill and training of the architects and sculptors of Touraine." The slow trains to Chinon give the traveller ample opportunity to study the scenery. "The sands that line the river-beds are fringed with willows, bending down as if to sip its waters; poplars, aspens, and acacias shade the stream, where countless

little islets break the silver current." It is strange to think that from the soft sunshine of this afternoon land of idleness and laughter sprang the martial Counts of Anjou, and our own fiery Plantagenets. Balzac speaks of "the sentiment of beauty which breathes in the region of Tours," where in "spring love flies at large beneath the open sky, . . . in autumn the air is full of memories of those who are no more." When the train reached Chinon on the banks of the Vienne, the first step into the little square beyond the station gates showed that the visitors had chanced to come on the chief market day of the town at the end of September.

"The roads were closed in with tall trees, whose sides were cut with somewhat frigid exactitude in lines parallel to the direction of the pavement; they were full of country girls, brown-cheeked, and black-eyed, arrayed in the picturesque lace caps of their province; booths of every kind were full of busy traffic; skeleton men and fat women in their fullest glory were disputing for attention with tiny travelling theatres and vendors of malodorous refreshment. No one seemed in any particular hurry to do anything; so imitating the frame of mind of the inhabitants, we aimlessly strolled up the long straight road towards the bridge that spans the reddish waters of the river. Here the press grew thicker, and round the statue of Rabelais was a gay crowd of buyers and sellers, of laughing girls and chattering children, carts and donkeys laden with country produce, geese and chickens dead and alive, the very scene of busy happiness and careless human nature that Rabelais himself enjoyed and described, too, when he tells how Couillatris goes to Chinon, 'ville noble ville antique voyre première du monde,' to buy oxen, cows and sheep, pigs, capon, geese, and a whole catalogue of sound comestibles."

The satirist was born at Chinon in 1490. His statue, which has caught the genius of the man far better than the simpering monument erected to him at Tours, looks out on a busy little square crowded with gaily decorated booths and thronged with traffickers. The hill above the town is crowded by the "long broken line of the three fortresses whose ruins combine to form the relic of feudal strength known as Chinon." Countless vines flourish peacefully within the old home of the Plantagenets. On the extreme right stood the castle and chapel of St. George, built by the Plantagenets to protect the one weak point—a tongue of land which unites the promontory on which the fortress rests with the hills beyond. These buildings are now levelled to the ground, but the fine stone

bridge which united them to the Château du Milieu is still standing. As travellers present themselves "the little guardian in petticoats" looks through a slit in the side of the room where soldiers once used to work the portcullis. A high wall with remnants of chimneys is the only relic of the apartment where Jeanne d'Arc first met the King of France. The visitor next enters the guard-room and armoury of the Royal apartments, with the kitchen and living-room whose windows are furnished with low stone seats from which the Vienne is seen curving round to join the Loire. A flight of stairs leads down to the moat, which is crossed by a stone bridge and defended by two towers erected in the thirteenth century. Within one of them the prisons lie vault below vault. The Fort du Coudray, the third castle, stands "at the extreme western edge of the cliff; its chief feature is the fine Tour du Moulin, where the mill of the fortress once stood, whose pointed leaden roof and widespread sails must have been a strange feature in the old castle. Along the wall, of which this tower forms the western corner, are the oldest relics of the twelfth-century buildings."

Chinon, more than any other of the châteaux of Touraine, bears the stamp of antiquity. The visitor feels that modern France has been left far behind. The place is a mass of ruins —"a very wilderness of towers and battlements." The dense woodland of larches, oaks, and firs, to the north-east, formed, Mr. Cook thinks, one of the chief attractions of the castle for the Black Falcon and our Henry II., whose favourite home in France was here. The French Windsor was the scene of some of his sharpest sorrows. His undutiful son Richard had seized his father's treasury at Chinon when news of the Saracen conquest of Jerusalem led him to take the cross from the Archbishop of Tours. Before he left France he joined the French king in an attack upon his father who was hotly besieged in his native town of Le Mans. Henry escaped from the flaming town towards the Norman frontier, then changing his route he dashed back to Chinon at such a breathless pace that his knights fainted or died of fatigue and wounds on the way. Philip of France now took Tours, and Henry was compelled to sign a humiliating peace at Colombières.

On his return to Chinon after that bitter scene his Chan-

cellor read aloud to the king the list of rebels. "Sire," he said, "may Jesus Christ help me! The first name which is written here is the name of Count John, your son." The old king turned his face to the wall. He had received his death-blow. As he lay unconscious he was heard to murmur: "Shame, shame on a conquered king." When the end drew near, his servants bore him to the castle chapel that he might breathe out his soul before the altar. Thence the dead king, "robed as for coronation, with a crown of gold upon his head, a gold ring upon his finger, sandals upon his feet, and a sceptre in his gloved right hand," was borne to Fontevrault, where Richard came to see his murdered father. The Archbishop of Tours buried him before the high altar in July 1189.

Richard had soon to pay the penalty of his misconduct. In 1193 the attacks made on Touraine by his old ally, the French king, were so fierce and systematic that he left England for Tours where he drove out the canons for disloyalty. After his death in 1199 John was acknowledged king by the royal household at Chinon. Having scandalised the barons by putting away his first wife, he married Isabel of Angoulême, and spent the following summer at Chinon with her and Berengaria, the widow of Richard. The castle was taken by the French after a long and desperate siege on Midsummer Eve, 1205. A century later Jacques Molay, Grand Master of the Knights Templars, was examined here by the Cardinals before he was led to the stake in Paris. It was in Chinon that Joan of Arc had her first interview with Charles VII. The English seemed about to regain their old dominion in France. In 1423, when "wolves were fighting for the corpses of the dead in the churchyard of Paris," churches sacked, castles burnt down, and lands left untilled, the States-General met at Chinon to consult with the King about the defence of their country. Some years of loss and trouble followed. In 1428, Tours implored help against the English, who were besieging Orleans. At last, on Sunday, March 6, 1429, the Maid of Orleans came to the rescue. The well where she lighted from her horse is still shown at Chinon. Only firm confidence in her patriotic mission bore her up through the trials of her stay there amid the jeering courtiers. But at

length Joan conquered the king's irresolution and rode out clad in complete armour to accomplish the promised deliverance.

A less pleasing picture of olden days at Chinon is the brilliant reception given there in 1498 to Cæsar Borgia, the infamous son of the infamous Pope Alexander VI. Such a procession as his had probably never streamed into the castle before. "First came eighty mules in gorgeous harness, blazoned with Caesar Borgia's crest and arms, followed by the finest horses of the prince's stables; then eighteen pages, riding," clad in velvet, two of them resplendent in cloth of gold; then came more mules, and, after a flourish of drums and trumpets, Borgia and his suite rode into Chinon. The duke wore a dress of red satin and cloth of gold, beset with jewels. His cap was adorned with great rubies, his boots strewn with precious stones. Louis XII. wanted a divorce, Borgia wanted a dukedom, and both were gratified. Such are some of the scenes which crowd before the mind of a visitor to the greatest of all the châteaux of Touraine. For two centuries it has been slowly mouldering, but ages must pass before the old home of the Plantagenets has crumbled into dust.

The road to Fontevrault for a little while after leaving Chinon lies straight to the south, then it turns sharply and winds through apple-orchards and walnut-trees till it reaches the river bank. At Candes, where St. Martin died, it was a great surprise to English visitors to catch a first glimpse of the sculptured saints and battlemented roofs of the church through an opening of the twisting little village street. Begun in the year of Magna Charta, and finished towards the end of the century, the place is filled with quaint and grotesque carvings, many of which have entirely escaped the hand of the restorer. Fontevrault itself has been turned into a vast prison, or reformatory, guarded by a regiment. Long files of silent prisoners in dull uniform and round caps, move about where nuns once walked to and fro; one of the chapels is a storehouse for the garrison beer, lines of casks fill the spaces between the pillars from the altar to the door. Amid such strange surroundings our great Plantagenets rest in a dark little chapel opening out of the right transept. The

statue of Henry II. shows him dressed as he was borne out for burial from Chinon. His wife, Eleanor of Guienne, who died here in May 1204, holds a book in her hands. Richard I. rests by the side of his parents. The three statues are of colossal size, hewn out of tufa rock, and painted. A smaller statue, carved in wood, represents Isabel, the wife of John—the most beautiful and most wicked woman of the day. The abbey owed its foundation to Robert d'Arbrissel, a famous preacher of the end of the eleventh century. Pope Urban II. directed him to preach in favour of the Crusades, and crowds of people left all to follow the new apostle. He had started for Jerusalem with this strange retinue but was compelled to halt at Fontevrault, and found a community which, under the care of its first abbess, had four houses for learned ladies, penitent women, lepers, and monks. There were soon four thousand inmates. The place was always dear to the Plantagenets. The ladies of their house found shelter here when some dark disaster blotted the sun out of their firmament, and here the great soldiers of their race slept well after the roar of battle.

Twenty-five miles south of Tours lies the great garrison château of Loches. One of the chief features of the flat landscape by which you approach the place is the vast square mass of masonry, the keep of Montbazon, intended as a guard and sentinel for Loches. Every inch of land is cultivated by the industrious French peasants. Suddenly the hill fortress of Loches rises above the plain. "The houses, thrown together along steep and twisted streets, cluster beneath the walls that guard the castle, and the eye rises from the Toure de St. Antoine in the little 'place' beneath towards the donjon keep and the pinnacles of the Collegiate Church." A sharp ascent leads up to the first line of walls. The church is the chief architectural feature of the place. Viollet le Duc says: "In France, exactly on the border line which separates buildings with cupolas from those with none, there is a strange and unique monument in which the influences of Oriental art are blended with the methods of construction adopted in the north at the beginning of the twelfth century. This is the Collegiate Church of Loches: a monument unique in the world, perfect

in its kind, and of a savage beauty." It was begun in 1180, and is all broken into points and angles. A fine Romanesque porch leads into the quiet building, which has two white funnel-like domes opening upward to the roof. Agnes Sorrel's tomb lies in a little chapel in the Tour d'Agnès. The oldest part of the castle shows that it was the most important fortress of Anjou. Great cliffs of stone form the keep. Traces of four storeys are still visible, with stairs cut in the thick walls. The place could hold a garrison of 1200 men.

The prisons at Loches have witnessed some terrible scenes. The woman who acted as guide bore a small and sputtering lamp, and led the visitors down a narrow twisting staircase, barred with great doors at every turn. Mr. Cook found it a veritable descent into the infernal regions. Sforza, Duke of Milan, was immured in a cell one hundred steps below ground. Its window gathers what little light can pierce its way through a slit made in fourteen feet of rock. Here for nine years Sforza languished, decorating with inscriptions the walls of his gloomy cell, where "death assailed him, but he could not die." One is thankful that he was moved higher up the tower, and allowed some exercise before his death. Further along the dark passage, and yet deeper under ground, is the Prison of the Bishops. The two ecclesiastics who were entombed there had made a pitiful representation of an altar and a cross, and each in turn had climbed up the wall to the window in order to catch a glimpse of the daylight. Richelieu kept François de Rochechouart at Loches for two years without any positive proof of conspiracy against him, but nothing would induce this brave man to divulge his secret. He was ordered for execution, and not reprieved till the last moment in order to shake his resolution, but he still maintained heroic silence.

We are thankful to close the pages which contain these gruesome stories. The next journey may be to Langeais. That village has "one good main street, from which numberless little alleys open out, lined by tiny cottages, and ending in a strip of green or garden ground." Two vast round towers rise at the end of this street. This is the fortress-château of Langeais, the finest existing example of a French castle built about the middle of the fifteenth century. Lady Dilke points

out in her *Renaissance of Art in France* that the problem before the architect was how to blend the necessities of defence with the already increasing demands of domestic life. As a fortress it is certainly not up to date. Elaborate precautions against scaling-ladders have been taken, but gunpowder is quite forgotten. "One gate only affords access to the interior court, and that gate is flanked by massive towers, and protected by a portcullis. The interior court is almost wholly confined by the buildings around it, the high walls which defend it on the outside are cut up at well-guarded angles by massive towers, and protected by a portcullis. The whole length is crowned by heavy machicolated battlements, so that the aspect of the exterior is severe; but the *façade* which looks upon the court within is not wanting in elegance. Four small towers, each of which contains a spiral staircase, break the monotony of the front, and give access to the different storeys." Each storey is a repetition of the simple arrangement of rooms adopted on the ground-floor. The first château of Langeais, occupied by the Black Prince during the campaign on the Loire, has perished. The present building was erected in 1464, under the direction of Jean Briçonnet, first Mayor of Tours. Its present owner, M. Siefried, is turning it "into one harmonious picture of oak carvings, tapestry, and warm-tiled floors." The porch is as lovely as the château. A quaint feature of the place is the guard's *chemin de ronde*, a little passage beneath the roof, formed by the machicolations. It extends all round the château, "lighted by innumerable little windows, which give an ever changing view of the valley of the Loire from the forest of Chinon, west and south, to the cathedral towers of Tours, far off among the mist towards the east." In the Great Hall, Anne of Brittany, the vivacious, imperious, yet true-hearted and devout little Breton duchess, was married to Charles VIII., and here she spent her brief widowhood until her second marriage with Louis XII.

Chaumont is on the left bank of the Loire, twenty-five miles above Tours. From the magnificent bridge which here spans the river, one of the finest views is obtained of the sweeping current. The forest of Blois shows above the house tops. The towers of Chaumont rise upon the wooded hill, whilst the

little village nestles by the river. When the Black Falcon drove the Lord of Saumur out of his castle by his famous night attack, the Count of Blois gave Chaumont to his dependant. This castle was burnt down in one of the perpetual wars with Henry Plantagenet. In the second castle Becket met his royal master for the last time. Here Georges, Cardinal d'Amboise, the great minister of France, was born in 1460. The Cardinal's father incurred the displeasure of Louis XI., who rased his château to the ground; but a few years later, Philibert l'Orme built the present compact and perfect mansion for Charles, the brother of the Cardinal. The fourth side of the original quadrangle was demolished in 1739. A splendid terrace was thus formed, looking out on the Loire, with the main buildings of the castle as background. Cardinal d'Amboise introduced good order, economy, and reform into the French Government, repressed brigandage, reformed justice, and became the most influential man of his time. He has often been compared to Wolsey. But he was more happy in his fortunes, for he died immensely wealthy, with all his honours thick upon him. His old red cardinal's hat is still seen hanging above his carved chair on the altar steps of his chapel at Chaumont. Catherine de Medicis was for awhile mistress of the château, where her bed, with its curtains and the old worn prie-dieu, is now shown to visitors. The Duc de Broglie, who preserves it with loving care, is the present lord of this fine old castle.

Chenonceaux is associated with the name of Diane de Poitiers, to whom it was given by Henry II. The first view of the château is very impressive. A long range of buildings stand on the right, to the left is Diane's wide terraced garden, "surrounded by its high walk, which leads to the raised courtyard immediately in front of the main building, a large and very handsome open space rising upon high walls from the lower level, with a fine detached tower at the right corner, the oldest part of the château, the last relic of its earliest owners." The vine lands slope softly to the river, and the trees round the water's bank form "an exquisite natural setting for one of the most beautiful dwellings ever fashioned by the heart of man." It was built for Thomas Bohier, the

great financier. The foundations were laid in 1515, the year when Francis I. came to the throne. A confused medley of spires, minarets, and cupolas greet the eye as you approach from the eastern side. "Every turret, every pinnacle, is crowned with some fantastic ornament," angles jut forth from the pierced and carved work surrounding them. "The surprises, the accidents of the interior multiply with incessant mystery. The numberless halls, chambers, cabinets, present the most striking sign of diversity both as to size and character." Its ruling idea is that of a secular convent, bringing together "halls of state, private apartments, secluded cabinets, and hidden cells" under one roof. The individual life thus finds room for development, even amid all the claims and pleasures of a common society. Francis I. became master of the château after Bohier's death. After Francis's time it passed to Diane de Poitiers. This lady had come to Court after she had lost her husband, the Seneschal of Normandy. Francis I. laughingly commended his dull son to the handsome widow, who soon won complete power over the Dauphin. "Her strength, her magnificent health, the cold resolve and energy of her character, appealed to him as much as the firm line of her features, the proud curve of her lips, the narrow forehead which marked the decision of her nature rather than the loftiness of her ideas." Nothing disturbed this woman's serenity or checked her insatiable avarice and ambition. Her two daughters married into the powerful families of Lamarck and Guise. The mistress reconciled her lover to the presence of Catherine de Medicis, the wife whom he disdained. She even nursed Catherine and her children. When Henry II. died she was turned out of Chenonceaux, which Catherine wished to have for herself. She built the long gallery there, and gave a splendid fête to the young king and queen—Francis II. and Marie Stuart. As their majesties entered the main drive of the castle knots of women stood at the foot of every tree "in their holiday attire, wearing great broad-brimmed rustic hats, and waving many-coloured ribands, while their husbands and brothers, with flags flying and drums beating, made a brave show upon the little hill at the entrance to the park." Before the great court stood a grand triumphal arch, resting on four pillars, round

which ivy was twined. As the King entered the castle a shower of fireworks went off, and thirty cannons roared forth a welcome. Pallas stepped forward, and rained down a shower of flowers and leaves inscribed with sonnets to the King and Queen. Those were bright days in the life of Mary Queen of Scots. Chenonceaux, in the days of Madame Dupin, at the end of last century, became a resort of all the *literati*. Voltaire, Bolingbroke, Rousseau, were constant visitors here. It is now in the hands of the Crédit Foncier, who charge a franc for admission. The place seems to have been built for domestic pleasure, and leaves an impression of beauty and happiness on the mind of every visitor.

Amboise is said to gain more from the river than the other châteaux of Touraine. Its magnificent round tower "completely commands the approaches of the bridge, and the extraordinary effect of lofty masonry, produced by building on the summit of an elevation and carrying the stone courses upwards from the lower ground, is here seen at its best." The white houses of the little town cluster round the castle "like crumbs that have fallen from a well-laden table." After passing the archway a winding ascent leads into gardens lifted high above the world below, and shut in by towers and terraces. The lovely little chapel of St. Hubert "looks very tiny in one corner of the vast court-yard, but the charming effect of its light buttresses, rising from below and clinging to the great outer walls of rock and brickwork until they end in finely chiselled pinnacles that blossom from the angles of the roof, is completed by a richness and care in the workmanship of the interior very rarely surpassed by any monument of its time; the inner surface of its walls is a marvel of beautiful stone carving fine as lace, and shows up the more as it is almost the only work of its kind to be seen at Amboise." Amboise can boast of great antiquity. There was a Roman camp here, and King Arthur is said at one time to have been lord of the castle. In the ninth century it belonged to the Counts of Anjou. Six hundred years later, when it became a royal residence, the townsmen greeted Louis XI. with a mystery play such as that age loved, and distributed wine to all comers at the civic expense. At Amboise Louis instituted the Order

of St. Michael, which was to rival the Golden Fleece. Here also the king, feeling that death was near, invested his son, Charles VIII., with royal authority. When Charles lost his little son at the age of three he tried to forget his sorrow in building the Chapel of St. Hubert and the two great towers, which have winding planes of brickwork instead of stairs. Up these strange ascents Charles V. once rode with Francis I. amid such a blaze of flambeaux "that a man might see as clearly as at midday." Passing through a little doorway at Amboise Charles VIII. struck his head violently against the low stone arch, and died in a few hours. His two boys, whose monument is still seen at Tours Cathedral, died before him, so that the throne passed to the House of Orléans. The Comte de Paris, the present owner of the château, has restored it with great care, but this work has been cut short by his exile.

Francis I. spent many happy days of his boyhood here. Louise de Savoie's journal is full of the son whom she almost worshipped. She notes that in January 1501, "my king, my lord, my Cæsar" was run away with by his pony in the field, near Amboise. He was in great danger, "nevertheless God, the protector of widow women and the defence of orphans," protected the young prince from accident. One day Francis let loose a wild boar in the court, which scattered the servants and then rushed towards the great staircase, where he killed it with his dagger. From Amboise the young prince first left for Court, and hence his mother journeyed on foot to "Notre Dame de Fontaines, to recommend to her him whom I love more than myself, my glorious son and my victorious Cæsar, who has subdued the Helvetians." Leonardo da Vinci rests in the little chapel at Amboise. Marie Stuart made a triumphal entry here in November 1559, with her young husband, Francis II. Five months later the conspiracy of Amboise began. The doctrines of Calvin had taken firm hold on Touraine. Fierce religious persecution made the Huguenots turn eagerly to the princes of the blood for protection from the hated Guises. Suppliants flocked into Touraine from all parts to lay their wrongs before the king. The Guises suddenly awoke to their danger. The Court moved from Blois to what was considered the safer fortress at Amboise,

where "as a matter of fact the castle was almost without troops or stores, where the town was full of Protestants, and Tours, hard by, was hostile or indifferent." La Renaudie had formed a plot to seize the Guises, but some of his confederates, who were enticed into Amboise on promise of a free pass to the king's presence, were there cast into prison, and "tormented with hellish cruelty." The men sent for their rescue were seized and dragged in "at the horses' tails" to die. Some two thousand scoundrels flocked to Amboise in order to share the murder and plunder. A terrible month followed. Every cut-throat in the Guises' pay made his fortune, "for the country swarmed with men who waited to be killed, or citizens like those of Toulouse, who refused to move before they had spoken with the king, and were only cured of their importunity by being hanged from the castle windows." Amboise was thronged by suppliants claiming justice or mercy, but there was no relenting in the breasts of the Guises. Scaffolds were raised in full view of the balcony overlooking the Loire, tiers of planked seats rose all round the square in which the executions were to take place. Thousands of people slept in the fields that they might be ready for the morrow's spectacle. "The very roofs were black with spectators, and a merry barter was carried on by the fortunate owners of houses looking out upon the square." The prisoners sang Clement Marot's rendering of "God be merciful unto us and bless us":

> "Dieu nous soit doux et favourable
> Nous bénissant par sa bonté.
> Et de son visage adorable
> Nous fasse luire la clarté."

The strains grew fainter as the fast falling axe thinned the choir. The young king turned pale, and would fain have gone in, but the Guises would not suffer him to retire. As the last victim mounted the block singing, the crowd seemed ready to rescue him, but the axe fell, and the horror of Amboise was over. No such ghastly scene was ever witnessed by the châteaux of Touraine.

Vengeance overtook the hated race of Guise a quarter of a century later at Blois. That great château has been restored with rare skill and thoroughness. It has not the mellowed

beauty of Langeais or Azay-le-Rideau, but its three styles of architecture help a visitor to reconstruct the three great ages of which it is a memorial. Its eastern wing is a splendid monument of the earlier Renaissance.

"The architectural scheme is very simple. Three rows of pilasters are superimposed one above another. At about two-thirds down the front the open spiral staircase juts out and towers upwards. It seems at first to stand free, breaking up the even succession of small columns and their perpendicular descent with the bold projection of its octagonal lines. But above it is embossed and caught into the whole mass by the broad crowning cornice which gathers within its strengthening bands every various curve. The sculptured dormers fret along its edge, searching the air with their pointed tongues, and twice the carved cases of the chimney-stacks break aloft through the roof, like towers, but the cornice keeps firm hold upon their base." *

The winding staircase, with its fine carvings, is a triumph of art which never ceases to charm a student of architecture.

Froissart, the chronicler, was once chaplain in Blois. Here Valentine Visconti mourned the death of her husband, Louis d'Orléans, who had been murdered in the streets of Paris. During her brother's absence, Margaret of Navarre went twice a day through all the buildings and grounds to hasten Francis the First's workmen. Many a state pageant was witnessed in the château. But the chief event in its history is the downfall of the house of Guise. In 1576, Henry III. summoned the States-General to meet at Blois. Henry of Guise, known as Le Balafré, was then in the height of his power. The king, weary of his schoolmaster, was plotting for his murder. Guise was so confident that he despised all warnings. A note in his dinner-napkin was thrown away unread. On December 22 every arrangement for the tragedy was complete. A tenth warning, given at the last moment, failed to stay the victim's steps. He marched calmly on to the cabinet where the king was said to be waiting for him. The murderers now set upon him, but he dragged them,

"struggling, from one end of the room to the other, staggering with arms outstretched, dull eyes within their staring sockets, and mouth half-opened, as one already dead. At last he fell [pierced with more than forty wounds] beside the curtains of the bed. Then came out the king, and with all the

* *Renaissance of Art in France*, i. 51.

meanness of his pitiful nature spurned with his heel the face of the dying man—a terrible reprisal this, for the cruelty of De Guise himself to the grey hairs of Coligny; and the last sigh of the great duke, who rendered up his strong spirit slowly and with almost unconquerable effort, was received by the courtier who was kneeling down to rifle the pockets of the corpse; it was covered with a gray cloak, and a cross of straw was thrown upon it."

His body and that of his brother, the Cardinal, who was murdered next day, were burned within the castle, and their ashes scattered on the waters of the Loire. Detestable as the assassination was, it shows that justice had at length overtaken the hated house whose hands were red with butchery at Amboise, and to whom was due the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Arthur Young, the famous agriculturist, who visited Blois in 1787, dwells upon "the bigotry and ambition, equally dark, insidious, and bloody," of those times, and adds grimly: "The parties could hardly be better employed than in cutting each other's throats."

Crossing to the left bank of the Loire by a fine stone bridge—the first public work of Louis Philippe—we pass through a flat vine country to Chambord, ten miles to the east of Blois. It is amusing to find Arthur Young's mind full of turnips as he wanders among these scenes of old Court life in France. If ever he says the king wished to form "one complete and perfect farm under the turnip culture of England, here is the place for it." At the end of a long avenue Mr. Cook discerned what seemed to be a village in the air. Soon the enormous towers of Chambord, sixty feet in diameter, were seen. Mr. Henry James call the place, "An irresponsible, insoluble labyrinth." There are thirteen great staircases, besides numberless smaller ones, and 440 rooms. The outlying work which gave the great château of Francis I. its dignity has disappeared. "The broad foundations and heavy arches which rose proudly out of the waters of the moat no longer impress the eye. The truncated mass squats ignobly upon the turf, the waters of the moat are gone, gone are the deep embankments crowned with pierced balustrades, gone is the no-longer needed bridge with its guardian lions." * The double staircase, like two corkscrews whose curves ascend

* *Renaissance of Art in France*, i. 55.

together yet never touch, is one of the wonders of the place. The perplexed visitor sees his companion mounting with him step by step, but never joins him till he reaches the top. Francis I. spent his last days here, hunting in his Touraine estates and idolised by his sister, Margaret of Navarre. Louis XIV. watched the plays of Molière acted here, but he afterwards deserted the Versailles of Touraine in order to fix his home nearer Paris. Marshal Saxe, who won the estate by his victory at Fontenoy, decorated it with cannon, and had here a regiment of lancers whom he reviewed daily from the terrace.

The château of Azay-le-Rideau, built in 1520, rises almost out of the waters of the Indre like an L set on its side, with a turreted and crested tower at each corner, and an effect of distance and beauty of line "unequalled among a series of architectural triumphs." The river banks, shaded with limes and cedars, make a perfect setting for the lovely château, which is now the home of the Marquis de Biencourt. The place itself lacks historic interest, but "all the ages of French history look down upon us as we pass through its picture-gallery. The fair women who once exercised such an influence over the destinies of France live on the canvas. Here is Catherine de Medicis and a charming picture of Marie Stuart framed beside her young husband." Diane de Poitiers was "powerful enough even to crush the venomous Italian queen into subjection for a time; but the day of Catherine of Medicis was not long in coming, and for three more years her hand was at the throat of France, her influence poisoning its Court." There are other châteaux which a traveller will do well to visit, such as Cheverny, Beauregard, Ramorantin, and Montrichard. Almost every eminence indeed is crowned by some old mansion with a history. Many details are given in Murray's *Handbook to France* which seem to bring the modern aspect of these châteaux more clearly before the eyes of a reader of *Old Touraine*. It ought to be consulted at every turn by any one who wishes to know the present condition of the valley of the Loire. Its descriptions often contain happy phrases which give new vividness to the pages of Mr. Cook's volume. It is a guide-book, but it is literature as well.

We must now turn back again to Tours. The town owed much of its prosperity to the myriad châteaux of the Loire. Louis XI. and his two immediate successors dwelt for the most part in that city, not in Paris. Every art of the decorator flourished, for kings and nobles vied with each other in erecting and adorning magnificent mansions. Tapestry was so eagerly sought in the middle of the sixteenth century that it appeared as though it would take the place of painting in Tours. Venetian workmen were brought to instruct the artificers. Some of the Tours artists even visited Rome to perfect their learning. Two great fairs were held by Royal Charter in March and September for the sale of silks and cloth of gold and silver. The Company of Silkmakers figure in the processions of the time, with mercers, armourers, and jewellers. Those were days of great prosperity in Tours. The Edict of Nantes stimulated its trade. Mulberry trees were planted by the king's order here, at Orleans, and Paris. Tours did not escape the religious troubles of the time. The Huguenots were killed in its streets, or on boats and barges floating in the river. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes scattered forty out of its eighty thousand inhabitants. The town has never recovered that mad stroke at the very vitals of France. But its prosperity is returning. It now has a population of 60,000 busy in the large printing and publishing trade of the town, and in the manufacture of silk, cloth, carpets, and chemicals.

Readers of Frances Elliot's *Old Court Life in France* will be surprised to find how large a place the châteaux of Touraine fill in the brilliant scenes of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The old French memoir writers lead us from castle to castle in an incessant round of gaiety and never-ending intrigue. Mr. Cook's volumes on Old Touraine will be a mine of delight to those who wish to study the social life, the art and architecture of these bygone times. He sometimes puzzles us by forgetting that his readers have not been steeped in the life of these old châteaux as he himself has been. A few connecting links are dropped here and there; but his book is a notable work, dealing with a theme of enduring interest for England as well as for France. We may take

our leave of the work by quoting its closing sentences about the valley of the Loire.

"It is a fascinating valley, full of history, full of romance. The Plantagenets have lived and died here, the Black Prince has fought up and down the river. Sir Walter Raleigh served his first campaign here with the Protestants; even King Arthur has been heard of at Amboise. Here are scenes that Turner has painted; where Landor and Wordsworth have watched the setting sun; here in the heart of France, in the most French of all her provinces, there seems a special interest for the Englishman. A special beauty in this royal river flowing past Fontevrault to the sea, in this broad smiling landscape clad with vines,

> 'Where from the frequent bridge
> Like emblems of infinity,
> The trenched waters run from sky to sky.'"

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Place of Authority in Matters of Religious Belief. By V. H. STANTON, D.D., Ely Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1891.

FROM various causes the subject of the present volume is being earnestly discussed at present. Dr. Martineau's last work has given additional stimulus to the discussion. The shades of opinion between his extreme subjectivism and the hard objectivism of Rome are well-nigh countless. The present interesting and able essay undertakes to defend the *via media* of the Anglican position. The author identifies himself with the writers of *Lux Mundi*, and partially with the Tractarian school, to whose services he gives high praise. The weakness of the Anglican theory of Church authority is its vagueness, and we do not see that the author, with all his undoubted ability, has met this difficulty. The Anglican seems to argue, with the Roman Church, that Scripture alone is not sufficient as a guide to truth, and that a further authoritative development of doctrine is necessary; and yet he has to acknowledge that in the last resort Scripture is the supreme test, and that he can point to no machinery to control the development. The author refers again and again to this defect. "No single means for the expression of the mind of the Church can be pointed out as the only trustworthy and divinely appointed one." The means are to be found in General Councils, Local Synods, and the forms and customs of the Church—the last surely vague enough. What is to be the criterion of truth? Does the mere fact of existence legitimatise a custom and doctrine? Under the latter head the author brings in the Sacraments and Church. And it is easy to see that all Roman doctrine might be thus brought in.

The first three of the four chapters which compose the volume are preliminary to the main subject. In them the author dwells forcibly on the part played by authority in the education of the young, in science, in the first reception of moral truth, and even in the reception of Scripture. No reasonable person would object to a similar use of authoritative teaching in religion within the same limits. It is plain that elementary knowledge in every subject can be conveyed in no other way, and that we must depend on the same means for the transmission of such results as are universally agreed on. But

it is equally plain that elementary knowledge is merely an introduction to full, independent knowledge, and that authority is actually used in the Church to enforce conclusions which are not universally agreed on. The dependence of childhood is not the normal Christian state (Heb. v. 14, 1 Cor. iii. 2, xiv. 20); though it is the normal state of the mass of Christian people according to the Roman theory. The analogy of childhood, therefore, does not hold good. A temporary stage cannot justify a universal law. The author also seems to intimate an analogy between the relation of outsiders to science and that of most Christians to religious knowledge (p. 23). Here, too, the analogy fails. The knowledge possessed by ordinary Christians of the grounds of their faith may not be of the exact kind supplied by theology. Still it amounts to much more than blind faith (1 Pet. iii. 15).

A critical point is the relation of the Bible to all schemes of Church authority. The author tries to find a middle course between two opposite theories. In regard to the view which would make Scripture subordinate to the Church, he asks: "How can the authority of the Church itself be proved without belief in Holy Scriptures? . . . . It appears to me that those who press to extremes the doctrine that the individual is dependent upon the teaching of the Church for what he believes cannot escape from the vicious circle thus suggested." He thinks that the general "Christian consciousness" will suffice to convince of the substantial truth of Christ's teaching. This, again, supplies the idea of the Church, which in turn helps to complete our knowledge of Scripture (p. 67). The author here at least separates himself from the Roman doctrine.

The fourth chapter, dealing with the "authority of the Church," is the most important part of the book. The author illustrates his view of the nature of Church authority in teaching by referring to the formation of the Canon, traditional doctrine embodied in the Creed, and development of doctrine. The last point is the most important. As to the first, the Canon was never settled by any General Council. The work was done by the "general Christian consciousness" in an informal, unofficial way. The same is true of the Apostles' Creed. Authority in that sense—*i.e.*, in reference to matters of universal agreement—no one objects to. Even the two other Creeds touch but a small though a fundamental part of theology. The Athanasian Creed also was never enacted by a General Council. It is the authority of the Church in relation to "the development of doctrine" which gives rise to most discussion. Here the author has nothing definite to advance. It is satisfactory to see that he rejects the Roman position altogether. How the final authority of Scripture and the exercise of private judgment are to be avoided on his view it is impossible to see. We would also remark that the authority of "Catholic antiquity," for which Anglicans plead almost pathetically, is seriously discounted by the imperfect, not to say false, methods of exegesis current in early and mediæval days. Granted that the Fathers were substantially right on fundamentals, their Scripture proof is often faulty enough. The author says: "The meaning which they put upon texts was often critically

unsound. But this in nowise affects their recognition of the principle of establishing doctrine by Scripture" (p. 137). Dr. Newman is bold enough to write: "It may almost be laid down as an historical fact that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together." Much will depend on what is included under "mystical interpretation" and "orthodoxy."

The second section of the last chapter is very satisfactory in one respect—namely, in the decisiveness of the argument against the Roman claim of infallibility. In the illustrations given in support of the author's own view we fail to discover more in the Church's action than the authority of a witness; the authority of a judge is a very different thing. The former is not called in question. The author seems to argue for more; at least such is the impression conveyed by his pages. But we cannot get any precise definition of what would satisfy him. Of the Anglican position he says: "The framers of the Articles would seem to have been silent on the question who was to be the judge, because circumstances do not require them, or because they were unprepared to undertake the difficult task of assigning to the Church collectively, and to her individual members, their respective parts, though they probably perceived more or less clearly that there was a place for each" (p. 193). We have no fault to find when the author writes: "A view which seems to leave the individual to call the Church before his bar for examination does not represent what should be the relations between them." Still all efforts to remove the ultimate responsibility from the individual must fail; human nature, repressed at one point, asserts itself at another. Even the Roman theory must be endorsed by the individual, presumably for good reasons. We need not discuss the argument of the last section on three notes of the Church. Exclusiveness is partly a question of degree; and the exclusiveness of the new Anglicanism is here put as mildly and charitably as it can be. The work, as a whole, deserves careful consideration. Its position is that of Tractarianism stripped of its strong Romeward bias—a considerable difference.

The Early Religion of Israel. As set forth by Biblical Writers and Modern Critical Historians. The Baird Lecture for 1889. By JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of Glasgow. London: Blackwood & Sons. 1892. 10s. 6d.

Professor Robertson's book is, perhaps, the most notable answer to Wellhausen and Kuenen's theories of the history of Israel that has yet appeared. The writer recognises that questions are involved which lie much deeper than verbal inspiration, or the so-called "inaccuracy" of Scripture. It is vain to talk of their authority till the credibility and honesty of the books is made clear. The lecturer's whole argument is thus directed "to show that, examined by the light which they themselves furnish, these books are trustworthy documents; that the compositions which are undoubted and accepted

give their testimonies to those that are questioned or rejected; that the books as they lie before us, so far as they can be tested by the only tests in our possession, and making all allowance for the ordinary conditions of human composition and transmission of books, give us a fair and credible account of what took place in the history and religious development of Israel." The inquiry is conducted with much acumen. No point is overlooked, arguments are woven together in a singularly impressive manner. Dr. Robertson has long been convinced that the value of the books of the Old Testament does not depend upon our knowing their authorship. He doubts whether the circumstances of their composition can ever be accurately determined. He has no difficulty, however, in exposing the assumptions of many critical writers. Twelve years' experience in the East showed him that it was not incredible for a high tone of religious conception to exist in what might appear a primitive and rude age. The Biblical writers do not seem to have had fair play. The writings have been wrangled over as if they were a legal deed or an Act of Parliament, while the personality of the writer has been left out of view. Dr. Robertson takes his stand at a definite period—covered by the prophecies of Amos and Hosea—where the champions of both theories agree that they are on clear historical ground. He has no difficulty in showing that as literary and religious products the writings of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C. imply a long course of education, reflection, and culture, of which the modern historians give practically no account. The "earliest writing prophets" appeal to prophetic men of kindred spirit before them, and there is evidence of such a prophetic line from Samuel downwards. The age of Amos must have had a long foreground. The chapters on the names and dwelling-place of the deity and the Jahaveh religion are models of wise and well-reasoned work. The whole book indeed is fresh and powerful. It will greatly strengthen the hands of many a Bible student. The way in which Wellhausen's assumptions are tracked and exposed is often exceedingly vigorous. No one who wishes to study the early history of Israel can afford to overlook these lectures.

The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D., 1631–1659. Edited by the late JOHN EGLINTON BAILEY, F.S.A. Completed by WILLIAM E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L. Two Volumes. London: Unwin Brothers. 1891.

Mr. Bailey was a Manchester warehouseman, who found time amid the strain of business life to attend evening classes at Owens College. There a casual remark from the lecturer, the Rev. William Gaskell, as to the great interest and originality of Fuller's style, and the need of an adequate biography of the noted preacher and historian, led Mr. Bailey to turn his attention to this promising subject. His *Life of Fuller*, published in 1874, at once took rank as a standard work. That success encouraged him to undertake the preparation of an

edition of the sermons, but his health broke down whilst he was in the midst of his task, and he died in August 1888, at the early age of forty-eight. Any one who glances at the record of Mr. Bailey's literary work, given with loving detail by his old friend Mr. Axon, will understand how business and literature combined to wear down the writer's strength. His lecture on "The Life and Wit of Thomas Fuller," prefixed to the volumes, gives a useful biographical sketch of the man and his times. Aubrey says that when Fuller was a boy he had "a very working head, insomuch that, walking and meditating before dinner, he would eat up a penny loaf, not knowing that he did it." In 1640 we find the young preacher in London, where he at once became popular. For two years he was lecturer at the Savoy. "He had, in his narrow chapel, two audiences, one without the pale, the other within; the windows of that little church and the sextonry so crowded as if bees had swarmed to his mellifluous discourse." His influence was steadily exerted in favour of peace, for, though a Royalist, Fuller respected the rights of the people. When the Civil War broke out his loyalty caused the confiscation of his property by the Parliament. He then served as chaplain in the king's army, and whilst wandering about the country gathered material for his great work on *The Worthies of England*. John Howe's kindly hints helped him to pass the Triers, so that he became perpetual curate of Waltham Abbey. There he lived quietly until 1658, when brighter days began to dawn. Charles II. is said to have resolved to present him to a bishopric, but Fuller caught a malignant fever, from which he died on August 16, 1660. His sermons were marked by strong sense and pungent wit. The twelve discourses on our Lord's Temptation are good specimens of his style. He describes the struggle "as the most glorious combat that ever was fought on earth," from "the eminencie of the persons. Generals seldom fight duels as here, the Prince of Peace against the Prince of Darkness," the spaciousness of the place, the concernment of the cause, "the length and fierceness of the fight, fourty dayes: long battels are seldome hot; hot battels are seldome long; this was both. Lastly, the clearness of the conquest: the Success of some fights have been in such a twilight that after the battel ended with the swords of souldiers, they have been begun with the pens of Historians, disputing who got the better; so equally have the victory been divided betwixt them." Such a preacher could not fail to be a power in the pulpit. There are so many wise and witty things scattered through the discourses, there is so much movement and variety, that expectation is kept alive from beginning to end. Suggestive phrases abound, as when St. Peter's "Add to your faith, vertue," is called a "practical *stayr-case*," and perseverance described in one of the dedications as "that golden claspe which joynes grace and glory together." The pages seem to dance and sparkle with happy strokes of wit and fancy. There is scarcely a dull sentence.

The editors have supplied historical notes which give every detail needed for the study of each sermon. The volumes are boldly printed in demy 8vo, and form a worthy edition of one of the foremost men in a great age of

preachers. Coleridge said: "Next to Shakespeare, I am not certain whether Fuller, beyond all other writers, does not excite in me the sense and emotion of the marvellous." He regarded him as "incomparably the most sensible, the least prejudiced great man of an age that boasted a galaxy of great men," and adds that in all his voluminous writings you "will hardly find a page in which some one sentence out of every three does not deserve to be quoted for itself as a motto or as a maxim." That verdict students of these sermons will heartily endorse. In vol. ii. p. 171, "otiosts" is a misprint for "otiosis."

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

Ezekiel. By the Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D. 5*s*.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians. By the Rev. G. G. FINDLAY, B.A. 2*s*.

The Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools. 1*s*.

London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1892.

We have received from the University Press several copies of the *Smaller Cambridge Bible for Schools*. A perfect little commentary on the Gospels, Acts, and separate books of the Old and New Testament may be had for a shilling. Each part is complete in itself. Tantalising intimations that the exposition of a passage in St. Mark will be found in the notes on St. Matthew, which often perplex and weary those who turn to a commentary, are here happily absent. It is very convenient to have the text itself given as it is here. The introductions are of necessity brief, but any one who uses Dr. Maclear's St. Mark or Mr. Plummer's St. John will find that all the essential facts are noted. The difficulties on which a student needs guidance are honestly dealt with, and the neat little volumes are most convenient for use. More advanced students will find in the larger volumes of the Cambridge Bible ample material for pulpit or class room. Dr. Davidson's "Ezekiel," though it contains some perilous statements in the section on the prophet's "doctrine of God" is the best commentary on that prophecy which we possess. We do not, indeed, agree with the writer when he calls the Vision of the Dry Bones "grandiose." He thinks also that the symbolical actions, as a whole, "were imagined merely. They passed through the prophet's mind. He lived in this ideal sphere; he went through the actions in his phantasy, and they appeared to him to carry the same effects as if they had been performed." On this point many will be inclined to join issue with the writer. The work is singularly full. It deals carefully with Ezekiel's life and work, his "doctrine of God," and his relations to the people.

Mr. Findlay's commentary on the Thessalonians is marked by scholarship and rare critical power. The clearness and grace of the style, and the felicity of the illustrations, as well as the entire mastery of the difficult problems of the two Epistles, make this a book which every student will prize. We do

not know any commentary on the Thessalonians equal to it. The introduction is very complete, and the appendix on "the Man of Lawlessness" shows good sense, and a firm grasp of the whole subject.

The Fourth Gospel: Evidences External and Internal of its Johannine authorship. By EZRA ABBOT, D.D., ANDREW PEABODY, D.D., and J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. *7s. 6d.*

This is a beautifully printed library volume, and its contents are of very high value. It contains two essays from the pen of two American Unitarian authorities, the late Dr. Abbot, and his successor Professor Peabody, of Harvard University, both of them men of high culture and great ability. Dr. Abbot's essay deals with the external, Dr. Peabody's with the internal evidences of the Gospel. Bishop Lightfoot's essay, originally delivered as a lecture in St. George's Hall, also has for its subject the internal evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of the Gospel. All these are standard publications of high authority. The fact that two of the three are by Unitarian authors will with some readers add to the value of the conclusions arrived at. Together they form an invaluable body of evidence. The words which Dr. Peabody writes in his General Preface to the volume are noteworthy. After referring to his essay as the result of a close and careful study of the Gospel, he adds, "This study has so far modified my opinion that, while I previously believed that John wrote that Gospel, I now feel sure that no one but John could have written it." We earnestly recommend the volume to the students of the New Testament.

A Harmony of the Gospels in the Words of the Revised Version. With copious References, Tables, &c. Arranged by C. C. JAMES, M.A., Rector of Wortham, Suffolk. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1892. *5s.*

The uses of a Harmony of the Gospels, as Mr. James says in his preface, are twofold—to enable any one to draw up a connected narrative of our Lord's history, and to show how very few and unimportant the actual variations in the Gospels are. He follows St. Luke's order and sets out the parallel passages in a clear and helpful way. Some vacant spaces are used to introduce *quasi*-parallels, or passages from other parts of Scripture illustrative of the text. All our Lord's utterances about the Sabbath are thus set beside the Bethesda miracle; the paragraphs about two anointings are placed side by side, as well as the raising of Lazarus, of Jairus' daughter, and of the widow's son. The marginal references in which Mr. James has given every passage to which he

himself would wish to call the attention of a Bible class are another good feature. The *Harmony* is admirably arranged and will often be very suggestive for a student of the Gospels.

The Expositor's Bible. The Book of Job. By ROBERT A. WATSON, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. *7s. 6d.*

Dr. Watson treats his subject with a a sympathetic glow which carries his readers along with him from beginning to end of his volume. He thinks that the book of Job belongs to the period immediately following the captivity of the northern tribes or to the captivity of Judah, and draws some interesting parallels between the book and Proverbs and Isaiah. Uz he regards as a general name for the great Syro-Arabian desert. Of Job's friends he says: "It was their misfortune, not altogether their fault, that they had mistaken notions which they deemed it their duty to urge upon him." What friends, he asks, would have travelled, as they did, "two hundred miles over the burning sand to visit a man sunk in disaster, brought to poverty and the gate of death, and sat seven days and nights with him in generous silence?" Dr. Watson thinks that Elihu represents the new "wisdom" which came to Hebrew thinkers in the period of the exile. We have referred to these points to show the writer's opinions, which many scholars are likely to question. Readers who cannot accept all the writer's conclusions will find the book eminently stimulating.

The Biblical Illustrator. By JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. (Exodus.) London: Nisbet & Co. 1892. *7s. 6d.*

There is the usual wealth of "anecdotes, similes, emblems, illustrations, expository, scientific, geographical, historical, and homiletic," in this new volume of *The Biblical Illustrator.* It will often supply the garnishing for a sermon or lesson, and for those who know how it ought to be used the book will be of real value. The "Introduction" is somewhat thin, but there is great variety in the copious notes.

The Theological Student. A Handbook of Elementary Theology. By J. ROBINSON GREGORY. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. *2s. 6d.*

The striking feature of this manual of theology is its judicial tone and well-reasoned method of discussion. Mr. Gregory is not afraid to admit the force of arguments on both sides of a question, and is content to leave some points in uncertainty; but when the case admits of a decisive verdict he is not slow to

pronounce it. His little volume will promote the invaluable habit of consulting the Bible itself on every theological topic. There are about eleven hundred Scripture references, which the student is recommended carefully to consult and weigh. The notes often contain critiques on books which greatly help a young theologian. Ample questions at the end of the volume cover the ground traversed by the various chapters, and help to fix the subject in a reader's mind. The book appeals to a somewhat less advanced circle than Professor Banks' Handbook. Any one who will master both the volumes will be no mean theologian. Mr. Gregory's admirable treatment of the subject of holiness deserves special notice. We hope every one will read that section carefully.

The Indwelling Christ, and other Sermons. By HENRY ALLON, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. 1892. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This volume was intended as a memorial of Dr. Allon's jubilee, but the author died a day or two after he had corrected the last of the proof sheets, so that it becomes the record of a finished ministry. Those who read the sermons will not wonder that Dr. Allon was sustained by the unfailing affection and co-operation of his people for nearly fifty years. There is rather a noticeable lack of illustration. A few fragments of poetry are quoted, but we have found scarcely any illustration from Nature or from books, though the preacher was one of the best read men in his own church. This gives something of monotony to the discourses, but they are full of suggestion, rich in simple, helpful teaching, and penetrated by devotion to Christ and Scripture truth—the mature counsels of a Father in the Gospel. The volume will be treasured as the ripe fruit of a ministry which has been an unmixed blessing to thousands.

The Church of To-Morrow. A Series of Addresses delivered in America, Canada, and Great Britain. By W. J. DAWSON. London: James Clarke & Co. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Dawson thinks that the four chief characteristics of the Church of the future will be "simplification, the democratic spirit, social aim, and intellectual and organic comprehension." In his introduction he dwells briefly on each of these points, but the treatment is too slight for such a profound and far-reaching subject. The book cannot be regarded as a systematic survey of the field suggested by its title. It is rather a collection of twelve brilliant addresses or sermons, which deal with various aspects of the subject in a popular style. Mr. Dawson's discourses show that his power as a preacher is growing. There is not a little to criticise, but the freshness, force, and beauty of style entitle this book to high rank among recent volumes of sermons.

The Book of Common Prayer, with Historical Notes. Edited by the Rev. JAMES CORNFORD, M.A., Lecturer at the London College of Divinity. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1892. 5*s.*

This edition of the Book of Common Prayer shows what a gradual process the perfecting of the Church of England's service book has been. It is a tesselated pavement formed of precious fragments gathered from many primitive liturgies and diocesan "uses." This is well brought out in Mr. Cornford's introduction, where lists of these liturgies and uses are given, with a chronological account of the order of events bearing on the publication of our first English prayer-book. The way in which its compilers formed the offices for the Canonical Hours into a daily morning and evening service is shown in a useful table. The leading changes introduced at each revision are given in another table. The Act of Uniformity (1662) is quoted in full, with other enactments bearing on the subject. Bishop Sanderson's preface to the last revision of 1662 is also inserted. When we turn to the Prayer-book itself, the dates and sources of each section are printed on the margin, with notes on matters of special interest. It is a pleasure to handle this neat volume, with its clear type and wide margins. Those who use it constantly will understand more clearly than ever what a precious mosaic is the Book of Common Prayer.

Sketches of Historical Contrasts of Great Faith and Little Faith. By W. WILLMER POCOCK, B.A. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. 2*s.*

Mr. Pocock has expanded an old sermon into this useful little volume. It is neither sparkling nor profound, but plain Bible talk on a great subject. We do not agree with the view he takes of Moses' conduct in slaying the Egyptian, by which Mr. Pocock thinks he meant to bring about the deliverance of his people, and there are other points where we should not accept his positions; but the book will stimulate all who read it.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Cardinal Manning. By ARTHUR WOLLASTON HUTTON, M.A. (Librarian of the Gladstone Library). M. A. Methuen & Co. 6*s.*

THE writer of this volume is, we believe, in no way related to the editor of the *Spectator*, although, like his namesake, he has written on the character of

Newman, with whom he was associated for some years as a Roman Catholic at the Birmingham Oratory. From the dispassionate and impartial sketch of the Cardinal which he published in the *Expositor* soon after his death we quoted some important and suggestive passages in our article on Mr. R. H. Hutton's volume on Newman.* The account which he gives in the volume before us of the course and character of the other great English Cardinal of our time is, in our judgment, exceedingly well informed and able, and admirably condensed. It will be years before the materials in authentic biographical detail will be furnished for the study and estimate of the Cardinal's character and history. In the meantime this volume, in the preparation of which Mr. Hutton was frankly aided by the Cardinal himself, who freely answered his questions, pointed out to him sources of information, and helped him largely in the compilation of the bibliography which adds so much to the value of the volume, not only furnishes a capital summary view of the Cardinal's life, but gives a clue to his character such as an accredited Roman Catholic biographer might have failed to give, but which now no competent writer of his life will be able to overlook.

The exact point of view from which Mr. Arthur Hutton regards his subject it is not easy to ascertain. He was a Roman Catholic, but is certainly not one now. No man of cultivated and independent intellect, he more than once implies, can, without forfeiting his self-respect, remain in the Roman Catholic communion. At the same time, not only is there no bitterness in his feeling towards the Church he has quitted, and no unfairness in his references to that Church and its clergy, but it is evident that he retains more than a little sympathy with the company from which he has departed, and a great admiration in many respects for the work which the Roman Catholic Church has done, and is doing. He hardly writes like one who is a mere rationalist. If there is a Quaker strain in his blood, and, as seems almost to be implied by some words in his preface, if he originally left the Church of England to join the Church of Rome, the curiously undenominational, but yet not anti-Christian detachment of mind and feeling under which he has written about the two Cardinals, may be accounted for. "I could speak," he says, "with some personal sympathy of his life as an Anglican, of his anxious period of transition, and of his work within the Catholic Church, surrounded as it was by an atmosphere with difficulty apprehended by those who have had no experience of it." It appears that he was first introduced to Manning in 1876, when, we presume, he was a Roman Catholic; that he met him two or three times between that date and 1883, but did not speak to him again till 1890, when he says, "I re-introduced myself to him, on the occasion of my having undertaken to write this book, and found, to my surprise, that he quite remembered me, and was ready to talk freely and fully on personal matters." He did not authorise, but he does not seem to have disapproved, Mr. Hutton's writing his life. He said, with a smile, at the end of his future biographer's

* London Quarterly Review. No. CL. January 1891, pp. 205–232.

first visit to him, "You cannot expect me to godfather your book;" but, whilst making request that nothing might be published while he lived, during several interviews he gave, as we have said, valuable help, and especially he cleared up some important points as to which his biographer would have been at fault without his assistance.

The writings and the character and course of Cardinal Manning have for many years been matter of interest for Christian observers and thinkers. His early Charges, when he was archdeacon of Chichester, and his relations with his archidiaconal colleague in the diocese, Julius Hare; his intervention thirty years ago in connection with Dr. Pusey's Eirenicon by the publication of a pamphlet in which he first showed the breadth of his sympathy as a "Catholic," much broader, as he argued, than Dr. Pusey's, with the experimental Christianity of the best of the Puritans, and in general with the evangelical Dissenters of England; and especially his work and writings during the last twenty years, have formed the subject of our own deeply interested study, sometimes under circumstances of special advantage. Whilst we could not, of course, endorse every judgment or opinion expressed or implied in this volume, we must pronounce it, on the whole, to be a remarkably just and impartial, as well as able and well-informed book.

The general verdict of Mr. Hutton on the character of the Cardinal is expressed in the words which he places as a motto on his title page, *Ecce sacerdos magnus, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo et inventus est justus.* Manning's course throughout, unlike that of Newman, seems to have been rectilinear. The only point as to which there had been any doubt on this matter is incidentally but, we think, completely cleared up in this volume. Manning, in fact, before he joined the Church of Rome, was building up his character and habits, his ideal and his hopes, on what were essentially Romanising principles, although at the time he was not aware of this. The decision of the Privy Council in the Gorham case shattered his ideal and his hopes, and Manning accordingly, in company with his bosom friend, the eminent barrister, Mr. Hope, afterwards Mr. Hope-Scott, soon afterwards quitted the Church of England and entered the Church of Rome, in which, unlike Newman, he seems to have found a really congenial sphere. Unlike Newman, he became an out-and-out Papist. At the same time, he showed little of that spirit of bitterness and contempt towards his former friends and companions which so unhappily distinguished Newman for several years after his secession. He was far inferior to Newman in those subtle qualities of slow but searching analysis which distinguished the intellect of the famous Oratorian, but he was nevertheless an acute and very able man, with a powerful didactic intelligence and a masterly faculty of constructive and administrative insight and sagacity. He was as fit as his famous contemporary was unfit for a life of action, for the conduct of public affairs and the government of men. He was withal a very ready, correct, and eloquent speaker, in this respect being comparable to, although very different from, the distinguished friend of the earlier and Anglican period, and also of the later Roman Catholic years of his life, Mr.

Gladstone. He was throughout life what Newman ceased to be in his later years, an intense ascetic; he was also, what ascetics are not always, and what Newman never was, a most earnest philanthropist, devoted to the cause of the poor and friendless. Withal he was at bottom a thorough Englishman, notwithstanding his Ultramontanism, very proud of his country, of the English character, and especially of the fairness and equity of the English Government. Throughout, and especially in all the great struggles and controversies of his life, he was an ardent mystic, not, like Newman, a mystic dreamer of poetic fantasies, applied alike to philosophy and theology, but with intense religious convictions and assurances burning ever within his soul and sustaining him throughout his life and work. Wonderfully also did he contrive to inlay in his creed an element of wide and charitable construction and hope, and with this so to overlay his special presentation of his Church's theology as apparently to transform it into a system of grand and world-wide sympathies. This was illusion, sometimes approaching the character of infatuation; a keen logic would speedily show up its fallacies and contradictions; but it seems, on the whole, to have its bright side, so far as respects our personal estimate of the courageous, sanguine, and benevolent ecclesiastic who so dreamed his dream and comforted his soul.

Such a man as Manning could not but have risen high in any communion to which he belonged. No man's prospects in the Church of England were greater than his when he left it in 1850. He is said to have been ambitious; and this imputation, if it be meant in a more or less unfavourable sense, though it may not be possible to prove it, certainly cannot be easily disproved. But, at any rate, in leaving the English Church, he did not take counsel with his ambition. He could hardly doubt that he was turning away from an Anglican bishopric, and he could not have foreseen the extraordinary dignities and the place of power which were to be his in the Roman Communion. It is not for us to attempt to estimate his influence in his generation, or to fix beforehand the niche which he is to occupy in history. Half a century hence, his image in the past of England's story may have faded into a fainter figure than his admirers of to-day would think possible. But, at present, he takes his place, for good and for evil, as the most potent representative and instrument of the Roman Catholic Church which this country has known since the Reformation. It is pitiful to think that his real training for the errors and superstitions which marred his goodness and greatness was received while yet he was a minister of the "Reformed Church of England."

Heroes of the Nation Series. Julius Cæsar and the Foundation of the Roman Imperial System. By W. WARDE FOWLER, M.A., Sub-Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1892. 5*s*.

Though neither the founder nor the organiser of the Roman Empire, Cæsar's work marks a critical change in European history. Circumstances did some-

thing to secure him this place, but his own extraordinary force of will and intellect did more. The tendencies of the age and the growth of Cæsar's character are the two leading themes of this volume. Mr. Fowler treats them as far as possible by the help of contemporary evidence, chiefly Cæsar's own writings or those of Cicero. The growth of the single city of Rome into a vast empire is without a parallel in the world's history, and raised problems unparalleled for complexity and extent. The stern and steady character of the conquering race, their habits of self-denial and obedience, their talent for political organisation, and the nature of their constitution, contributed largely to this wonderful growth of empire. The course of Roman history is rapidly sketched down to the time of Marius. That great master of armies was helpless as a statesman. "The re-assertion of the democracy seemed inevitable; but he bungled, hesitated, and finally subordinated himself to the Senate." When Sulla became master of Rome he used his absolutism to guard against all possibility of another democratic reaction. His advent to power seemed fatal to Cæsar's opening career. He narrowly escaped with his life. The way in which Cæsar surmounted these dangers and gradually made himself a name is vividly sketched in this volume. The first five years which he spent in Gaul were the happiest and brightest period of his life. "He was far removed from the hurly-burly of party strife in Rome, free to indulge his own love of glory and adventure, and free to use exactly as he pleased the services of an admirable and devoted army. Hardly a check had occurred to mar the brilliancy of his career, his star seemed ever in the ascendant, his good fortune unfailing." These happy days were followed by Gallic rebellion and civil war, with a brief period of supremacy and then the final tragedy. The chapter on Cæsar's use of absolute power is especially valuable, but the whole book is fresh and vivid.

Rulers of India. Lord William Bentinck. By DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1892. *2s. 6d.*

There is not the fascination about this sketch that one finds in *Dalhousie* and some other volumes of the same series. Lord William Bentinck had not the opportunity of winning military distinction that has fallen to the lot of some rulers of India, yet the very contrast between his work and that of other Governor-Generals "serves to bring into stronger relief the importance of the work he accomplished in the making of the India of to-day." He was the second son of the third Duke of Portland, and as a young man saw much military service on the continent. In 1803 he was made Governor of the East India Company's Presidency at Fort St. George, Madras. He was only twenty-eight, perhaps the youngest Governor ever sent from these shores to rule an Eastern dependency. His enlightened views as to the object of our rule in India are therefore the more remarkable. He clearly recognised that "British greatness should be founded on Indian happiness." But Lord William did not show great tact in dealing with awkward colleagues.

His Chief Justice and he stood at daggers drawn. Sir Henry Gwillim refused point blank an invitation to Government House, and many a heated discussion took place at the Council-board. Then came the mutiny of the native troops at Vellore, one of the most unpleasant incidents in the history of the East India Company. The Sepoys had refused to wear a new turban. That seems to have been the secret of their revolt, and, after hundreds of lives had been sacrificed, the obnoxious order was cancelled. The incident led to Lord William Bentinck's recall in a somewhat high-handed fashion. He now took active military service. He was present at Corunna and was with Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal. In 1811 he was appointed to command our troops in Sicily. He might have rendered great service to Wellington at a critical moment in the Peninsula, but he suffered his energies to be taken up with the affairs of Naples and lost the opportunity of winning high distinction. In 1827 the East India Company made atonement for its conduct towards him by appointing him Governor-General. He had grown wiser and the conditions were more favourable. He supported every project to give increased dignity and confidence to the native judges, a policy which secured both economy and despatch. Sir Charles Metcalfe described his new chief as a "straightforward, honest, upright, benevolent, sensible man." One of Bentinck's first measures was the strenuous and systematic suppression of the murderous Thug robbers. To him also we owe the abolition of widow-burning. His consummate management of the finances converted the deficit of a million into a surplus of two millions. His large-minded educational policy and his liberal treatment of the press deserve special praise. His work, though less showy than that of some of his predecessors, really lies at the root of much of our prosperity in the India of to-day. His friend and colleague, Lord Macaulay, wrote the inscription on his statue at Calcutta which pays fitting tribute to the "eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence" of his rule. Mr. Boulger quotes some original documents of great interest. His book is not the least instructive of the valuable series to which it belongs.

The Siege of Lucknow. A Diary. By the Honourable Lady Inglis. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. 1892. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This daily chronicle of the siege of Lucknow forms one of the most impressive pictures of English heroism in our literature. The siege is divided into three parts—the defence under Sir Henry Lawrence and Inglis; the reinforcements brought up by Havelock and Outram; the relief by Lord Clyde. Outram truly said that the annals of warfare contain no brighter page than that which records "the bravery, fortitude, vigilance, and patient endurance of hardships, privation, and fatigue displayed by the garrison of Lucknow." For nearly three months, a force of 1800 men, with 800 women and children, gallantly and successfully resisted a series of fierce assaults from 15,000 Sepoys, who had been trained by the best English masters of war.

"The defenders were exposed to a nearly incessant fire from strong and commanding positions, held by an enemy of overwhelming force, possessing powerful artillery, having at their command the whole resource of what was but recently a kingdom, and animated by an insane bloodthirsty fanaticism." There is such manifest simplicity in Lady Inglis's chronicle that the daily heroism of both men and women stands out with the more vividness. Sir Henry Lawrence, who had his thigh broken by a shell on the third day of the siege, died two days later, leaving Major Banks to succeed him as Chief Commissioner, and Colonel Inglis as commander of the troops. Banks was killed soon after, so that Inglis, who seemed to bear a charmed life, had the whole burden of responsibility laid on his shoulders. Captain Birch, his aide-de-camp, whose descriptions of the military situation are skilfully woven into Lady Inglis's narrative, says that the brigadier's hair turned quite grey during the siege. He suffered greatly from the prolonged suspense and the terrible heat, but his words and presence were a constant stimulus to his men. He knew every soldier and sergeant in his own 32nd Regiment by face and by name, and his influence made all the diverse elements of which the garrison was composed work in constant harmony. The mutineers, besides their matchlocks, used arrows with oiled wicks attached, in order to fire the grain stacks of the English garrison. Sometimes they hurled huge blocks of wood, which must have been propelled from an extemporised funnel in the earth charged with powder. These greatly amused the English soldiers, who used to say, "Here comes a barrel of beer at last." Clothing was scarce. One officer cut the cloth off the Residency billiard-table and thus donned a suit of Lincoln green. The ladies had to wash their own clothes and cook their own meals. Bad air and want of vegetable food made the slightest scratch dangerous. All suffered more or less from boils and eruptions. It is unutterably pathetic to read of the losses of the garrison. Brave men falling at the post of duty and wives and children plunged into mourning—that is the daily record. Officers and men vied with each other in deeds of heroism. Private Cuney's exploits are almost fabulous. "He was often wounded, and several times left his bed to volunteer for a sortie." He deserved the Victoria Cross, if ever man did, but after safely passing through the siege he was killed in a sortie after Havelock's arrival. One scarcely knows which to admire most—the heroism of the men or the patient endurance of the women. Some of the ladies had poison at hand, and were prepared to use it in case the enemy got in. Lady Inglis felt that this could not be right, but she says calmly that her husband talked of blowing up the garrison at the last moment if the Sepoys overpowered them. In one of the darkest hours, when the most terrible death seemed imminent, her friend, Mrs. Case, proposed to read the Litany. Lady Inglis was suffering from small-pox, but Mrs. Case and her sister knelt by their friend's bed. "The soothing effect of prayer," she says, "was marvellous. We felt different beings, and, though still much alarmed, could talk calmly of our danger, knowing that we were in God's hands, and that without His will not all the fury of the enemy could

hurt us." At last Havelock and Outram forced their way in. The Brigadier entered the ladies' room accompanied by Havelock—a short, quiet-looking, grey-haired man, who shook hands with Lady Inglis, and said "he feared we had suffered a great deal. I could hardly answer him; I longed to be with John alone, and he shared my feelings, for ere long he returned to me, and never shall I forget his heart-felt kiss as he said, 'Thank God for this!'" The interest of the diary does not end with the relief. It was nearly two months before Sir Colin Campbell arrived. Then the brave garrison marched out to Cawnpore. Inglis pleaded hard for permission to remain with one regiment in order to keep the English flag "flying on the ruins of the old Residency—the only spot in Oude from which through the dreadful crisis of the mutiny it had never been removed." Outram knew how to appreciate such a gallant proposal, but no representations at headquarters were of any avail. The picture of the march out from the Residency is one of the most graphic in the diary. Lady Inglis's record will make every Englishman's heart beat high. It is indeed a story which centuries hence will still be read with bated breath.

James Gilmour of Mongolia. His Diaries, Letters and Reports. Edited and arranged by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. With Three Portraits, Two Maps, and Four Illustrations. London: Religious Tract Society. 1892. *7s. 6d.*

This is a worthy record of a singularly noble life. Mr. Lovett does not attempt to re-tell the story of Gilmour's mission in Mongolia. That he himself has given us in a volume which justifies the *Spectator's* description of its writer as the *Robinson Crusoe* of missions. Here the character of the man himself, the springs of his conduct, and the inmost secrets of his heart are laid bare. It adds to the value of the unveiling that Gilmour is largely allowed to tell his own story, with such links as Mr. Lovett's personal friendship in their student days at Cheshunt, and in later years, has enabled him to supply. Gilmour's boyhood is very brightly painted. To see the lad so boisterous and full of fun patiently toiling over his books whilst his brothers were having a game at rounders, shows how sturdy was his sense of duty even in those early days. When his little intervals of recreation came he was the merriest of all. "During the day he would be out about the workshop and saw-mill, giving each in turn a joking, and joking at times very tormenting to the recipients. If we had any little infirmity or weakness, he was sure to enlarge upon it and make us try to amend it, assuming the *rôle* and aspect of a drill-sergeant for the time being." After a brilliant course at Glasgow University Gilmour removed to Cheshunt, to prepare for mission work. In February 1870, he embarked for China. He was to stay at Peking till he should master the language and complete his plans for his future work in Mongolia, but a month after his arrival at the Chinese capital there was a massacre at Tientsin. A

Roman Catholic convent was destroyed and thirteen French people killed. Grave fears prevailed at Peking, and the Europeans thought they should be compelled to leave the city. Gilmour, therefore, determined to push on into Mongolia, where he could master the language more quickly. He left Peking on August 5. Buddhism is all-powerful in Mongolia. The larger half of the male population are lamas. There is scarcely a step in a Mongol's life which can be taken without consulting a priest. Even the colour and cut of a man's coat is fixed for him by his religion. But Mr. Gilmour soon found that drunkenness was one of the crying vices of the country, and that the language was full of double meanings—a seething mass of immorality. He plodded on with his studies, but it was not till he went out to live in a native encampment that he really made great progress in the language. His stay in their tents also won him the warm friendship of the people, who ever afterwards spoke of him as "Our Gilmour." But the conversions for which he hoped were not forthcoming. In 1874, after much wandering among the people of the Plain, he says: "I have not, as far as I am aware, seen any one who even *wanted* to be a Christian." The story of his proposal to Miss Prankard, a London lady whom he had never seen, is quite a romance, and their marriage proved almost ideal in its happiness. It was rare fun for husband and wife to read together a strong but long-delayed remonstrance from one of Gilmour's friends, which arrived when they were enjoying their honeymoon. Mrs. Gilmour was an ideal missionary's wife, who shared her husband's journeys and bore every hardship of her lot with uncomplaining fortitude. She died in 1885. Gilmour's life was one of unwearying zeal, yet he seems to have won only about three Mongol converts. His colleagues did not agree with his methods of work, but his heart was set on the conversion of Mongolia, and he held doggedly to his plans. There is no doubt he was right. His was the seed-time. "Love, self crucifixion, Jesus Christ closely followed in adversity, in loneliness, in manifold perils, under almost every conceivable form of trial and hindrance, and resistance both active and passive—these are the seeds James Gilmour has sown so richly on the hard Mongolian Plain, and over its eastern mountains and valleys." The Church will surely reap a glorious harvest in Mongolia, if it faithfully carries on James Gilmour's work. He died of typhus fever on May 21, 1891, at Tientsin, where he had gone to attend the annual meetings of the London Missionary Society. He was in his forty-eighth year. The record of his lonely life, with its patient continuance in labour amid all discouragements, will be an inspiration to the Churches. A missionary's soul lies bare in these touching letters and journals. The book gives many glimpses of life in Mongolia, with some thrilling stories. One poor fellow who was treated for cataract was then found to be stone blind. When this man returned from the unsuccessful operation Mongol suspicion of unfair treatment was aroused, and Mr. and Mrs. Gilmour were for a time in extreme peril from the fanatic Buddhists among whom they were living. It is one of the most touching stories of its kind we ever read.

The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, 1825–32. From the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford. New Edition. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1891. *7s. 6d.*

Mr. Douglas gave the world a great literary treat eighteen months ago, by the publication of *Sir Walter Scott's Journal*. Lockhart had already made large use of the MS. in his classic biography, but it was reserved for Mr. Douglas to prepare and publish the Journal in its entirety. Scott kept it in two volumes, nine inches by eight, bound in vellum and furnished with strong locks. The facsimile of the last entry shows that the great writer's pen was losing its cunning. No helps for a reader of the journal are lacking in this edition. Lockhart's notes have been appended to passages which he had already used; but extracts are also given from James Skene's unpublished reminiscences and letters from and to Scott, which have never before appeared in print. This neat and cheap edition ought to have a place with Scott's novels in every family bookcase. Besides the charming view of his own home circle, and the sight of his heroic struggle against adverse fortune, the journal is full of references to the celebrities of the time and notes of travel. Some indignant entries show how exacting were the claims made on the great writer by "zealous admirers." "I must, they take it for granted, be astonished at having an address from a stranger: on the contrary, I would be astonished if any of these extravagant epistles were from any one who had the least title to enter into correspondence with me. I have all the plague of answering these teasing people." The journal closes with the tour from Naples to Rome. Lockhart's account of the return to England, and the last scene, is given as an appendix. The volume will be a mine of pleasure to all lovers of Scott.

The Syrian Church in India. By GEORGE MILNE RAE, M.A. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1892. *7s. 6d.*

Mr. Rae went to Madras twenty-four years ago as a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. His work brought him into direct touch with the Syrian Church which sent men to study at the Madras Christian College, where Mr. Rae was a professor. During the Midsummer vacation of 1870, he found time to visit the Malabar Coast, where the church had existed before Augustine and his monks came to Canterbury. Visits to other places with a minute investigation of the traditions and documents connected with the interesting community of Syrian Christians have, at last, borne fruit in this scholarly and painstaking work. Mr. Rae thinks that the stories which represent St. Thomas as the founder of the Christian Church in India are a curious instance of what is called the migration of traditions. The primitive traditions show that St. Thomas lived and died far away from Southern India. The local tradition which represents him as its Apostle is really only a clumsy

reproduction of the primitive tradition. Southern India received its Christianity in the beginning of the sixth century from the Nestorian patriarchate by way of the Persian Gulf. Mr. Rae gives a clear account of each period in the history of the Syrian community. The horrors of the Inquisition in the Roman period are told with somewhat disproportionate detail, though it is well to keep such deeds before the eyes of Protestants. Some interesting sketches of local manners and customs are given. But the chief practical interest of the work centres in the story of the attempt made by the Anglican Church to introduce a gradual reform into Syrian Christianity. After twenty years of toil, the noble effort proved abortive, but it has left its traces on the Syrian community, and diffused a zeal for education which must inevitably bear good fruit. The people of Malabar have caught the idea of an aristocracy of intellect and character which is spreading in India, and have gladly availed themselves of western culture. Many of the young men are studying at Madras, and if their hearts and minds "are saturated with Biblical truth and spiritual ideas," they will soon leaven society in Malankari, and bring about a happy reformation. Mr. Rae's book is disfigured by some Scotticisms and inelegant phrases, but it must be regarded as the standard work on the Syrian Church in India.

The Pilgrims and the Anglican Church. By WILLIAM DEVERELL. London: Remington & Co. 1887.

Mr. Deverell has written this history of the Pilgrim Fathers, in order to popularise the words and deeds of these brave and fearless men. We are glad to have the copious quotations from the noble addresses of John Robinson. The little details as to the embarkation of the men of the *Mayflower*, and their sorrows and privations in their new home across the Atlantic, add much to the interest. There is also an excellent account of William Brewster of Scrooby. Mr. Deverell does justice to the Papacy in the dark ages, as "the only earthly power that could restrain the unbridled licence and ferocity of feudal kings and peers, or materially alleviate the social miseries of the wretched populations subject to their yoke." But Rome's ambition and lust of power, as well as its ferocious persecution of heretics, are rightly branded as execrable. Mr. Deverell is very bitter in his references to William III. He calls him the "Iago of politics, the victims of whose treachery were his nearest kindred." He gives utterance to many other opinions on matters political and religious, with which we have no sympathy, but the pages devoted to the Pilgrim Fathers are full of interest. It will surprise many to read that the colony was not exempt from general scarcity of food until the third harvest had been gathered. "This happy change in their condition was facilitated by the abandonment of the system of community of goods, which had hitherto prevailed, and had depressed the energies of the industrious, whilst it had encouraged the indolence of the listless and improvident." Mr. Deverell's chapter on "Puritanism" is excellent.

The Young Emperor William II. of Germany. A Study in Character Development on a Throne. By HAROLD FREDERIC. With Portraits. Second Edition. London: T. F. Unwin. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is a very taking book; entirely honest, perfectly frank, full of information, and crisp in style. Mr. Frederic is a warm admirer of the young Emperor, whom he regards as "a real man, active, self-centred, eager to achieve and resolute to act, of high temper and great ambitions." He throws much light on the character of the Emperor Frederic, and gives a clear view of the events which led to the historic fall of Bismarck. The final chapter, entitled "Personal Characteristics," contains some information as to the Emperor's left arm, which is practically paralysed, and the inflammation of his ear, which is not regarded as "necessarily dangerous." The book well deserves the honour of a second edition. It ought to be in the hands of every one who takes an interest in Germany and its young Emperor.

St. Paul's Cross: The Most Famous Spot in London. By JOHN B. MARSH. London: Raithby, Lawrence & Co. 1892. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Marsh does not pretend to have exhausted the chronology of St. Paul's Cross, but he has certainly gathered together an instructive series of extracts from annals, diaries, histories, and State papers, which illustrate many phases of English life for nearly five hundred years. The first record concerns the delivery of a seditious address in 1191; from that time to 1643, when the Pulpit and Cross were pulled down, many stirring events are associated with the place. The extracts are given in chronological order. It is amusing to find the Bishop of London in 1534 acting as a kind of pawnbroker. He lent money to the citizens on pledges, and, if at the end of the year they were not redeemed, the preacher at Paul's Cross gave notice that after fourteen days the pledges would be sold. A poor countryman who broke the Lenten fast had to do penance with the carcase of a pig on his head and another in his hand. In April 1603 Mr. Hemmings of Trinity College made a tirade on women in his sermon which would have called down condign punishment from Queen Bess if it had been uttered a few months earlier. The extracts from Jewell and Latimer are instructive. Altogether this is a useful and entertaining little book, well printed, with wide margins, and very neatly bound.

From an Indian Zenana. The Story of Lydia Muttulakshmi. By the Rev. W. H. PICKEN. With Preface by Mrs. WISEMAN. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. 1*s.*

Mrs. Wiseman was specially fitted to write the preface of this story, not only because of her untiring labours for the women of the East, but also

because she visited Bangalore at the time when the flourishing Zenana work on that station had been entirely disorganised by this brave girl's confession of Christ. Hindu families were up in arms. They feared that many girls would follow Lydia's example, and spared no pains to cow the missionary workers and win back the girl. Mr. Picken tells his story simply but beautifully. Such an incident is a happy omen of future success. The pictures of life in Bangalore are attractive.

BELLES LETTRES.

Grania: The Story of an Island. By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS. In Two Volumes. Second Edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1892. 21*s.*

THE scene of Miss Lawless' last novel is Inishmaan, one of the islands of Aran, in Galway Bay. Grania is the daughter of Con O'Malley, the chief man of the island, master of the only fishing smack or hooker in Inishmaan. O'Malley had been married twice. His first marriage, to Honor O'Shea, was of the usual Aran order—"Settled between his own parents and the parents of the bride, with a careful, nay, punctilious, heed to the relative number of cows, turkeys, feather-beds, boneens, black pots, and the like, producible upon either side, but as regards the probable liking or compatibility of the youthful couple absolutely no heed whatsoever." After eighteen years O'Malley was left a widower with one daughter. At old Malachy O'Flaherty's wake he met Delia Joyse, of Maan, in Connemara—a girl who "had no fortune, and, therefore, obviously was no match. She was the orphan niece of a man who had seven living children of his own. She had not a cow, a gridiron, a penny piece, an inch of land, not a possession of any sort in the world." Regardless of such facts, and of his own age, the widower fell passionately in love with the handsome stranger. "It was a genuine love match on both sides—that rarest of rare phenomena in peasant Ireland." Three years later Delia died, leaving her two years' old girl—Grania—to the care of her half-sister Honor. O'Malley himself never recovered from the loss of his wife. He began to frequent the public-house, and went steadily and relentlessly to the dogs. After his death Honor and Grania lived on at the farm. The elder girl was a saint, whose one ambition in life had been to enter a nunnery. No mother could have cared more lovingly for the child. A passionate devotion sprang up between the sisters, which seemed to throw a halo round their home life. Honor was consumptive; Grania, blessed with rude health, was generally recognised as the finest, strongest girl on the island. Her lover was a

handsome, lazy, loquacious young fellow—Murdough Blake—who got mixed up with bad company, and used to come to her for money to help him out of his difficulties. The struggle in Grania's mind between her love and the painful consciousness of Murdough's faults is finely drawn. There is a sharp quarrel between the lovers, but peace is made after Grania has spent many torturing hours. The simple ways of Inishmaan, with the outdoor life, the fishing, and the domestic interiors are sketched as only the author of *Hurrish* could sketch them. Every little detail seems photographed before the reader's eyes. At last the final tragedy comes. Honor is dying. Father Tom must be brought from Inishmore without delay, for there is no priest on their own little island, and Honor cannot die without the last rites of her Church. A dreadful fog envelops the island. Grania implores Murdough to go with her to fetch Father Tom, but he refuses to risk his life. Driven to despair, the brave girl starts in her curragh with a little slow-witted lad. In the dreadful fog the boat goes on the rocks, and Grania is drowned. She manages to get Phelim safely to the top of a great boulder, where he is found next morning. Father Tom reaches Honor's bedside just in time. The dying woman never knew that Grania had sacrificed her life to bring the priest. Miss Lawless paints the struggle in the water with overpowering vividness. The pathos and sadness of Grania's last hours are intense, but even such an end is less sad than a marriage to Murdough Blake, who had no real love for the girl, and would have soon proved himself a drunkard and a ne'er-do-well. Such a book as this must be classed as high art.

The Slave of the Lamp. By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN. In Two Volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1892. 21*s.*

This story is really a study of Jesuitism. Christian Vellacott, a talented young journalist on the staff of the *Beacon*, is compelled to leave London for rest. He could have borne the strain of newspaper work, but his querulous grand-aunts lived with him, two wrecks of humanity whose means were gone. The burden of domestic miseries wore away the young man's strength. His warm-hearted editor sent him off to the country for a month's rest. He stayed with his father's old friends, the Carews, who lived at an old-fashioned seaport town beyond Exeter. The quiet home life soon began to restore Vellacott's health. Hilda, the elder of the two Miss Carews, was engaged to a young squire. The engagement jarred on Vellacott, who felt as though she was part of his own youthful dream. We wonder how the situation will end; but meanwhile the journalist discovers a Jesuit plot, in which an Italian refugee, a friend of the Carews, is involved. He sends off an article to the *Beacon*, which makes a sensation in political circles. The Jesuits are outwitted in their efforts to prevent its appearance, but manage to kidnap Vellacott, and send him away to a French monastery. A young abbé, René Drucquer, is Vellacott's guardian on board the French vessel. He was as nearly a religious fanatic as his soft, sweet nature would allow, but his blind faith was

giving way to doubt of his own creed. Vellacott's sympathy moved him to speak of himself. He thus ran headlong into the very danger against which his superiors had warned him; he had formed a friendship. His whole future now seemed clouded. He loathed his position, but he was involved in a terrible network of vows which made it impossible to escape. At Vellacott's suggestion, he resolved to volunteer for missionary work in India. The chapter which describes this young priest's dilemma is one of the most powerful in the book. When the vessel reached Audierne two smooth-faced individuals came on board, who looked like domestic servants. Each appeared to have received his instructions separately, and with no regard to his companion. These spies kept their eye on the young priest, and on everything that went on. Christian entrusted a letter to René, but the Jesuit training had too strong a hold upon him; he burned the letter instead of posting it. In the quiet monastery to which he was taken as prisoner Vellacott lay prostrate for six weeks with typhoid fever. The Provincial of the Jesuits offered him his liberty if he would promise to write no more against the Order. Vellacott, of course, refused. By a very clever though simple ruse the young journalist managed to escape. On arriving in London he found one aunt dead and the other dying. Hilda and her mother were installed as nurses, but Hilda was already married. Vellacott lost the lady, but became a great journalist. The sequel of the story is very unsatisfactory. Hilda had a charming sister; could not Mr. Merriman have contrived that she should make atonement? The revelations of Jesuit plotting and power are very impressive.

1. *Heavy Laden* and *Old-Fashioned Folk*. By ILSE FRAPAN. Translated by HELEN A. MACDONELL.
2. Russian Stories. Vol. I.: *Makar's Dream*, and other Stories. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1892. 1*s.* 6*d.* each.

1. The Pseudonym Library has already established its reputation. The volumes are convenient in size and shape for the pocket, easy to read because of their bold, clear type, and have reached a high standard of literary excellence. The fact that the writers prefer to remain anonymous probably adds some touch of piquancy to the perusal of the volumes. Ilse Frapan is a captivating German authoress, who has gained a high position in her own country, and is beginning to be heard of in England. The translator, who has performed a difficult task with special skill, says that the early years of Ilse Frapan's "literary activity have already borne rich fruit, while her youthful vigour and abounding human sympathy warrant the expectation that she holds in reserve gifts of still greater price." It is almost a pity that two stories so utterly dissimilar should have been put into one volume. They certainly show the wide range of the writer's power, but many readers who delight in the pairs of twins so lovingly painted in *Old-Fashioned Folk* will turn away in disgust from the morbid analysis of a murderer's conscience in *Heavy Laden*. No one can deny the power of the first story. It fascinates a

reader. In the last scene the guilty man makes one of a party of fishermen who put out to rescue a shipwrecked lad. As he volunteered for the dangerous task the awful burden seemed to be lifted from the man's shoulders. "A sense of things righting themselves passed through his whole body." The boy is saved, but Klefecker is knocked overboard by a falling mast and drowned. It is a terrible story. One turns to the second half of the book with a sense of relief. *Old-Fashioned Folk* reminds us of one of those domestic interiors painted by a Dutch artist. Every little detail is seen as through a microscope. The pleasant humour and wholesome family affection which are so quaintly pourtrayed make the story a gem of literary miniature work.

2. The Russian stories are not very pleasant reading, but *Makar's Dream* and the *New Life* are not without a sort of weird impressiveness. *Bad Company* is a clever study of a boy's development of character.

ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

In L'Art (Librairie de L'Art, 29 Cité d'Antin, Paris) for March 1, M. Noel pays a studiously temperate tribute to the memory of Louis Pierre Henriquet, whose name has been associated with the history of French engraving for the best part of the century, and who has recently died at the ripe age of ninety-four, modestly declining with his latest breath any sort of public funeral honour. In his youth a daring innovator in his art, he became in his prime by reaction against what he deemed, and perhaps rightly, the extravagances of the new school of etchers, somewhat unduly conservative, and threw the whole weight of his influence as professor at the Beaux Arts against the new movement. Age, however, mellowed his judgment and moderated his antipathies, and he has left behind him universal regrets and the inspiring example of a long life devoted to the conscientious practice of a noble art. To the second March issue M. Viollet le Duc contributes a slight but extremely interesting notice of another recently deceased artist, Auguste Alexandre Guillaumet, whose specialty was the engraving of architecture. The first April issue contains a valuable article by M. Georges Duplessis on the seventeenth-century engraver, Gerard Audran, an excellent workman in his day; another by M. Henri Bouchot on the sixteenth-century court portrait-painter, François Clouet, commonly known as Janet, much praised by Billon, Jodelle, Etienne, Pasquier, and other lively wits of that day for his portraits of Henry II., Charles IX., and Elizabeth of Austria. Among other of the great folks who sat to him were Catherine de Medicis, the Duchesse de Retz, Marguerite de Valois, and our own Mary Stuart, whose miniature by him is at Windsor.

In the first May issue M. Emile Molinier describes his recent discovery of a bronze statuette of the fifteenth century now in the Louvre, which he ascribes to Sperandio. It is about a foot in height by somewhat less in length, and represents a cavalier in the peculiar accoutrements of the condottieri of the period riding an ambling charger. The rider's features are unmistakably those of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Padua. M. Emile Molinier's

reasons for attributing the work to Sperandio are given at length and seem to be conclusive. In any case, the work is a most interesting and characteristic specimen of renaissance bronze-work.

Younger American Poets. 1830–1890. Edited by DOUGLAS SLADEN, B.A. Oxon. With an Appendix of *Younger Canadian Poets.* Edited by GOODRIDGE BLISS ROBERTS, of St. John, N.B. London: Griffith, Farran & Co. 1891. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Sladen aims "to make English readers know something more of the bright young poets whose names they see in the great international Magazines —*The Century* and *Harper's.*" Longfellow, Bryant, Poe, Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell—the greater lights of the poetic firmament—are not here. Their works are well-known and readily accessible, but the growing company of minor poets needs some introduction to readers on this side of the Atlantic. The volume deals with the singers of the last sixty years, beginning with Paul Hamilton Hayne, who was born on January 1, 1830. The introduction supplies a few facts about the various poets. The chief dates and writings of each are given in a note prefixed to the group of selected pieces. The list of English poets born since 1830 who are included in Stedman's *Victorian Poets*, suggests a comparison between the old and the new world which is not favourable to the latter. Swinburne, Andrew Lang, Christina Rossetti, William Morris, Alfred Austin, Frederick H. Myers, and other English writers of verse tower above the singers of America and Canada. Yet there is much in Mr. Sladen's volume to delight a lover of poetry. Hayne and Ryan supply some spirited war-songs. Ryan's "Conquered Banner" is a pathetic lament over the vanished hopes of the South, which well deserves its reputation as one of the finest pieces of its kind. There is much rollicking humour, much light play of fancy, in the volume. Dialect poetry is well represented by Will Carleton and Charles F. Adams. Richard Watson Gilder deserves to be better known in this country. His poems have impressed Mr. Sladen more than any other he has had to read in the preparation of this work. Stedman's "Pan in Wall Street," and his "Toujours Amour" are dainty poems with a delicious spice of humour. There are some delightful hours for those in store who turn these pages.

Not by Bread Alone. By the Author of *The Occupations of a Retired Life.* London: Religious Tract Society. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the story of an Italian boy, Carlo, who is left alone in London at the Café Dante in "Woburn Street, a small, old-fashioned, irregular thoroughfare on the north side of the Strand." The boy finds a home with Miss Mason, a poor sewing-woman, who has just lost her old mother and feels that

the care of the helpless little child gives life a new object. The sketches of the neighbouring tradesmen are well drawn. Dr. Warner's family fills a large space in the story. Carlo is drowned at Liverpool in bringing back the doctor's worthless son who has just run away to sea after altering a cheque of his father's from six to sixty pounds. The disaster comes just when we are on the eve of a happy engagement between Carlo and the doctor's charming daughter. This uncalled-for and somewhat unintelligible sequel throws a gloom over a well-told story. There is a bracing tone about the book, and it cannot fail to do good both to young and old.

John Remington, Martyr. By PANSY. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Parson Hardwork's Nut, and How He Cracked It. By Rev. W. WIGLEY HAUGHTON. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. 2*s.*

John Remington is a brave young pastor in an American city, who brings down on himself the hate of the saloon-keepers by his fearless temperance work. He has a narrow escape from drowning, his little boy is kidnapped, and at last he is shot and crippled for life. It is a very powerful temperance story, with a fine moral tone throughout. We wish the glaring Americanisms had been removed.

Parson Hardwork is a fine character. Mr. Haughton paints his difficulties and successes with a sympathetic hand. There are some capital studies in the book, and it cannot fail to stimulate its readers to earnestness in all good work. We grow rather tired of so many names with a meaning like Doubter, Upright, Starchfield, and others; there is also some stiffness in style, which further practice in writing will no doubt correct.

The Veil that no one Lifts. London: T. F. Unwin. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

These rhymes are thin, and show little power of fancy or grace of expression.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The First Crossing of Greenland. By FRIDTJOF NANSEN. Translated from the Norwegian by HUBERT MAJENDIE GEPP, B.A., Lecturer at the University of Upsala. A New Edition, abridged. With numerous Illustrations and a Map. London: Longmans. 1892. 7*s.* 6*d.*

SOME curtailment of Dr. Nansen's famous book has been necessary for this one-volume edition. Subsidiary matters treated in the original work, also the

historical chapters dealing with previous attempts to penetrate the ice-belt of the east coast of Greenland, and to explore the "inland ice," have been omitted, as well as the appendix dealing with the scientific results of the expedition. In one respect such abridgment makes the book more popular. The daring journey through the floe-ice off the east coast, and the heroic crossing to the west, are left intact. It is a thrilling narrative, which often seems to hold the reader in breathless suspense. The chapters on the equipment of the expedition and the "ski," or narrow strips of wood three to four inches wide and eight feet long, on which large part of the journey was performed, are entertaining, but the fascination of the book begins with the attempt to force a way through the ice of the east coast. For twelve days the six adventurers struggled with floes and currents. When they managed to effect a landing they felt like men who had escaped from a long and weary imprisonment and saw a bright and hopeful future lying before them. The description of the Eskimo encampment near Cape Bille is very striking. When the strangers entered the Eskimo tents they could scarcely believe their eyes. Young men and women stripped themselves of every particle of clothing save the "natit," or indoor belt, "the dimensions of which are so extremely small as to make it practically invisible to the stranger's inexperienced eye." English readers can scarcely understand the gulf between their own civilisation and the life of these Greenlanders. Four or five families lived in one tent, having each their own partition marked off upon the common couch; a five-foot space had sometimes to accommodate husband, two wives, and six or more children. Occasional journeys are made to the Danish settlements beyond Cape Farewell, in order to secure snuff and other luxuries, but these shopping expeditions involve a four years' journey, so that they are of necessity somewhat rare. By the middle of August the boats were hauled up to a little cleft in the rocks and blocked with stones. Then the party started across the "inland ice." The six weeks spent in this adventurous journey form a chronicle of travel which is perhaps without a parallel in the history of Arctic adventure. It says much for Nansen's skill as a leader that he and his men got safe across without accident of any kind. The torture they suffered from mosquitoes, the shifts to which they were reduced to get water, and the patient trudging over the snow with their sledges in tow are vividly described. When the travellers did get across their joy over unlimited supplies of food and water was almost rapturous. The account of the winter at Godthaab furnishes some interesting studies of Eskimo life. Nansen and some of his companions became experts in the use of the native kayak or canoe, enjoyed much good sport in shooting eider-ducks and ptarmigan, and had exciting experiences in fishing for halibut. The kindness of these simple Greenlanders was unbounded. This story of adventure is simply told, but it enthralls one from the first page to the last. Nearly all the illustrations of the larger work are given in this edition.

Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries of the Christian Era. By J. GREGORY SMITH, M.A., Hon. LL.D. Edinburgh. London: A. D. Innes & Co. 1892. 14*s.*

This volume represents many years of patient study. Mr. Smith's essays, originally prepared for the dictionaries of Christian biography and Christian antiquities, have been carefully revised and re-arranged. New material has also been added to make the studies a complete view of Christian monasticism in its earliest phases. Most readers will agree with the writer that, "the history of monasticism is one of the strangest problems in the history of the world." Good and evil are blended almost inextricably. We become familiar with the excesses of such fanatics as Simeon of the pillar, and of Abraham of Edessa, one of the most famous disciples of Ephraim Lycus, who deserted his bride on her wedding day, and during fifty years of seclusion "never tasted even bread, living entirely on vegetables, never changed his hair shirt, never washed face nor hands, and yet is said to have been hale and vigorous to the last." But whilst we watch these pitiful vagaries, we also learn to appreciate the service which Benedict of Nursia rendered to Christendom by the spirit of mildness and consideration which breathes in his Regula Monastica. The sanction which he gave to study opened the way for those literary pursuits which became in after-years the glory of the Benedictine monasteries. Mr. Smith says that, "unlike many ardent reformers, Benedict appears to have led a consistent life from the first, without any violent and convulsive disruption of existing ties. He is more like the 'judicious' Richard Hooker or the George Herbert of the English Church, than the Francesco di Assisi or the Dominico of his own communion." The principle of monasticism was in force among the Jewish Essenes before the birth of Christ, and was also dominant in the Oriental notions of antagonism between mind and matter. Christianity had no distinct class of ascetics during the first century and a half; but when it came into contact with the Alexandrine school of thought the ascetic principle was largely developed. In the middle of the third century the example of Antony, Paul, and other Egyptian Christians led many to retire into the wilderness to avoid intercourse with their fellows. A century later asceticism began to take a corporate rather than an individualistic form. Pachomius established a "cœnobium" or company of ascetics, who lived together under one supreme authority. These societies soon spread far and wide over Christendom. The greatest Church fathers—Basil, Jerome, Athanasius, Ambrose, Augustine, and Chrysostom—lent the weight of their authority to the movement, and Cassian, Columbanus, Benedict, and their successors gave the new system an organisation which hastened its diffusion over Europe. Mr. Smith furnishes ample material for a study of the successive stages of the movement. He brings out clearly the marked contrast between Eastern and Western Monachism. "The dreamy quietism of the East preferred

silent contemplation of the unseen world to labour and toil." Work, where prescribed at all, was intended as a safeguard against the snares brought by idleness rather than a means of benefiting others. There was little need in the East to think of providing food for the community; but in Europe even monks had to labour for the means of subsistence. They thus became "the pioneers of culture and civilisation as well as of religion; they were the advanced guard of the armies of art, science, and literature." It is this fact which gives such enduring interest to their history. Benedict taught his community that mere manual labour was not everything, but that the liberal arts and sciences ought to be sanctioned and encouraged. A full account of his famous rule will be found here. The second part of the volume deals with the officers of a monastery, and the life of its inmates. The chapters on the guest-house, where hospitality was dispensed to strangers, on the discipline and daily life of the community, are excellent. The biographical sketches of the chief leaders of the movement, in the third section, are eminently judicious. The lives of the two Benedicts and of Boniface of Maintz—the Wessex boy, who became one of the greatest missionaries of Europe—will be read with great interest. The volume is one of the most complete and instructive histories of monasticism that we possess. It is written by a man who clearly sees the evils inherent in the system, but yet pays no grudging testimony to the merits of many of the chief leaders and the noble work they did for their generation.

Proceedings of the Second Ecumenical Methodist Conference, held in the Metropolitan Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, October 1891. Introduction by the Rev. WILLIAM ARTHUR, M.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1892. 10*s.* 6*d.*

After reading these "Proceedings" in this authorised Report, we do not feel disposed either to modify or to enlarge the account and estimate of the Conference published in this Journal six months ago. Mr. Arthur's Introduction, however, is new matter, and suggests a few sentences of comment. It is remarkable that he himself has not a word to say as to the character or influence of the Conference. All that explicitly refers to the subject is contained in the following lines: "'Two Ecumenical Conferences have now left their record behind them, and only the future can declare what their fruits will be. May they be such as to set forward the future of Christ's kingdom, and the salvation of the world." As to the influence of the gathering at Washington he says nothing, though he was there. As to the proved effect of the former Conference he is equally silent, though it was held ten years before in London.

An antecedent paragraph is indirectly suggestive as to the character of some of the addresses delivered at Washington. Mr. Arthur refers to the fact that alike in 1888, in reference to the coming Conference of 1891, as ten years

before in reference to the Conference of 1881, strict limits were, by common consent of all the constitutional Churches represented at the Conference, imposed on the character of the subjects to be dealt with, "lest the deliberations of the Conference, instead of allaying, should excite controversy." He speaks of the members as bound by an "honourable understanding to abide within the limits, and not to raise questions of doctrine or discipline which would necessarily provoke serious disagreement." He adds: "This fact ought to lead all bodies, in selecting delegates, to designate only men whose words, whether written or extempore, are likely to give only such an impression of their views and tendencies as they would wish to be given," and not to send men whose utterances "connect in the public mind the name of an Ecumenical Conference with the discussion of points to the raising of which the consent of such Conference could not have been obtained." Mr. Arthur's silence at one point of his Introduction, and his broad hint in the passage last cited, are both significant. Ten years hence will his warning and his implied censure be remembered? It is certain, at least, that his name will be celebrated by some writers or speakers at that Conference, if it should ever take place.

Whatever judgment may be formed as to the character and influence of the Conference of the Methodist Churches held at Washington, to read this massive volume will be necessary for those who are interested in tracing the history and development of the most numerous and extensive family of Protestant Churches in the world.

A Manual of Instruction and Advice for Class Leaders. By the Rev. JOHN S. SIMON. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. *2s.*

This manual for class leaders has been prepared by order of the Wesleyan Conference. Mr. Simon's extensive and minute studies in Methodist origines marked him out as ideally qualified for dealing with such a subject. He has produced a volume which ought to be in the hands of every Methodist leader and member. He divides his book into eight chapters. After a clear historical account of the rise of the Methodist class, he proceeds to consider the character of its first leaders. They were men who sympathised with Wesley in his spiritual aims, possessed much spiritual life and force themselves, and were able to lead others. The secret of leadership was a rare combination of qualities, among which were trustworthiness, tact, insight, skill in reproving, and the art of peace-making. Mr. Simon is quite at home in his comments on the Rules of the Society, and very happy in his answer to Dr. Dale's criticism that "the Revival had no ethical originality." The relation between the class meeting and the Methodist Church is fully set forth, and Mr. Simon is careful to explain that meeting in class is not the condition of membership in the Methodist Society. Nevertheless, Mr. Wesley was strict in enforcing attendance in all ordinary cases. He wrote to Benson: "Our

rule is, to meet a class once a week, not once in two or three. I now give you warning, I will give tickets to none in February but those that have done this." The chapters on the modern class and class meeting are full of good suggestions, and the two final discussions on finance and on the leaders' meeting ought to be mastered by all Methodist people. The book is brightly written, with not a few amusing bits of history interwoven. It is full of hints which a wise leader will know how to turn to good account. The compendium of later regulations of Conference relating to administration and discipline, in which Mr. Simon has had the efficient help of the Rev. C. E. Wansbrough, is a valuable part of this admirable manual.

Life's Golden Thread. Lectures by the Rev. F. J. SHARR. With Biographical Illustrations. London: C. H. Kelly. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The biographical introduction prefixed to this volume will recall many happy memories to the lecturer's friends, and will at once arouse the interest of those who had not the pleasure of knowing one of the finest spirited and ablest men in the Methodist ministry. Francis J. Sharr's life is really a notable illustration of his well-known lecture, "The Materials of which Men are Made." To see the Norfolk lad emerging from a village farmhouse, conquering every difficulty caused by his lack of early education, and becoming one of the best preachers and lecturers in Methodism is a very impressive study. His anonymous biographer tells the story briefly, but with much force and sympathetic insight. Mr. Sharr owed everything to village Methodism, and right nobly did he repay the debt. His lectures are full of high Christian thinking. "The Materials of which Men are Made" reads like another chapter of Samuel Smiles' "Self-Help." The string of illustrations which bring out the power of industry, perseverance, patience, and the specimens of worthy living which are brought forth from the factory, cannot fail to encourage young people to cultivate true manliness. We have been surprised at the amount of solid and valuable information on ecclesiastical history which is packed into "An Evening with the Church Fathers." Mr. Sharr has a keen eye for the picturesque, and this lecture must have opened a new field of study before many an audience to which it was delivered. "An Evening with the Saints" is perhaps still more fascinating. "Success, and How to Win it," is a lecture which, like the first in the volume, will be of great service to the young. "God in History" is filled with facts about Divine Providence. All the lectures, indeed, are laden with instruction. Mr. Sharr delighted his hearers; but he did more: he gave them food for thought, tempted them into new fields of study, and stimulated them to seek the highest Christian manliness. The volume is a splendid vindication of the men who took the raw Norfolk lad by the hand, and shaped him into a powerful witness for all that was true and best.

The Supernatural. By LIONEL A. WEATHERBY, M.D. With Chapter on Oriental Magic, Spiritualism, and Theosophy, by J. N. MASKELYNE. Bristol: J. W. Arrowsmith. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This book will be a rare treasure for all who wish to investigate the tempting subjects with which it deals. Dr. Weatherby has gathered together a capital collection of dreams and ghost stories. He gives a clear outline of the leading divisions of mental philosophy which serves as a basis for his "Sane Sense Deceptions." There is also a good chapter on "Insane Sense Deceptions," which contains some curious facts. With some of the writer's positions we cannot agree, but he has supplied much material for students of the supernatural. The special feature of the book is the three chapters contributed by Mr. Maskelyne. The halo of romance which surrounds Oriental jugglery vanishes under his searching investigation. The basket trick and the mango trick are explained as only Mr. Maskelyne could explain them. They prove to be very simple matters after all. The jugglers are "not the mighty magicians of romance, but poor, degraded beings struggling for a precarious livelihood." A few rupees will make them explain their trick readily enough. The vaunted wonders of the East "are found to resolve themselves into two or three barefaced impostures which, judged by occidental standards, cannot even be dignified with the name of illusions." Still more interest gathers round the exposure of "Modern Spiritualism." Mr. Maskelyne goes so far as to say that "there does not exist, and there never has existed, a professed 'medium' of any note who has not been convicted of trickery or fraud." He gives many episodes from this "old story retold—the story of duplicity feeding upon folly." David Home was no vulgar medium accepting fees for admission to his performances, but he never refused "a diamond worth ten times the amount he would have received in cash, or some other present, which the host of the house at which he happened to be manifesting always felt constrained to offer." The claims of the Davenport Brothers, of Miss Fay the American spiritualist, of Dr Slade—whose tricks Mr. Maskelyne performed in the witness-box at Bow Street—and of other well-known mediums, are here shown up by an expert. The tricks of table-turning, thought-reading, and spirit photography are cleverly exposed. An appendix, which arrived too late for insertion in the first edition, is printed separately. It shows how the "Magnetic Lady's" feats are really performed by taking advantage of the "centre of gravity." On Madame Blavatsky and her career Mr. Maskelyne has some things to say which cannot be palatable for the Theosophists. He quotes Miss Mabel Collins' verdict, and does not hesitate to express his opinion that Madame Blavatsky's photograph shows that "she had every appearance of being a gross, sensual, and vulgar adventuress."

Works of Heinrich Heine. Germany. Translated from the German by CHARLES GODFREY LELAND (Hans Breitmann). In two vols. London: W. Heinemann. 1892. 10*s.*

Mr. Leland's preface to these volumes is eminently plain-spoken. Heine's *Germany*, he says, "is from beginning to end replete with deep and original thoughts of the kind from which entire books or essays can be made," and written in such brilliant style that one might fancy the writer's aim was to amuse rather than to instruct. His work is a masterly summary of the causes of the development of the German intellect in every phase. But there is a manifest lack of well-balanced judgment, and a childish jealousy, which led Heine to present certain characters, like August Wilhelm von Schlegel, in such a way that "we know not whether they are drivelling idiots or debauchees with hardly a mind, or men of genius and leaders of great intellectual movements." Heine's erudition was often very slender, even where he sought to appear learned. Yet, with all its grave faults, his *Germany* is a book to be read and enjoyed. This is the first complete edition. Entire pages are given in the work as it appeared in German which are not found in the French copies; occasionally it is *vice versâ*. Mr. Leland has carefully compared them, and produced an edition for which he deserves the best thanks of all students. The volumes are very neat and well printed.

Within an Hour of London Town. Among Wild Birds and their Haunts. By "A Son of the Marshes." Edited by J. A. OWEN. London: Blackwood & Sons, 1892. 6*s.*

This series of Nature studies will be eagerly welcomed by those who have learned to prize the work of our nameless "Son of the Marshes." The present papers reveal that loving sympathy with every mood of country life, that intimate knowledge of the habits of bird, fish, and living creatures of every kind, which have made his earlier volumes treasures of natural history. The writer once thought his gun an indispensable adjunct to his studies, but the destructive spirit has long since left him. Gun and fishing-rod have now both been laid aside. He does not anathematise sportsmen, but he has found a field-glass serve his purpose better. It is amusing to see the impression made by our naturalist's field-glass on a keeper, who regarded it as far more dangerous than his own double-barrel. "Any tool as will bring hares, rabbits, an' birds, a long spell off, right under your nose, waun't made fur nothin', you may 'pend on't." Another keeper's boy described the stranger "as a furriner or else a looneytic," who picked up feathers, made notes in a book, and had a big tame snake round his neck, to which he was chirping and whistling. These little personal touches, and the fact that the artisan-naturalist has rare skill in painting the creatures he studies, give added interest to these papers. They are the work of a true naturalist, who also

possesses rare power as a word painter, and is a reverent Christian, as well as an acute rural philosopher. Readers of his latest volume will gain many out-of-the-way bits of information. The dog-otter enjoys a rabbit, and the marten likes raspberries. The prejudice against owls is shown to be unfounded. They are really friends of the farmer, who keep down mice and other pests. The rook is another ally who is continually clearing fields and pastures from noxious insects. The writer allows, however, that finches do great mischief in gardens. We have been specially interested in the pages devoted to pets. It is quite an easy matter to break the heart of a bird if the attention and caresses to which it has been accustomed are withheld. The description of the pranks of a little owl is simply charming. The chapter on "The Farmer's Feathered Friends" is valuable as well as interesting. The paragraphs devoted to the blackbird should not be overlooked. The robin has sometimes become so tame as to sit on the writer's shoe and share his meal while he was out naturalising. "Fowlers and Fowling" gathers together the recollections of happy days spent in this "the very cream of sport." The volume is one that every lover of Nature will delight to study again and again.

The Old and the New English Country Life. By T. E. KEBBEL, M.A. London: Blackwood & Sons. 1891. 5*s*.

Mr. Kebbel's pictures of the older generation of clergy, farmers, country gentlemen, and labourers, are the outcome of long personal familiarity with all four classes. For thirty years he enjoyed special facilities for studying their habits, characters, and ideas, and though he is no longer a dweller in the country, he has kept in touch with rural life by frequent visits to the old scenes. The pages devoted to the clergy contain some amusing incidents. They and the better class of tenant farmers have changed more than the squire. The average gentleman, with an income of four or five thousand a year, is to-day pretty nearly what he has been any time since the accession of Queen Victoria. But the parson no longer feels that he is part of a system. The village used to be regarded as a miniature of the State. The clergy had no undue anxiety about public opinion, and were therefore more natural, more entirely at their ease, than now. Mr. Kebbel paints the portrait of one of these old parsons, who never had a pair of trousers in his life, and never wore a boot for forty years. One clergyman always wore his full suit of black when serving the pigs or bringing fodder on a pitchfork to the cattle. It was amusing to find that this farming parson preached abstruse and casuistical sermons devoted to niceties of theology. Mr. Kebbel's defence of the country clergyman from his calumniators is spirited and well-timed. The squires have been foremost in all good work for the labourer—allotments, co-operative farms, improved cottages, school charities, and recreations. In ninety-nine cases out of every hundred they have pared their rent-roll to the quick, and the labourer knows it. Old Master Woollem is an interesting type of the tenant farmer. When his son ventured out with the hounds it seemed to him as though the skies

had fallen. In one of his fits of depression Woollem's youngest daughter, a nice-looking girl of nineteen, tucked up her sleeves and scrubbed the kitchen floor till her arms ached. The old man felt that all was not lost when a girl of the period could stoop to such a task. Mr. Kebbel's delightful studies are not merely intended for lovers of the olden times; they are full of wise suggestions as to the present position of agricultural life.

The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792–1892. Contributors: W. J. HENDERSON, B.A., S. VINCENT, R. GLOVER, D.D., E. MEDLEY, B.A., D. J. EAST, W. LANDELS, D.D., J. CLIFFORD, D.D., and E. B. UNDERHILL, LL.D. Editor, JOHN BROWN MYERS. London: Baptist Mission House. 1892. *2s.*

It was a happy thought to publish this review of a century of toil on the eve of the great celebrations at Nottingham, Leicester, and Kettering. William Carey won for his communion a foremost place in the evangelisation of the world, and no pages of this volume can compare in interest with those which record the growth of his passion for the heathen, and chronicle his early struggles and subsequent triumphs in the East. His whole life is indeed a series of providences. That the village shoemaker should have lived to become professor in a college founded by the East India Company for the training of younger members of the Civil Service, and this on the nomination of a Governor-General and with a salary of £1800 a year, is certainly part of the romance of missions. The Company having deliberately expressed its conviction "that the conversion of fifty or a hundred thousand natives of any degree of character would be the most serious disaster that could happen," and having forbidden Carey and his friends to pursue their work in its domain, actually appointed to high office the man whose life was swayed by a consuming passion for the conversion of India, who translated the Bible into the vernacular of Bengal, and himself contributed £60,000 for the spread of Christian truth. Dr. Underhill tells the story of the translation work done by Carey, his colleagues and successors; Mr. Vincent deals with their mission work in India. The fault of this section of the book is that it treats too exclusively of the past, and does not enable us, save from bare statistics, to estimate the effort which the Society is making in the India of to-day. As to China, India, and Italy, we learn more details as to the present position of the work. If some parts of the volume had been condensed, it would have been easy to give us a bird's-eye view of its Indian Missions to-day. The Society's income is now £72,729. India is its chief field; but it is doing good work in China, and its Congo mission is very promising. The volume, with its maps, illustrations, and statistics, will be profoundly interesting to all lovers of missions, and cannot fail to stimulate the Baptist Churches to still greater efforts.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May 15).—M. E. Maria la Meslée deals with "The Social and Political Condition of British Australasia: An Australian Statesman, Sir Harry Parkes, and the Federation of the Australian Colonies." He draws attention to the unique position occupied by the Australian continent on the map of the globe. It stands as an advanced sentinel in the great world of waters which covers three-quarters of the surface of the globe. It separates three oceans, and is only linked to the rest of the world by a chain of great volcanic isles, forming a barrier beyond which the unadventurous races of Southern Asia never ventured to establish themselves. The Malays and Chinese knew of the existence of a great southern land from the most remote antiquity, because they have left evident traces of their passage in the midst of the tribes of the north-west, and on the sides of the Gulf of Carpentaria. But their influence never reached beyond the sea-coast. If they ever ventured into the interior, the arid aspect and the desolate wastes, covered with that monotonous vegetation which is characteristic of such lands, led them, as soon as their pearl and other fishing was over, to return to their own islands, where Nature had been so prodigal of beauty. It was not till about the end of the eighteenth century that Europeans began to dream seriously of establishing themselves in Australia. That has been essentially a purely British work. It is the fruit of the labours of a democracy, intelligent and laborious, whose tendencies have been rather conservative than revolutionary, guided by men more remarkable for common-sense and calm judgment than for the more brilliant, but also more superficial qualities. The writer points out that when England gave her colonies self-government in all matters of local politics, she reserved the power to decide absolutely upon the questions of general policy affecting the interests of the empire in its relations with other Powers. Each colony constitutes, under certain reserves, an autonomous State. Imperial England is the sovereign State. The article shows that Sir Henry Parkes is one of the great figures of our Colonial Empire, standing on a par with the late Sir John Macdonald in Canada. Sir John, however, had the advantage of enjoying the fruit of his labours—presiding over the administration of a vast federation of States formerly divided, to the union of which he had powerfully contributed. Sir Henry Parkes, at the age of seventy-seven, still eagerly labours to bring into effect a scheme for consolidating the Australasian colonies. The task is more difficult of realisation than the same problem was in Canada. Sir Henry's career is part of the history of Australia from the first days of the agitation in favour of parliamentary government. He appeared on the scene when colonisation, entering on a new phase, ceased to be a philanthropic experiment for the benefit of an unfortunate class, and became a practical enterprise in the hands of free men, vigorous and energetic, who left England without thought of return to their paternal roof or the home of their ancestors, in order to seek at the antipodes the favours which fortune had denied them at home. Sprung from the ranks of the people, the son of a farmer, and himself an artisan, Sir Henry represents a remarkable type among those energetic pioneers to whom is due the creation of young communities, "which are on the eve of becoming a new nationality." The article ought to be read by all students of Australasian life.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (March 1).—M. Frommel devotes a "Contemporary Study" to Anglo-Catholicism. He describes sympathetically a service in Westminster Abbey. The religious seriousness which seizes on a visitor who enters the place is reinforced by the feeling that here is an asylum from the outside turmoil, a refuge for the sufferings and longings of the soul, a mysterious but real communion with the long succession of believing generations who, from age to age, have come to unite their voices in chanting the

same canticles, to offer the same prayers, to confess the same faith, and to strengthen themselves in the same hope. The dead past lives again in the present, the present rejoins the past. Then follows a sketch of Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle. What would the great Baptist preacher have said if he had been told that he wore "the ordinary dress of an English clergyman"? M. Frommel's sketches are intended to show the poles between which religious life and thought in England move. He is well aware that the two examples taken do not represent the extreme divergences. St. Barnabas at Oxford and Edinburgh Castle in the East End of London are the antipodes of sacerdotal ritualism on the one side, and evangelical laicism on the other. He proceeds to sketch the leaders of the Oxford school and the history of the movement itself.

(May.)—M. P. Godet sends a pleasing sketch of a society of students in French Switzerland. The University fêtes of Montpellier and Lausanne have drawn close bonds of friendship between French and Swiss students. A current of ideas and of sympathies has been opened between the youth of the two countries. The Society of Belles Lettres which M. Godet describes is far from being the most numerous of these societies. The strongest in Switzerland is that of Zofingen, which is essentially patriotic, with branches in all the universities; whilst the Society of Belles Lettres is limited to French Switzerland, and restricts itself to the study of literature. Its aim is to cultivate "l'esprit romand" among the young people of Geneva, Lausanne, and Neuchâtel. It was founded in 1806. Ten years ago M. Godet had an interview with the last survivor of its founders—a pastor at Prilly, near Lausanne. Five or six youths, none of whom was older than seventeen, formed a little club for study. There was no chair in the room where they met, so that the president sat on the table. Each member had to bring his candle to the reunions, and the president opened the *séance* with prayer. Agassiz, the naturalist, and Alexander Vinet belonged to this healthy little circle. In 1824 and 1832 similar societies were formed at Geneva and Neuchâtel, which soon entered into association with the Vaudois Association, and adopted the same title. In 1845 they began to wear insignia—a green cap with red border, and a red and green ribbon. During the last thirty years a central committee has been elected to manage the *Revue des Belles-Lettres*, which is now in its twenty-first year, and to organise the yearly fête. The roll of members shows how many of the eminent men of the past half-century have belonged to the Society. For those who wish to learn how to express themselves clearly both with pen and tongue, as well as to cultivate jealous independence of character, the Society has been of great service. When a young man has passed through the gymnasium and become a student in one or other of the Faculties, his friends urge him to join some society to which they belong. But the youth has long since made his own choice. His father the pastor, his elder brother the advocate, his cousin the doctor, have been "Belletriers"—it is a tradition of the family; and then a friend of his sister has promised to embroider the device of the Society on his ribbon in letters of gold. The youth writes a letter full of respect, which is read at the weekly meeting. If he fulfils the required conditions and has reached the age of seventeen, his candidature is accepted. He has afterwards to present a trial work.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May).—Herr Reinke has an article in this Review on "The Connection between Form and Function in the Plant-world." He opens by quoting some lines from Goethe's *Metamorphoses of Plants*, which in a few light pencil strokes handle the most important problem of the science of plant life—that of comparative morphology. "All forms are similar, and none is exactly like another; thus the chain depends on a secret law, on a sacred puzzle." He shows the way to solve this puzzle in some lines, which set before our eyes the history of the plant from its seed to its blossom and fruitage. His theories correspond closely to the present standpoint of scientists. Science may come nearer to a solution of Goethe's puzzle, but the complete solution still lies far ahead. This exhaustive article will be of great interest to botanists.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1).—Signor Bonghi's article on "Woman and her Future" was read as a paper at a conference held in Verona last April. The name of the writer and the merit of the article has led the Review to depart from its custom of refusing to insert papers read at conferences. Signor Bonghi refers to Xenophon's real or imaginary conversation with Socrates on the administration of a household, dwells largely on "The Year 2000, or the Destiny of Women," which he has lately been reading, and discourses brightly on the subject of women's future *rôle* in political and social life.

MINERVA (April).—This useful Italian Review has a capital selection from the chief magazines and reviews of Europe and America. Considerable extracts are given from Mr. Massingham's articles on the great London newspapers in the *Leisure Hour*. General Booth's "Salvation Army and the Social Problem," from the *Contemporary* for March, is another of the papers dealt with in this valuable periodical, which furnishes Italian readers with a good summary of the chief questions discussed in contemporary periodical literature.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (May).—John Burroughs, the Richard Jefferies of the United States, writes a laudatory article on his master and friend, Walt Whitman, "The Poet of Democracy." He says that Whitman's "false censure has come mainly from those who had not the wit or the patience to understand him (which is true of the most of his adverse critics), and who, because he was not like other poets, denied that he was a poet at all. His true praise must be sought in his faithfulness to his own standards, in the degree in which he has spoken in the spirit of democracy, of science, and of the modern; not only spoken, but lifted and suffused these things with poetic emotion, his results bearing upon the problem of life in a helpful and stimulating way." Mr. Burroughs claims that Whitman "lifts things out of a corner, out of a class, and shows their universal relationships—shows that all things are beautiful to him who brings the spirit of beauty, that all things are divine to him or her who brings the thought of the divine, that all things are great, every one without exception, if you take enough of the picture within vision. The poems, I say, are bathed and flooded with the quality of the common people; not their crudeness and vulgarity, their half-culture, but with the commonness and nearness which they share with real things and with all open-air Nature, with hunters, travellers, soldiers, workers in all fields, and with rocks, trees, and woods. It is only in the spirit of these things that a man himself can have health, sweetness, and proportion; and only in their spirit that he can give an essentially sound judgment of a work of art, no matter what the subject of it may be." Lady Jeune discourses on "London Society." She says: "The tendency of society in England is to grow large; indeed, to become unwieldy. London has become the centre of the civilised world, and every one gravitates there; and, as it is the fashion to know every one and go everywhere, the struggle to accomplish this feat inevitably expands society. People have not the leisure to see their friends in a quiet, simple way as formerly, where real intellectual pleasure was always to be found in a certain number of small coteries which existed." "Luxury, ease, comfort are the watchwords of a large part of society in London, and they are undermining our society as surely and as certainly as they did that of ancient Rome. We have grown very rich, and we have a large leisured class, whose only aim and occupation is amusement, and where such exists it must demoralise and relax all social restraints." The influences are less felt among boys than girls, for public school life still develops the manhood and courage of Englishmen. But after all, society in its tone and composition is created by women. A great change is seen in the habits of English girls: "The respect for parents, the self-denial and self-abnegation, the modest reserve which used to be the characteristic of the 'English miss,' have disappeared, and in her place we have a creature, no doubt attractive and original, but not the girl of the past." "The men won't marry," is the universal cry. They can scarcely be tempted to a ball. The expense of living, and of living up to a certain position, has driven many daughters of the aristocracy to marry wealthy men of business,

and it is one of the principal causes of the democratisation that is going on so rapidly in England. Money is the idol of to-day; without it life is ugly, hard, and wearisome; and if with it the romance and poetry of existence fly away, it helps to grease the wheels of the coach, and rubs and softens down many excrescences." Lady Jeune says: "The decay of strong religious belief in some sections of English society is at last beginning to have effect in sweeping away some of the strongest restraints to which human nature can be subjected. We do not maintain that, in the great waves of passion which sweep across the lives of men and women, religion has always been an unfailing protector, but insensibly its influence controls actions and inclinations which would have been calamitous in their effect."

METHODIST REVIEW (May—June).—This is a very good number of the Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Newman's article on "Hell" is marked by sober sense and loyalty to the Bible. He quotes some words from Jonathan Edwards with the comment: "So rapid has been the return of all Christendom to original Christianity, so intense has been the light of Biblical philology upon the sacred text, and so enlarged and exalted are our ideas of the justice and love of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, that such sermons would find no tolerance now in the house of the Lord." There is a bright article on Bishop Hurst's "Indika." Seven hundred and ninety-one missionaries are at work in our Eastern Empire, who have 449,755 native Christians and 137,504 communicants under their care. Dr. Mains, of Brooklyn, writes strongly as to the unwisdom of the *Index expurgatorius* of amusements inserted in the "Discipline" by the General Conference of 1872. He urges that the forthcoming meeting of that body should cancel that section. The Rev. C. A. Caine deals with "Congregationalism *versus* our Episcopacy." "The strong and growing tendency of Methodism in the United States towards Congregationalism" is seen in the waning power of the bishops. The office is now "so restricted and narrow as to make it unworthy of comparison with the original, irresponsible, and arbitrary office filled by Asbury." The greater churches and preachers choose for themselves; the appointments to smaller places furnish a residue of employment for bishops and presiding elders. It is true that none of the great churches could have the preacher of its choice without the consent of the presiding bishop at the Annual Conference where the appointment is made. But the bishops know too well the power of such churches and the outcry there would be as to "abuse of authority" to interfere with their appointments. The writer thinks "lay representation" in the General Conference, and some of the methods lately employed in the election of bishops, may account in part for the decline of episcopal *prestige:* "The will of the laymen is largely the will of the clergy. Governors of States, millionaires, men prominent in business and political circles are those most generally favoured with position in the General Conference. These men help make bishops; they can assist in unmaking the same; so when their local church desires a certain pastor, the judgment of the bishop generally is that such a man should fill such a place." We are glad to learn that the *Methodist Review* is prospering under Dr. Mendenhall's editorship. He has introduced the symposium, shortened the main articles, got live subjects treated by able writers, and generally modernised the Review. It is now self-supporting, and for the past two years its circulation "has more than equalled the combined circulation of nine of the Church reviews and magazines in the United States."

THE CANADIAN METHODIST QUARTERLY (January).—This is the best number of the *Canadian Methodist Quarterly* that we have seen. The Rev. A. C. Bell writes forcibly on "A Professional Training for the Ministry." In 1816 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States took measures to secure a uniform and appropriate course of theological study for all her candidates. The theological schools are now superseding the old Conference system. Many of these schools have already identified themselves with city missions, and supply the smaller churches for a hundred miles round Boston, New York, and Chicago. The combination of

study and practical ministerial work is of the greatest service to future ministers and missionaries.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—Signor Castelar's papers on Columbus in the numbers for May and June are written in the best style of the great Spanish orator. He draws a graphic sketch of the famous discoverer in search of a patron. Dom John of Portugal might have yielded to his appeals had Columbus persistently held out to him the promise of immense dominions, fabulous wealth, and far-reaching empire: "But the sailor demanded two things, both incompatible with the policy of Dom John —a policy in thorough accord with his nature and his life: he claimed a rich return, which was not tasteful to the covetous king, and great power and authority, incompatible with the royal prerogative, which had risen to supreme dominion, and had become an article of faith to be accepted of all men. It was impossible to induce Dom John, who had stripped the Lusitanian nobles of a large part of their revenues, to consent to another's sharing in the profits of the territories to be discovered, and even more impossible to win from him recognition of such a perpetual governorship as Columbus asked: a co-partnership, as it were, with himself, who at such cost and by such stern means had set himself upon the backs of his nobles after a struggle so bitter that he had perforce sought aid in it from the infernal powers of crime, to ensure the unity, the integrity, and the totality of his monarchy." His unmanly attempt to snatch Columbus' laurels is denounced as it deserves: "By the detailed explanations of the project, by his frequent conferences with the discoverer, by the consultations held with the wisest men of the century, by the data collected for drawing up the report, Dom John had learned all that it was possible for him to learn; and he straightway put it into practice. He summoned the most expert among the Portuguese pilots, Pero Vazquez, the schoolfellow of Dom Henry, and in stealth and silence, with all secrecy and caution, sent him, under pretence of provisioning the Cape Verde Islands, to follow the course mapped by Columbus. Then was it clearly apparent that mechanical and superficial knowledge, mere calculation, the soldier's watchword and the king's command, could not take the place of the effort, the zeal, the research, the reasoning, and, above all, the sorrows of a true genius. The merely mechanical pilot was terrified when he became entangled in the sea of floating sargasso, whose rank growth clung to the keels and checked his progress; he was more terrified when struck by tempest and hurricane, and yet more on sailing and sailing, day after day, without sighting land; and in his terror he put about, steering homeward to Portugal, and excusing his failure by exaggerating the peril. The secret became known. As soon as Columbus knew of it, his indignation, only comparable in intensity to his protracted forbearance and the long trial of his patience, moved him to rebel and to quit Portugal." The description of the discoverer's personal appearance will also be read with interest: "Columbus was of powerful frame and large build; of majestic bearing, and dignified in gesture; on the whole well-formed; of middle height, inclining to tallness; his arms sinewy and bronzed like wave-beaten oars; his nerves high-strung and sensitive, quickly responsive to all emotions; his neck large, and his shoulders broad; his face rather long, and his nose aquiline; his complexion fair, even inclining to redness, and somewhat disfigured by freckles; his gaze piercing, and his eyes clear; his brow high and calm, furrowed with the deep workings of thought. In the Life written by his son Ferdinand we are told that Columbus not only sketched most marvellously, but was so skilful a penman that he was able to earn a living by engrossing and copying. In his private notes he said that every good map-draftsman ought to be a good painter as well, and he himself was such in his maps and globes and charts, over which are scattered all sorts of cleverly drawn figures. He never penned a letter or began a chapter without setting at its head this devout invocation: '*Jesus cum Maria sit nobis in via.*' Besides his practical studies he devoted himself to astronomical and geometrical researches. Thus he was enabled to teach mathematics with which, as with all the advanced knowledge of his time, he

was conversant, and he could recite the prayers and services of the Church like any priest before the altar."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—Mrs. Ritchie's delightful paper on "Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning," in *Harper* for May, gives many personal impressions and reminiscences which lovers of the two poets will enjoy. She dwells in her opening paragraph on the way in which the children of eminent people "know their parents' friends and contemporaries, the remarkable men and women who are the makers of the age, quite naturally, and without excitement. . . . . My own experience certainly is this. The friends existed first, then, long afterwards, they became to me the notabilities, the interesting people as well; and these two impressions were oddly combined in my mind." The glimpses given of the Brownings' home life and friendships are charming. Mrs. Ritchie once called with her children at De Vere Gardens to see Browning. Some ladies were waiting in the dining-room; members of the Browning Society were in possession of the drawing-room. The poet himself was in his study with some Americans, who had come by appointment. Miss Browning ushered the Ritchies into her own sitting-room. Soon Browning entered, tired and hurried, though as cordial as ever. He seemed almost relieved when he found Mrs. Ritchie had simply "brought the children to ask for his blessing." When the Americans were gone he took them into his study, where the carved writing-tables seemed like a milky way of letters flowing in from every direction. "You can have no conception what it is," Browning said; "I am quite tired out with writing letters by the time I begin my day's work."

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—Mr. Riis, whose book on New York Tenements we dealt with in a main article last April, has a paper on "The Children of the Poor," in *Scribner* for May, which is full of pathetic incidents, the outcome of years spent in the slums. In ten years the homelessness of New York streets "has decreased nearly one-fifth; and of the Topsy element, it may be set down as a fact, there is an end." Yet this does not mark a corresponding advance in the general lot of the poor. It is due mainly to the perfection of organised charitable effort. The general situation is not perceptibly improved. The vitality of the social fabric of America is not only maintained, but strengthened as greater claims are made upon it by the influx of foreign races. "Fresh problems are presented, fresh troubles foreshadowed, fresh prejudices aroused, only to receive in their turn the same orderly, logical, and simple solution that discovers all alarm to have been groundless." It is pleasing to learn how eager the illiterate Italian is to secure an education for his children. "In his case, at all events, the seed thus sown bears some fruit in the present as well as in the coming generation of toilers. The little ones, with their new ideals and new ambitions, become in a very real sense missionaries of the slums. Their work of regeneration begins with their parents. They are continually fetched away from school by the mother or father to act as interpreters or go-betweens in all the affairs of daily life, to be conscientiously returned within the hour stipulated by the teacher, who offers no objection to this sort of interruption, knowing it to be the best condition of her own success." Some touching stories are told of the devotion of these slum children to each other. We hope Mr. Riis' paper will be widely read. This number of *Scribner* is perhaps the best that has yet appeared.

ST. NICHOLAS (April, May, June).—"The Lonely Lighthouse" is a good description of the beacon on "Long Island Sound." There is also a sketch of Cabeza de Vaca, the first American traveller. He was the earliest European who really penetrated the "Dark Continent" of North America, "by centuries the first *to cross* the continent. His nine years of wandering on foot, unarmed, naked, starving, among wild beasts and wilder men, with no more company than three as ill-fated comrades, gave the world its first glimpse of the United States inland, and led to some of the most stirring and important achievements connected with its early history." The story of this heroic Spaniard is brightly told.

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