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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1893.

ART I.—THE GREAT ENIGMA AND ITS ANSWER.

1. *The Great Enigma.* By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY. John Murray. 1892.
2. *Enigmas of Life.* By W. R. GREG. Eighteenth Edition. Kegan Paul & Co. 1891.
3. *The Gospel of Life.* By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham. Macmillan & Co. 1892.

HEINRICH HEINE, in his striking poem *Die Nord-See*, represents a young man standing on the sea-shore, calling in vain to Nature around to solve for him the riddle of Life. *Das qualvoll ur-alte Räthsel* haunts him—the old, old riddle, so fraught with pain and torment. "What is the meaning of man's life, whence comes he, whither is he going, and Who dwells up above there, among the golden stars?" he asks in vain the waves, the wind, the clouds, the stars; and with the echoes of these questions in his ears the poet characteristically adds *Und ein Narr wartet auf Antwort*—"Only a fool awaits an answer." It is quite true that the majority of mankind do not wait for an answer, and but seldom ask the question. Perhaps they are to be envied rather than blamed. To perform the duties of the day without asking why they are duties, or what they will lead to on the morrow; to take life as it is without perplexing inquiries as to how? and why? and

to what end? To "take short views," as Sydney Smith advised, and shallow views, as the unintended but inevitable consequence—this forms an easy, comfortable, and it may prove to be a by no means ineffective working philosophy. Happy, and not of necessity foolish or careless, they

> "Whose minds have never bent to scrutinise
> Into the maddening riddle of the Root—
> Shell within shell—dream folded over dream."

To many, however, the butterfly view of life is impossible. The Sphinx presses them with questions to which they feel bound to find answers for themselves. In some moods it seems easy to find a satisfactory solution of the problems of life, in others impossible. A man who is constantly peering into darkness, faintly illumined here and there, will often be bewildered and hardly know what he does or does not see. In the striking *Reminiscences of Lord Tennyson*, published by Mr. Knowles in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, the poet is said to have "formulated once and quite deliberately his own religious creed in these words: '*There is a Something that watches over us: and our individuality endures. That's my faith, and that's all my faith.*' This he said with such a calm emphasis that I wrote it down, with the date, exactly and at once.*" But the very paper from which we have quoted this dictum shows what Tennyson's poems at large illustrate, and our knowledge of our own nature would teach us, that such separate utterances are not to be hastily taken as the deliberate enunciation of a permanent creed. They are the expression of a mood, perhaps a recurring mood—no more. They are the utterance of one who is tormented by the Great Enigma, and who does not believe that only a fool expects an answer to it. For, on another occasion, "to one who said, 'My dearest object in life, when at my best, is to leave the world, by however little, better than I found it—what is yours?' He answered, '*My greatest wish is to have a clearer vision of God.*'"

In the generation in which our lot is cast the number of those who despair of an answer to the deepest questions concerning the meaning of life is increasingly great. The current

* *Nineteenth Century*, January 1893, p. 169.

answers of the Christian religion have, for one reason or another, failed to satisfy many. Some think those answers insufficient, others incredible, others too good to be true. Some would accept them if they could, others care little about the matter, others reject them—or what they think to be Christian solutions—with something of a passionate scorn. Mr. W. R. Greg's *Enigmas of Life*, originally published in 1872, has passed through eighteen editions, and few, we suppose, will deny that the large sale of *Robert Elsmere* was due, not mainly to its undoubted ability, but to its characteristic handling of the question, Is current Christianity a true and satisfactory solution of the deep problems of life? It is not that ours is a peculiarly sceptical age. The positive teaching of scepticism, such as there is, finds little favour. Mrs. Humphry Ward has few disciples. Mr. Frederic Harrison delivers his New Year oration to a handful of undistinguished followers in Fetter Lane. When Mr. Robert Buchanan raves against the Christian religion as a gigantic failure, we do not find that he has anything better to propound, and the interest excited by his diatribes indicates the number, not of those who deny, but of those who question, the sufficiency of the Christian answer to the perennial riddle of life. The time seems far away when it was a matter of course in well-trained, intelligent families to put the first question of the *Shorter Catechism*: "What is the chief end of man?" and to receive the unhesitating answer: "The chief end of man is to glorify God, and to enjoy him for ever."

We cannot be surprised, therefore, when Mr. W. S. Lilly, whose ability as a fresh and vigorous writer in periodical literature is well known, finds it worth his while to address an *argumentum ad hominem* to a class of readers outside the Christian pale, and enter into "an enquiry, from their point of view, into the tenableness of the religion which for more than a thousand years has supplied the foremost nations of the world with an answer to the Great Enigma of human existence." He writes for those "who find themselves unable to employ the old theological symbols." Himself a devout Roman Catholic, he uses none of the arguments characteristic of his own Church. Neither does he for the most part plead as a Christian. He

goes somewhat out of his way to pay a not undeserved compliment to the Church of England, echoing Newman's description of it as "a serviceable breakwater" against impiety and infidelity in this country. He equally strains a point here and there to utter an unworthy sneer against Nonconformists, the "brotherhood of Chadband and Stiggins," as he calls them; a vulgarity which shows that even Mr. Lilly's omniscience does not include any real acquaintance with English Nonconformity, representing, as it does, and not unworthily, fully half of the religious life of this country. But Mr. Lilly, for the most part, has nothing to say concerning questions which divide Christians as such, and only in the last few pages of his book does he touch in general terms upon the Christian answer to the great questions propounded. He is mainly concerned with canvassing the claims of certain other answers, alternatives of greater or less plausibility, which some wise men of the day prefer to Christianity. He rapidly reviews Atheism, Agnosticism, critical and scientific, and unfolds the scope of Rational Theism and Mysticism, before approaching what he calls "the Christian Synthesis." This rapid survey of great questions has much to recommend it. While it must necessarily be superficial, it gives a bird's-eye view of alternative theories which places the contrast between them and their several claims on our credence in the strongest light. Mr. Lilly's pen is facile and dexterous. He knows how to touch important topics lightly, but not triflingly. His arguments are not too ponderous, while they are sufficiently thoughtful and thorough. His pages are brightened with numerous quotations, drawn from the most various sources, and his own sentences are crisp and epigrammatic enough to lose little by comparison. In days when quite as much depends upon the literary skill and force with which an argument is presented as upon its own intrinsic weight, it may be hoped that Mr. Lilly's volume will find an audience which would not listen to the pleadings of professional orthodoxy. Both orthodox and heterodox, however, may enjoy and profit by this timely discussion of themes which never lose their interest or importance.

Mr. Lilly's point of view is metaphysical. He does not enter upon the riddle of life as it presents itself to most people,

who take for granted the existence of a God, but ask in vain for the meaning of pain and sorrow, who are perplexed by the apparent triumph of evil, whose hearts are sore with a *Weltschmerz* that cannot be assuaged. The continued popularity of Mr. W. R. Greg's books shows that he, at least, could put his finger upon the ache, which is something, and to touch it delicately and with sympathy and insight is next best to a cure. His book is too well known to need description here. His point of view is sufficiently indicated by his frank statement of certain patent and pressing enigmas, and his refusal to "stimulate content with official answers at once inadequate and consciously untrue." As to the rest:

"Of the dark riddles and incomprehensible anomalies and strange perplexities of which life is full, some very few we can unravel; of others, we can discern just enough to guess at the solution. The deepest and the saddest must ever remain to try our faith and to grieve our hearts. We see enough to make us believe there *is* a solution, and that that solution is such as will accord with the serene perfections of the Godhead. We have light enough to walk by, to tread the few steps that lie immediately before us; we need not then murmur, or despair, or doubt, because we cannot see our way through the thick forest, and to the end of the long journey. Soldiers must often be content to fight their appointed battle without insisting on understanding the whole plan of the campaign." (Pp. 208, 209.)

To the Christian philosopher life is not an enigma, but a gospel. Mr. Greg's book is a long pathetic wail, touching the heart with sympathetic tremors; but Bishop Westcott strikes a nobler lyre, with more assured touch, and to a more manly, stirring strain. Not that he does not perceive the existence of unanswered questions, which a man must be dull as the dumb, driven cattle if he has not asked himself again and again. The Bishop of Durham is no superficial optimist, any more than he is a "light half-believer of a casual creed," or a mere professional advocate of a doctrine he is bound by his position to maintain. It is impossible to read many pages of his writings without perceiving that he knows well enough that "other side" without a full and sympathetic knowledge of which it is of little use for a man to preach Christianity to certain classes to-day. The first chapter in this—his latest and in some respects his finest work—is entitled

"The Problems of Life." That is where he begins, as one who knows he will thus best gain a hearing, best meet the wistful, half-unconscious gropings, the "obstinate questionings," the "blank misgivings," which he is specially desirous to meet and satisfy. He urges next the pressing need of dealing with these problems, instead of indulging in the easy and cowardly policy of giving them the go-by, sketching out with great skill the conditions under which a solution of them must be sought. Bishop Westcott then passes in review within brief compass, as only a master of the subject can, the solutions offered by pre-Christian nations, and thus prepares the way for a statement of the claims of Christianity to do what others have failed in attempting. This bald outline gives no idea of the combined delicacy and force of the Bishop's presentation of his case. But it would be difficult, within the compass of a few pages, to give a statement more clearly and convincingly of the claims of Christianity to furnish a sufficient and satisfying answer to "the great enigma" than is furnished in the last two chapters of *The Gospel of Life*.

It is not the object of the present article to review all or any of these books. We do not propose to give a full account of Mr. Lilly's polemic against Mr. Herbert Spencer, or to point out Mr. W. R. Greg's unconscious misrepresentations of Christianity, or to discuss the adequacy of the description of Buddhism or Zoroastrianism given by the Bishop of Durham. The placing of the three books together speaks for itself. Each is a significant sign of the times in which we live, and no thoughtful man can read them singly, or in connection with one another, without finding his mind teem with suggestive thoughts, for many of which he probably could hardly find utterance. We propose only to show how strong an argument for the truth of the Christian religion may be sketched out, only on the lines of its superior ability to grapple with the problems and solve the enigmas of human life.

The theories of the universe, other than Theism and Christianity, which profess to answer the momentous questions: "What am I? Whence am I? And for what end found here? What is the meaning of human life, and what are the means by which the true meaning of life is to be realised?" are

numerous enough. Yet in practice, and for the purposes of argument, they may be reduced to very few. Mr. Lilly says that in ultimate analysis they are two—Atheism and Agnosticism, and one might add without exaggeration that in certain aspects these two are one. Positivism, Materialism, Pessimism, Secularism are distinct enough as forms of thought, and it would be altogether unfair for the historian of opinion to identify them. Yet, as theories of the universe and in their practical results, they have so much in common that Mr. Lilly is justified in not giving to them separate consideration. It is not so clear, however, at first that this is the case with Pantheism. This most subtle of antitheistic theories, the "Proteus of beliefs," has fascinated deep thinkers like Spinoza and light-hearted sceptics like Renan in the West; while in the East it has formed the basis of the creed of millions for long centuries together. The ground on which Mr. Lilly declines to give it separate consideration are the following:

"What is often called Pantheism is merely the presentation—the one-sided presentation, it may be—of the great Theistic verity, too often ignored, upon which Plato insisted when he taught the men of Athens, 'all things are full of divinity, full of soul,' which St. Paul recalled to them when he declared on Areopagus, 'In Him we live and move and have our being' . . . Pantheism . . . will be found rather a term than a terminus of human thought, its ultimate resolution being the cancellation of the Theistic idea. . . . To deify the totality of things is to annihilate Deity, for it empties the Divine Noumenon of the elements of personality and morality; while it is no answer to the great enigma wherewith we are concerned. To call the world God, as Schopenhauer has well observed, is not to explain it; it remains a riddle under the one name, as under the other" (pp. 29, 30).

The position taken up accordingly is that in good logic there are only two answers, besides Theism, to the great enigma—Atheism and Agnosticism. By Atheism is meant the dogmatic denial of God; and by Agnosticism, the mental attitude of doubt, suspense of judgment, or nescience concerning Him. Agnosticism may be either Critical or Negative; the former "maintains that we cannot know whether or no a Divine Noumenon exists," the latter "asserts His existence, but denies that He can be known." We are far from denying the reality or importance of these distinctions. A wide gulf

separates M. Monteil, whose *Catéchisme de Libre-Penseur* is chosen by Mr. Lilly as a typical representation of dogmatic Atheism, from Mr. Herbert Spencer; who represents scientific Agnosticism. Yet it would not be unfair for the purposes of practical comparison to class them together, on the ground that in effect the man who categorically denies there is a God is not so very far removed from the man who allows that there may be, or thinks that there is one, but who asserts in the same breath that no man can know anything whatever about Him. And for another reason we might be justified in disregarding the (theoretically important) distinction between the Agnostic and the dogmatic Atheist—viz., that the former shade of belief is now the one adopted by an immensely large proportion, in this country at least, of thinkers who decline to accept Theism. Agnosticism is a convenient philosophical loose-cloak which covers all kinds of heterogeneous garments of belief worn underneath it; it is a wide, open tent, under which a multitude of curiously assorted thinkers gather to shelter themselves from storms and showers. It commits to so little—it relieves of so much. To say that there is, or there may be, an inscrutable Power behind all phenomena, provided at the same time it be stipulated that we cannot possibly predicate anything concerning It, and that no man by any searching can find out anything more than It exists—if indeed It does exist—is not drawing very largely upon the bank of philosophy or dogma, and forms a creed which certainly does not pledge its holder to any alarmingly definite views of the constitution of the universe.

As an answer to the Great Enigma it is as candid and complete an acknowledgment of failure as one can well conceive. And yet, for one reason or another, it forms to-day the chief alternative to Christian Theism. Most of the thinkers of the Western world who deal with these great questions of fundamental speculation are either Theists (mainly Christian) or Agnostics; in other words, most men who have paid attention to the subject in our Western thought either accept the Theistic solution of the riddle of life, or give it up altogether. That is an instructive little story told by Dr. Martineau in the preface to his *Study of Religion* concerning a certain address of Pro-

fessor Fiske of Harvard on the Destiny of Man. An English friend listened to a report of the address with all patience till it appeared that the Professor found in the psychical evolution of man an intimation of individual immortality. *Then* he broke in with the exclamation, "What? John Fiske say that? Well, it only proves what I have always maintained, that you cannot make the slightest concession to metaphysics without ending in a theology!" This is equivalent, as Dr. Martineau immediately points out, to the naïve confession, "If once you allow yourself to think about the origin and the end of things, you will have to believe in a God and immortality." Or, as for our purpose we might put it, the only way of dealing with the Great Enigma is to accept the Theistic solution, or give it up as insoluble.

It must not be thought from this very "short and easy method" of dealing with a perennial problem that we have any desire to beg the question in favour of Theism or Christianity. The points at issue must be carefully argued out at the proper time and place. We only think ourselves entitled to point out the tendency there is towards simplification of the issues when we look not at theory, but at practice; and we are justified in drawing a moral from the rapid spread of Agnosticism —the very name of which is hardly thirty years old—and concluding that this particular method of asserting that "l'idée de Dieu manque d'actualité" may, without unfairness, be taken as *the* alternative to the theistic theory of the origin and history of the universe. Dogmatic atheism is often best encountered by an unvarnished statement of its creed. Mr. Lilly rightly says that for the most typical examples of it in our day we must go to France, and he chooses, to illustrate the character of such atheism, a certain catechism which forms a very useful *reductio ad absurdum* of atheistic dogmatism. A specimen or two must suffice, abbreviated in quotation:

"What is God?—God is an expression. What is the exact value of this expression?—Nature. What definition can you give of Nature?—It is the material world, and *all* is matter. . . . . Do you believe in a Supreme Being?—I only believe what my reason permits me to believe, and my reason refuses to admit the principle of the government of Nature by any being whatsoever. I am persuaded that Nature always has been, is, and always will be, repub-

lican, and consequently well fitted to govern herself. . . . . There is no first cause, then?—No; for all that we cannot prove scientifically has no existence, and may be denied until proof of the contrary. . . . . Again, God is a spectre invented by priests to frighten timid minds, in order that these latter may cast themselves into their arms and endure more easily their domination." (Pp. 45–48.)

No wonder that men prefer to this blasphemous nonsense the modest creed which says, "I do not know." M. Renan is classed by Mr. Lilly with those who take shelter under the Agnostic cloak—Renan, who set himself to smile away Christianity, to whom Jesus Christ is a charming dreamer, and whose favourite attitude in religious argument is that of a genial *badinage*. Renan, who, as Mr. Lilly puts it, may be considered to have spoken for himself in the words of Ganeo in the *Prêtre de Némi*: "Jouissons, mon pauvre ami, du monde tel qu'il s'est fait. Ce n'est pas une œuvre sérieuse; c'est une farce, l'œuvre d'un demiurge jovial. La gaieté est la seule théologie de cette grande farce." Not take the world and life seriously! One seems to hear thundering down on such contemptible trifling the indignant rebuke of a book which, if it come far short of Christianity, or even of Judaism, yet has moral seriousness enough to scorn "philosophers" like Renan. It is in the Koran that we read, "God said, Heaven and earth and all between them, think ye they were created in jest, and that all shall not return to ME?" It is not a great triumph of the highest civilisation of Paris, the flower of modern civilisation, if its contribution to the solution of the Great Enigma is to meet it—with a laugh!

But men who stand at the very antipodes from M. Renan in the seriousness with which they look out upon life, are found repeating a similar creed to his concerning the impossibility of answering the questions, Why? Whence? and Whither? Mr. Herbert Spencer lays it down as the foundation-stone of his philosophy that "the Power which the universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable." Or, as Mr. Lilly quite fairly puts it:

"Mr. Spencer's theory may be shortly and accurately described as an attempt to find the solution of the problem of the universe in a sole law—the persistence of force under multiform transformations. Physical forces, vital forces, mental forces, social forces, are all only

different manifestations of the self-same force. Cosmology, biology, psychology, sociology, ethics—all are to be explained by the persistence, under various modifications, of that manifestation of The Unknowable. Nature is merely a vast sphere, in which it works eternally, bringing to life, bringing to death, integrating and disintegrating everywhere throughout what the Buddhists call 'the whirlpool of existence,' always repeating the same monotonous, never-ending process. Evolution, equilibrium, dissolution—that is the brief epitome of the career whether of a star or of a worm. The phenomena of human life, of human history, like the phenomena of astronomy, of geology, of physiology, are, in Mr. Spencer's philosophy, nothing but metamorphoses of the one dynamic principle at different stages of intensity, infinitely varied combinations of the same elements." (Pp. 125, 126.)

And this Force, this all pervasive Dynamic Principle, the one thing which abides amidst the waste and welter of worlds, is and must remain to us for ever inscrutable. Of its character, if it have one, its tendency, if there be one, we—infinitesimal and utterly insignificant atoms of being—can know nothing. Verily, if man had set himself to answer an enigma by an utterance even more enigmatical, he could hardly have posed the Sphinx herself by a more mysterious answer than this.

But Mr. W. R. Greg was a Theist and a man of fine and high type of character. He truly believed in God, and that with no abstract theoretical belief. Yet—as we hold, because he stopped short of Christianity—he too felt compelled to write in such a strain as the following:

"We must conclude that the problem of Man's Wherefore, Whence, and Whither, was meant to be insoluble. When we reflect upon the number of consummate intellects, gifted with every variety of mental endowment and rich in every moral excellence which gives clearness to the vision and depth to the spiritual intuition, who age after age have exhausted thought in fruitless efforts to discern the word of the Great Enigma, it seems idle to fancy that we can be more fortunate than they. Centuries have added scarcely one new fact to the materials on which reason has to work, nor perfected a single one of the faculties by which that work is to be done. We possess scarcely a single item of knowledge of divine or of human nature which was not as familiar to Plato and to Job as to ourselves; assuredly we have no profounder poetic insight than the one, no finer philosophic instrument than the other. What baffled them may well baffle us also." (*Enigmas of Life*, p. 208.)

We have no space to summarise, still less to describe in

detail, the arguments with which Mr. Lilly meets the contentions of modern Agnosticism, especially as represented by Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is the less necessary for us to do so, as the reasoning is avowedly negative in character, Mr. Lilly's aim being merely to prove that "there is nothing irrational, and therefore immoral, in accepting the Christian synthesis as affording the best answer to the great enigma." This seems elementary work enough, as if it should be hardly needful in this year of grace to establish the position that there is nothing fundamentally "irrational, and therefore immoral," in being a Christian. It is, however, unfortunately necessary that it should be done, and though Mr. Spencer's weaknesses and inconsistencies as a philosopher have been pointed out often enough before, it is perhaps well that Mr. Lilly should do the same again in a work which is more likely to reach the class for whom he specially writes, than a formal theological treatise. The fundamental error lies in Mr. Spencer's theory of the Relativity of Knowledge. Once accept that and the Unknowability of the supreme object of knowledge follows readily enough. But Mr. Lilly's arguments, able as they are, carry us but a little way, and by no means present the case for Christianity as it is desirable it should be presented. Moreover, the brief description of the Christian religion given in a few closing pages of his book is meagre and inadequate. It is no doubt difficult to summarise the teaching of Christianity in brief compass, but we take leave to doubt whether "the baptismal formula, the acceptance of which has from the first been required as a condition of admission into the Christian society," is the best for the purpose. Further, Mr. Lilly's exposition reads to us cold and unattractive, and it fails altogether to set forth the claims of Christianity upon the allegiance of men founded upon its ability (within certain recognised limits) to solve the Great Enigma. It was quite open to Mr. Lilly to choose his subject, and to confine himself to clearing the ground and preparing the way for a positive exposition of Christian truth. But the apologist who deliberately confines himself to negatives is likely to fail where he most desires to succeed, and the very title of Mr. Lilly's book leads us to expect a more satis-

factory answer to the riddle of human life than he attempts to give.

The essential failure of Agnosticism as a creed cannot be shown by the cleverest dialectic. To the greater number of its professed adherents it is not a creed, but a refuge—a *dernier ressort* of perplexed inquiry and disappointed hope. When such artillery as Mr. Lilly has employed upon Mr. Spencer's philosophy has done its work, the real work of one who would win an Agnostic to a better mind is only beginning. As a matter of fact, every attempt to explain the Ultimates in human life is surrounded with its own difficulties. No demonstration of the existence of God is possible, whatever line or lines of proof we followed; objections cannot be silenced, and inexplicable difficulties, partly physical, partly metaphysical, partly moral, partly religious, remain. Round the subject of the Personality of the Divine Being—an essential point with the Theist—all kinds of controversies cluster, which cannot be ended, even by victorious argument. There remain a thousand "And yets," which are sure to make themselves heard, and to start again into activity when argument is over, like a crowd of buzzing insects when the hand which was lifted to drive them away drops again to the side. As the believer is open to be disturbed by the spectres of unbelief, so the unbeliever finds belief "shake him by fits," and keep him from resting undisturbed in his easy chair of Agnosticism:

> "Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,
> A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,
> A chorus-ending from Euripides—
> And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears,
> As old and new at once as Nature's self,
> To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
> Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring
> Round the ancient idol, on his base again:
> The grand Perhaps!"

The mystery which surrounds our lives must not induce in us either intellectual sluggishness or spiritual cowardice. It must be seen that it is a temptation, not an inspiration, to strive to banish the thought of the Mystery from our minds,

in the vain endeavour to give ourselves the more earnestly to practical duties. To seek to do so, as the Bishop of Durham has shown, is "to impoverish our whole existence." These mysteries "form the solemn background of all experience; and the exclusion of every religious theory from our view of life will not in fact make life plain and intelligible. On the contrary, the fuller apprehension of the character of the mysteries which necessarily attend our being, impels us more forcibly to seek for some solution of the practical problems which they present, for such a solution as religion claims to bring." It seems not only an easy, but a harmless way of avoiding the stings and pricks of these great life questions to say, There is no answer obtainable; *that* riddle is best given up, in order that the energy hitherto spent upon the impossible may be conserved for problems at once more manageable and more urgent. But it is a mistake, and may be a fatal one. As Bishop Westcott impressively says:

"If we turn aside from a reverent contemplation of the mysteries of life; if we refuse to throw upon them the light which we can gather; if we make no effort to realise their ennobling magnificence, because we suppose, for the most part falsely, that their grandeur has no practical significance, we leave undone that which, according to our opportunities, we are bound to do. We take to ourselves a mutilated character. We suffer one great part of ourselves to remain undisciplined, unstrengthened, unused, which (as we may reasonably believe), if not on each, yet in some larger field of being, will require for the fulfilment of its office the results of that exercise which our present conditions are fitted to supply." (*Gospel of Life*, p. 64.)

The Agnostic not only stunts his spiritual growth, but he restricts and impoverishes his practical energies even in this life. No part of our nature can be allowed to lie in atrophy without the rest suffering proportionately. The apologist of Christianity, therefore, who would do his work completely, must not rest satisfied with the intellectual demolition of scientific Agnosticism. He must press upon the man who is tempted to take refuge in it from haunting and apparently insoluble riddles, that such an attitude is indefensible, morally and spiritually as well as intellectually, and that we are bound to press forward to the solution—partial it may be at best—which is opened up for us in Christianity.

It is needful, however, from the beginning to understand why the answer of Christianity is necessarily partial, and within what limits and under what conditions the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ undertakes to contribute to the solution of the Enigma. Harm has often been done to religion by its own advocates and defenders, and not least when, through a mistaken zeal, they have undertaken more on its behalf than they have been able to carry out. Christianity has not originated either the antinomies or the evils of our present life, and it does not undertake fully to explain either. The wise Christian professes a certain "Agnosticism" of his own. He has learned the lesson of the old Rabbi: "Teach thy tongue to say, I do not know." The confident dogmatism of some Christians, who undertake to explain the nature of God, the significance of evil, the mystery of pain, and the ultimate issues of the internecine conflict between the powers of light and darkness, by repeating a few ecclesiastical formulas, is sure to produce a recoil to the other extreme. A clergyman, "an ornament of the University of Cambridge," is mentioned by Mr. Lilly as having read on one occasion the Athanasian Creed in his college chapel. When the service was over a friend said: "Now, do you really believe in the Deity about whom we have so positively asserted so much?" "Well," he replied, "perhaps there may be a Kind of a Something." It is no disparagement of the venerable theological formulary referred to to say that, as sometimes inculcated and applied, it is likely to alienate men from a real belief in the living God, and drive them to assert, with Mr. Spencer, that we can only know "a Kind of a Something," an inscrutable Power which is the cause of all phenomena, but "the essence of which escapes us."

In every department of knowledge there are conditions under which alone knowledge is obtainable, and that knowledge is compassed with limitations which belong to the very nature of the case. Nowhere is it more necessary to remember this than in theology, and it is vain to ask questions of the Christian Revelation which it does not profess to answer. Our investigations thus far have brought us to the conclusion that man cannot "by searching find out God," that we cannot obtain any adequate knowledge of Him by an examination of ourselves

or of Nature. That is the meaning of the prevalence of Agnosticism. But in approaching the Christian revelation, it must be borne in mind, as Butler urged long ago, that we cannot judge *à priori* what a revelation from God is likely to be, how much or how little it ought to contain, nor can we manipulate at will the materials of this revelation. As Butler's successor of to-day expresses it:

"We cannot command at our pleasure adequate sources of information. Experiment is capable only of rare application to the complicated phenomena of life, and it can have no place in regard to the will of an Infinite Being. If, then, we are to know God, He must in His own way make Himself known to us, and we on our part must be able to recognise and give a personal welcome to the revelation. . . . . It follows, therefore, that if a revelation be given to man, it must also come to him through life. It will be addressed, that is, to the whole man, and not to a part of man, as (for example) to the intellect or to the affections. It will, in other words, be presented in facts, and not in words only. Man will learn to know more and more of God—and this is the teaching of history and experience—not by purely intellectual processes, but by intercourse with Him, by listening to His voice, and interpreting the signs which He gives of His presence and His will." (*Gospel of Life*, pp. 78, 79.)

Such is the nature of the Christian Revelation. It is not a philosophy, not a collection of scientific laws, not a code of ethics, though Christian theology may vindicate its position as a genuine science, the truest philosophy and the fount of the purest ethics the world has ever known. But the revelation is embodied in a series of facts or of human history. This remarkable series of facts, culminating in the mission of Jesus of Nazareth, and preparing the way for a still more remarkable series of facts to follow, contains the substance of the Christian revelation, and from them emanates the light it has to shed on the riddle of human life. It by no means professes to answer all questions, solve all problems. But these facts, with the interpretation which a wise and divinely instructed Christian theology puts upon them, constitute the contribution of Christianity to the solution of the Great Enigma. The question of questions for this generation is: Is this contribution *the* solution which the foremost nations of the world have hitherto considered it to be, or is it not? "Art thou He that should come, or look we for another?"

Bishop Barry, in his recently published *Bampton Lectures*, has, we think, very truly said that the issue in this great controversy is rapidly narrowing. Biblical criticism is disposing of some of the theories hitherto held concerning the origin of Christianity as altogether untenable. He holds that there are but two alternatives possible, either the facts of Christ's Life, Death, and Resurrection, as they are recorded in the Gospels, are "a conscious legend," or they are true. Dishonest fabrication is out of the question, so also is myth or legend unconsciously fashioned round the original facts. The horns of the dilemma, he considers, are as clearly defined as they are sharp, and men must choose between them.* Without following Dr. Barry precisely in his mode of putting the question, we should be disposed to agree with him that the issues for educated men in this country are so far narrowed down that the choice lies between Agnosticism and Christianity, according to whether a man does or does not believe that the historical evidence for certain facts is sufficient to warrant a rational belief in them. It is allowed on many hands that the Christian religion contains so much that is inspiring, ennobling, and purifying, that, if true, it may well be accounted the best—indeed, the only—solution of the Great Enigma of humanity.†

The light which is shed by Christianity on the true cause of the evils and sorrows of human life, the revelation it unfolds of a God of Love, and the way in which He regards a world of sinners, the method of deliverance which Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, has Himself opened up, the lofty standard of life inculcated, and the moral dynamic afforded by Christianity, its promulgation of a Gospel of love, and the hopes it holds out of the ultimate realisation of its own high ideals—these and other features of the one truly universal religion warrant us in claiming this unique place for the Christian religion. But that we may not seem to be dogmatising in this matter, we may quote a recent utterance of one who is a philosopher, not a divine. Professor Edward Caird says in his Gifford Lectures on the *Evolution of Religion*:

* *Some Lights of Science upon the Faith*, p. 250. See also pp. 292 and 294.

† So Mr. Leslie Stephen, in his *Agnostic's Apology*, refers to Christian Theism from time to time: "Who would not be happy in accepting this belief, if he could accept it honestly?" (P. 3.)

"The infinite pitifulness of Jesus to the sorrows and evils of humanity, his absolute confidence in the possibility, and even the necessity of their being remedied, and the way in which he bases his confidence on the love of God to man, and on his own unity as man with God—these, taken together, make up a faith beyond which religion cannot go, except in two ways, viz., in the way of understanding them more adequately, and of realising them more fully." (Vol. ii. p. 320.)

True, this Divine Revelation does not answer all questions. As a matter of fact, it answers but a fraction of those which men are accustomed to ask; but it answers so many, and holds out such hopes with regard to the rest, that it may well claim to furnish an adequate solution of the riddle which so many thousands have perished in the vain effort to answer.

But is it true? It is no part of our object to enter upon the detailed discussion of that question; but if the answer to it implies historical investigation and discussion, that forms no objection to the claim of the religion to be divine in its origin, universal in its scope, and sufficient for all needs of all times. It might at first appear as if an absolute religion should transcend the limits of time, and be superior to considerations of historical evidence. It is precisely the other way. It is because Christianity is not "a cunningly devised fable," or an equally cunningly devised philosophical system, because it comes into such close vital relations with humanity, that it is not for one age, but for all time. We are all familiar with the fact that Christianity is a historical religion, but Christian teachers have not always understood the significance of the fact. Let us hear Bishop Westcott once more:

"Christianity claims to be historical, and by this claim it is distinguished from all other religions. Its teaching, its life, its essence, is a history. It was prepared by a long national development, into which the typical elements of the ancient world entered as contributary forces. It is summed up in the facts of a divine-human life. It has been, and still is being, wrought out in the slow and unreturning growth of a society. . . . . In this sense Christianity is the only historical religion. . . . . Christianity is historical, not simply or characteristically because Christ, standing out before the world at a definite time and place, proclaimed certain truths and laid down certain rules for the constitution and conduct of a society. It is historical because He offered Himself in His own person, and was

shown to be, in the events of His life, the revelation which He came to give. It is historical in itself, in its essence; and this being so, it is, in a secondary and yet a unique sense, historical in its antecedents and in its realisation." (P. 255.)

The answer which Christianity gives to the enigmas of human life cannot be properly understood unless the bearings of this central and fundamental truth are seen. Men are continually saying: "Accept the moral teaching of Jesus, and throw on one side the superincumbent mass of 'dogma.'" But the Sermon on the Mount is not Christianity. Dr. Westcott goes so far as to say it "is neither the essence of Christ's message to the world, nor, except incidentally, characteristic of it." Where, then, is the essence of that message?

"Christianity, to speak summarily, rests on the conviction that in the life and death and resurrection of Christ something absolutely new and unparalleled has been added to the experience of men, something new objectively and not simply new as a combination, or an interpretation of earlier or existing phenomena; that in Christ heaven and earth have been historically united; that in Him this union can be made real through all time to each believer; that His nature and His person are such that in Him each man and all men can find a complete and harmonious consummation in an external order. The life of Christ is something absolutely unique in the history of the world, unique not in degree, but in kind. It is related to all else that is unfolded in time, as birth, for example, is related to the development of the individual." (P. 268.)

If these things be so, it is clear that the answer of Christianity to the questionings of man, while it may come far short of what he would desire to satisfy his curiosity, and what he might expect in a divine revelation, is nevertheless in a peculiar sense complete and adequate for man's essential needs. It is so on account of the historical character of the religion. The light it sheds upon human life shines from out of the very midst of that life; it is warm, human, glowing with colour such as never appears in the abstract system of the philosopher. It touches the various parts of our complex life. The Gospel is not addressed to the spirit of man only, it does not concern his mind or his body alone; its message is for each man as such, and for the whole race, which is more than a mere aggregate of individuals. Only a historical religion, the centre of which is the Incarnation, could give the kind of answer which

Christianity gives to man's eager inquiries concerning the scope and significance of human life.

At the same time, the "absolute" character of the Christian religion is not interfered with. There is nothing local, partial, temporary, "provincial" in the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. Mohammedanism and Buddhism, which claim to be universal religions, both embody in their sacred books elements which do not bear transplanting to other climes, other civilisations, than those in which the faiths were cradled. The sketch of His Kingdom given by the Divine Founder of Christianity left much to be "fulfilled" in the fulness of the times and in the course of development of the nations. Every age reveals new meaning in the old and familiar words of the New Testament, and makes clear how the same principles are to find fresh illustration in new developments of intellectual, political, and social life. It is only through the lapse of generations and of ages that we can come to understand what is meant by that Mystical Body of which Christ is the Head; "from Whom all the body, fitly framed and knit together, through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love."

The purpose is declared; the method of realisation is largely hidden. The very reserves of Christianity constitute an excellence in it as a religion undertaking to meet the manifold questionings of man. There is much that it does not profess to reveal, and those have not been its best advocates who have tried to round off the arcs of truth which Jesus Christ left incomplete. His silence is Divine, as well as His speech. It is impossible for man to comprehend methods for the very explication of which a new state of society must be pre-supposed. But sufficient is revealed to tax and exhaust the highest energies of the noblest men. Whatever complaint be made of Christianity, none can say that its ideals are not pure enough and glorious enough, that there is not sufficient scope for the aspirations and energies of a new time. It far outsoars the ideals of the nineteenth century, as it distanced the highest hopes of the first. Its revelation of God, of sin, of redemption, of righteousness, of brotherhood, and of the "restitution of all

things" yet to come, forms an answer to the Great Enigma, What, and Whence, and Wherefore is man? such as neither philosopher nor naturalist, neither sage nor saint, has ever conceived. It leaves many spots in the pilgrim-road still dark. In looking back, in looking round, in looking forward, by the light of the lantern which it supplies, there are many regions but dimly lighted, many others still wrapped in impenetrable night. But Christ's Lamp of life lights up the pathway sufficiently to console the heart and to guide the steps. Whatever may be the case with those who speculate and those who philosophise and those who question, he who *follows* Christ, as He Himself promised, does not walk in darkness, but has the light of life.

It is true that "they are not all Israel who are of Israel." Not every Christian, not all Christendom, not all Christianity, is Christian. Amongst the many reasons why Christianity does not commend itself to many earnest, thoughtful men, who are seeking to read the great riddle, must certainly be reckoned the fact that they do not rightly understand what it is. This may be their own fault; sometimes it is the fault of representative Christians. And as from age to age a re-statement of the problems of life becomes necessary, so from age to age the answer which Christianity gives to them needs to be restated also. It is of no use to say that the truth is old. It is; but the men are new, and the forms are new, and the combinations are new, and the hopes and possibilities of life are new, and those who desire to make plain to their contemporaries what answer the Lord Jesus Christ gives to their perplexities and anxious questions, must be men who can see afresh for themselves, and state afresh to others, the truth which has satisfied the noblest and loftiest aspirations of the noblest and loftiest men who ever thought and lived upon earth. Some such re-statement of the Christian message is being loudly called for in the present generation, and to some extent it is being given. Every faithful disciple of Christ who receives the truth direct from the Master, and not as the hundredth echo of an echo caught from His voice, can aid in making his answer to the enigma of life more plain to the struggling, suffering sons of men.

But the message of Christianity is at best a working hypothesis: can it be verified? That is not the subject of the present article, yet these remarks would be incomplete without an indication of the kind of answer which is forthcoming. A historical religion must be capable of defence on historical lines, and the progress of criticism is proving every day how complete that defence can be made. Discovery after discovery during the last decade has attested the authenticity and trustworthiness of the Christian documents, and gone so far to confirm the accuracy of their account of the Christian origins. An absolute religion, again, must be prepared to meet all comers, and to vindicate its ability to satisfy all the reasonable demands of man, whose cravings are infinite, and who requires a religion of infinite scope to meet and still them. The vindication in this instance is so complete, that the complaint now for the most part heard is, not that Christianity in its revelation of God, and its proclamation of duty and its heralding of hope, is not full of comfort and inspiration, but rather that it is "too good to be true." Self-denying sceptics boast of going without the comfort of a religion they profess to be unable, not unwilling, to believe.

But the true verification, after all, is in experience. The "evidential value of Christian experience" was illustrated in an article published in this REVIEW not very long ago.* The full statement of the case, however, can hardly be made in logical form. Whether we refer to the verification in the history of Christendom, or the verification in individual Christian life, the arguments are such as defy complete statement in language. Their general nature can be explained, but their full force clearly depends upon that which it transcends the power of words to express. Bishop Westcott very rightly insists in one place upon "the enormous difference between the logical development of a doctrine and the progressive interpretation of a fact through experience. The fundamental statement of a doctrine can never be complete. But the fact finds its interpretation through the fulness of life. One influence corrects and completes another. And the

* See LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July 1892, No. CLVI.

record of this progressive interpretation lies in Christian history." The truth is profound and pregnant. And one among many corollaries of it is that neither the answer of Christianity to the enigmas of life, nor its full verification, can be complete without experience on the part of the individual Christian, and the richer and more varied experience of the progressive community in which each fills his place. Hence arises the felt deficiency of books like Mr. Lilly's. Able as it is, non-Christians and Christians alike will be disposed to say that it has but touched the fringe of the subject. The real argument for Christianity comes not from those who are convinced that they *may* be Christians without being "irrational and therefore immoral," but from those who feel that they *must* be Christians, if they would be faithful to their own highest ideals, and carry out the teaching of their own personal experience. With Luther they say, "Ich kann nicht anders." The constraint of duty becomes one with the constraint of love, and both mind and heart, weary with many wanderings, rest content with an answer to life's riddle, which at least has proved its power to solve many difficulties. Some of the locked doors have been opened by this key; the rest will yield by-and-by.

Mystery remains and will still remain. But "just where the thought of man runs up into mystery—the mystery of Matter and Life in the world around us—the mystery of our own humanity, in itself and in its struggle against sin and death—the mystery, above all, of Eternal Being—Christianity meets that searching of thought, and shows how all the threads, lost to reason in the darkness, are gathered into the hand of a God, not unknown and unknowable, but revealed to man in the Lord Jesus Christ."* Mysteries remain, for if a human teacher professes here and now to clear up *all* the mysteries of our complex and incomplete humanity, we know him at once to be a charlatan, not a prophet. Mysteries remain, but where man most needs guidance, most needs consolation, it is furnished by the religion of Jesus Christ, Son of God and Son of Man. Mysteries remain, but they gradually fade away into

* Barry, "Bampton Lectures:" *Some Lights of Science on the Faith*, p. 293.

light before the eye of him who does not speculate and question, but follows. The Seer of the first century is represented by the poet of the nineteenth as uttering words of wisdom, containing a lesson as practical as it is sublime :

> " I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth and out of it,
> And hath so far advanced thee to be wise.
> Would'st thou unprove this to re-prove the proved ?
> In life's mere minute, with power to use that proof,
> Leave knowledge and revert to how it sprung ?
> Thou hast it ; use it, and forthwith ; or die ! "

Those who faithfully tread the path thus marked out will not be long in solving the Great Enigma.

Art. II.—WILLIAM COWPER.

The Life of Cowper. By Thomas Wright, Principal of Olney School. London : Fisher Unwin & Co.

" FEW people," Mr. Wright remarks in his preface to this biography, " have had more written about them than Cowper." This admission, as he seems to feel himself, makes it necessary for him to show cause why he should have added a bulky volume of 658 pp. to the mass of writing on this subject which we already possess. He claims, therefore, to have extracted from sources hitherto unknown or unused a quantity of valuable information about the poet's life; and tells us that " something new will be found in almost every page of his work." It is, indeed, scarcely possible to speak too highly of the industry and enthusiasm with which the self-imposed task has been performed. Mr. Wright has accomplished the feat of reading through, in consecutive order, the whole of Cowper's correspondence, scattered, as it is, through many unconnected volumes—" a thing," as he says with pardonable pride, " that has probably never been done before, except by Mr. Bruce." He has studied that curious monument of human

folly, the diary of the schoolmaster, Teedon. He has ransacked the Olney registers for any fact that might prove to be connected, however remotely, with his subject. He has even looked through Dr. Grindon's prescription books, and hence is in a position to inform us, on the best authority, that Cowper took a good deal of medicine. It is impossible not to admire this spirit of patient and energetic research; it is impossible not to wish that it had been better directed.

The fact is that the work of previous biographers, and especially of Southey, has set in so clear a light the main facts of Cowper's history that there was very little left of any importance to be discovered. A slight cloud of uncertainty has long rested, and, in spite of Mr. Wright's elucidation, will probably always rest, on the subject of the poet's relations with his friend Lady Austen. The interesting question of Cowper's *protegés* is also, as Mr. Wright points out, very inadequately treated by Southey. Moreover, he had not access to the diary of Teedon, and his only quotation from it is taken at second-hand. In spite of all this—in spite, too, of the long digressions which he is apt to introduce—we cannot but think that a far clearer notion of Cowper, as a man and a poet, is to be obtained from Southey's pages than from his latest rival's laborious compilation. The fact is, that Southey had the literary instinct, the feeling for style, the sense of fitness and proportion, of which little trace is to be found in the handsome volume before us.

One merit Mr. Wright's manner of writing does possess: it appears quite exempt from affectation. But it is bald, garrulous, sometimes unseasonably colloquial, and always devoid of any kind of distinction. His method of cutting up his text into numbered paragraphs, and heading each with a title, very much in the style of a halfpenny evening paper, gives a scrappy and inconsecutive character to the whole, and stamps it as a thoroughly inartistic production.

Yet, such is the charm of the subject, such the fascination which Cowper's personality has always exercised, that any new work on the subject of any value is sure of readers, though it may have defects that cannot be overlooked. There is something strangely pathetic in the contrast between this gentle,

playful, carelessly amiable nature, and its tragic burden of inherited misery. Those who were brought into contact with him during his life, all seem to have experienced the same feeling for him—a sentiment compounded of the reverence due to genius, the awe that waits on severe and mysterious affliction, and the tender protecting affection that one feels for an engaging child. Cowper was distinguished all through his life, in spite of a shyness that never left him, for his power of attaching people to himself and calling out their sympathetic kindness. It was well for him that this was so, for certainly no man ever needed kindness more.

Cowper's life, like that of Dr. Johnson, is divided into two portions—that of youth and early maturity, about which our knowledge is scanty; that of middle life and old age, concerning which information abounds. Cowper had no Boswell indeed, but his letters after he settled in Olney give a picture of himself which needs very little supplementing. The crisis which cut him off for ever from active life, and transformed him from an idle young lawyer, "*giggling* and making *giggle*," in his chambers, looking out on the lime-trees of Pump Court, into the recluse of Olney, the poet of the Evangelical movement, took place in 1831. Ten years before that he had had an attack of melancholia, culminating in mental derangement. This time the attack was more serious and more lasting in its effects.

No one would now assert that the persuasion of being eternally lost, which haunted and terrorised Cowper's imagination for many years, was anything but a symptom, unfortunately by no means uncommon, of mania induced by ordinary physical causes. Traces of an hereditary tendency to insanity appear in Cowper's family; he was born delicate and nervous, with a violin-like sensitiveness of mental and moral fibre. The loss of his mother, to which he so pathetically refers in what is perhaps the best known of his poems, and the brutal treatment which he experienced at his first school, alike helped to develop the morbid weakness that was latent in him. He had not the qualities which fit a man to make his own way in the world. He felt his own want of courage and energy, of self-assertion, and self-confidence, and tried to banish the

sense of his deficiencies by engaging in a course of life which, though far from being discreditable according to the standard of the times, was at any rate neither worthy nor serious. He grew daily more dissatisfied with himself, and more seriously alarmed about his own future as he saw his small patrimony rapidly diminishing. His solitary life in chambers gave full effect to all these sources of depression. Major Cowper's offer of a well-paid post, which happened to be in his gift—that of Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords—might have been expected to relieve his kinsman's most pressing anxieties. It resulted in the overthrow of his reason. Cowper was informed that he would have to sustain an examination at the bar of the House of Lords as to his fitness for the post. His over-excited nervous system gave way under the strain of preparation for this ordeal. He went out of his mind, attempted suicide, and was removed to a private asylum at St. Albans.

Here, as his mind gradually recovered tone, his gloomy hallucinations left him, but the quickened sense of spiritual realities remained. His residence with the Unwins and his intimacy with Newton linked him closely with that Evangelical movement in the Church of England for which his poetry was to do, in a measure, what Charles Wesley's hymns have done for Methodism, and Keble's for the Oxford Movement.

Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his admirable little sketch of Cowper, draws attention to the reformation in the spirit and manners of the people which was worked by the Evangelical Revival. The letters of Horace Walpole, the pictures of Hogarth, the novels of Fielding and Richardson, reveal a state of things that, fortunately, it is difficult for us fully to realise. The savagery of the lower classes is exemplified over and over in the journals of Wesley. Cowper himself had under his eyes a striking instance of it when the mob of Olney nearly burnt Newton's house over his head, because he had threatened to interfere with their Fifth of November processions. All this, however, is less revolting, because more excusable, than the hard, artificial, essentially frivolous and heartless life of the leisured and governing classes, its cheap sentimentality, its false and tyrannical standard of honour, its political corruption and unblushing profligacy, its absolute, insolent ignorance of

the truth, so familiar to our ears, that rank and wealth have their duties—in a word, its prevalent selfishness, coarseness, and debauchery.

The Gospel preached by the early Methodists, without distinction of persons, came to all classes alike almost as a new revelation. When great ladies, like the Duchess of Buckingham, were told (to their great surprise and disgust) that they had "hearts as sinful as that of any human wretch who crawls upon the earth," the era of modern philanthropy had begun. "See thou despise not him for whom Christ died," is the key-note of the social aspect of the Evangelical movement. That thought inspired, not merely the work of Wesley and Whitefield, of Newton and Fletcher, but the journeys of Howard and the labours of Wilberforce. The founder of Methodism and his fellow-workers are the spiritual ancestors of the countless enterprises of nineteenth-century philanthropy, though some of them are connected with systems and opinions for which the early Evangelicals would have felt small sympathy.

John Newton, one of the pioneers of this great moral and social revolution, was Cowper's pastor at Olney, and became, according to the well-known law of the attraction of opposites, one of his most intimate friends. Under his influence Cowper was induced not merely to visit the sick poor of the place and pray with them, but to take public part in the prayer-meetings held in an unused mansion belonging to Lord Dartmouth, and called the Great House. This was the nobleman of whom Richardson said, when asked if he knew any person in real life corresponding to his ideal portrait of Sir Charles Grandison, that "the Earl of Dartmouth might do, if he were not a Methodist." Neither Richardson nor Johnson had much spiritual affinity with the leaders of the Evangelical movement, though the novels of the one and the critical authority of the other co-operated powerfully in effecting that reformation of manners which was one conspicuous result of the rise of Methodism.

Some of Cowper's best known hymns—notably the one beginning "Jesus, wherever thy people meet"—were composed for the use of worshippers at the "Great House." They were afterwards included in the collection of "Olney Hymns,"

in which, as is well known, Newton secured the co-operation of Cowper.

Mr. Wright's familiarity with Olney as a resident enables him to give some interesting details of Cowper's home and surroundings.

"The town [he says] consisted, and still consists, of a long broad street, widening southwards into a triangular market-place, on the south of which stands the large red-brick house with stone dressings, sometimes called Orchard Side, which was to be for nineteen years the poet's home. The most conspicuous object in the town is the church with its tall steeple, and the most noticeable feature of the surrounding country is the River Ouse, which winds tortuously through the level meadows."

He much resents the disparaging criticisms that have been made from time to time with regard to Cowper's house:

"It faces the market-hill; its situation is far from unpleasant, and on the whole Cowper made himself very comfortable in it. . . . . Indeed, those simple critics who have assumed from a few passages, written when Cowper was in an 'unked' mood (as the Buckinghamshire people say), that his situation at Olney was one worthy of the utmost commiseration, can only be laughed at."

In 1769, two years after their arrival at Olney, Mrs. Unwin's son obtained a living at Stock, and in 1772 her daughter became engaged to be married. Considerations of social prudence may have suggested the desirability of a marriage between Cowper and his hostess and friend; and there seems no reason to doubt that this step was decided upon towards the close of 1772. Southey says that it could not have been so, because if anything of the sort had been contemplated, Newton must have known of it. He does not seem to have consulted the fragmentary Life of Cowper, in which Newton himself refers to the engagement, and states that the marriage was to take place early in the following year. All such schemes were, however, put an end to by Cowper's third attack of mental derangement, which lasted more than a year, and from which he never completely recovered. The appalling conviction of his predestination to eternal death returned upon him with crushing force, and from that time forth never left him. The "fatal dream," on which Mr. Wright, with a natural partiality for his own discovery, lays so much stress,

seems scarcely deserving of the importance he ascribes to it. That Cowper should dream that he was cut off from the Divine Mercy, was inevitable, considering his state of mind at the time; and that such a dream should remain impressed upon his imagination was scarcely less so; but it cannot be considered as anything but a symptom of his unhappy disease. During the whole of his life, and especially towards the end of it, when the mists of insanity were gathering thickly around him, Cowper attached an exaggerated importance to dreams; and the chief means by which the enthusiast Teedon gained such an influence over him was his pretended power of interpreting these dreams.

It is a relief to turn from the insane imaginations of the unhappy poet, and contemplate the noble Christian charity of his friends. Twelve years afterwards, in describing his state at this period to Lady Hasketh, Cowper wrote:

"I believed that everybody hated me, and that Mrs. Unwin hated me worst of all---was convinced that my food was poisoned, with ten thousand megrims of the same stamp. . . . . At the same time that I was convinced of Mrs. Unwin's aversion to me I could bear no other companion. The whole management of me consequently devolved upon her, and a terrible task she had. She performed it, however, with a cheerfulness hardly ever equalled on such an occasion, and I have heard her say that if ever she praised God in her life, it was when she found that she was to have all the labour."

Cowper's sonnet beginning,

"Mary, I want a lyre with other strings,"

is perhaps the most touching and perfect piece of verse ever inspired by a woman, but one cannot read the extract given above and not feel that she was worthy of it. She seems to have been a woman not merely of unusual generosity and sweetness of nature, but of remarkable judgment and tact, which she knew how to use so as to defend her friend from the vulgar comments and misjudgments to which his peculiarities rendered him liable. "She speaks of him," says Lady Hesketh, "in the highest terms, and by her astonishing management he is never mentioned in Olney but with the highest respect and veneration."

The self-denying kindness of Newton under very trying

circumstances deserves to be noted. In the spring of 1773 Cowper transferred himself to the vicarage, which was close to Orchard Side, and for over a year he obstinately refused to return to his own quarters. That Newton felt the infliction to be a severe one is apparent from many passages in his letters:

"Mr. Cowper's long stay at the vicarage in his present uncomfortable state has been in many ways inconvenient and trying. Mrs. Unwin has often tried to persuade him to return to their own house, but he will not hear of it. He sometimes begs and weeps and pleads to stay, with such earnestness that it must be submitted to. . . . . The Lord has numbered the days in which I am appointed to wait on him in this dark valley, and has given me such a love to him, both as a believer and a friend, that I am not weary; but to be sure his deliverance would be to me one of the greatest blessings I can conceive."

A fortnight after this letter appeared the first symptoms of amendment:

"Yesterday as he was feeding the chickens—for he is always busy if he can get out of doors—some little incident made him smile. I am sure it is the first smile that has been seen upon his face for more than sixteen months."

Within a few days after this Cowper had gone back to Orchard Side. With returning health the instinct of activity revived. He took up drawing, and began to tame the pet hares which have through his means attained a celebrity unreached by their species before or since. As his brain recovered strength, Mrs. Unwin, with her usual good sense, perceived that some more intellectually engrossing occupation was needful to prevent his mind from preying on itself. She urged him to write, but not a continuation of the Olney Hymns. There was now no question of that. The fixed idea which had taken such strong possession of his mind, that for twelve years he never prayed, and when grace was being said before meals took up his knife and fork as a sign that he had no part in any exercise of religion, made it, to his own thinking, impossible for him to engage in any work of a directly devotional tendency.

Shortly after Newton's removal to London Cowper wrote his first poem of any length, a satire named *Anti-Helyphthora*,

which no one who values his fame will attempt to rescue from the oblivion into which it has fallen.

This was followed by a volume of satires in rhymed heroic verse: *The Progress of Error; Hope; Charity; Conversation;* and *Retirement.* In some of these, as in the lovely episode of the walk to Emmaus, and the vigorous and pathetic vindication of Whitefield, we catch the accents of the poet of "The Task":

> "He loved the world that hated him. The tear
> That dropped upon his Bible was sincere.
> Assailed by scandal and the tongue of strife,
> His only answer was a blameless life,
> And he that forged and he that threw the dart
> Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
> * * * * * *
> Blush, Calumny! and write upon his tomb,
> If honest eulogy can spare thee room,
> Thy deep repentance of thy thousand lies,
> Which, aimed at him, have pierced the offended skies;
> And say, Blot out my sin, confessed, deplored,
> Against thine image in thy saint, O Lord."

The manner of these fine lines is more akin to Churchill than to Pope; the substance is far enough removed from affinity with either of them. But Cowper had not yet found out the secret of his own power. A new interest, a new stimulus from the outer world, was necessary to draw out his shy and slowly developing genius. This stimulus was supplied, as the world well knows, by the friendship of Lady Austen. The brilliant, vivacious young widow flashed like a tropic bird into the sober-hued life at Olney. While generally in sympathy with the religious views of Cowper and his friend, her varied social experience and her keen sense of the ludicrous must have infused a welcome breath from the stirring life outside the Olney hermitage into their almost too placid existence. All the world knows that she gave Cowper the story of *John Gilpin* and suggested the subject of *The Task.* The poet was perfectly ready to respond to the enthusiastic friendship with which she honoured him, and they were "Brother William" and "Sister Anne" to each other.

But Lady Austen was one of those people who are too susceptible, not only for their own comfort, but for other people's.

Cowper describes himself as "having had repeated occasion to observe that she expressed a sort of romantic idea of our merits, and built such expectations of felicity upon our friendship as we were sure that nothing mortal could possibly answer." She was exacting, moreover, and expected her poet to "pay his *devoirs*" to her every morning at eleven, although he had begun *The Task*, and his attendance on the Muse who inspired it often involved the sacrifice of the only quiet hour he had for writing. This in itself was sufficient seriously to threaten the life of so fragile a thing as a romantic friendship between a hypochondriacal poet and a rather "touchy" great lady. But there is little doubt, from Lady Austen's own version of the matter, which she communicated to Hayley, that the cause of the final rupture lay deeper. It seems certain that she wished to marry him; and that he should have succeeded in inspiring so strong an affection in a woman like Lady Austen is a sufficient tribute to the unique charm of his manners and character—a charm which the most cruel of all afflictions had not then seriously impaired.

It was probably Mrs. Unwin who opened Cowper's eyes to Lady Austen's real feelings, and to her misapprehension of his. There is no need to suppose any unworthy jealousy as a motive for the part she took. A person of her excellent judgment could not fail to see that Cowper's intimate association with a woman of Lady Austen's sensitive, excitable, and exacting disposition would be the very worst thing for him. Cowper wrote, according to Hayley, "a very tender yet resolute letter, in which he explained and lamented the circumstances which forced him to renounce her society." In a fit of natural annoyance she burnt this communication, although she owned to Hayley afterwards that "a more admirable letter could not be written." From that time all communication between them was at an end.

The Task appeared in 1785, and at once established Cowper's position in the world of letters. Its success procured for him what he valued more than fame, the renewal of his friendship and correspondence with his cousin Harriet, Lady Hesketh, sister of the Theodora whom he had loved in his youth. His letters to her are delightful reading: a gentle play of lambent

humour brightens the exuberant detail of his uneventful life, and the perfect spontaneity of the style is remarkable when one considers how unfailingly graceful it is.

He then undertook a translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and his letters abound in jocular references to this task. But he had much to interest and occupy him besides his literary work. Mr. Wright insists, very rightly, on a side of his character which some biographers have overlooked—his interest in the life of his poorer neighbours. His adoption of the boy Dick Coleman at a time when he himself was living on the charity of his relatives, suffices to show the uncalculating generosity of his character. And no one can doubt his sympathy with the labouring classes, under the hard conditions of their lives, who remembers the *vignettes* of rural life and labour in *The Task*.

We learn from Cowper's letters that the inhabitants of Olney were miserably poor. A wealthy banker of Nottingham, anxious to relieve their necessities, made Cowper his almoner, an office very acceptable to one of the poet's disposition.

It is pleasant to be assured by Mr. Wright that the abject poverty described in Cowper's letters does not now exist in Olney. "Lace-making as a means of living-getting is almost extinct, and few towns of its size are better provided with charities."

Cowper was held in great respect by the people of Olney, who designated him as the "Squire." We find from a letter to Hill that he was in the habit of assisting them with legal advice gratis:

> "My former connection with the profession has got wind, and though I earnestly profess and protest and proclaim it abroad that I know nothing about the matter, they cannot be got to think that a head once endued with a legal periwig can ever be deficient in those natural endowments it is supposed to cover."

Two years after the appearance of *The Task* Cowper was visited with a fourth attack of mania, which lasted six months. He recovered gradually, and resumed his translation of *Homer*. But Mrs. Unwin was no longer able to endure the strain which Cowper's malady imposed upon her. She had a serious accident in 1789, and from that time began her slow and painful

decline. Successive attacks of paralysis weakened her mind as well as her body. She sank into second childhood. With her mental faculties her sweetness of disposition seemed to have left her. She became fretful, tyrannical, selfish, repining. It is pleasant to find that Cowper's sense of gratitude was equal to the strain that her requirements put upon it. He gave up his literary work to devote himself to her comfort, and waited on her with an assiduity that seriously impaired his health.

William Hayley, his future biographer, whose acquaintance he made in 1792, succeeded in persuading them both to visit him at Eartham, in Sussex. The visit was a success as far as its immediate object went, but the night of mental and physical decay was darkening rapidly round the unhappy pair. Cowper had fallen completely under the power of the schoolmaster Teedon, and Mrs. Unwin, whose influence used formerly to restrain him from such aberrations, was, in her imbecile state, as completely subjugated as her friend.

Teedon's manuscript diary, which, after being lost for many years, was recovered by Mr. W. J. Harvey, of Champion Hill, in 1890, is thus described by Mr. Wright, who has made considerable use of it in his biography:

"It was a small manuscript volume, 6 inches by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, contains 122 pages, closely written in a neat but minute hand, and dates from the 17th of October 1791 to the 2nd of February 1794. By none of Cowper's previous biographers has this diary been consulted. Southey refers to it, but that he did not see it is certain, for the single quotation from it (vol. iii. p. 148) he had second-hand—namely, from the memoir of the Rev. Henry Gauntlett. . . . . As we turn over its soiled yellow pages, the little world in which Cowper lived and moved seems to be rehabilitated. 'The Squire' and 'Madam,' as Cowper and Mrs. Unwin are constantly styled, are of course the central figures, but their abode being in Weston, they are only rarely seen in Olney, though now and then they take tea with their new friend, the Reverend Mr. Bean, at the vicarage. We see Teedon, in his best coat and breeches, trudging up Overs Hill towards the Lodge, to receive his quarterage, for the poet, thanks to the benevolence of an unknown friend, is able to allow him as much as £7 10*s.* per quarter, a sum which, considering the modest sum his pupils' pence amounted to, was a small fortune. . . . . We see Teedon another day approaching Weston on a very different errand. The Squire has heard fresh voices, and he wishes to consult the man who is the peculiar favourite

of Heaven. Teedon's face is serious this time, and before setting out it is evident that he has wrestled long in prayer. Teedon was certainly often absurd and injudicious, but he was no hypocrite."

This is very likely true; but a downright hypocrite would have been probably a less mischievous associate for Cowper than this ignorant, well-meaning man, with his absurd pretensions backed up by never-failing self-confidence. The harm that Teedon did was not incompatible with "the best intentions":

"The various voices that Cowper fancied he heard he entered in a book, together with Teedon's interpretation of them, keeping on till he had filled volumes. These volumes have not, we believe, been preserved."

Mr. Wright, in his biographic zeal for every scrap of information relating to his hero, appears to regret that these books have been lost. Yet what possible end could be gained by multiplying instances of the miserable delusions which beset his warped and bewildered brain? Lady Hesketh, who visited Weston in 1794, found him in a lamentable state.

"It grieves me to say [she wrote to Cowper's cousin and friend, Mr. Johnson of Dereham, in Norfolk] that he is very bad indeed; scarce eats anything, is worn to a shadow, and has totally given up all his little avocations, such as netting, putting maps together, playing with the solitary board, &c., with which we contrived to while away the winter better than we had any reason to expect. He now does nothing but walk incessantly backwards and forwards either in his study or in his bed-chamber."

Some time before this, in obedience to some delusion, he had sat for six days still and silent as death, refusing all food but an occasional morsel of bread dipped in wine and water. His medical attendant, despairing of rousing him by any other means, at last, with some difficulty, persuaded Mrs. Unwin to say she would like a walk. He rose at once, and gave his arm to his old companion, once his guide and support, but now in her decrepit age and weakened understanding, more to be pitied than himself. That was "the last time," says Southey, "in which her influence was exerted on him for good."

Lady Hesketh complained bitterly of Mrs. Unwin's exactions:

"I found this dear soul on my arrival the absolute nurse of this poor lady, Mrs. Unwin, who cannot move out of her chair without

help, or walk across the room unless supported by two people; added to this, her voice is almost wholly unintelligible, and as their house was repairing all the summer, he was reduced, poor soul! for many months to have no conversation but hers. . . . . He was deprived by means of this poor lady of all his wonted exercises, both mental and bodily, as she did not choose he should leave her for a moment, or even use a pen or a book, except when he read to her."

Cowper's gentle and grateful spirit viewed the situation rather differently. It was at this time that he wrote his famous elegy *To Mary*, and there is the accent of deep sincerity in those pathetic lines:

> "Thy spirits have a fainter flow,
> I see thee daily weaker grow;
> 'Twas my distress that brought thee low,
> My Mary."

With that thought in his mind he could not refuse any attention that his friend's necessity, or even her caprice, might demand. If it saddens us to think of such a termination to such a career as Mrs. Unwin's had been, let us remember that without it we could not have known of what generous self-devotion and compassionate forbearance the poet was capable, even while himself so sorely burdened with mental and bodily infirmity.

Through the kindness of his relative Johnson, the two invalids were removed into Norfolk. Mrs. Unwin died at East Dereham at the end of 1796. They took Cowper to her bedside after she had breathed her last; he gazed for a moment upon the dead form of the faithful companion of so many years, and then "flung himself to the other side of the room with a passionate expression of feeling." When his emotion was somewhat calmed he asked for a glass of wine, and from that time forth her name never passed his lips. So sad was the close of that unique friendship, to which Cowper owed whatever comfort a life so burdened as his could know, and which had lasted without a break for more than thirty years.

From that time the cloud of misery that had settled down upon him scarcely lifted again. The friends who were left—Hayley, Johnson, Lady Hesketh, Miss Perowne—exhausted their ingenuity in imagining means to relieve him, but all in

vain. The terrible poem of the *Castaway* is the abiding monument of this period in his life. The tragic force of the lines, their brief severe simplicity, and the convincing sincerity which characterises them in common with all of Cowper's work, engrave them on the memory that would often willingly forget so appalling a picture of desolation. For four years he lingered in this state, and then one April morning in 1800 passed away so peacefully that the friends who were watching in the room could not perceive the moment when he ceased to exist on earth. It was natural that, when the dark delusions of a disordered brain gave place (as we trust) to the revelation of that love in which his portion was sure, those who looked upon him should have traced an expression of "holy surprise" mingled with the calmness and composure which had settled upon his dead face:

> "Sleep after toil, port after stormy seas,
> Ease after pain, death after life, doth greatly please."

Mr. Wright does not profess to make any critical estimate of Cowper's powers as a poet, or of his position in our literature. This is the less necessary, as Southey in his Life went fully into the question. He had not only seen, but "was himself a part" of that poetic movement which Cowper had unconsciously inaugurated. He could remember the period of Pope's literary dictatorship, and he could trace in his own experience the commencement of the great poetic revival which began with Cowper and Burns, and spread out into the streams of influence represented by Scott, Wordsworth and Byron, Keats and Shelley, which in our own days was to culminate with Tennyson. He points out that Cowper's descriptive poetry caught the ear of a public prepared to receive it:

"It appeared . . . . at a junction when there was no poet of any great ability or distinguished name in the field. Gray and Akenside were dead; Mason was silent. . . . . Churchill was forgotten. . . . . Crabbe having, by the publication of his Library, his Village, and his Newspaper, accomplished his heart's immediate desire, sought at that time no further publicity; and Hayley rambled over the course without a competitor."

The secret of the immediate success of Cowper's masterpiece, and of the charm which his poetry still exercises, is to be found

in his own confession: "My descriptions are all from Nature; not one of them second-handed. My delineations of the heart are from my own experience; not one of them borrowed from books, or in the least degree conjectural." Both in France and England people were wearying of the conventions with which an artificial society had burdened their existence. And Rousseau and Cowper owed their influence to the eloquent expression which they gave to the longing universally felt for a return to Nature and the primal simplicities of life. Different though they were in many important respects, they resembled each other in their keen sensitiveness to the beauty of Nature, in their passionate love of justice, in their self-revealing impulses, and unfortunately in a tendency to hypochondria. Cowper had not the force and fire which made the author of the *Contrat Social* the firebrand of Europe; but he possessed gifts, not of temperament merely, but of characters, of which the French sentimental and selfish egoist knew nothing. His was the exquisite charm of a purity, sincerity, and simple tenderness of nature to which Rousseau could lay no claim, and which, when his spirit was in the repose of saintly and Christian faith, made him one of the most delightful of men, as well as one of the truest and purest among the band of English poets.

"Cowper is our greatest master in simple pathos," says the compiler of the *Golden Treasury*, and no one will dispute this dictum who remembers the lines on his Mother's Picture, or the Sonnet to Mrs. Unwin, or the famous passage in *The Task*:

> "I was a stricken deer that left the herd
> Long since; with many an arrow deep, infixed,
> My panting side was charged when I withdrew
> To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
> There was I found by one who had himself
> Been hurt by the archers. In his side he bore,
> And in his hands and feet, the cruel scars.
> With gentle force soliciting the darts,
> He drew them forth and healed and bade me live."

The deep sense of justice and indignation at oppression which linked him with the Evangelicals of Wilberforce's time, and also, strange though the alliance may seem, with the precursors of the French Revolution, utters itself, with almost a

Miltonic note, in the opening lines of the second book of *The Task:*

> "O, for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade,
> Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful or successful war,
> Might never reach me more! My ear is pained,
> My soul is sick with every day's report
> Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled."

Of Cowper it might truly be said that he "learnt in suffering what he taught in song." The highest and finest element in his poetry was distilled from his life by the operation of exceptional trial acting upon his keenly sensitive nature. He might have been merely a second Prior, an earlier Praed, the writer of pretty society verses, the amiable trifler, the gentle satirist, and nothing more. The stroke that shattered his worldly prospects made him the great poet he was.

Yet to the end his gentle humour and keen appreciation of the ludicrous appear like a bright thread in the dark web of his habitual musings. His satire, though sometimes caustic, is always polished and urbane. His letters and occasional verses have often an unaffected gaiety and sprightliness about them, as when he sends to Mrs. Newton his little poem on the "Doves," with a characteristic annotation, containing a sly allusion to the habits of that inveterate smoker, his friend Mr. Bull:

> "One silent eve I wandered late,
> And heard the voice of love;
> The turtle thus addressed her mate,
> And soothed the listening dove:
>
> "'Our mutual bond of faith and truth
> No time shall disengage;
> The blessings of our early youth
> Shall cheer our latest age.'"

"The male dove was smoking a pipe, and the female dove was sewing, while she delivered herself as above. This little circumstance may lead you perhaps to guess what pair I had in my eye."

Gentle as he was, Cowper was by no means deficient in manly feeling. He could take his own part with dignity and rebuke an impertinance promptly. He was in all circum-

stances the man of *gentle* birth and breeding, remembring what was due to himself as well as to others, and suffering no one else to forget it. On the whole he was such a fascinating medley of traits and qualities rarely united in the same person, that the charm he exercised during his life on all who knew him intimately, still exhales from his poems and letters, and awakens a feeling for him that is more nearly akin to the affection felt for a living friend, than to the admiration due to a great poet who has been nearly a hundred years in his grave.

ART. III.—THE INCARNATION IN MODERN THEOLOGY.

A Manual of Theology. By THOMAS B. STRONG, M.A., Student and Theological Tutor, Christ Church, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Durham. London and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1892.

THIS brief *Manual* is remarkable for several reasons. First, its style of thought is strikingly original. It would be hard to find a recent work on the well-worn subject of theology which contains more fresh, suggestive discussions of the highest themes. It is an old saying that the great problems of existence are common to theology and philosophy, and these problems are here handled in masterly fashion. Occasionally the acuteness runs into obscurity, but this is only seldom; for the most part the reasoning is as clear as it is strong and satisfying. There is little reference in the text to the views of other writers; the author has formed his own conclusions after reading the masters in the field of philosophical theology, who are named at the close of each chapter—the names of Augustine, Athanasius, Aquinas occurring frequently.

Just as remarkable is the author's point of view. To him the Incarnation is the centre of Christian theology, all other

doctrines being the radii. "Christian theology is the expression and analysis of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ." "Christian theology starts from the Incarnation of Jesus Christ." "The Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity is an expanded statement of the Incarnation." Starting from this doctrine, the object of the author is "to present it as the true outcome and explanation of the various efforts towards the knowledge of God in various peoples and periods, to show its coherence with the claims of Christ for himself, and His Apostles for Him, and to express its meaning as interpreted by the Church; to indicate its bearing on the idea of God—that is, its connection with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; to place it in relation with the human race, and to indicate God's purpose for them as revealed in it; to describe its extension in the world by means of the Church and Sacraments." The plan is not indeed worked out with perfect uniformity. In the first four chapters, which deal with the Christian idea of God, the central thought of the idea is kept well in view; but in the next two, which discuss the doctrines of Creation, the Fall, and the Atonement, it falls out of sight, owing, perhaps, to the restriction imposed by limits of space. The last chapter is slighter and exceedingly unsatisfactory for other reasons. Still, these are chiefly faults of execution. The plan of the work is comprehensive and noble. The Incarnation is the central sun of the world of theology, all other doctrines borrowing and reflecting its divine light. In this respect Mr. Strong's work is one of many signs of the tendency of modern Christian thought to revert to the earliest lines of Christian doctrine, and to make all theology a Christology. It is well known that we owe the technical definition of the Christian doctrines relating to the Godhead to early Greek thought. Western speculation, from the days of Augustine, has played about the doctrines bearing on man—the nature and effects of sin, redemption and its fruits. Perhaps it may be allowed that in the teaching of the Reformation and Protestantism generally, redemption has overshadowed the Incarnation. At present there is a marked drift back to the earlier line of thought. The *Lux Mundi* essays, of which the present volume strongly reminds us at several points, are an indication of this fact. We do not

regard this tendency with any dread, because there is little or no likelihood of the hold which the Atonement has on the Church being weakened. "The analogy of faith" (Rom. xii. 6) will generally secure to each ruling doctrine its rightful place.

The brief and suggestive "Introduction" indicates at once the line of argument employed. The author first assumes the truth of the Incarnation as a tentative hypothesis, and then proceeds to establish it by showing its harmony with several series of facts. He would follow the same course in natural theology in proving the existence of God. The two central facts appear both as premiss and conclusion. The method is not only legitimate but a common one in science. It is in this way, indeed, that many discoveries have been made and most theories are proved. The investigator tries his key on every door to be opened, and decides by the result. There is special reason for the use of the method in the case of religious truth, because the realities to be proved lie beyond the reach of observation and sense. "The theologian deals with facts which the senses do not and cannot verify, with facts which underlie the created order as a permanent condition, which are always there." Yet he has to look for his facts "in the same world as the scientist, and he sees the same facts." In short, he looks at the world on its ideal side, as the work and manifestation of supreme reason. This at first sight appears a very different sort of proof from the ordinary one; we hear nothing of the cosmological, teleological, and other arguments, in the one case, and of the proof-texts in the other. But the difference is not as great as appears; it is more in form than substance. Every tentative hypothesis, assumed in the premiss, is suggested by the facts to be explained, and is then compared with those facts in detail. Whether we use the facts as tests of a proposed hypothesis, which they have in the first instance suggested, or as proofs, matters very little. For example, in chap. ii. the author gives a summary of the phenomena of Christ's life and teaching which require the Incarnation as their explanation. These phenomena are presented as one of the series of facts with which the doctrine harmonises. Another writer uses precisely the same line of statement as formal evidence of the doctrine in question. In

some cases the method of proof used by the author is the only possible one; in the present one both methods are possible. The special advantage of the method used is that it enables the author to exhibit the Incarnation as the explanation of phenomena outside as well as inside Scripture.

The first effort of the author is to show how the Incarnation satisfies the great elemental desires which find utterance in all religions. These are two, the metaphysical and the moral, the one embodying itself in myth in Paganism, and prominent in Greek religion, the other embodying itself in prayer, ritual, and sacrifice, and predominating in Judaism. The principle expressed in the metaphysical impulse is that "the world is a coherent and ordered whole"; the principle expressed in the moral impulse is that "God is to be found and known in nature and in human life." We have no space to dwell at length on the exposition given of these principles. It is shown that both expectations are natural instincts. Just as man assumes that the five worlds to which his five senses introduce him are one world, so he assumes the principles of causation, order, and purpose which underlie the usual arguments for the divine existence. In the same way the claim to interpret nature by his own life is shown to be an instinctive one. "The changes in the world around him, for which he is responsible, he effects by the exercise of his own will, and he not unnaturally assumes that the far more elaborate changes for which he is not responsible are due to the operation of much more powerful wills." This is reflection at its first stage; the unity of purpose in the world is a later discovery. It is thus that the idea of the general reign of law is arrived at, excluding chance. "Broadly speaking, chance may enter either at the beginning of the process of the formation of the world, or during its progress, or in relation to its end. . . . . Any one of these positions is possible, and any one of them is fatal to the possession of a complete and satisfactory ideal of thought." "As man is one and the same throughout the whole of his experience, so he expects nature to be one in a similar way. Its various moods and manifestations are not single and separate in their own right; they pass and vanish, but the underlying reality remains the same. In fact there is

a riveted anthropomorphism in all his dealings with nature. He goes to it not as to a thing which is finally and irreconcilably foreign to himself, but as expecting to find in it the reflection of a mind like his own."

The author has some excellent criticism on this bugbear of religious anthropomorphism. The agnostic asks whether our highest conception of God as a spiritual personality may not be as really anthropomorphic, and therefore untrustworthy, as the conception of savage mythologies.

"It would seem that our best method of dealing with this contention is to admit it. We acknowledge that the higher human powers, when scrutinised, reveal all sorts of faults and inadequacies which we never noticed before; and although the consciousness is nevertheless strong within us, even while we notice this, that there *is* in us some divine element, some point of resemblance between us and the Divine Ruler, yet we have no sure means of separating the eternal and the transitory in them. Yet, when we turn to look at Christ Incarnate the trouble vanishes. The Incarnation, if true, is a hard fact in history, and it affirms that God *has* revealed Himself in the way which man had hoped. . . . . The Incarnate One need say nothing about anthropomorphism, for the Incarnation is the refutation of all anthropomorphism" (p. 40).

And again:

"The most philosophical theory of God's nature may be as anthropomorphic as that of the crudest savage, for all we know; as tightly bound, that is, by human limitations. It does not matter at this stage" [that of natural religion] "whether we use the loftier powers of the human mind or the ordinary facts of human life to give definiteness to our belief in God; the one is as distinctly human as the other, and apart from positive information we do not know which to choose. . . . . Mr. Herbert Spencer makes merry over mediæval representations of the Christian Trinity, but it may be doubted whether his Infinite, Eternal, and Unknowable Power is less anthropomorphic. In the one case human characteristics were rashly imported into the notion of God; in the other they are simply left out, and there is no clear rule for saying whether or why one is better than the other" (p. 142).

He shows how the doctrinal definitions of the Church have sought to guard against false anthropomorphism.

To return to the subject, the author shows next how the moral impulse leads up to the full idea of God as a personal Ruler, and excites the desire for communion with Him. The moral law in its nature is universally binding, depends for its

observance on free consent, awakens different feelings from those called forth by intellectual differences.

"The moral law is not conceived as a mechanical and unbroken sequence, but as a law in the true sense; emerging from the will of a supreme Person; conditioning of right the wills of those who owe reverence and love to the Supreme. It is not arbitrary; it runs back into the ultimate constitution of things. We are under it, because we are human beings. It is inevitable, for, though we may stifle its representative within us—our own conscience—or make it speak at our pleasure, we know that such expedients delude no one but ourselves. The moral law is irksome only when we resist it: obedience brings us into true and friendly communion with the Power from whom it comes."

After giving a brief outline of the doctrine of the Incarnation found in St. Paul, St. John, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the author points out four respects in which it fulfils the aims and desires of earlier faiths. First, it declares definitely that God is to be known through the world of nature and human nature. That which was a surmise or mere presumption before becomes an assured conviction. He who was God with God becomes man with men, Son of God and Son of Man in one. Again, the doctrine removes the barrier to divine communion which men had vainly striven to surmount. A real, effectual sacrifice takes the place of the shadowy, typical one. It also satisfies the social instinct in religion by binding men into a universal brotherhood. Once more, as religion had always been the conservative power in society, the Incarnation claims to be the final manifestation of God to the world. "By its finality of doctrine and indifference to change in rites and ceremonies, Christianity has spiritualised religion, without making it vague and fluid."

In the next chapter, after summarising the Scripture evidence, the work ably discusses two general questions, the possibility and the historical evidence of the Incarnation. The first question introduces a discussion on the ground covered by the term "nature." The Incarnation is certainly miraculous in regard to material nature, but so also is man in a certain sense. Argument is useless on this subject with one who denies that there is an immaterial side in man. On the view that man has in him a higher nature, we see him using nature

for ideal ends of his own; nature is plainly subservient to such ends. This is analogous to what is done by God in the Incarnation. He uses nature to give the highest revelation of Himself to the world. Apart from such a purpose, "it is very difficult to see what end there can be present in Nature at all." "From our point of view, the only moral purpose to which nature by itself is instrumental must be the knowledge of God in us. And this tallies with our belief in Him as a moral Being. It is of the essence of such a notion that He should desire communion with those whom He has created." The uniformity of Nature tends to veil God from us; miracle rends the veil. "To the physical order—to the human intelligence—miracles are certainly supernatural; but from the point of view of the will of God, and of that wider conception of Nature which covers all His self-manifestations through the world, they are natural enough." The result is that Nature is a gradually ascending revelation of God, of which Incarnation is the climax. "It gathers up in itself all that had gone before, and explains the early stages of the process. Grant that the purpose of God is to reveal Himself to man, and then, the gathering together of the broken lights into the Person of The Light of the World involves no spasmodic change of will, no sudden veering of purpose, but only alters, and alters for good, the views we might have entertained before." The argument at this point is similar to the one used in the second lecture of Mr. Gore on the Incarnation, entitled "Christ Supernatural, yet Natural." There the lecturer argues that Nature is a unity, progressive, and a progressive revelation of God. The inorganic, organic, and rational worlds each make known something about God. Christ is a new, higher beginning, just as each previous stage is so. "If personality, if character is the best image of God which Nature affords, then we are in a measure prepared for the occurrence of an Incarnation. There is a necessary kinship between God and man, and if human qualities are not the measure of the divine, yet they are cognate to them. . . . . Christ is the crown of Nature." Yet Christ is supernatural. He is so "from the point of view of mere man, because in Him the divine Being who had been always at work, in physical nature as 'the persistent energy of all

things,' and in human nature as the rational light of human man, here assumes humanity, spirit, and body, as the instrument through which to exhibit with a new completeness and in a new intensity His own personality and character."

The author here touches on the evolution theory, according to which "the history of the world is the history of an idea, expressed first in simple and unpretending forms, but gradually taking on more and more complex shapes till human life and society, morality and religion, emerge at the end." If "religion" includes the Incarnation, we do not see how it can be the result of evolution. Rather it represents a new creative epoch.

There is further reference to the subject of evolution at a subsequent point in connection with the doctrine of Creation. It is strikingly pointed out that, in the form of the theory, which excludes God, chance plays a conspicuous part. The universe is the scene of a conflict between individual interests; there is no plan or purpose of the whole to guide the process. Everything goes by chance, the accidental advantage of the moment. "All the movement, and all the determining circumstances which set the process in motion and keep it going are the gift of chance. At every stage chance enters when a step is to be taken and a new species brought into the world." It is needless to state how repugnant the notion of chance is to scientific thought. The form of evolution, which the author regards with favour, is that which

> "Gives us a rational and orderly account of things. It is only in this sense it is comparable with the idea of Creation at all. Creation explains the existing facts about the world as the expression of a personal Will. . . . . But chance explains nothing. Like the moral sophistries against which Socrates protested, it makes men idle and disinclined to inquire, because it suggests that it is a solution of the difficulty, and implies that there is no other. Evolution is freed from these objections when it is dignified by the thought of conscious purpose. When the various changes through which matter passes are regarded as expressing a rational idea; when the successive steps are represented as steps moving towards a rational end, then it becomes a rational explanation of things, and not before."

The removal of objections to the probability of the Incarnation paves the way for the historical evidence in its favour, and especially of the Resurrection of Christ in this aspect. But

characteristically the argument is prefaced by an exceedingly subtle exposition of the nature of historical evidence generally, quite as long as the argument itself. This we pass by as well as most of the next chapter, which traces the formation of the dogma, where the author succeeds in imparting freshness to the discussion of such familiar topics as the early heresies which provoked the definitions of the Creeds. The most important topic in this section of the work is the treatment of the Lord's knowledge. Mr. Strong, like Mr. Gore in his Bampton Lecture, is inclined to apply the idea of Kenôsis to the knowledge of Christ, departing in this respect from the early traditions to which the Anglo-Catholic school of theology usually pays such deference. His language is cautious. Putting the indications of ignorance in the Lord's life beside the evidence of supernatural knowledge, and referring to the repression of power so obvious in the Gospel narrative, he simply asks: "May we not think of a conscious and voluntary reserve here also, of an ignorance as real as the Death upon the Cross was real, as the adoption of humanity was real? Such an ignorance would not touch His divinity any more than the pain of the Passion penetrated so as to alter the Divine substance." He has previously said: "The Son of God, when He came to the earth, did nothing which could alter His essential nature. Being in the form of God, He so remained. What He did do was to lay down for the purposes of the Incarnation those attributes of glory which, as equal to the Father, He had of right. He divested himself of all external signs of Godhead, and was found in fashion as a man. As Word of God we believe that He created and sustains the world: the world was sustained by the Word no less during the days of the humiliation." He also stipulates that the ignorance cannot relate either to His conscious unity with the Father or to moral subjects, restrictions which it would be difficult to maintain. The position is applied among other things to Christ's references to the authorship of Old Testament books. If, of course, the use of names of prophets as titles of books implied falsehood, Christ's sanction is out of the question. But if it is simply matter of use and custom, it is not easy to see what need there is to bring in the idea of a reserve of

knowledge in Christ. We wonder besides that the author does not see here the Nestorian tendency which he has just been condemning so strongly. An able and acute writer in the *Church Quarterly* (January 1893) says:

"The author's idea would be possible, though only *on one condition*. If we suppose that the human soul of our Lord possessed a personality or subsistence of its own—a person numerically different from, though in alliance with the Divine Personality—then it is conceivable that on ordinary occasions the Divine Personality might leave the human to itself, and only in certain exceptional cases communicate to it divine light. But that would be Nestorianism. . . . . The Church teaches that it was one and the self-same Person who knew all things as God who also knew as man. Now from this point of view the author's idea of reserve is seen to be impossible, for it would mean that our Lord withdraws from His Divine Person the Divine knowledge. He could not withdraw it in any other way from His human soul, since the Personality of the human soul was Himself, the Son of God. . . . . The author's theory is open to objection of another kind. It is in itself simply unthinkable. It represents our Lord as concealing His divine knowledge, not only from others, *but from Himself*. Is not this to use words without meaning? Let any one try it in his own case. The thing cannot be done."

The objection thus stated seems to us unanswerable. Strange that subtle-minded men should so fail in reality of thinking as to adopt this perilous hypothesis, resting as it does on a verbal quibble.

The chapter on the Trinitarian conception of God, which is inseparable from belief in the Incarnation, is fruitful in suggestion. It is hard to say what amount of ground there is for the fear "that Tritheism is the real faith of many uneducated Christians even at the present day." Of the three designations of God in John's writings—God is Spirit, God is Light, God is Love—the last, it is noted, first suggests the probability of a plurality in the Godhead. "If it be true that love is always social in its character, we must look for the eternal object of the Divine love either within the unity of the Godhead or in the created world." As the latter is not to be thought of, the subject and object of love must be within the divine nature. Then follows a subtle exposition of the ideas of unity and personality in reference to man, and in their application to God. It is not a little suggestive that the human personality, despite all the isolation and independence

which the idea carries with it, depends on other personalities for stimulus and perfecting. Have we here a reflection of the divine? "Our analysis of the conception of human personality shows that it is not complete within the limits of a negative and exclusive unity. The hard exclusiveness breaks up, and shows us how the self in one man needs the presence of other selves, which others are bound to him by the cords of mutual love. Where man's personality is incomplete, and requires the help of others, the nature of God is complete in itself. For God is Love. The love of the Eternal Father is for ever satisfied in the Eternal Son; the Father and the Son are for ever bound together in the Holy Spirit, who is the bond of the Divine Love." This thought is emphasised by Augustine in his memorable work on the Trinity. The analogy, which is justified by the divine image in man, shows "that human personality is a pale and piecemeal copy of the Divine rather than a type upon which we may form our conceptions of the Divine. In other words, the Trinitarian expression of the doctrine that God is Love imposes limits and safeguards upon our old enemy, anthropomorphism. It gives us the threefold relation as really existing in the nature of God; it rejects the limitations of time and place through which man gradually and partially realises his human personality."

Two other points of theological interest in this chapter are the Procession of the Holy Ghost and the meaning of the term Person. The former, it is well known, has given rise to difference between the Greek and Latin Churches, the former holding the Procession from the Father only, the latter from Father and the Son. As matter of canonical order the Greek Church is in the right, for the *filioque* clause violates the Chalcedon decree forbidding addition to the Nicene Creed. As to the doctrinal differences, it arises from the difference between the genius of the East and the West. The East laid stress on the subordination within the Godhead, a subordination involving no difference in nature, making the Son the instrument of the Father's activity; thus the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son; there is but one spring or fount of Deity. The Western mind laid stress on the idea of coinherence (*perichoresis*), which says that the action of one

person involves the co-operation of all, so close is the unity of the Godhead. This is a leading thought in Augustine's *De Trinitate*. In reply to the question which of these views is preferable, the author says that the Greek one is closely connected with Platonic speculations, which made the primal Being the source of other Beings by emanation, while the Western one "is impregnated through and through with the specially Christian belief in God as Love; without in any measure blurring or confusing the distinctions between the Persons, it keeps steadily in view the unity of God, and insists upon the co-operation of the whole Trinity of Persons in every act of God."

So far as relates to the term "Person" itself, the author points out that, whether derived from the Latin reference to a holder of legal rights, or a character in a play, it leans towards Sabellianism. A change took place in the use of *hypostasis*. Originally it meant the same as *ousia*, substance; then only one hypostasis of the Godhead was spoken of. It was represented in the West by *substantia*. But gradually hypostasis came to be used for the three persons, while *ousia* was still used for substance. Jerome, coming from Rome to Palestine, was puzzled to hear three hypostases spoken of, which he rendered *tres substantiæ*. This term leans to Tritheism. It is hard to preserve the mean between the opposite errors. After illustrating the personal distinctions in Scripture, our author continues:

"From the point of view of revelation we know the separateness of the Persons by their separateness of function. They are revealed as really three, and as performing three separate types of action, and we know their Personality through the separate functions which they perform. For us then, and within the limits of our knowledge, the Personality of the Father consists in His being the source and fount of all existence and activity, will and love; the Personality of the Son lies just in the fact that He is the objective expression of His Father's will, His Word and His Wisdom; the distinct Personality of the Holy Ghost lies in His separate functions of inspiration and interpretation. These things we know on the authority of Christ in Scripture, and we may well hesitate to insist on a greater separateness than these Scriptural distinctions imply. . . On the other hand, we have no right to assume that the distinctions found in Holy Scripture mean less than they say; that is, that they are descriptions of different modes of activity, as a man might be said to think, to will, to act."

A great deal is said in these days about the doctrine of the Trinity being the offspring of the Greek thought of the early centuries. The relation, the writer argues, between the two is one of contrast, not of affinity. The Greek speculations, which are supposed to be analogous, are purely metaphysical, not moral. "They have no interest in moral life except in so far as it is a necessary part of the evolution of the world." The motive of Stoicism and Neo-Platonism was despair of life, from which knowledge and virtue formed the way of escape. Matter is evil; its very existence is a reproach on Deity. In such an atmosphere an incarnation was impossible. The atmosphere of Jewish thought was profoundly moral. God was no abstraction, but a moral Ruler. Thus Greek and Jewish thought are diametrically opposite. "The ideal of their thought is different; they look for truth in different directions. One finds God in the ultimate result of the processes of thought; the other thinks of Him as partly revealed in Nature, partly in the moral life, still more in history." If this is so, "the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity is continuous with Jewish religious developments and not with Greek. The moral idea of a personal God is that which most naturally expresses itself in the Trinitarian form: and this involves such a belief in God as its basis."

This important chapter closes with the thesis that Trinitarianism is necessary to the completion of Theism. Theism differs both from Deism and Pantheism—from the former in keeping the world in touch with God, from the latter in preserving the distinction between the two. Deism emphasises the Divine activity in the creation of the world, but makes it cease then; it also keeps evil away from God. Pantheism makes God immanent in and identical with the world; it makes evil part of the Divine life. Their view of the nature of causation is also different. To Deism cause and effect are separate, the former ceases when the latter begins; to Pantheism they are co-existent and correlative, so God and the world are mutually dependent. Unitarian Theism wavers between the two theories, but eventually falls into one or the other extreme.

"Trinitarianism satisfies the conditions on both sides. By its asser-

tion of a plurality of persons in the Godhead it avoids the dangers which are fatal to Unitarian Theism. There is no talk of space, or of a world co-eternal with God. The Word and the Holy Spirit answer every condition we can require of this kind. And the identification of the nature of God with love enables us to shadow out the motive which may have been at the root of the world's existence."

We have already intimated that the doctrines bearing on man—Creation, the Fall, and Redemption—are less clearly connected in this argument with the Incarnation. To have fully brought out the connection would have required a more comprehensive treatment than the author contemplated. The idea of treating all theology as a Christology has been thoroughly worked out by a German divine, Thomasius, in his noble work, *Christi Person und Werk*. There the Incarnation and Atonement stand in the centre, all other doctrines appearing as presuppositions or consequences, the former the stately nave and dome, the others the foundations, aisles, chapels, and buttresses.

The idea of Creation is resolved into two parts: (1) God was really and exclusively the agent in producing the world; (2) the process occurred in time. In reply to the objection that the act implies change in God, it is remarked, with Aquinas, that though God cannot change His will, He may will a change. The author discountenances the use of the term infinite, as negative and of material associations, preferring the idea of self-limitation; Irenæus says, "The Father is unmeasured, the Son the measure of the Father." Self-limitation directly suggests personal life and action.

"It wholly avoids the contradiction between definite action and the so-called infinity of the Divine Being. It is exactly the expression best suited for describing action, and in the present application of it, it shows us Creation as in harmony with the revealed nature of God. The principle of self-limitation is, if we may so say, at the root of the idea of the Holy Trinity, and Creation is a carrying out of the principle."

The second idea affirms the non-eternity of the world both in substance and form. According to Plato and all pre-Christian thought the world is eternal in substance, though not in form; God is merely an artificer. We have here, it is well said, the

choice between accepting a moral and an intellectual difficulty. To believe that the matter of the world is eternal is to raise it to a sort of equality with God, or to reduce God to a level with it; to look on it as created is to accept the idea of an absolute beginning, to run the risk of importing the creaturely element of time into the Divine life and action. In such an alternative we cannot hesitate to accept the intellectual rather than the moral difficulty. The mystery is one that meets us everywhere. We can never seize the actual moment of transition from one state to another. We need not therefore be greatly troubled if we cannot picture to ourselves how an eternal purpose realises itself in time. The difficulty is the same as that of understanding how God can be known at all.

"Always when He reveals Himself some condescension is necessary in order to meet the capacities of our minds. There is only one alternative possible in this regard, unless we are prepared to deny the possibility of the knowledge of God. Either our minds must be capable of apprehending Him, or He must be capable of reaching our minds. And this shows the strength of the appeal to our religious instincts. No one maintains that we can apprehend God by the mere strength of our own minds. But religiously, we are sure that God is to be known by us, and the whole question of religion turns upon this. Unless then we can trust our religious instincts in the ultimate questions of religion, we must resign all hope of reaching God. And the question whether God is independent, or a mere correlative of material being, is an ultimate question of religion. In the latter case we need not trouble ourselves much about knowing Him, for it means that there is nothing much to know."

As already intimated, the author accepts Creation by evolution, understanding by evolution "an organic teleological process, a process guided by rational purpose at every step, determined in every detail by the consciousness of the end in view." Such a view, in truth, "involves no departure from the belief in God as Creator; it only defines and improves the meaning of the idea of creation." Very often, we know, evolution means something very different.

"God, we believe, is cause of the whole process from beginning to end; it expresses by slow degrees His idea. The thought of God which the Word reflects is made effectual by the Word through the operation of the Spirit. This, through the limitation of the Divine Love, occurs in time. Gradually, and by slow progress, as we think it, the presence of the Word in Nature becomes clear and certain,

until at last after long development through stages of being, in which the mechanism of life becomes gradually complete in the variety and success of its correspondence with the world, the creature in God's own image appears upon the scene, and returns with full consciousness the glory which is his Maker's due. Through the Word were all things made, and that which was made was life in the Word—Life in its original idea and purpose; and the Life which appeared in the world was to be the light of men, to point them to the Maker of it all, to show them the eternal power and godhead of the invisible God. In any case, whether in man's conscious worship of God, or in the perfect adaptation of the simplest order of creatures to their environment, the creative Word of God is revealed, and revealed through matter. The difference is one of degree, and not of kind. Man cannot complain, then, if he has to act and think with a body and an organisation which has a purely animal ancestry, since at every point of the development the Word of God is present and revealed. . . . . Man stands, in virtue of his prerogative of self-conscious worship of God, at the head of the natural world. . . . . Being, as he is, in the image of God, and bearing in himself the conscious inspiration and consecration of God, he is, as it were, the priest of nature, the representative of nature before God, of God before the natural world. And we may believe, not without reason, that this inspiration and consecration was to have gone on growing more and more intense till it was concentrated at last, when the Word should take flesh, and the revelation of God's will should reach its consummation through the Incarnate Son."

The elaborate discussion of the problem of evil considers evil under three aspects—in the universe, in man, and in nature. The position taken is the old one that the seat of evil is in the will. "It is a personal refusal to obey the Divine Person; not a mistake or an accident, but a personal rebellion against personal rule. That means that it lies entirely in the moral region." Kant's saying is quoted: "There is no absolutely good thing in the world, a good will alone accepted," as the only absolutely evil thing is an evil will. "Moral evil is prior both in time and in importance to physical evil: in time, for the sin of Satan is prior to the existence of the physical world; in importance, for physical evil is, we believe, one of the results of moral disorder." Manichæism, which denies that "evil lies entirely in the moral region," is then criticised at length. The principle of Manichæism is persistent in our days in many forms, among others in pessimism and optimism. We pass by the consideration of the relation of evil to the Divine power, goodness, and

fore-knowledge. The defence of the doctrine of original sin against the charge of injustice rests of course on the fact of solidarity, although the term itself is not used. Pelagianism implies a purely individualistic system of the world, which cannot be held in the face of modern science. There is no difficulty in the idea of the transmission of a morally disorganised nature. But how about transmitted guilt? It would seem, on the one hand, that original sin implies original guilt; and, on the other, that there can be no guilt apart from actual, personal sin. Perhaps this is "a merely verbal issue." As matter of fact, all men commit sin, and therefore contract guilt. The case of any one going through life without sin never occurs. On the story of the Fall, the writer says:

"If we accept, as we are inclined to do, the view of many ancient writers, that the scenery of the story is allegorical, it will not be because the pictorial setting is unworthy. There is nothing intrinsically out of keeping in the supposition that Adam's fate turned on the acceptance or rejection of an apple. It is currently supposed that the price of souls has gone up in modern times, and that no one would sell his for an apple any more than he would expect to buy a sheep for fourpence. Nowadays men would be expected to be tempted with vast fortune or high position, or something great and heroic, in order to persuade him to sacrifice his future. Such considerations are, morally speaking, quite irrelevant. The determination of the will is the essential feature, and this can be made plain, whatever the medium. There is nothing absurd or incredible or immoral in supposing this fateful temptation to have taken a form such as would be intelligible to man in his earliest and least enlightened days."

The author has much that is fine and suggestive on the use of pain and suffering in Nature.

The following chapter deals with the subject of the Atonement, and then, in very summary style, with the blessings springing from it. It is characteristic of the author's habit of pursuing every question to its remotest consequences, that, while maintaining the necessity of our Lord's miraculous birth, he gives the reasons for and against the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. He says, truly enough, that the notion proves too much, as the same reasons would demand the sinlessness of all her ancestors. The exposition of the ideal humanity of Christ is particularly fine. In every one else

God's ideal of man is wanting. "The world, as it was at Christ's coming, was thoroughly soaked through with sin. Its best and highest products were tainted. High position in the world's order was no guarantee for moral or spiritual excellence." Christ restored and represented the original idea of man. "He recapitulated it; He was the universal, Catholic man." says Irenæus. The writer agrees with Robertson Smith in thinking that the original meaning of sacrifice was communion between the Deity and man; both are supposed to partake of the sacrifice. The idea of expiation arose out of this as a means of restoring or recovering the lost communion. The latter view is made prominent in the Jewish system along with the doctrine of sin. The New Testament view of Christ's sacrifice under three aspects, as a means to Communion, vicarious, an offering to God, is then briefly expounded. The line of thought, again, reminds us of Mr. Lyttelton's excellent essay on the Atonement in *Lux Mundi*, which can be unreservedly commended.

The last chapter of the volume is the least satisfactory, representing to us a great falling off from the strength and weightiness of the previous discussions. The title indicates the course of teaching: "The Extension of the Incarnation in the Church and the Sacraments." There is more didactic statement, less reasoning, and the reasoning there is does not impress us as convincing or forcible. The argument moves much less than in the previous discussions on Scripture ground; we are in the region of ecclesiasticism. We had almost said, we seem to be listening to special pleading for foregone conclusions. Semi-Roman rites are spoken of with at least qualified approbation. All that is said about Christ's intention to found a society, about the social character of religion and of man, the two Christian rites, tells only against such extreme positions as Plymouth Brethrenism, and forms a very weak basis for the hierarchical system of Romanism or Anglo-Romanism. It is all carried out in the communions branded as heretical and schismatic. Roman doctrine proper is repudiated, but it seems to be simply the evolution of the principle laid down by the writer. Of the five extra Roman sacraments we are told, "Though sacramental in character, they do not quite occupy the same

position as the two which were ordained by our Lord," a very mild form of condemnation. Priestly confession and absolution, penance, prayer for the dead, are at least permissible. "If purgatory means only the place where the scars which sin has left are purged away, there is nothing to object to in the doctrine." The distinction made on this system in reserving the Eucharist to "an ordained minister of priestly rank," and permitting Baptism to be administered in certain cases by any one, is curious, and the argument used in its support is not very strong. "It is probable that the reason for the difference is due to the different relation they bear to the life of the Church. It is competent to any person who is himself a member of Christ, to use his right as a member to bring another person within the fold. It is not the ordinary usage, but in case of an emergency it is possible. On the other hand, the Eucharist involves a very special act of the whole Church, and it is reasonable that it should be reserved to those upon whom the charge is laid of maintaining the spiritual life of the Church generally." Of course a high doctrine of Episcopal succession and Holy Orders is maintained. "It is not that there is a mystical, semi-magical efficacy in the Apostolic source of the Ordination gift; but that in this way only is the limitation preserved which the principle of transmission involves. The gift of Holy Orders must be transmitted by those to whom the function of transmission is assigned, and by no others." Still it is admitted that grace may sometimes stray beyond the prescribed limits. But in this case "the Church guarantees nothing. Hence in the case of the Eucharist, as administered by societies which have broken off from the common tradition in organisation, there is a deficiency in the conditions of validity demanded by the Church, and therefore the Church can give no assurance about its character. It does not necessarily deny that those who partake in faith receive blessing; but it absolutely withholds any assurance that such Sacraments convey any grace at all." Even of the custom of offering the Eucharist "with special intention for the living or the dead," the writer says, "There is nothing contradictory to its character in this use of it." The mistake in the notion of atoning for immorality in life by masses after death is "in practical result

rather than in theory." We hold in the strongest manner that the doctrine of the Sacraments here advocated, so far from being a high one, is the lowest possible—is, in truth a degrading doctrine, mechanical and material, and therefore alien to the entire spirit of the Gospel. All this is very pitiful. Similar reasoning would justify the full-blown Roman theory. The contrast between the last chapter of the volume and the former chapters is very great. At this moment the sacramental superstitions which are common to High Anglicanism and the Church of Rome are doing more than anything else to mar the unity of Christian faith and life in the world and the harmony and charity of Christendom.

Art. IV—BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX.

Bernard of Clairvaux: the Times, the Man, and his Work. By Richard S. Storrs, D.D., LL.D., Author of *The Divine Origin of Christianity*, &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1892. 9*s*.

BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX is one of those saints of the Church Universal who have enjoyed the reverence and love, not only of his own, but of all succeeding ages. Thomas Aquinas, the Angelical Doctor, preached a sermon in the thirteenth century, on the feast of St. Bernard, in which he compares him to gold for the sanctity of his will, to a multitude of precious stones for the honesty of his character and the multitude of his virtues, to a costly vase for the purity of his virginity. Bonaventura describes him as a man of sublime eloquence, and of such saintly wisdom that his life ought to be a constant stimulus to the Church.

"It does not surprise us," says Dr. Storrs, "that Baronius should speak of him as a true apostle of God, the stay and splendour of the whole Church, especially of the Church in France; that the learned and devout Mabillon should count his writings next in value to the Scriptures themselves for religious minds; that Bossuet should asso-

ciate him as a witness for doctrine with the illustrious Fathers of the Church, and describe him as appearing, in the midst of barbaric ignorance, an apostle, a prophet, an earthly angel, demonstrated such by his preaching, his works, and by that spirit in his life which still surpassed his prodigies of power."

Even Luther, with his strong feeling as to the evils of monasticism, pays a notable tribute to the Abbot of Clairvaux: "If there has ever," he says, "been a pious monk who feared God, it was St. Bernard; whom alone I hold in much higher esteem than all other monks and priests throughout the globe."

No student of St. Bernard's life can fail to understand the spell which his character and words cast over his own generation. His sermons, as Sixtus of Sienna said, "are at once so sweet and so ardent that it is as though his mouth were a fountain of honey, and his heart a whole furnace of love." We seem to read Bernard's inmost soul as we linger with the monks in cloister or chapel and hear him speak of his Master:

"If thou writest," he says, "nothing therein has savour to me unless I read Jesus in it. If thou discoursest or conversest, nothing therein is agreeable to me unless in it also Jesus resounds. Jesus is honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, a song of jubilee in the heart. He is our medicine as well. Is any among you saddened? Let Jesus enter into his heart, and thence leap to his lips, and lo! at the rising illumination of His name every cloud flies away, serenity returns."

It is strange, in the light of his own later history, that James Cotter Morison has given us our best biography of St. Bernard. It was published in 1863, and called forth a masterly article by Dr. Pope, which may still be read in the LONDON QUARTERLY for 1863 (vol. xx. 351). Mr. Morison's "wholesale horror at the Divine miraculous intervention" at two great crises in Bernard's life indicates in what direction his own mind was moving; but, as Dr. Storrs bears witness, though his book is "not altogether lucid in arrangement, or satisfactory in particular discussions, and is sometimes less sympathetic than could be desired in spiritual tone, it is prepared with conscientious care, is written in a clear and vigorous style, and contains passages of much beauty."

We had hoped that Dr. Storrs' volume would have formed an adequate biography of the great pope-maker and leader of the

Church in the twelfth century. Many things seemed to mark him out as the very man to accomplish this task. He has long cherished a "reverent sense of the singular beauty and power of the man, and of the wide relations of his work." Bernard's figure has become for him "one of the saintliest and most heroic on the canvas of European history." Steeped in the history of the times, deeply in sympathy with that spirituality of heart and mind which is the abiding secret of St. Bernard's power, Dr. Storrs' eloquent style lends a charm to all he writes. But his book is too discursive. We sometimes almost lose the thread of his narrative amid a multitude of details about the Abbot's contemporaries which Dr. Storrs drags in, as though his chief aim was to exhaust the whole subject. As a biography his book falls below Morison's, but, as a series of lectures on the age and the man, the present volume will be read with no small interest and delight. The opening lectures on the tenth and eleventh centuries introduce us to our special study. "This remarkable leader of thought and action, belonging to a distant century," is not shown as "an obscure passage of history between indefinite dark spaces," but the forces which were governing Europe in his day, and which "shaped always the environment of his life," are exhibited at great length. Unfortunately the personal picture loses definiteness by such scene painting. It is not a single portrait, but a great man variously sketched among a dense crowd of contemporaries. To use Dr. Storrs' own words, his lectures are "associated general sketches of Bernard, in different relations, events, and activities of life."

Bernard was born in 1091, a quarter of a century after the Norman Conquest. Hildebrand had held the Papal throne for eighteen years; Philip I. was king of France. During the previous century civilisation had been at a lower ebb than at any period since the Fall of the Roman Empire. Baronius calls it the iron or leaden age from its harshness, its lack of good, and its manifold evils. He adds that, from its dearth of writers, it is branded as a "sæculum obscurum." Charlemagne's magnificent life-work had lifted Europe on to a new platform of progress. That great emperor conducted more than fifty military expeditions which "gave territorial

security for the time to central and western Europe, from the North Sea to the Tiber, from near the Iron Gate of the Danube westward to the ocean." When he was crowned, on Christmas Day, 800, his power extended over two-thirds of the ancient Western Empire of Rome, and included German lands which the mistress of the world had never conquered. His military work bore permanent fruit, for, when his empire was dismembered, civilised states sprang up "from the scarred battle fields of swarming barbarians." But Charlemagne's campaigns were intended to pave the way for a great social and political transformation of Europe. Imperial commissioners passed to and fro to redress abuses, whilst the Emperor's own restless activity multiplied in all quarters the impression of his ever-present and unlimited authority. "He presided in synods and directed their discussions, wrote letters of instruction or sharp admonition to abbots, bishops, on occasion to popes, looked after religious establishments, and as far as might be controlled their manners; while at the same time he sought diligently to stimulate industry and extend commerce, and undertook himself large public works." After his death chaos returned. The three centuries which separate the times of Charlemagne and St. Bernard were filled with such anarchy, both in Church and State, as Europe has never witnessed since. But the great Emperor's reign had shown on a colossal scale what Europe might be made by wise and firm government, and the lesson was not lost on later generations.

The Papacy during these centuries was a Pornocracy or reign of Harlots. The vilest vices of the age of Tiberius and Caligula reappeared in their most outrageous and repulsive forms. Mabillon says justly that most of the tenth century Popes "lived rather like monsters, or like wild beasts, than like bishops." When Hildebrand was appointed director of the Monastery of St. Paul, outside Rome, cattle were stabled in its church, and women of loose character waited on the monks in their refectory. The state of morals among priests and people for two hundred years after Charlemagne baffled description. At the end of the tenth century an awful dread that the judgment day was close at hand seized on Europe. Many startling events were regarded as certain harbingers

of the coming doom. Desolating fires broke out in various cities, plague and famine caused widespread disaster. An immense dragon was said to have been seen flying through the air terrifying men with dazzling light and hideous noise. "Looking back to that period," writes Dr. Storrs, "it seems evident that the mind of a large part of Europe was in a state of semi-delirium. Common life, Michelet has said, was made up of marvellous things, it was not merely interrupted by them; and such marvels took usually the shape of mysteries of darkness. Apparitions were seen in the daytime. Strange voices were heard in the air." Raul described a hideous mannikin which appeared to his heated fancy at the foot of his bed in the monastery, with slim neck, coal-black eyes, narrow and wrinkled forehead, flat nose, puffed-out lips, filthy hair, and dog's teeth. It shook the bed and muttered: "Thou wilt not tarry here long." Gloomy terror paralysed industry and unhinged all society. Unless those evil days had been shortened the whole framework of European life would have been wrecked.

The eleventh century witnessed a vigorous reaction against the evil courses which had caused such widespread misery in the tenth. Bernard was in some respects fortunate in his age. It was not an age of blood and iron. There was a reawakened spiritual force which gave promise of better things. Thought was more variously active; a spirit of enterprise was abroad. "Instructed minds and consecrated spirits could reach multitudes with an effect wholly impossible a century before him, while still ignorance was wide, vice general, superstition familiar." Pope Hildebrand was the master mind of the century. His haughty temper, his absolute will, his vehement and subtle spirit, almost tempt a modern student to adopt that title, "Saint Satan," which his friend Peter Damiani conferred on him in friendly irony. But those who knew Hildebrand best described him as "a religious man of manifold science, endowed with prudence, a most excellent lover of justice, strong in adversity, temperate in prosperity, chaste, modest, sober, hospitable, from his boyhood well educated and learned." The Tuscan monk, who had not yet been ordained a priest, was elected Pope in 1073. He set himself to enfranchise the Church from her dependence on secular powers, and to restore

her to purer morals. Simony and licentiousness were to give way to austere discipline and ascetic piety. Dr. Storrs quotes some noble words of Hildebrand's, which prove how enlightened were his own views as to practical piety: "From love to God, to show love to one's neighbour, to aid the unfortunate and the oppressed, this I consider more than prayers, fastings, vigils, and other good works, be these never so many; for I cannot hesitate to prefer, with the Apostle, true love to all other virtues."

But notwithstanding these sentiments, Hildebrand would fain have converted the Church into an engine of remorseless oppression. Happily even such a Pope was powerless to enslave Europe. That historic scene at Canossa, where Henry IV. of Germany humbled himself before the proud Pontiff, marks the zenith of Hildebrand's power; but a few years after he himself died, an exile from Rome, a pensioner on the bounty of his friends.

Six years later, in 1091, St. Bernard was born at Fontaines. Michelet has described the Burgundy of those days as "a goodly land, where cities put vine branches into their coats of arms, where everybody calls everybody else brother or cousin—a country of good livers and joyful Christmases." Those sunny *plateaux* have been the birthplace of many famous men. Bossuet and Buffon, Crébillon, the tragic poet, and Piron, the maker of witty epigrams; Diderot, Lamartine, and Edgar Quinet all sprang from St. Bernard's province. "The skies of Burgundy have thus," says Dr. Storrs, "for centuries ripened wits as well as wines, and the Order of the Golden Fleece, instituted there three centuries after Bernard, for the glory of knighthood and of the Church only, represented, in name at least, the wealth and the warmth of the prosperous province." Tescelin, the father of the future saint, was a knight of some distinction, belonging to the family of the Counts of Châtillon. Though rich and noble he was affable in manners, a warm friend to the poor, a man of deep piety, and fired by an extraordinary zeal for justice. He was a brave soldier who never went into battle without gaining the victory. Once he had a sharp controversy with a neighbour inferior to himself both in position and prowess. It was arranged that

the two men should fight out their quarrel, but Tescelin, though confident of the victory, felt constrained to make peace with his adversary and relinquished all that had been in dispute. The monkish chronicler, who tells the story, adds the comment: "O magna pietas, magna viri clementia."

Such was Bernard's father. His mother Aletta, or Alèthe, was a saintly woman who had wished to enter a convent, but, being disappointed in this cherished desire, followed a strict monastic rule in her husband's castle. She was connected with the ducal house of Burgundy and was married at the age of fifteen. The care of six sons and one daughter did not prevent her visiting the poor from house to house. She prepared food for the sick and indigent with her own hands, and performed for them the humblest offices. Her nephew's touching narrative of her death has been handed down to our day. She had been accustomed to invite the neighbouring clergy to the castle at Fontaines on the festival of St. Ambrosien, to whom the church was dedicated. She had a strong presentiment that she would die on the feast day, and told her husband and her household her thoughts without interrupting preparations for the festival. The evening before it was held she was seized by a violent fever. Next day, when their evening meal was over, the clergy met around her bed. As they repeated the solemn Litany for the dying she joined in the petitions. At the words, "By Thy cross and passion, O Lord, deliver her!" her voice failed, she lifted her hand to make the sign of the cross, and breathed out her soul to God. The hand, to the wonder of all present, is said to have remained uplifted as she lay silent in death. Her body was borne with bended heads and flowing tears to the Convent of St. Benignus at Dijon, and laid under the shadow of the great basilica, the whole population, bearing crosses and candles, pouring forth to meet it. A hundred and fifty years later the monks of Clairvaux claimed the body of their great abbot's mother.

Bernard was eighteen when this bereavement darkened the castle at Fontaines. His mother's image never faded from his memory. It became his chief ambition to realise the purposes which his mother had cherished for himself. He had just

left the cathedral school at Châtillon, where his grace and genius, as well as his proficiency in his studies, had made him conspicuous. The hour had come when he must choose his path in life. Dr. Storrs says :

"To one of his fine presence, graceful and attractive manners, combined as in him they were with great activity of mind, a fearlessness of spirit that never failed, and an extraordinary power of command over others, the court and the camp offered every opportunity, promising wealth, rank, pleasure, in the utmost abundance. If he were not drawn toward either of these, the schools of the time, fast rising in importance, and destined ere long to grow to universities, opened a large and inviting field to his eager genius, wherein could be exercised and enjoyed to the full his skill in dialetics, his power of studious contemplation, with his surpassing gift of eloquent speech. He felt this attraction himself ; his brothers and friends strongly persuaded it ; and his ultimate decision was delayed in consequence."

Even in the Church, princely position, wealth and fame were within his grasp. But Bernard turned from these glittering prospects to enter a new and obscure convent where the monastic profession assumed its most severe and exacting form. He was riding towards the camp of the Duke of Burgundy to join his brothers, who were besieging a castle, when his mother, disappointed and reproving, seemed to stand before him. He turned aside to pray in a little roadside chapel, and there poured out his heart before God. With tears streaming down his face, he lifted his hands to Heaven in prayer and devoted himself to a religious life. When he reached the camp he used all his powers of persuasion to induce his brothers to make the same resolve. One by one they cast in their lot with him. Whilst he was pleading with his brother Andrew, "I see my mother," Andrew exclaimed, and Bernard's eyes also seemed opened to gaze upon her face. Gerard, a brilliant young soldier, was harder to win, but he also yielded to the spell of Bernard's example and entreaties. The great Abbot's exquisite lament over Gerard in later years shows how much he had been blessed by this brother's faith and constancy. Their uncle, the Lord of Touillon, joined them, and the youngest brother, also, was soon drawn to the monastery, neither father, nor kinsfolk, nor friends being able to hold him back. It was not long

before father, sister, and six brothers were all devoted to a monastic life.

A powerful impetus had been given to monasticism in the previous century. New orders had been formed, old institutions had gained fresh zeal and influence.

"The monks," as Dr. Storrs points out, "had been largely the civilisers of Europe. Accustomed to labour, inured to hardship, contemptuous of death, living in caves and birchen huts, with patient and undaunted toil they had widely subdued the savage country, covered with forests, stained with great tracks of desert land, sterile with bogs and drowned with swamps, where the elk and the buffalo, the bear and the wolf, were not so fierce as the savage men who roamed and fought beneath the shades. More than once the monastery had become the nucleus of the city. It was the centre of civilised industry, as well as the symbol of moral aspiration, in an age of general confusion and strife. It had maintained the unending struggle against cruelty in high places, and had borne aloft the Christian doctrine that society is bound to protect the weak. It exalted before men the solemn thought of their relation to each other, through their common relation to God and the Hereafter; and so it contributed, with an essential and inestimable force, to ennoble society."

In Burgundy monastic institutions were multiplying and growing in popular favour during St. Bernard's boyhood. The Abbey of St. Benignus, at Dijon, and that of Clugni, near Mâcon, were the most famous. The Clugniacs indulged in a luxury which in later years provoked Bernard's indignant remonstrance:

"Who could say," he asks, "to speak of nothing else—in how many ways eggs are cooked and worked up? With what care they are turned in and out, made hard or soft, or chopped fine; now fried, now roasted, now stuffed; now they are served mixed with other things, now by themselves. Even the external appearance of the dishes is such that the eye, as well as the taste, is charmed. And when even the stomach complains that it is full, curiosity is still alive."

In a monastery like Clugni Bernard might have enjoyed not only comfort but luxury. His was not, however, the mind and heart to be satisfied with worldliness, even though it wore the garb of religion. He sought out a convent where the Benedictine rule was strictly observed. The Abbey of Citeaux, near Châlons, a dozen miles from Dijon, was at this time poor and unknown to fame. It had been founded fifteen years

before, but its austere rule had repelled applicants. It now seemed about to die out. Not even the sincere piety and high administrative gifts of Stephen Harding, its third abbot, had been able to save it from languishing.

On Bernard the austerities of Citeaux acted like a magnet. He and his friends retired to Châtillon, where they spent six months to test their own sincerity, and finish their preparation for the cloister. Then the thirty enthusiasts, led by this youth of twenty-two, knocked at the gates of Citeaux. It was "a reformed and a Puritan monastery." One meal a day sufficed for the simple wants of the brethren. This was generally eaten about noon, without meat, fish, or eggs; milk was seldom to be had. There was a slight supper of fruit or herbs. Assiduous toil filled up the intervals between the worship and meditation, which went on from earliest morning till eight o'clock at night. Bernard counted time spent in sleep as wasted, and grudged every moment thus employed. He lost all relish for food, and undermined his health by his slavish abstinence. He became abstracted and preoccupied. Every sense was stupefied. In his ears continually sounded the famous question: "Bernard, wherefore art thou here? Wherefore art thou here?" and his answer was "To mortify the flesh." To save himself from being distracted by the gossip of visitors, he put wads of wax in his ears and buried his head in his cowl. Bernard was already recognised as an ideal leader. His conversion and accession had made Citeaux prosperous. In two years' time the young enthusiast was sent out with twelve monks to found a new monastery—the third that had sprung into existence since his coming to Citeaux. The twelve monks represented the Apostles: Bernard, who marched at their head bearing the cross, was their leader and guide.

A hundred miles northward from Citeaux lay a deep valley, eight miles long and three in breadth. It was well wooded, and the rapid river Aube ran through it. The valley deserved its name of Clara Vallis, or Clairvaux. Two ranges of hills approached each other at the west, where the abbey was built, and opened out more widely toward the east. It had been a wild region haunted by robbers, but after the monks had

bestowed long and skilful labour on it, the whole region became a scene of singular beauty and fertility.

"On the hills on one side of the abbey were then vineyards, on the other side fruit-orchards; a branch of the river was made to run beneath the walls of the abbey, and to turn the wheels for the tannery and the mills; toward the east were gardens, orchards, meadows, and a fish-pond; on the west, a fountain of the sweetest sparkling water—the whole making a scene so full of rural richness and charm that they who had dwelt in it, and by their labour had contributed to transform it, could almost never willingly be separated from it."

But months of strenuous toil were needed to transform the forest valley into the peaceful paradise it became in later years. The brethren left Citeaux in June, accompanied by men bearing provisions and material for forming the new settlement. When they had built rude huts and a little chapel, the newcomers began to root out the thick brush-wood, and turn the wilderness into a fruitful garden. They had to endure great privation. During the first summer, they lived on coarse bread of barley and millet, partially cooked, with a relish of beech leaves steeped in water and bits of vetch. In the winter beech-nuts and herbs were their chief food. Once when salt failed, Bernard sent a monk to buy it in a distant village. He had no money, but bade the messenger, "Be not afraid; He who has the treasure will be with thee, and will supply the things for which I send." The monk returned rejoicing .... his need had, in some unexpected fashion, been more than met. Bernard was not slow to teach the lesson: "I tell thee, my son, that nothing is so necessary to a Christian man as faith. Have faith, and it will be well with thee all the days of thy life." The courage of the little company was sorely tried during that long and bitter winter. It seemed as though they must return to Citeaux to save their lives. At last as Bernard prayed a voice from heaven seemed to banish his fears. When his monks asked for what he had asked, they were told: "Remain as you are, and you shall know." A stranger soon appeared bringing ten livres, which relieved their present distress. A man, who wished to secure sympathy and prayer for his sick son, brought thirteen more livres; then a neighbouring

monastery sent supplies. Thus the little community struggled on till their own ground began to yield its harvest.

After this sharp experience the Abbey took firm root. Larger buildings were subsequently erected on a suitable site. Contributions flowed in, and the monks worked eagerly quarrying and dressing the stone, or preparing the timber, until at last the grand pile of buildings arose in all its completeness. The number of the monks grew apace, and, as time passed, four colonies on an average were sent forth each year. A hundred and sixty colonies are said to have gone forth in Bernard's lifetime, whilst seven hundred monks still remained at Clairvaux.

The fame of the Abbey "for holiness, wisdom, and the highest exhibition of the virtue and grace of monastic life rapidly filled Christian Europe." Sometimes a hundred applicants for admission came together craving entrance. The rule of Benedict was followed. Contentment, diligence, and devout attendance on religious services were required of all. Meals were eaten in silence whilst some portion of the Scripture was read. In summer the monks worked from prime till ten o'clock; then two hours were allowed for reading, food, and rest; from noon to even-song the brethren were again busily employed. Bernard was the animating spirit of the whole institution, himself setting an example of unceasing industry, and watching over all his brethren with sleepless vigilance. He generally gave a religious lecture or address after the day's work was over, which helped him to infuse his own love of goodness into the hearts of his monks and lift them all to things above.

Meanwhile he was wearing himself to a skeleton. William of Champeaux, Bishop of Châlons, saved him from physical collapse by a clever stratagem. This sagacious prelate had ordained Bernard abbot, and had conceived a warm regard for him. He saw with deep regret that the young leader had broken down his constitution by utter disregard of every law of health. He could not distinguish any difference in taste between butter and raw blood, and relished nothing except water to cool his fevered throat. The bishop went to the next Chapter at Citeaux, and obtained permission to act as Bernard's

superior for one year. He then put him under some medical care in a separate hut, and kept him there for a twelvemonth. The bishop's ruse saved the abbot. Nor was it an unhappy year. To William of St. Thierry, who visited Bernard in his rude hut, it seemed the very gate of heaven, where he would fain have lingered with him. "He was not alone since God was with him, and the guardianship and comfort of holy angels." The monastery did not suffer by its abbot's enforced absence, for he had moulded its inmates after his own pattern, and his hut hard by was a continual inspiration to prayer and holy living. By-and-bye, he returned to them a wiser, saner man to carry on his work with new strength of body and mind.

Clairvaux was Bernard's home for forty years. As his influence grew and his fame spread far and wide the highest ecclesiastical honours were pressed upon him, but he rejected them all. The imperious needs of the great world drew him forth as the preacher of the second crusade, or the arbiter between princes and rival pontiffs, but when his duty was discharged he was always eager to get back to his "'beloved Jerusalem.' After cities like Milan had almost fought to make him their archbishop; after stubborn princes had been smitten before him into prostrate submission; after cardinals had hated him because his power with the Pontiff surpassed their own; after miracles, even in long series, had seemed to attend his triumphing steps—he came back, not merely to preach daily sermons to the monks, but to take his part in preparing dinners and washing the kitchen-plates and vessels, to look after the poultry, to number the pigs, and to grease his own shoes." His monks shared his enthusiasm for Clairvaux. One of his severest letters was written to a brother who had been appointed abbot at Igny, but was fain, through very home-sickness, to return to Bernard. His old master entreats him to get back to his post and not add to the burdens of one who already had sorrow on sorrow.

When at home, as we have said, Bernard preached every evening. These homilies were the outpourings of his best and deepest thoughts on Scripture. He used to meditate his sermons in his cell, or in a rustic arbour at a secluded part of the valley. He had notes, but usually made little or no reference

to them when he stood in the pulpit. Three hundred and fifty reports of these discourses have come down to us. They are in Latin, which has, Dr. Storrs says, "a beauty of its own as well as a certain powerful swing in its general movement, coming from the great personality behind it. Its sentences move not infrequently like the tread of cohorts, while particular words sparkle and shine as with the gleam of helmet and ensign." The sermons reveal much study of Scripture, with reflection and meditation set forth in a leisurely way well befitting the preacher and the congregation who had trooped in from cell, or field, or scriptorium, and sat with folded arms to hear their venerated master. For Bernard the Bible was the one book. Each word in it had "a mystic meaning, the thought of God beneath the letter, which it was the joy and passion of his life to explore and exhibit." Even the proper names of Scripture had their charm for one who regarded them as full of supernal mysteries. His best thoughts came as he meditated and prayed in the woods or fields with no other teachers than beech-trees and oaks. He wrote to Heinrich of Murdach, afterwards Archbishop of York: "Trust one who has learned by experience! Thou wilt find something larger in the woods than in books! The trees and rocks shall teach thee what thou never canst learn from human masters. Dost thou think it not possible to suck honey from stones, and oil from the flinty rock? But do not the mountains drop sweetness, and the hills flow with milk and honey, and the valleys stand thick with corn?" Scripture and Nature were for Bernard two volumes written by the same Author; one threw constant light upon the other. Dr. Storrs quotes the old saying attributed to Themistocles: that speech is like a tapestry unrolled, whereon the imagery appears in figure; while thought unexpressed contains the same figures hidden in folds. Bernard's aim in preaching was to exhibit clearly the figures of crimson, velvet, and gold, which were embroidered on the Scripture and contrast them with those of infernal blackness and fire. In his famous sermons on the Canticles he has free range for his peculiar gift: "Each chapter stands before one, under his abundant and affectionate discussion, like an immense, far-spreading vine, climbing over trellis and rock, with fragrant

odours, and all changeful beauty of colour in leaf and blossom, laden with grapes which grow only on holy ground, and from which is pressed the wine of Paradise. He allegorises always, but he is always in lofty earnest." The elegance of Bernard's figure, the charm of his manner, and the beauty of his face added much to the power of his preaching. He was about middle height and very slender, with light golden hair, a reddish beard, and eyes singularly pure and dove-like. He had a remarkable brightness of countenance, and his whole person was suffused with a peculiar and winning charm. His frail physique made those who watched his stupendous labours feel as though a lamb had been harnessed to the plough, but when his subject moved him deeply all signs of weakness vanished; he seemed transformed into another being.

The part which Bernard played in the struggle between Innocent II. and Anacletus II. for the Papal tiara first reveals to us how commanding his influence had become. When Innocent appealed to France to support his claims, Louis VI. convened a great council at Etampes. Bernard, who was not yet forty years of age, had been specially summoned, and, after fasting and prayer, king, prelates, and grandees agreed to submit the decision to the judgment of the Abbot of Clairvaux. He examined the whole subject with scrupulous care, and unhesitatingly pronounced in favour of Innocent. The decision was received with acclamation by the Council, and Bernard was soon able to bring Henry I. of England and Lothaire of Germany to the same mind. The Pope visited Clairvaux with his retinue, where he was welcomed "not by banquets, but by virtues." It was a fine lesson for the luxurious Roman priesthood. Lothaire, with two thousand horsemen conducted Innocent to Rome in 1133, but could not open St. Peter's to him, or permanently occupy the city. It was Bernard who managed in three visits to Italy to win Genoa, Pisa, and Milan over to the side of Innocent. The city of Ambrose was moved to a frenzy of reverence and admiration by his visit. Business was suspended that men might see and hear Bernard, and the whole population demanded that he should remain as their Archbishop. He was glad enough next morning to escape at full gallop from the city. After the death of Anacletus the pope

chosen to fill his place soon made his submission to Innocent through the mediation of Bernard. The schism in the Papacy had made the Abbot of Clairvaux the foremost man in Europe. He became, as Milman says, "at once the leading and the governing head of Christendom." His letters, of which nearly five hundred still survive, bear witness to the extent of his influence. Every dispute was referred to him, so that the letters form a history of the times full of enduring interest. Popular fancy attributed many miracles to the saintly abbot. Men believed that God granted his every request. The power ascribed to him was to himself a source of anxious perplexity, but he did not doubt that obstinate diseases were cured by his instrumentality. Most of the miracles may be explained by Bernard's commanding personality, and the enthusiasm he awoke in the minds of others. The rest we must be content to leave unexplained.

The most dramatic scene in Bernard's life is his conflict with Abelard, the daring rationalist, the dazzling rhetorician, whose renown echoed throughout Europe, and whose fair fame has been for ever sullied by his deliberate seduction of Héloïse. Dr. Storrs deals minutely with every stage in the history of that brilliant but erratic man of genius. His perilous speculations and his *sic et non*, which, for controversial purposes, set the sayings of the Fathers in direct and glaring contradiction with each other, profoundly disturbed the mind of Bernard, who has been called the last of the Christian Fathers. "The two men represented colliding tendencies. Two systems, two ages came into shattering conflict in their persons. It was heart against head; a fervent sanctity against the critical and rationalising temper; an adoring faith in mysterious truths, believed to have been announced by God, against the dissolving and destructive analysis which would force these truths into subjection to the human understanding." Bernard held aloof from controversy on such themes; but when the perilous opinions of Abelard were brought to his notice by William of St. Thierry he sought a personal interview with Abelard, who is said to have promised to amend what seemed amiss in his writings. He afterwards, however, reaffirmed his original views, and claimed the privilege of appearing to vindicate

them before the Great Council at Sens in June 1140. So confident was he of victory that he invited his disciples to come and watch his triumph. Bernard felt some natural shrinking from an encounter with the greatest master of dialetics in that age. At last he resolved to go in the strength of God. There was a brilliant assembly. The king was present, with a host of celebrities—bishops, abbots, princes, and learned men. Bernard had gathered seventeen passages from the writings of Abelard, and asked that these might be read. But the clerk had scarcely begun to read, when Abelard stood up, appealed to the Pope, and left the assembly. Nothing would persuade him to return. No satisfactory explanation of his conduct has ever been given. His own hand gave the death-blow to his reputation and influence. Less than two years afterwards he died a broken man at the Priory of St. Marcel in Burgundy.

Bernard's greatest popular triumph was gained when he roused Europe for the Second Crusade. He was fifty-five, worn into premature age by sickness and abstinence, when the Pope appointed him to preach the Crusade. At Vezelai, in the Easter week of 1146, his irresistible eloquence swayed and inspired the vast crowd that had assembled to hear him. Louis VII. and his queen were present, with a glittering array of peers, prelates, and a crowd of common people. No church would hold the concourse. Bernard stood on a platform on the hill-side. He spoke of the sufferings of Christians, of the profanation of the Holy Places, till it seemed "as if skies silent above them had broken into sudden speech." Prudence was cast to the winds; the memory of past hardship and disaster seemed blotted out. Once again, as in the days of the first Crusade, fifty years before, "Christ!" had thundered through the minds of all, and the only fear was that of being the last on the road. "Crosses! Crosses!" was the cry. Vast numbers had been provided, but they were utterly insufficient, and robes and mantles were torn up to furnish them. Wherever Bernard went the same enthusiasm awoke. The multitude at Chartres implored him to lead the Crusade himself, but from such a task even Bernard shrank. "Who am I," he said, "that I should determine the array of camps,

and march before the faces of armed men?" When he crossed the Rhine to preach in Germany castles and towns were left vacant, and business almost came to a standstill. The Germans wept, exulted, and enlisted in the Crusade even before the preacher's words had been interpreted. In two private interviews, Conrad, the emperor, refused to yield to the preacher's entreaties that he would undertake the Crusade. He was, however, present at Spires when Bernard celebrated Mass. The abbot rose to preach. At the close of his sermon in the crowded cathedral he made an impassioned appeal to the emperor. He represented Conrad standing at the bar of Christ, who imperiously asked him: "O man! what ought I to have done for thee, which I have not done?" He set forth the splendour of his position, and dilated on all God's mercies. At last the emperor, unable to assist the appeal, burst into tears, and exclaimed: "I acknowledge the gifts of the Divine favour; nor will I prove ungrateful for them. He assisting me, I am ready to serve Him, seeing that on His part I am so admonished!" The Second Crusade was now launched on its way to disgrace and disaster. Its fragments of broken armies visited Palestine as pilgrims rather than as warriors. Conrad failed to capture Damascus, and returned to Europe with the shattered remains of magnificent hosts. Thirty thousand lives had been lost without a single glorious action. The rage of disappointed and impoverished princes and people fell largely on Bernard. He defended himself in a letter to Pope Eugenius by pointing out that the conduct of the Crusaders had shown that they were unworthy of Divine favour. He quietly fell back on his work and waited till the storm should sweep by.

He was now busy writing that book on *Consideration*, addressed to his true friend and former disciple, Eugenius III., which shows how lofty was his ideal of a true pastor of Christendom. He counsels the Pope to cultivate religious thoughtfulness about himself and his work. He laments over the infinite variety of secular business which rested on the pontiff, and bewailed the unholy combination between the Romish Court and Church. His picture of a true Pope must have awaked many a painful contrast in his own mind as he

remembered what manner of men the pontiffs of the last two centuries had been, or recalled his own biting comment on Pope Honorius, "The honour of the Church has been not a little blemished in the time of Honorius," and his stern accusation of Innocent II., "Things justly destroyed, you re-establish." He is more at home where he tries to show what a Christian life should be. Dr. Pope clearly points out in the article to which we have referred that Bernard is happily free from the insobriety of the later mystics. He never disdains the commonest duties or virtues. The path towards which he leads us is not too high and steep for mortal feet. As Calvin says, the very truth seems to speak while we read his words. The year before his death Bernard seemed utterly prostrate. He was scarcely able to eat or sleep. A summons from the Archbishop of Treves reached him. There was a terrible contest between the people of Metz and the surrounding barons. The dying man roused himself to go as peacemaker, but the angry nobles would not hear him. Preparations were made for the battle, which now seemed inevitable. That night Bernard dreamed that he was singing the "Gloria in excelsis." He assured his friends that peace and goodwill would come in the morning. The event justified his prophecy. Whilst he lay dreaming the barons were discussing his faithful remonstrance, and within a few days all fear of a contest was over. Such was Bernard's last intervention in the affairs of the world. He returned to Clairvaux to die. One of his latest letters, written to his uncle Andrew, shows how he still sorrowed over the misfortunes of the Second Crusade. "Woe, woe, to our princes! They have done no good in the Lord's land! But we trust that God will not reject His people, nor forsake His inheritance." When sleep had wholly forsaken him, and he could take no nourishment, he dictated a letter to the Abbot of Bonneval; "Pray to the Saviour, Who wills not the death of any sinner, that He will not delay my now seasonable departure from the earth, but He will protect it. Be solicitous to defend by your prayers one at the extremity of life, who is destitute of all merits; that he who plots insidiously against us may not find where he may inflict any wound. In my present condition I have dictated these words, that you

may know my heart." The Bishop of Langres came to discuss ecclesiastical business, but Bernard told him, "Marvel not that I do not attend: I am no longer of this world." The prayers of his monks produced, as it seemed, a partial recovery. "Why," he asked, "do you detain a miserable man? You are the stronger, and prevail against me. Spare me! spare me! I beseech you, and permit me to depart." The stricken brethren crowded round his bed, exclaiming: "Wilt thou not pity us, our Father? Wilt Thou not compassionate those whom Thou hitherto hast nourished in Thy love?" His last word to them was: "This is the will of God, even your sanctification." The sorrow of his heart-broken monks made it hard for him to die. "I am in a strait betwixt two," he murmured. Then he began: "The will of God——" But before he could finish the sentence he passed away. "Happy transition!" says one of the company, "from labour to rest, from hope to reward, from combat to crown, from death to life, from faith to knowledge, from the far wandering to the native home, from the world to the Father." He died on August 20, 1153.

Bernard was canonised by Alexander III. about twenty years later. Great though his reputation was in his own time, succeeding ages have added to his renown. It is not as the pope-maker of his day, the arbiter between contending factions, the champion who lifted the Knights Templars out of obscurity to a commanding position in Europe, nor even as the fervid preacher of the Second Crusade that we honour Bernard. His enduring claim to remembrance lies in the fact that in a dark age he had learned the great secret that all blessing centred in Jesus. He protested against the new doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary; he was comparatively unfamiliar with that reliance on the prayers of the departed which afterwards brought so much evil in its train. In regard to papal infallibility, justification by faith, and works of supererogation, he was a true reformer. For him Christ was all in all. Speaking of these words in Canticles:

"A bundle of myrrh is my Beloved to me," he says, "and I, Brethren, from the outset of my conversion, in place of that abundance of deserts in which I knew myself to be wanting, have been

careful to collect this bundle of myrrh, and to lay it upon my breast, gathered from all the anxieties and the bitternesses suffered by my Lord; as first, of the needs of his infant years; then of the labours which he performed in preaching, his fatigues in journeying, his vigils of prayer, his temptations in fasting, his tears of sympathy, the snares laid for him in his speech; finally, of his perils among false brethren, of the revilings, spittings, blows, derisions, the insults and nails, and like bitter things, endured for the salvation of our race, which the Gospel-grove as you know abundantly presents. . . . . Such meditations uplift my spirit in adverse times; they moderate it when things are prosperous; and they offer safe leadership to one trying to walk in the King's highway, between the sorrows and joys of the present life on either hand. . . . . Therefore, these things are often on my lips, as you know; they are always in my heart, as God knows; they are ever familiar to my pen, as is evident to all; and this is constantly my highest philosophy, to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."

His hymns breathe the same spirit. They do not rank so high as those of the great masters of mediæval hymnology; but we owe to him three hymns, which we would sorely miss from the *Common Book of Praise*.

"O Sacred Head, now wounded," is a translation of his hymn to Christ hanging on the Cross. His own heart's yearning is seen in the last verse:

"When my dying hour must be,
Be not absent Thou from me;
In that dreadful hour, I pray
Jesus, come without delay,
See, and set me free!
When Thou biddest me depart,
Whom I cleave to with my heart,
Lover of my soul be near;
With Thy saving cross appear,
Show Thyself to me!"

"O Jesus, King most wonderful," and "Jesu, the very thought of Thee," will enshrine Bernard's memory to the latest age of the Church.

Bernard was the fearless champion of truth and innocence for forty years. He never quailed before the face of man. Honours were lavished upon him; but no renown that he won ever made him forget his lowliness of heart. What a picture is that given by one of his monks: "Reputed the highest by all, he counted himself the least; and he whom all preferred

above themselves, exalted himself above no one. Lastly, as he often told us, when he was receiving the highest honours and favours from the people, or from exalted personages, he seemed to himself to be changed into another man, and thought of himself as absent or passing through a kind of dream. But when the more simple-minded of the monks were talking to him in a confidential way, there he rejoiced to find himself again, and return into his own proper person."

ART. V.—SOME SOCIALIST LEADERS.

Le Mouvement Socialiste en Europe: Les Hommes et les Idées. Par T. De Wyzewa. Paris: 1892.

WE cannot admire the figure employed by the author of this lively book to set forth the action of the Socialist leaders on society. M. De Wyzewa speaks of Socialism as a chronic disease of the body politic, analogous to consumption, and of the chiefs of Socialism as the microbes which produce the disease. The metaphor is not a happy one, though there is truth as well as humour in the author's description of the aims, and hopes, and actions of these agents of destruction.

"They are no doubt persuaded that they have both right and justice on their side. They no doubt hope one day to reconstruct society according to their mind. Perhaps they meet in congresses and differ with each other and split up into rival schools and factions. Everybody knows how strange, capricious, and inexplicable are the symptoms of consumption. When these little creatures have done their work the lung is found to be destroyed, and the patient dies; and the bacilli, I fancy, perish with him. When the Socialists have ruined our social organism, it will be found that they have profited neither themselves nor us."

But if we cannot admire the author's metaphor we cordially approve his method. His aim is to furnish a popular account of the current Collectivist movement in Europe. Instead, therefore, of treating the subject scientifically, whether by means of history, or analysis, or criticism, he photographs for

us the leading actors, who are also factors, in the movement. The method is more interesting and not less effective than the ordinary scientific one, and M. De Wyzewa—we could have found for him a more familiar name—has had exceptional facilities for following it. For many years he has had a casual acquaintance with these "chiefs," and lately he has studied them more closely for the purposes of his book. With this end in view he has spent much time in England, France, Belgium, and Germany. It is in these four countries, chiefly, that Collectivism—the only form of Socialism with which the author deals—abounds. We shall not be able to follow him in all his travels, nor can we find room for more than a selection from his crowded album. From the English, French, and German groups we shall select those leaders who are likely in the future to be most before the world, in preference to those who, like Bebel and Liebknecht in Germany, or like Vaillant, Brousse, and Allemane in France, have been predominant, but whose influence, if not exhausted, is distinctly on the wane. Our choice will also be determined by the desire to illustrate the two chief types of policy, the evolutionary and the revolutionary, pursued by the two chief parties into which the Collectivist wing of the Socialist army is divided.

Collectivists are all agreed as to the end to be pursued—the abolition of the present capitalist system of production and exchange, and the establishment of public control over all the means and instruments of trade and industry—but they differ widely as to method. The moderates, who are for the moment in the ascendant everywhere, and who are known as possibilists or opportunists, are in favour of proceeding gradually, "capturing" Councils, town and county; returning members to Parliament, manipulating Trades Unions, leavening the masses, moulding public opinion, agitating for ameliorations in the lot of labouring men, for an eight hours' day, for a minimum wage, for municipal workshops, &c. &c., but always with a view to the final establishment of Collectivism in every department of social and industrial life. The extremists, on the other hand, are for precipitating the inevitable change, and are not very scrupulous as to the methods to be employed. They,

too, clamour for concessions to the workers, but only to reject them. They are engaged incessantly in stirring up class hatred, and in preaching war against the landlords and the capitalists, and all, or nearly all, of them are agitating for a universal strike. They are continually talking of "expropriating the expropriators," that is, the owners of property and the employers of labour, and, by their revolutionary methods, though not by their ultimate aims, they take their stand not far away from Anarchists and Nihilists and ultra "Reds" of every kind.

MM. Jules Guesde and Benoît Malon are perhaps the fittest representatives of these two policies in France. M. Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Marx, ought also to be mentioned in connection with them. He has always worked alongside M. Guesde in his revolutionary propaganda, and, in consequence of his imprisonment and subsequent election to the French Parliament, he has been a good deal lately in the public eye, but M. Lafargue is not the kind of man to lead a party or to make a deep impression on the world. He is, however, not a man to be ignored. Active, learned, and ingenious, speaking here and there and everywhere in his excited and embarrassed style, issuing pamphlets, keeping up polemics in the Press, he acts as if he were the authorised, as most assuredly he is the zealous and the jealous, guardian of the gospel of Karl Marx. M. Lafargue has not published much of permanent interest, but while in prison he produced what our author calls "the masterpiece of Socialist literature." This was a pamphlet on *Le Droit à la Paresse*, in which he showed that "the ideal of humanity is not to live by labouring, but rather to live without doing anything at all." On enquiring in Paris for a copy of this masterpiece, we were not surprised to find that it was *épuisé*. The wonder would have been if it had not been out of print. Edition after edition was swallowed up as it was issued from the press. The wonder is that the discoverer of an additional right of man, especially of the right to be idle, is not more famous and popular than he seems to be.

The reason probably is to be found in the superior attractions, for the popular eye, in the person of his colleague and companion

in arms. M. Guesde, the originator of the May-Day Labour Demonstrations, and the inventor of the system of simultaneous strikes, has not had the advantage of marrying the most accomplished of the daughters of Karl Marx, nor is he so learned as his friend Lafargue; but he is a much more striking figure, and by his looks as well as by his speech he "wields at will the fierce democracy" that he aspires to lead. When M. de Wyzewa saw him first, about ten years ago, M. Guesde was addressing an audience in a small provincial theatre.

"On entering, I saw upon the stage a great big devil, black, bearded, hairy, vociferating without modulation, grinding out his words with teeth and arms as if he were a mere machine. . . . . No fine phrases, no high-sounding talk about ideal justice or the rights of labour, no appeal to sentiment; the only appeal was to the needs, the instincts, and the appetites of the audience."

More recently M. Wyzewa has had the opportunity of seeing the great agitator in his home in Paris. He is still in his prime, and his thick black beard retains its raven gloss. In his own house you see him to advantage, and find out almost immediately the secret of his power. He is a "magnetic" man, and "one of the most extraordinary chamber orators of the time." His range of ideas is not large, but he is completely master of them, and he pours out a stream of facts and arguments and illustrations with hardly any provocation. While listening to him you are reminded of the man who used to wish that he could carry a number of slips of paper in his pocket containing answers to all the questions that could possibly be asked him in the course of life. "M. Guesde seemed to have his head full of such slips; or, rather, he has no need of them. He is not a man; he is a machine, an intellectual machine, an automatic dialectician, a sort of animated marionette wound up once for all." He is also one of the most disinterested of men. "He knows neither ambition nor jealousy, nor passion for gain. He is not even an *exalté*. And yet, in spite of poverty and calumny and sickness and imprisonment, he has pursued his propaganda, and for twenty years has acted as a chief of French Collectivism. Only machines can work like this." M. Guesde has never had much influence in Paris; but in the provinces, in the great industrial centres of the north

and east especially, his word is law to multitudes of men. On taking leave of him, M. de Wyzewa asked him why he did not publish his plan of campaign. The answer was that victory is far too near for him to need to trouble about dissertations. "A few more May Days, and the world will be quite changed." "No doubt," adds M. de Wyzewa, "and, so far as France is concerned, the change will be largely due to M. Guesde. But I do not think the change will answer to his hopes. The world will try a compromise, and a programme such as M. Malon's will have the first chance of being adopted."

And who is M. Malon? A milder man than M. Guesde, and not at all disposed to follow him in his precipitate and headlong course. M. Guesde is bent on suddenly and violently bringing to an end the present *régime:* M. Malon, after many fluctuations, preaches patience, and, in place of revolution, advocates reform. He was born of peasant parents at Prétient in 1841. At first he was a shepherd, but he afterwards obtained employment in Paris as a dyer. There he studied science, got up strikes, and made his mark among the Socialists. His leisure was devoted to poetry; but he seems to have been an imperfect instrument in the hands of the Muse, for, "while in his poems heroism alternates with tenderness, faults of syntax alternate with faults in prosody." Happily, however, events pressed and saved him for a time from poesy. During the closing years of the Empire he became one of the chiefs of Socialism, took a prominent part in the agitations of the famous "International," was often sent to prison, became successively a deputy and a member of the Commune, and, on his banishment from Paris, spent some time with Bakounine in Switzerland and Italy. After the amnesty he returned to Paris, founded the *Revue Socialiste*, became the editor of more than one French newspaper, and constituted himself the historian, the expounder, and the populariser of Collectivism. The first volume of his *Socialisme Intégral*, which appeared three years ago, is not a literary success. "Like most self-taught men, M. Malon tries to put everything he knows into every page. There is not a writer he has not quoted, from Homer to M. Chirac, nor a subject on which he has not touched, from metaphysics to cookery; so that, what

with its diversity of matter, its multitude of proper names, and the great uncertainty of its grammar, his book is a tangle through which it is impossible to make one's way."*

Like M. Lafargue, M. Malon is no orator, a chronic throat affection preventing his speaking in public; but, like M. Guesde, he is a capital talker, full of ideas and full of information; and, unlike many of his comrades, he has won and kept the confidence of all.

"His personal influence is very great, and this because, in spite of his excess of sentiment, his ill-directed erudition, and the vagaries of his style, M. Malon is at once a man of superior intelligence and admirable character. Of this you are convinced immediately if you call upon him in his cottage at Cannes, where he spends the winter, or in Paris, at the office of his flourishing Review. This little man, with grey-tinged hair, with tranquil face that seems to widen into welcome as you take his hand, with firm sweet voice and semi-sacerdotal gestures, gives you the impression by the first few words he speaks of perfect sincerity and freedom from self-seeking and ambition."

Amid all the jealousies, hatreds, quarrels, and intrigues which have made up the personal history of the party with which he has been associated, the "pastor-poet" of French Socialism has been able, by a miracle of conduct and of character, to retain the friendship and respect of all; and now that the rank and file are tiring of the quarrels of their leaders, they are turning fast to him as to a centre of reunion and peace.

German Socialists are at present so divided, and their quarrels are so recent, that it is not easy to select the coming chiefs. As Socialists increase in numbers, the sections into which it seems to be the nature of this form of brotherhood to split appear to multiply. In the immediate future they will probably become more numerous and more variegated still. Under the operation of Prince Bismarck's repressive legislation all shades and sections of Socialists throughout the Fatherland

* In an appendix M. De Wyzewa makes amends for this mischievous sally: "I fear I have been unjust to M. Malon's literary powers. The second volume of *Socialisme Intégral*, which has just appeared, and which is devoted to the reforms possible in our time, is as clear, as precise, as well composed as the first volume, the volume of general considerations, was confused, entangled, slovenly. It is the best manual I know of practical Socialism as conceived by M. Malon and some of the most judicious thinkers of our time."

were united in one great and strenuous effort of resistance, and in all their councils and concerns three men held "solely sovereign sway and masterdom." Since the repeal of these laws, however, and especially since the banishment of Bismarck, Bebel, Liebknecht, Singer, though they still remain upon the banners waved at Social Democratic congresses, are no longer names to conjure with. This "dread triumvirate" for many days to come will exercise great influence, and wield enormous power. In the current and the coming struggle for supremacy these three, the two first more especially, will have the advantage of the prestige won by twenty years of agitation and intrigue. They may also count on the support of many Berlin bankers, and of a large and influential portion of the German press. Both banks and newspapers in Germany are largely in the hands of Jews, who, for the present, seem disposed to help the Socialists, in gratitude for their persistent opposition to the anti-Semitic leanings of the Emperor and his friends. But the autocracy of the far-famed triumvirate has been undermined and shaken by the actions and the issues of the last three Congresses, and we venture on the opinion that the future of the German Social-Democratic movement does not now depend on them. Herr Singer owes his position in the party to the Herren Bebel and Liebknecht, and both of them are old and weary and irresolute. The movement will most likely take the two directions pointed out above, the one towards revolution, and the other towards a gradual approach to the Collectivist idea by means of industrial amelioration and political reform. The leader of the intransigeants, who have already broken away from the main body of German Socialists, and who since forming themselves into the Independent party * in October last

* An extract from the manifesto of this energetic and determined party will throw light upon their methods and their aims. After protesting against the uselessness of the palliatives offered by State Socialism, the manifesto continues: "The working classes can only achieve a thorough amelioration of their circumstances by laying hold of all the means and instruments of production, and by destroying altogether the State upon which are founded the dominion of the classes and the capitalistic form of modern society. To this end the masses must seek to become the masters of all means of production by collective economic action, strikes, boycott, denunciation of private contracts, &c. They must maintain on principle an attitude of uncompromising opposition to all the institutions of modern society, Church, school,

have kept up an active and enthusiastic propaganda in the more populous centres of the Empire, is an ex-compositor named Werner. The more numerous and more moderate party is gathering round Von Vollmar, a more attractive and more powerful personality, as we shall see.

"Comrade" Werner is a little man some thirty years of age, thick-set, with large and sparkling eyes, blonde hair brushed back, and beard to match. He looks more like a poor student than a working-man; but he is neither poor, nor a student, nor a workman; he is now a master printer. It is needless to say that the placards and the pamphlets of the Independent Party are printed at his works, except for the purpose of adding that these publications are all issued by the second in command, a Berlin bookseller, by name Baginski.

Both Baginski and Wildberger, the third in this new Triumvirate, are spoken of as eminently qualified to stir up the indignation of the multitude against the thirty-six "inert and ineffective" deputies who "pretend to represent the million Socialists in the German Parliament." But Werner is the real director of the party. "He is," says our author, "the man who best knows how to play upon the populace, to flatter it, and, step by step to bring it over to his side. The discourse I heard him deliver was a masterpiece of malice and adroitness." This was at Friedenau, a little manufacturing village on the outskirts of Berlin. The meeting was announced for 8 o'clock, but Herr Werner did not come till ten. It was a typical audience.

"Every face was dirty, for the people had come straight from work, and every one presented that hard, sad, and hungry expression so prevalent among the proletariat of Northern Germany. The hall was full of men and women, who had been accustomed to regard the Herren Bebel, Liebknecht and Von Vollmar as the latest incarnation of the Holy Trinity. The speaker did not address them as the leader of a party, but as a comrade coming from the centre to confirm them

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army, bureaucracy, parliamentarism, and such like, and they must refuse to treat or bargain with any other social class. The better to fight out this great battle we, the Independent Socialists, declare ourselves in union with the revolutionary Socialistic parties in all other countries for the conquest of the means of production in common, and the triumph of a free society constructed upon democratic foundations, with perfect equality for all, without distinction of sex."

in the common faith. Before he had finished his speech, however, he had managed to fill his hearers with suspicion and distrust. At what point the speaker's admiration of Herr Bebel and his colleagues shaded off into insinuation and depreciation it was impossible to tell, but when the people separated they were quite convinced, not only of the iniquity of the industrial system under which they were groaning, but of the inability of their present leaders to emancipate them. Comrade Werner, and not Bebel, and not Liebknecht, much less Vollmar, was the man to show them how to break their bonds, and lead them to the Promised Land. The beauty of it is, that at that very time Herr Werner's own *employés* were in arms against him. In order to ensure the punctual appearance of his paper *The Tribune of the People*, the great Tribune had insisted on piece-work. Two workmen were dismissed for refusing to comply. Instead of leaving quietly, they began to sing the Socialist war-cry, "Down with Tyrants!" The Tyrant in this case was the leader of the new party. A few days after he appeared before a court in the capacity of capitalist employer!"

Nevertheless, Herr Werner is a man of real power, and as agitator and intriguer his special genius has full play. "My worthy friends"—in this way Werner always winds his way into the hearts of his hearers—"My worthy friends," said he on the occasion referred to, "you thought the way to conquer capital was to send your delegates to Parliament. You have sent thirty-five of them, and see what they have done for you. All of them are men of talent, yet what have they done for you? They have been in the Reichstag all these years, what have they all accomplished? Nothing! So far from getting back the capital that has been filched from you, they have not even shortened your day's work by a single hour. . . . . And these deputies themselves, see how the Reichstag has converted them! Deputy Vollmar has declared that our ideals must be postponed indefinitely, and his declaration is confirmed from day to day by the actions of his colleagues, Bebel, Liebknecht and the rest of them. . . . . My worthy friends, a new situation has arisen, and we must rise to it. Henceforth the workers are omnipotent. You only need to realise and exercise your power, and victory is come." The speech from which we have extracted these few sentences is fairly typical of those with which the towns of northern Germany are echoing, and the large amount of truth in them accounts for their success.

Nevertheless, it is equally true that the policy advocated by

Von Vollmar and half-heartedly adopted by his Parliamentary colleagues—the opportunist policy—commends itself to a larger section of the Social Democrats, and, for the present, is more likely to prevail. Vollmar—for the moment we may drop the "Von"—is, as this prefix indicates, an aristocrat. He was born at Munich in 1850, and belongs to one of the oldest families in Bavaria. Until his fifteenth year, he was in the hands of the Angsburg Benedictine Fathers, who gave him an education suited to his station. In 1865 (we are translating and condensing M. De Wyzewa) he entered a cavalry regiment, and the year following went through the Austrian campaign. Not content with the life of an officer in time of peace he gave up his commission and offered his sword to the Pope, who was at that time recruiting volunteers. It was not until 1870 that he rejoined the Bavarian army to take part in the Franco-German war. While passing through the region of the Loire, at the head of a telegraph corps, the young man was severely wounded. In his efforts to complete his task he fell and broke both legs. The fracture, complicated with a lesion of the spine, left him a cripple for life. He was then but twenty-one, and never since that time has he been able to move without crutches. The least step still costs a painful effort to his crooked limbs. With indomitable energy, however, Vollmar set himself, through the long years of his convalescence, to complete his early education. There is not a science or an art he has not approached. His favourite studies are Economics and Algebra, but he is widely read in literature, both ancient and modern, he has more than dabbled in music and painting, and there is not a language in Europe he cannot speak. The most important result of his studies, however, was his conversion from Catholicism to Socialism. When Vollmar left the military hospital he was an ardent follower of Marx. In 1876 he quitted Bavaria, because it was not ripe for Socialism, and took charge of a Dresden newspaper, one of the boldest organs of the party that had just come under Bismarck's ban. Vollmar was one of the first victims of the Anti-Socialist laws. His paper was suppressed, and he was sent to prison more than once. He also spent some years in exile both in Switzerland and France. In 1881 he was elected

to the Reichstag, but on returning to his native land he was again arrested and sent to prison for another term of fifteen months. In 1884, and again in 1890, he was returned for Munich by enormous majorities. Magdeburg also returned him, and there is not a Socialist constituency throughout the Empire that would not have been proud to do the same. His name was coupled in the popular ear with those of Bebel and Liebknecht. He completed the trinity of heroes of the party. And Vollmar was well worthy of the honour. Less obtrusive than his colleagues, he had not been less industrious than they. He had endured his share of persecution and of suffering. He had brought the Bavarian working-men into the fold of Socialism. The writings he had published had greatly served the cause. They were models of clearness and eloquence, and, together with his sonorous and persuasive speeches, they had greatly moved the masses of the Fatherland.

The clue to Vollmar's present attitude and future action may be found in a speech to his constituents in the enormous Eldorado Hall at Munich in the spring of 1891. He told his hearers frankly that the repeal of the Exceptional Laws, and the Socialist victories at the polls, had created a new situation and imposed a new policy. For ten years the Socialist deputies had been saying to the Government: "Repeal those hateful laws and we will see whether there is not some way of co-operating with you in ameliorating the lot of the workers." The time had now come to fulfil that promise. Without for a moment losing sight of its ideal, the party ought to use its parliamentary forces to obtain laws in favour of labour. These possible and urgent laws were as follows: (1) The protection of labour by the legal imposition of a maximum of hours and a minimum of wages; (2) liberty of meeting and of combination; (3) the interdiction of monopolies; (4) the abolition of taxes and duties on the necessaries of life. For the rest, he appealed to them to have patience; he advised them to combine, and to arm themselves for the struggle against capital. The speech was greatly applauded. The Berlin Socialists, however, were offended and alarmed. They denounced Von Vollmar as a renegade who had sold himself to the Emperor. In the congresses subsequently held, especially the one at Erfurt in

October, 1891, attempts have not been wanting to expel him. His courageous frankness has also separated him from many of his colleagues in the Reichstag, and for a while it seemed as if he might be left a solitary figure. But men of Vollmar's character are not to be put down, and cannot be ignored. His influence in the Annual Congress has perceptibly increased since 1891; the working classes of Bavaria have long been his allies; in other parts of Germany his policy is gaining ground. The multitude is tired of empty phrases and is crying out for measures of an immediately beneficial kind. The indications are more numerous every day that Vollmar, and not those who frown upon his frankness, much less those who are opposed to his suggested practical reforms, is the predestined chief and leader of the party for the time to come. And this is well, for, as our author says, comparing him with his rivals and opponents, "Herr Von Vollmar is a man." He will not swerve from the path he has chosen, and all sober Social Democrats will follow him.

In his chapter on the English Socialists, M. De Wyzewa speaks of them as an army in which all the soldiers are officers, and he attributes the fact that the leaders have so few followers to the independence and conservatism and the hereditary leaning towards religion of the English race. This part of the author's work is not so elaborate as the parts already summarised, nor is his list of "chiefs" by any means complete; but those that he has come in contact with may be permitted for the nonce to represent the rest. From these we shall select the three whose names are most familiar to English ears. What does this lively Frenchman say of Morris, Hyndman, Burns?

Of William Morris, poet, art decorator, revolutionary Socialist, he finds most to say. He first encountered him six years ago upon the London streets.

"On the pavement, with his head uncovered, I saw a solid little man vociferating and gesticulating in the wildest way. He seemed to be a man of fifty, with a crimson countenance, from which there shone the light of two large steel-blue eyes. Incapable of standing still, he marched about incessantly. The abundance of his gestures shook his frame from top to toe; his thick hair, like a mane, flowed to and fro; and all the time he brandished in the air, or ground between his teeth, a deeply-coloured little wooden pipe.

With all the force of his strong lungs, and in the affected tone which Englishmen assume when speaking in the open air, this improvised apostle was demonstrating, not, as might have been expected, the advantage of coming to Christ and the inconveniences of damnation, but the necessity of a class struggle, and the certainty of social revolution. 'O, Hamlet, what a falling off was there!' The energetic orator to whom we have been listening is the author of *The Earthly Paradise*, and the self-rejected poet laureate to the English crown. Poet or no poet, the little man was causing an obstruction, and refusing to desist, off he was marched to the station-house, still vociferating and still brandishing his pipe. . . . . When he was at Oxford, Mr. Morris was as little of a revolutionist as well could be. He was an enthusiastic champion of the doctrines of Carlyle. Afterwards he delivered a series of lectures on Art, in which he glorified the mediæval guilds and confraternities, but there was nothing subversive in this, and the English public continued to regard him as the very model of a poet, absorbed in the worship of the beautiful. Imagine, then, the stupor throughout England when it was announced that Mr. William Morris, the head of the firm of Morris & Co., and author of *The Death of Jason* and *The Earthly Paradise* and other poems, which entitled him to wear the bays still flourishing on the brow of Tennyson, had hoisted the red flag of revolution and joined the Social Democrats in their new Federation. The stupor still exists, and Mr. Morris shows no signs of recantation. His zeal in writing, lecturing, agitating, knows no bounds. No means are too laborious or humiliating for diffusing his ideas. Now you see him spending weeks together in the wilds of Scotland, stirring up the people to revolt against the owners of the soil; now you see him standing at the corners of the streets in London trying to convert the passers by; now handing leaflets and prospectuses to the crowds of passengers at railway stations or inside the cars. In his home at Hammersmith he holds meetings for the workmen of the district. In addition to editing *The Commonweal*, the organ of the Socialist League, which he founded in conjunction with Dr. Aveling and "Mrs." Aveling (another daughter of Karl Marx, and, it is said, the prettiest of the three), Mr. Morris has for several years employed his great poetic powers in making rather ineffective *Chants for Socialists*."

The Socialist League was the outcome of a split in the Social Democratic Federation. Mr. Morris is no longer a member of the League, nor are we sure that the *Commonweal* is still in existence. Its founder now occupies a somewhat isolated position in the English Socialist world. He forms a party by himself. Yet his spirit lives and moves within the general movement, and we have not seen the last of its effects. M. De Wyzewa seems greatly taken with Mr. Morris's Utopia,

News from Nowhere, in which he pictures forth a renovated England, rid for ever of the incubus of Individualism, and absorbed in Art.

"Since the *Republic* of Plato, Socialism has not given to the world so perfect a specimen of art. In none of Mr. Morris's purely literary work will you find pages so marvellous as, for example, that story of a journey along the banks of the Thames, the air laden with perfume, and resounding with the echoes of a new and happier life. . . . . There are women, also, in this book, noble women passing to and fro in flowing robes, their eyes lit up with smiles, women infinitely more graceful than the heroines of Rossetti or Burne-Jones, or even of Botticelli. They enchant the eye with their airy movements; they offer their services to each and all; between their kisses they explain to the reader the advantages of the social revolution. We are tempted to prefer to all the Marxes in creation this more practical writer, who has managed to realise so perfectly a delightful and apparently impossible world, in which Justice has left room for Beauty."

Of Mr. Morris's opponents in the English camp of Socialists the most persistent and astute is Mr. H. M. Hyndman. Mr. Hyndman is an opportunist. So far as theory is concerned he follows Marx, and, like all Collectivists, he aims at the eventual overthrow of the competitive *régime*. But he has been acute enough to see that sudden changes do not suit the English taste. Whilst the Social Democratic Federation, therefore, of which he is head and founder, bases its teaching on the doctrine of Karl Marx, it has pursued a method of its own. The policy it has followed in recent years, if not from its foundation, is the gradual acquisition of all public services by the State. This policy has been imposed upon the Federation by its chief at the cost of much contention and at least of one most serious split. Mr. Hyndman is a notable and interesting personage. He was originally a barrister, but, "being ruined by unlucky operations on the Stock Exchange, he has been obliged to take a clerkship in a bank. I am told," adds M. De Wyzewa,

"that he continues to speculate, and that now, as formerly, the proceeds go to swell the treasury of the Federation. He is an able man, a good speaker, a well-informed and skilful writer, and, of all the English Socialists, the one who has been most successful in his work. His chief achievement, however, is not the founding and the maintenance of the Federation, the members of which have become

more and more restive under his autocratic rule, but the introduction of a socialistic element into the Trades Unions of England, and the gradual, almost secret, impregnation of them with a socialistic spirit."

John Burns—now Mr. Burns, M.P. for Battersea—in this great enterprise was Mr. Hyndman's right-hand man. It was he who organised the simultaneous strikes of 1886 and 1887. Since then there has been a breach between the two, and the names, Burns and Hyndman, which at one time seemed inseparable, are now never joined. The ringing voice and ardent energy of Mr. Burns did much for Mr. Hyndman in the days gone by; but possibly the young mechanic, even then, was not discreet enough for his much older and much subtler chief. If we may judge by his deliverance to a recent interviewer, Mr. Burns's ultra frankness is not likely to commend itself to leaders of the Hyndman type. Nor will it serve the cause of Socialism in any of its forms. So picturesquely does it illustrate the methods of the Opportunist section of the party, and the final aims of all, that it may stand as pendant to the pictures we have drawn. It may also point the moral of our paper, and give timely warning to those statesmen of both parties who are dallying with their foes. Sops to Socialists are worse than useless: they whet the appetite that they are meant to soothe. But let us now make way for Mr. Burns. In an interview with the representative of the Paris *Figaro*, in November last, the member for Battersea is reported to have said that—

"The strength of the English Socialists must be gauged, not by their numbers, but by the reforms they demanded, and which their adversaries were compelled to accept. Day by day fresh concessions were made by the governing classes. An eight-hours' day would certainly be granted, and that would be used as an instrument for the demolition of capital, and to complete the education of the workman. The more the workers got the more they would demand. To illustrate his contention, Mr. Burns told the story of the driver of a sledge across the Russian steppes pursued by a pack of hungry wolves. To appease the wolves the driver first tossed them his own cap. But this was fruitless. He then threw out his mantle. But the wolves followed fast as ever. Then he gave up his provisions, which effected a momentary diversion; but the wolves were soon again by his side. Then he sacrificed one child, then another, and last of all his wife;

but the wolves, after devouring them, seeing the driver and the horses still in front, kept up the pursuit. In fine, when the horses are devoured, the driver too must rejoin his family in the stomachs of the wolves."

"You understand," continued Mr. Burns, "the driver is capital, the possessors; the wolves are the Socialists; the road across the steppes is the path of human progress; and the cap, the mantle, the children, and the wife, abandoned one by one to the wolves, are the concessions made every day by the capitalists to the proletariat—the reforms to which they are compelled to assent, under pain of being themselves devoured. And sooner or later, unless they are careful, their turn will come. . . . . Little by little, we shall take all; as soon as we obtain one liberty, we shall demand another. The wolves, the wolves, you know—the wolves behind the sledge!"*

Art. VI.—ENGLAND IN EGYPT.

1. *England in Egypt.* By Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt. London: Edward Arnold. 1892.
2. *Cairo: Sketches of its History, Monuments, and Social Life.* By Stanley Lane-Poole, Author of *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt, Studies in a Mosque*, etc. With numerous Illustrations on Wood. London: J. S. Virtue & Co. 1892.
3. *Egypt To-Day: The First to the Third Khedive.* By W. Fraser Rae. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1892.

AMONGST the many remarkable characteristics of the ancient and mysterious land of Egypt, not the least striking is the buoyant effect which its balmy climate has upon the European resident. Here we have Mr. Milner,

* Since our article was in type, a very interesting and able sketch of Mr. Burns' personal character and history has appeared in the *Idler* (January 1893).

under the influence of that brilliant sky and the free air from the desert, writing with cheerful clearness, and with an eye for the ludicrous side of things, of the Sphinx-like complications of Egyptian affairs—a feat which would be almost impossible for an author oppressed by the clammy gloom of an English winter.* Treating his subject with the ease resultant from the fullest knowledge, and with a lightness of touch which many publicists might envy, he presents to his readers a clear statement of the marvellous difficulties ever present in the administration of Egyptian affairs, and the absurd restrictions which hamper it on every hand. On the other side of the picture, he demonstrates, with triumphant fairness and moderation, the splendid amount of progress which that much tried region has achieved during the last few years, thanks to the sterling qualities of our own countrymen, who have leavened the native Government, and, as a power in the background, have quietly directed the destinies of the land of the Pharaohs.

This, in fact, is the central point of the book. The placing of Englishmen and Scotchmen, in pretty large numbers, in official positions—nominally as subordinates, but really as guides and directors to the native ministers—has been the salvation of Egypt. Her vastly improved conditions during the last six years are due entirely to this cause, and to the fact that our representative at Cairo has been a typical Englishman—Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer—a man distinguished by those admirable qualities which shine out in our civil servants in the vast empire of India, and which have rendered the English name all over the world a synonym for righteous administration and for intelligent and sympathetic treatment of foreign dependencies and alliances. It is under his auspices chiefly that such excellent appointments have been made in the various departments of State.

It is indeed the "England" that is "in Egypt" which has rescued that ill-managed country from utter annihilation,

* The book was begun in Egypt, eight months before it was finished in England. That the Preface is dated from London, November, 1892, is in harmony with our theory of climatic influence, inasmuch as the latter part of the work is not marked with the delightful sprightliness of the earlier portion.

and given it a fair start on the road to prosperity—a start which we hope will be followed by an uninterrupted journey in that desirable direction. But that happy result can be insured only by the continuance of British help and guidance all along the course. For the Egyptians themselves have, in these latter days, appeared to be rather weak-kneed and feather-brained. Their education into something better and stronger must necessarily be a slow process—a process, the abandonment of which, at the present time and for many years to come, would be cruel to the Egyptians and damaging and disgraceful to ourselves. The minds of these north-eastern Africans are saturated with true Oriental fatalism, which leads them readily to acquiesce in a genuine despotism, but unfits them for such exercise of discrimination and judgment as is implied in the mildest form of constitutional government, and for the display of such steady perseverance in the path of necessary reform and plodding everyday work as is essential to the very slightest progress of a nation.

Egypt, as Mr. Milner reminds us, is "unalterably, eternally abnormal. . . . Paradox seems rooted in the soil." Herodotus, in his day, was struck by the many points in which its customs differed from those of other nations within his ken. "The women of Egypt," he says, "are employed in trade and business, while the men stay at home to spin and weave;" and so on, through a long list of apparent and real peculiarities, which in the present day could easily be matched by a detail of the anomalies and intricacies of its political system.

"Imagine," says Mr. Milner, "a people the most docile and good-tempered in the world in the grip of a religion the most intolerant and fanatical. Imagine this people and this faith, congenial in nothing but their conservatism, flung into the maelstrom of European restlessness and innovation. Imagine a country full of turbulent foreigners, whom its police cannot arrest except *flagrante delicto*, and whom its Courts cannot try except for the most insignificant offences. Imagine the Government of this country unable to legislate for these foreigners without the consent of a dozen distant Powers, most of them indifferent and some ill-disposed. Imagine it carrying on its principal business in a foreign tongue, which yet is not the tongue of the predominant foreign race. Imagine it struggling to meet the clamorous growing needs of to-day with a Budget rigorously fixed according to the minimum requirements of the day

before yesterday. Imagine the decrees of this Government liable to be set at nought by Courts of its own creation. Imagine its policy really inspired and directed by the Envoy of a foreign State, who in theory is only one—and not even the *doyen*—of a large number of such Envoys, and the chief administrative power really wielded by a man, who in theory is a mere 'Adviser without executive functions.' Yes, imagine all these things, and then realise that they are no 'Mikado'-like invention of comic opera, no nightmare of some constitutional theorist with a disordered brain, but prosaic, solid fact, an unvarnished picture of the political Egypt of to-day."—*Milner*, p. 5.

When, after quelling Arabi in 1882, it was left to England alone to restore order, and to stand by the well-intentioned but weakly young Khedive who had but recently replaced his reckless father Ismail, to strengthen his hands, and so preserve Egypt from a deluge of barbarism which would not only have been its ruin, but would have involved irreparable loss and damage to the major part of the civilised world, it was little thought how long the seemingly easy task of "restoring order" would occupy. It was soon discovered that, unwilling as this country had been to undertake an open and direct protectorate of Egypt, it was useless to pretend to give wholesome advice to its administrators without being ready to insist on that advice being taken, and to support those who took it. So, though we did not commit ourselves to an avowed protectorate, pure and simple, we found ourselves obliged to carry out a "veiled protectorate," as Mr. Milner terms it, and to see that our recommendations of reform and improved administration were really attended to. The position is put most clearly in Lord Granville's despatch to the Great Powers on January 3, 1883:

"Although for the present a British force remains in Egypt for the preservation of public tranquility, Her Majesty's Government are desirous of withdrawing it as soon as the state of the country and the organisation of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will admit of it. In the meantime, the position in which Her Majesty's Government are placed towards His Highness imposes upon them the duty of giving advice with the object of securing that the order of things to be established shall be of a satisfactory character, and possess the elements of stability and progress."

What "giving advice" really implied is explained with

admirable force and plainness of speech in his lordship's despatch to Sir Evelyn Baring just a year later, January 4, 1884:

"I hardly need point out that in important questions, where the administration and safety of Egypt are at stake, it is indispensable that Her Majesty's Government should, so long as the provisional occupation by English troops continues, be assured that the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces, that the responsibility which for the time rests on England obliges Her Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do not follow this course should cease to hold their offices."

The working out of this sensible, far-sighted policy has gone through many vicissitudes; several times it has seemed doomed to utter failure. But, after all, it has proved lasting, has surmounted many obstacles, and has had for the last few years the happiness to fall out from the dangerous ground of party warfare, its place as a subject for angry debate having been occupied by topics nearer home. An amusing test of the different effects of turmoil and of quiet is presented in the fact that during the *three* years following Tel-el-Kebir the affairs of Egypt form the subject of *ninety-eight* Blue Books, while in the subsequent *seven* years the number of those books of record has amounted to only *thirty-four*. Happy is the people that affords scanty material for Blue Books. Yet these huge, gloomy-hued pamphlets have their use, and in Mr. Milner's pages we get their essence, spiced and enlivened with his own sharp insight and valuable experience. During the years 1886–7–8 Egypt, though its condition was unquestionably ameliorated, remained in a critical state in many respects. Its financial embarrassments had been relieved to some extent, but it was doubtful whether permanent ease could be attained without a fresh liquidation. Happily, thanks to the wise and careful administration of the British Financial Adviser, Sir Edgar Vincent, that danger has been avoided, and, as Mr. Milner shows us, Egypt, during the last two or three years, "has definitely turned the corner and entered upon an era of assured solvency and even of comparative ease."

We shall not attempt to give a circumstantial history of the ups and downs, the muddles and entanglements of Egyptian administration during these ten eventful years of British occupation. Mr. Milner has condensed them into an interesting and piquant narrative; but a compressed presentment of his condensation would necessarily lose all spirit and pith. Our object will rather be to show the advantages which have accrued to the Egyptian people—the *fellaheen* as well as the Government and large land-owners—from the presence of the strangers from *ultima Thule*. We must therefore barely allude to the great disasters which followed Arabi's damaging rebellion—the devastating epidemic of cholera which swept over Egypt in the summer of 1883, revealing the utter rottenness of the internal administration; and the tremendous military catastrophe in the destruction of the army of the undaunted Hicks.

This last result of the extreme *laissez faire* doctrine of the early part of the British occupation met with its terrible rebuke and punishment in the annihilation which befell the brave but ill-starred General and his ten thousand men at the hands of the Mahdi's savage hordes, in November, 1883. A word from our representative, a firm authoritative *dictum*, would probably have stayed the issue of this foredoomed expedition, and prevented its foolhardy march right into the jaws of the Arab lion. But at that time Sir E. Malet was under the strictest orders to keep closely to the position, that, while advising in internal matters, the British Government was "not responsible for the affairs of the Soudan." So the Egyptian Government, having a free hand on this point, made use of it to plunge into the hopeless undertaking of reconquering the more distant regions of the Soudan, while it was still laden with debt and its army was accomplished only in the art of rapid "skedaddling." But just after the fatal step had been taken, and Hicks had started from Khartoum for El Obeid, the Mahdi's headquarters, Sir Evelyn Baring arrived in Egypt as British Consul-General, and, after the catastrophe, which he was too late to prevent, he advised his own Government that Egypt could by no possibility retain the Soudan, but must at once cut it adrift, and employ every

man and every shilling for the defence of her own frontier. The home Government endorsed the view of its representative, and instructed him to insist upon this programme with the Egyptian Cabinet.

"Undoubtedly," Mr. Milner tells us—and we can scarcely avoid agreeing with him—

"Undoubtedly the decision was a right one. In saying that, do not let me be supposed to argue that the possession of the Soudan, or at least of a considerable portion of it, is not important, and may not even in the long run be necessary, to the welfare of Egypt. But a man who is in the extremest straits does well to give up even an essential part of his establishment rather than go altogether into bankruptcy. A hardly-pressed garrison may find it necessary to abandon even the most important outposts in order to preserve its citadel. The fact that Egypt gave up the Soudan, when she simply had not the strength to hold it, is no reason why she should not recover it, or part of it, when she once more has the strength. Nor can any blame attach to those who took upon themselves the odious but necessary duty of throwing overboard a valuable cargo which, if retained, was bound to sink the ship. On the contrary, it is to them that the credit of having saved Egypt principally belongs."—*Milner*, p. 89.

This decision led to the resignation of Sherif Pasha, who had been Premier since the restoration of the Khedive's authority after the Arabi episode; and in January 1884 the ablest Egyptian statesman of the day, Nubar Pasha, ruled in his stead. Into the character of this shrewd and, in many respects, estimable man, Mr. Milner gives us considerable insight. His account of Nubar's virtues and failings, achievements and obstructiveness, has become of yet more interest and importance in the short space since *England in Egypt* was published, inasmuch as, by one of those unexpected turns of the wheel of fortune, Nubar, though Mr. Milner regarded his political career as finished, was to come again into the field as one of the principal advisers of the youthful Khedive, when, in January last, Abbas wished to be extricated from the dangerous position in which he had foolishly placed himself. To this Coptic Christian belongs the credit of giving form and force to that conception of international justice, which took shape in the establishment of the Mixed Tribunals. "But for his far-sightedness, dexterity, and persistence, the new

Courts would probably never have seen the light." They have now been in operation for over sixteen years, and, with many imperfections and disadvantages, have been of enormous benefit to Egypt, not only as marking a vast improvement on the old processes and want of process, but also as setting up a standard of equity hitherto unknown in that misgoverned land, and familiarising the much warped mind of the people with the spectacle of a straight judicial method and an almost uniform impartiality and incorruptibility.

It was Nubar also who initiated the good work of abolishing the Corvée—a work which was completed by his rival and successor, Riaz Pasha, who, like Nubar, has just recently returned to the public life on which he was thought to have for ever lost his hold, and is, at the present time of writing, once more Premier of Egypt. In common with Riaz, Nubar entertains a cordial detestation of France, which, as we shall see further on, is based on substantial grounds. Guided and controlled by the sound judgment and firm hand of Sir Evelyn Baring, Nubar retained office throughout the most depressing period of Egyptian affairs. But when things had taken a turn, and success was crowning the English plans of reform and revival, the Coptic Premier's dislike of all foreign interference came to a head, his Oriental mood prevailed, and he had a pitched battle with the British agent and Consul-General on the question of the police, which, Sir Evelyn Baring justly thought, might as well not exist at all as be placed under a native chief. At last the Khedive decided in favour of having a British head to the police, and Nubar, having lost his sovereign's confidence, was by him dismissed from office on some trivial difference in June 1888.

He was succeeded by Riaz Pasha, who was fortunate enough to come in on a flowing tide of prosperity, and who retained office till May 1891, when he resigned, on the plea of ill health. The rock on which he foundered was in reality his opposition to the reform and re-constitution of the Native Courts of Justice. Soon after his accession to power Riaz had withstood for a time the abolition of the Commissions of Brigandage, which were simply legal appliances inwrought with cruelty, injustice, and irregularity. But he gave way,

and in May 1889 these instruments of oppression were suppressed. But when, at the end of 1890, Mr. Scott, an eminent Indian judge, brought up his report suggesting a number of important changes in the procedure of the Native Courts, and especially a great improvement in their *personnel*. Riaz kicked against the much-needed reforms; and when the matter was decided against him, and Mr. Scott was appointed to carry out these vital changes, he got into strained relations with the Khedive, and resigned.

Riaz was succeeded by Mustapha Pasha Fehmi, who has just been dismissed by the young Khedive, Abbas II., on the idle pretext that he was suffering from illness. Of him Mr. Milner gives a fine character, as "intelligent, loyal, well-meaning, and well-beloved." The more is the pity that the restless young ruler of Egypt has, for the present, unshipped him—a man who, without perhaps the force of character distinguishing his two predecessors, has more adaptability to the spirit of needful reforms, and feels unreserved sympathy with the English in their persevering march of progress, and their unflinching cleansing of the Augean stables of the State. Probably this was the real cause of his displacement in January last. Young Abbas had evidently come for a time under the influence of the rabid French papers and schemers at Cairo, as well as of the smouldering Mohammedan bigotry which centres round Mukhtar Pasha, the Ottoman High Commissioner there; and the fall of Fehmi was to have been followed by the dismissal of every Englishman from office in Egypt. Happily Lord Cromer was at hand to stay the plague of hatred and jealousy; and to his conciliatory promptness and firmness the country owes the appointment of the comparatively innocuous Riaz as Premier, instead of Fakhri Pasha, who would fairly have represented French bitterness, Turkish intolerance, and Egyptian retrogression.

Lord Dufferin's special mission to Egypt, in 1882, is memorable for its many useful suggestions and commencements of reform, as well as for its too glowing, rose-coloured despatches. During the six months of his stay in the country much excellent work was done. A substantial beginning was made in the reconstruction of the army; the use

of the courbash was abolished; the civil and criminal Codes were brought to completion; and the Egyptian Government had undertaken to call in British experts from India to look after the Irrigation Department. But his departure was followed by dark disaster, which contrasted vividly with the brilliant picture which he had painted for Downing Street. Nor did much result from Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's visit to Constantinople in August 1885, "on a special mission having reference to the affairs of Egypt." Suffice it to note that the Convention to which it led up was actually signed by the Turkish representatives in May 1887; but, through French and Russian influence, has never obtained the Sultan's own signature, and consequently remains a dead letter to the present day. Perhaps, on the whole, that may be for the best. The present Sultan, Abdul Hamid, would gladly gain more power in Egypt, and put a stop to its advance in the path of civilisation and independence. Of the peculiarities of Ottoman and Egyptian statecraft we get an amusing illustration in the story of the firman of investiture at the accession of the present Khedive. In Mr. Milner's hands it forms a neat little comedy, highly suggestive of Oriental delay and intrigue.

Turning now to the work of reform which Egypt during these last few years owes to the England in its midst, we find that it was carried out chiefly in the four great departments—the Army, Finance, Public Works, and Justice.

We will go back to February 5, 1884, and take a bit from General Baker's telegram, describing his defeat at El Teb, on the road to Tokar:

"Marched yesterday morning with three thousand five hundred towards Tokar. . . . . On square being only threatened by small force of enemy, certainly less than a thousand strong, *Egyptian troops threw down their arms and ran, allowing themselves to be killed without slightest resistance.* More than two thousand killed. All material lost."

Leaping a gap of seven years, we take an extract from Colonel Holled-Smith's report of his victory at Afafit, on the road to Tokar, on February 19, 1891:

"The main body of the Dervishes were fifty yards from our front

line, and were extending to the right and left to envelop the position. The bulk of their force was directed against the line occupied by the 12th battalion, their attack being pushed home with their usual intrepidity and fearlessness. *The troops, however, stood their ground, and did not yield one inch throughout the line.*"

Here, as Mr. Milner points out, we have the same adroit, sudden, and fearless enemy, the same region of storm-swept desert and treacherous scrub, and the same human material in the Egyptian army—no British, excepting officers, at either place. Yet how different the result! Why did the old army win such a reputation for cowardice and incapacity? How is it that the new army, composed of much the same material, has so soon written up for itself such an honourable record? The answer is not far to seek. This vivid contrast, this brilliant change of colour, is due to British training and officering, and to the confidence which a private, whether from the back streets of English towns, or from the muddy fields of the Delta, feels when led by an average British officer, who has confidence in himself, and also believes in the "staying" qualities of his men when properly led and inspired.

In 1882, at the time of Lord Dufferin's mission, it had become evident that, though an army was more than ever necessary to Egypt, its existing one was worse than useless. Accordingly, by his lordship's advice, the laconic decree of December 20 was issued: "The Egyptian army is disbanded." What was to take its place? Turkish battalions, or mixed European regiments, composed of the riff-raff of many nations? It is another instance of Lord Dufferin's clear insight that, unswayed by the many wild suggestions poured in upon him, he adhered firmly to the principle of committing the defence of Egypt to its own inhabitants. Certainly a courageous idea; for the large old army of natives had proved worthless, and the new one, made up of the same material, could not afford much promise of better things. But Lord Dufferin was equal to the emergency; he was not the man to pull down without a feasible plan for rebuilding. He had in view one who not only possessed great military talent, and had had much warlike experience, but also had a bold belief in the capabilities of the much decried fellah, and felt sure that by

proper treatment and training he could be turned into a valuable soldier. To Sir Evelyn Wood was entrusted the task of creating the new Egyptian army; and he brought to his assistance a goodly number of able British officers, most of whom have since risen to eminence.

The Egyptian peasant is not a pugnaciously disposed creature. Cowed by long years of oppression, corvée, and courbash, he does not readily rise to a high place as a fighting man. Yet, looked at dispassionately, he possesses some excellent qualities for the make up of a soldier. Healthy, well-built, active, and able to endure hardship, he is also intelligent, docile, and, though destitute of dash, not without a certain fearlessness in the presence of danger. Under officers whom he believes in, he has of late proved himself possessed of plenty of courage. Previously he had been badly paid, wretchedly lodged and fed, and cruelly knocked about by his Egyptian and Turkish superiors—"a miscellaneous crowd." The barracks were filthy; there was no provision for the sick and wounded, and the laws limiting the length of service were totally disregarded. No wonder that the terrified conscript had to be led away from his native village in chains, and under blows from the courbash, amid the funereal lamentations of his relatives.

But, under British command, all this was changed. The initial strength of the new army had been fixed at 6000, and this moderate number of conscripts was soon got together. To their agreeable surprise the young soldiers found themselves in a new world. They were well fed, clothed, and housed. Their pay was fair in amount, and was regularly paid. Discipline was strict, but they were safe from brutality and oppression. Above all, when they were ill, instead of being left to die like dogs, they were carefully looked after. Indeed, one of the chief factors in inspiring them with confidence in their officers was the fearless devotion which some of these gentlemen displayed in trying to save the lives of their men during the epidemic of cholera. Then again, the new men were allowed their regular rights of leave; and the reappearance of the fellah in his native village at the end of a year, healthy, well set up, smartly dressed, and with money in his pocket, struck the population as a

grateful contrast to the returned soldier of the old *régime*, crawling home, mutilated, diseased, ragged, and penniless.

Curiously enough, the fellah, far from being stupid or slow in acquiring fair military shape, has developed a positive fondness for drill, and has quickly mastered all its difficulties. Now these raw peasants began to shine upon parade and in review; but, better still, they soon proved that they possessed the sterling qualities of courage and endurance, when they were engaged in guarding Lord Wolseley's long line of communications, and when, in small detachments, they were under fire at Abu Klea and at Kirbekan. Since then, they have shown their mettle on several well-fought fields. From January, 1888, the defence of the Egyptian frontier has been entirely committed to them, and they have also proved themselves equal to the unaided defence of Suakin.

The small and inadequate numbers of this new army have been supplemented by five battalions of black soldiers from the Soudan, who, if not so robust and well-built as the Egyptians, are "as active as cats, and animated with a real love of fighting, especially of fighting the Arabs of the Soudan, their hereditary enemies and oppressors." These sable warriors are not mad after drill, but glory in real battle, and it is difficult to prevent them from firing too fast, or charging too soon. Here again England comes in to the aid of Egypt. A strong feature in these brave blacks is their fervent attachment to their British officers, who in their turn have a greater fondness for them than for their Egyptian comrades. The private soldiers of British regiments have also been found to fraternise more readily with these lively children of the far South. But Soudanese and Egyptians have each their good qualities, which go to constitute them a creditable little army. In recent years it has shown its prowess in the crushing defeat of the great leader of the Dervishes, Wad el Nejumi, at Toski, under the command of General Grenfell and Colonel Wodehouse; and in the brilliant engagement at Afafit, in defence of Suakin and the surrounding district, when Osman Digna suffered a disastrous repulse, from which, although he shows up from time to time, he has never

completely recovered. The actual numbers of the Egyptian army at the present time amount to over 12,500, under the command of the new Sirdar, General Kitchener, who succeeded Sir Francis Grenfell last April. Of its officers, seventy-six commissioned and about forty non-commissioned are British. Mr. Milner thinks it would be wise to increase as soon as possible the number of native officers advanced to higher posts, retaining at head-quarters sufficient British control to insure that promotions shall be made only by merit.

As to Finance, "few people," Mr. Milner assures us, "realise its fascination." This may be true when its story is told by such a spirited pen as his own; but to do this part of his book justice we should require much greater space than we can command. The story of Egyptian finance, he says, "presents itself in the form of a trilogy: Prodigality, Ruin, Recuperation." Of the first item Ismail was the great type and exemplar.

"No equally reckless prodigal ever possessed equally unlimited control of equally vast resources. He came to the throne at a moment when there seemed no limit to the potential wealth of Egypt. The whole land was his, to do what he liked with. All the world was ready to lend him money to develop it. Moreover, Ismail combined in himself every quality, good as well as bad, that goes to make the ideal squanderer. Luxurious, voluptuous, ambitious, fond of display, devoid of principle, he was at the same time full of the most magnificent schemes for the material improvement of the country. Over and above the millions wasted in entertainments, in largess, in sensuality, in the erection of numerous palaces —structurally as rotten as they are æsthetically abominable—he threw away yet other millions upon a vast scheme of agricultural development, started with inadequate knowledge at inordinate cost." —*Milner*, p. 215.

When, in consequence of the close of the American civil war, the English "cotton famine" came to an end, and the fall in the price of that material threatened to sweep away the precarious prosperity of Egypt, the reckless Khedive dreamt of recouping the loss by the production of sugar on an enormous scale. Though the cultivation of the favourite cane has recently produced a very valuable crop in Egypt, in his hands it proved a gigantic failure. A whole country side, acquired in his rapacious method of confiscation, was turned

into a sugar plantation; twelve large factories were started, fitted with costly machinery, much of which was never used. "The whole system was wasteful and unintelligent to a degree which is past belief." But in Egypt breaches of the great economic laws, and of the deeper laws of morality, are visited with punitive results with a visible swiftness and exactitude unknown in other lands, just as the rewards of sound finance and good principles arrive with a corresponding rapidity and fitness. When Ismail ascended the throne in 1863, the Egyptian national debt was only a little over three millions, and the annual revenue was sufficient to meet all needful expenditure. By the end of 1876 the debt had risen to eighty-nine millions, and the taxation of the land had increased about 50 per cent. He now plunged deeper and deeper in the mire, and became an easy prey to men as unprincipled as himself.

As a result of Ismail's profligate borrowings the people were subjected to the most cruel exactions. It was an era of frightful misgovernment. But it had one saving merit. The system was so bad that it necessitated foreign intervention, which, if it perpetuated the debt, put an end to the constant plunder of the people by their grasping and cruel rulers.* In April 1878 a Commission was appointed, which, after a searching investigation, recommended a reduction of interest; and this—spite of the desperate manœuvres of the worthless Khedive, which ended only with his deposition in 1879—was carried out by the Law of Liquidation of July 1880, the effect of which was to wipe out the floating debt, to consolidate all obligations in a few great loans, and to fix the interest at a rate which it was possible for the country, with care, to pay. But the excess of expenditure over income soon rendered necessary a modification of the Law of Liquidation; and finally, after considering various proposals, the Great

* Mr. Fraser Rae gives a translation of a remarkable letter written, three thousand years ago, by the poet Pentatour to Ameneman, the chief librarian to Rameses the Great, which describes the treatment of the hapless "rustic who tills the ground" in those early times. Mr. Rae's comment on it is: "This gloomy picture of life in Egypt during the reign of Rameses the Great might have been painted when Ismail was its ruler. The methods had not changed after the lapse of three thousand years, the rest of the world having been transformed during the interval" (*Egypt To-Day*, p. 5).

Powers agreed in the London Convention of March 1885, which is to the present day the organic law of Egyptian finance. By this important agreement Egypt was authorised to borrow nine millions sterling by means of a loan guaranteed by all the Powers, and to make the annuity of £315,000, set aside for its service, a first charge on the revenues assigned to the debt. With such a guarantee the new money was obtained on excellent terms; the Alexandrian indemnities were paid; the deficits of 1882–85 were wiped out, and a round million was provided for works of public utility—irrigation, &c.

For the financial prosperity which has at last arrived Egypt has mainly to thank that remarkable young Englishman, Sir Edgar Vincent, who, as Financial Adviser, restrained her extravagance, regulated her expenditure, and disentangled her complicated system from almost inextricable difficulties, during six most trying and desperate years. He left Egypt in 1889, too soon to see the complete triumph of his policy, which, under his able successor, Sir Elwin Palmer, has produced such brilliant results. His praises are eloquently sounded by Mr. Milner:

"It was Vincent who reformed the monetary system, and substituted a simple and convenient currency for the chaos of coins of all metals and all countries, which used to cause so much confusion, and to constitute so great an impediment to trade. It was Vincent who was the first to see what could be made of the tobacco duty, and who, by negotiating the commercial treaty with Greece, enabled the Egyptian Government to develop that duty. But apart from these particular measures, of which he deserves the almost exclusive credit, Vincent will always be remembered as the most gifted, and one of the most energetic of the little band of Englishmen who, under the presiding genius of Baring, rescued the finances by restoring the prosperity of Egypt."—*Milner*, p. 252.

In brief, English financial administration has not only rescued Egypt from perpetual insolvency; it has put an end to the corruption and tyranny of the official classes, decreasing the numbers of the bureaucracy, and raising the pay of the lower ranks. It has not only reduced the burdens of the people; it has increased their means of bearing the burdens that remain. And this fairly leads us to a most interesting branch

of our subject—Public works, with special reference to irrigation.

Water stands high as a necessity, a comfort, a luxury, in all countries. In Egypt, it is simply indispensable to existence.

"Egypt, as a geographical expression, is two things—the Desert and the Nile. As a habitable country, it is only one—the Nile."—*Milner*, p. 271.

It is an essentially agricultural country. "Its wealth," as that accomplished Egyptologist, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, tells us in his charming book on Cairo—

"Its wealth is in its crops; manufactures and industries merely divert the land and the people from their proper and most profitable employment. . . . . With careful management three crops a year can be raised out of the rich dark earth. . . . . The yield of an acre in Egypt is worth at least a third more than what even an English farmer can get out of the best land in Great Britain, while rent, labour, taxes, and cost of living are all greatly in favour of the Egyptian. Practically the only important charge on the cultivator is the land-tax, which constitutes the rent, and does not average more than about a pound an acre, while the produce of that acre is worth from sixteen to twenty-five pounds a year. There is no such thing as income-tax, poor-rate, tithes, or the other burdens of the English farmer. The Egyptian peasant pays his land-tax, and then he is free to reap the full profits of the fertile soil so cheaply acquired and retained."—*Lane-Poole*, p. 233.

But to this desirable consummation one thing is absolutely needful; and that is water. To understand the agricultural difficulties of Egypt, we must bear in mind two great facts: that the country is watered, not by rain, but by the Nile; and that the river is not only the irrigator, but also the fertiliser of the soil. From the volcanic plateaus of Abyssinia the Blue Nile washes down a reddish-brown mud, which, mixed with organic matter from the swamps of the White Nile, does more for the annual renovation of the land than any manure could effect. For thousands of years, Egyptian agriculture depended solely upon the river's unaided action. The Nile valley was formed into a series of chains of basins, each chain fed by a separate canal from the river, and having a separate escape into the river again, when the water was no longer wanted. By these appliances the water was retained on the

land, when flooded, for six or seven weeks, till it was covered with a thick coat of rich mud. The soil produced, in March or April, one good harvest, which amply sufficed for the wants of its own population, and then lay fallow.

This old-fashioned style of agriculture did not satisfy the restless, enterprising spirit of that sharp-sighted barbarian, Mehemet Ali, who wanted Egypt to play its part in the commercial life of mankind, and, to that end, wished it to produce more valuable crops than wheat, beans, and clover. He turned his attention to the more profitable yield of cotton and sugar, for which the climate is well adapted. For this purpose, the land would have to be constantly watered, but must never be inundated. He therefore had the *Sefi* or "Summer" Canals dug, so that irrigation might be kept up during the shallow season as well as at flood time, and extra crops might be got out of the soil. So it happens that while nearly all Upper Egypt keeps to the safe, time-honoured system of six thousand years, the lands of the Delta are preserved from inundation and fed with water in driblets all the year round by means of the Sefi Canals.

But, in the introduction, by unscientific hands, of this summer cultivation, the great essential of proper drainage was neglected. Principally through this defect a million acres in the Birriya, or broad belt of land which adjoins the great lakes, and once formed the garden of Egypt, are converted into swamp or salt marsh, and can only be rescued from barrenness by thorough washing, and the restorative cultivation of rice. In the fifty years preceding the British occupation of Egypt the irrigation of the Delta was "reduced to chaos by stupidity and neglect." With these and other mistakes and lapses, fatal to the fertility of the soil, a staff of Anglo-Indian engineers were summoned to grapple; and, under the able direction of Sir Colin Campbell Moncrieff, they have proved to be the saviours of Egyptian irrigation. The leaders of these skilled Britons each devoted himself specially to the Circle of Irrigation committed to his care. The old blocked-up drainage channels were cleared; new drains were cut for water-logged districts; irrigation was disentangled from drainage; the direction and level of many canals were put to rights.

But especially did Sir Colin turn his attention to the Barrage. When summer cultivation was introduced, it was found that its complete success depended upon the discovery of some means of damming up the Nile at the apex of the Delta, so that the last drop of water in the river could be used up, and the supply fairly distributed by the network of canals. In 1842 Mehemet Ali, who had long seen the need of such an appliance, commissioned an enlightened French engineer, Mougel Bey, to proceed with the construction of a dam, the foundations of which had been commenced in 1833. Mougel's design was a magnificent one; and "the mighty dam which owes its inception to his genius is," says Mr. Milner, "one of the greatest irrigation works in the world." It consists of two bridges, each of sixty-one arches, one across the Rosetta, and the other across the Damietta branch of the Nile. The arches are constructed so as to leave a free passage for the water when high, but can be closed by means of iron gates, when it is thought necessary to raise the level of the river; forming a barrier which impounds all its water, and enables the principal canals to receive their full supply from the reservoir thus created.

This splendid construction took nearly twenty years to build, and cost nearly two millions of money, besides the unpaid labour of the peasantry employed upon it. But, with the usual fate of all such undertakings in those days, it was fast going to rack and ruin, and was practically useless, when Sir Colin Moncrieff came to the rescue. First, this judicious Scotchman had experiments made as to the value of the Barrage, conducted by competent engineers; and these temporary patchings up of the structure were so successful in the summers of 1884 and 1885 that it was resolved to attempt the complete restoration of the work. Financial difficulties had to be contended with, but fortunately it was found that the cost could be provided out of that lucky million "for public works" which was included in the guaranteed loan of 1885. The work was pushed on with energy; the stability of the Barrage was insured against the pressure of a great body of water; the arches of both bridges were supplied with iron gates in double leaves, moving in parallel grooves; the

whole re-construction was finished by the dry season of 1891; and for two successive seasons the Barrage has held up the river to the full height required for the proper distribution of the entire water supply among the great arterial canals. So, by the genius and pluck of our little "England in Egypt," an immense boon has been conferred on the native population, and will be perpetuated—so long, at least, as British supervision lasts.

And here we get a passing illustration of the spirit of spite and hatred in which too many Frenchmen regard this noble work, simply because it has been carried to completion by British brains and hands. The contrast afforded by the behaviour of our own countrymen in the matter is one of which we may reasonably be proud. Sir Colin Moncrieff and his helpers have always been ready to proclaim that the conception of the work was French; that the grand construction was due, in the first instance, to a Frenchman's ingenuity and skill. Nay, more: Sir Colin sought out poor old Mougel Bey in his poverty and oblivion, and gave the Egyptian Government no rest till it had recognised the aged engineer's inestimable service by a substantial pension. Yet, through national jealousy, the sentiment about the Barrage in many Gallic bosoms is, "Oh, if it would only burst!" If nothing serious happens to it, Mr. Milner thinks "there are certain persons in Egypt who will themselves burst from baffled spite!"

Our space will not allow us to do full justice to the able and devoted men who, as Irrigation Officers, have given their days and nights to the preservation of the fellah's fields from flood and from drought. More fortunate than most of their countrymen in the service of the Khedive, they have been rewarded with appreciation as well as success, and they enjoy almost universal popularity. In remote country parts the Inspector of the Circle is recognised as the great benefactor of the district, and, foreigner and Christian though he be, the unsophisticated peasant turns to him for help and counsel on matters far removed from the special question of water. A case in point deserves quotation:

"In the bad year 1888, when the Nile flood was an exceptionally poor one, there was a large area in the province of Girga which was

threatened, like many others in Upper Egypt, with a total failure of the inundation. The canal, which ordinarily flooded this particular district, was running at a level at which the water could not possibly spread over the fields, and many thousands of acres seemed doomed to absolute barrenness. A cry of despair arose from the whole neighbourhood. What was to be done? One of the English Inspectors of Irrigation, who happened to be on the spot, promptly determined to throw a temporary dam across the canal. The idea was a bold one. The time was short. The canal was large, and, though lower than usual, it was still carrying a great body of water at a considerable velocity. Of course no preparations had been made for a work the necessity of which had never been contemplated. But the Inspector was not to be daunted by the apparent hopelessness of the undertaking. Labour, at any rate, was forthcoming in any quantity, for the people, who saw starvation staring them in the face, needed no compulsion to join gladly in any enterprise which offered them even the remotest chance of relief. So the Inspector hastily got together the best material within reach. He brought his bed on to the canal bank, and did not leave the scene of operations, night or day, till the work was finished. And the plan succeeded. To the surprise of all the dam was somehow or other made strong enough to resist the current. The water was raised to the required level, and the land was effectually flooded. The joy and gratitude of the people knew no bounds. It was decided to offer thanksgivings in the mosque of the chief town of the district, and the event was considered of such general importance that the Minister of Public Works himself made a special point of attending the ceremony. But the enthusiastic population were not content with the presence of the high native dignitary. They insisted that his English subordinate also should be there. They were not willing to give thanks for their deliverance without having amongst them the man who had wrought it."—*Milner*, p. 312.

Such is the work the living "England in Egypt" is doing at the present time. In the department of Justice the improvement in Egyptian administration has not been so marked as in some other branches, simply because British influence has been largely excluded from this important part of government, in which our effective interference dates only from 1889, and is still very limited. The judicial system in Egypt is not one, but fourfold—the old Koranic system, worked by the Mehkemehs, or Courts of the Religious Law, dealing chiefly with the personal status of Mohammedans; the Mixed Courts, dealing principally with civil actions between foreigners of different nationalities, or between foreigners and natives; then there is

the system, or want of system, of the Consular Courts, dealing with the great body of foreign crime; lastly, the new Native Courts, which deal with civil actions between natives, or with crimes committed by them. It is only the Native Courts that we have been able actually to take in hand, and that not till within the last few years.

With these important Courts, affecting the general welfare of the great body of the people, the British Government for a long time forbore to interfere, except by platonic advice, which of course was not taken by native statesmen and administrators. Tons of wisdom were embodied in the reports of Sir Benson Maxwell and Sir Raymond West; but as no pressure was exerted upon the Egyptian authorities to compel them to give heed, their sage precepts simply served to swell the Blue Books which oppress the spirits and fill the corners of Downing Street. After the fall of Nubar Pasha, however, our Government began to show a serious interest in the reform of these institutions; but it was only with the appointment of Mr. Scott in 1890 that practical steps were taken for their improvement. Under his enlightened guidance reformed tribunals were introduced, administering a civilised system of law, in accordance with certain prescribed rules, and presided over by a fresh body of judges. In such vital alterations of corrupt old modes, of course many mistakes were made, and much obstruction was experienced. It was difficult to furnish an adequate supply of legal luminaries, and the number had to be largely intermixed with European talent. The new system was certainly a great improvement on the old, but it still lacks many elements of perfection.

Its main difficulty, with regard to criminal charges, has been the want of proper police organisation. It has taken some time to imbue the native police with modern notions as to their powers, restraining them from the rough-and-ready administration of justice by the help of the courbash, yet making them smart in the prevention and detection of crime, and in bringing offenders before the proper courts. Under the old *régime* they had been made to do all the dirty work of the local authorities—the Mamurs, or governors of districts, and the Mudirs, or governors of provinces; and in their hands

had been a powerful instrument of oppression, often employed to gratify greed and spite, and not seldom converted into ushers or footmen. Against this bad system Mr. Clifford Lloyd set his face, but fell into the opposite error of making the police independent of the Mudirs and Mamurs. After much friction and controversy, a *modus vivendi* has been recently established through the efforts of General Kitchener and his successor, Colonel Settle, the present Inspector-General. The police have now begun to show some respect to the position of these local governors; and they, on their side, are beginning to recognise the fact that a properly disciplined and independent police force is in reality calculated to strengthen their hands in the execution of the law.

We must pass lightly over another reform which is being accomplished—namely, the re-organisation of the Ghaffirs, or village watchmen, the old indigenous police force of the country. Their numbers are immense, about one out of every seven inhabitants; they are unpaid and undisciplined, and sometimes, in lieu of salary, do a little robbery on their own account. In 1891, General Kitchener began the introduction of a saner system by reducing the numbers of these old "Charlies." Yet much remains to be done. Not only must their formidable legion be largely diminished, but the able-bodied men of the village, under competent paid officers, ought to do the work in turn for short periods; and the Omdeh, or headman of each village, should hold himself responsible for their efficiency.

The increased capacity and reputation of the Native Tribunals is a feature full of hope for the future of Egypt. Other legal reforms must follow, and in time the absurd provisions of the Consular Courts, with their vexatious privileges in the line of shielding foreign criminals, will no doubt be abolished abuses. The initial reform in this category, the appointment of Mr. Scott as Judicial Adviser, has proved to be one of the greatest strides ever made in the direction of Egyptian self-government. Yet the French Consul-General protested against it to the Khedive as an intolerable extension of British power. On what the Native Courts were before the British occupation and

consequent reforms, Mr. Fraser Rae, in his valuable book, *Egypt To-Day*, throws much light:

"The Judge commonly sided with him who had the longest purse and held the highest rank. Indeed, the Judge was then as great a terror to the innocent as to the evil-doer. I have conversed with those who remember the days in which justice was a mockery, and I have read what others have put on record, but I know few things that are more instructive than some passages from Baron de Malortie's unpublished diary, written in 1881 and 1882. They convey a vivid picture of the national Courts of Justice in Egypt before their reform was undertaken by English jurists in the service of his Highness the Khedive. One of the most influential men in the country told Baron de Malortie that the 'Mudir is supreme, and, as there is no appeal, people are afraid of bringing grievances before him. Out of fifty cases of murder and theft, not three are brought to light, for as it is the custom to bring the witnesses also in chains, and to handle them very roughly, people are not particularly anxious to appear. It is most difficult to get an Arab to denounce another Arab; they seldom peach; torture is abolished by law, yet by *nefas* still constantly applied; bastinado and thumbscrew are pet stimulants for opening the mouth of the fellah.'"—*Fraser Rae*, p. 210.

What has been done by England in Egypt since then in the department of Justice is fairly and soberly summed up in Mr. Justice Scott's report in the spring of 1892:

"I have confined myself to the broad lines of progress. The improvement is great. The law is clear, and may be known to all. The tribunals are free from arrears. Their agency is spread throughout the country. Government itself is liable to be sued for any abuse of power. The Courts are no longer used as engines of private malice. The dread of arbitrary intervention is passing away. The poorest peasant feels that his rights and liberties are safe-guarded." *Fraser Rae*, p. 230.

Amongst the "odds and ends of reform" which Egypt owes to English talent, vigour, and humanity, is the reform of the prisons. Mr. Clifford Lloyd, amongst other salutary changes which he initiated, created two new departments, one of Prisons and one of Public Health, and put an Englishman at the head of each. The former has been a great success, though starved for want of funds. The prisons and their management in 1883 were "inconceivably bad." At the present day the provincial prisons are clean, decent, and

properly managed; and the two great convict prisons are in every respect model establishments. The department of Public Health met with another fate. Dr. Sandwith, a man of exceptional fitness for his post at the head of the Public Health Office, was got rid of by an intrigue consequent on his dismissal of corrupt subordinates; and since then the department has been crippled and frustrated by the total inadequacy of means to ends. Much therefore remains to be done here.

Egypt is blessed with one of the best climates in the world, and its inhabitants are endowed with fine constitutions, otherwise the mortality through defective sanitation would be far more frightful than it is. The natives are said to be fond of washing, but in other respects are "radically insanitary." The towns and villages are filthy, and the canals, the only sources of water-supply to the great bulk of the population, are subject to every sort of pollution. In the cities there is no drainage, though there is a certain amount of sweeping and carting away of refuse. There has been much improvement of late, and Mr. Milner has faith that under the rule of an Englishman like Rogers Pasha, the new head of the Public Health Office, "clever, vigorous, and restless," it will enter on a fresh career of cleansing activity. Preparations are being made for the thorough drainage of Cairo—a tremendous but necessary undertaking. And Alexandria is likely to follow suit in the race after sweetness. One of the great obstacles to sanitary perfection is the foul condition of the mosques, any interference with which readily excites fanatical opposition. Happily among educated Egyptians there is a growing sense of the vital importance of enforcing sanitary regulations, and in time the whole of the faithful may awake to the fact that there is no necessary connection between dirt and devotion.

Another item of reform is the improvement in the Government schools, which, under Mr. Douglas Dunlop's influence, are fast rising in popular estimation, and are beating out of the field the wretched mosque schools which are under the direction of the *Ulema*—nominally "men of learning," but really ignorant bigots and fanatics. In the Government schools

there are now fifteen English and twenty-four French masters, besides thirty-four Egyptians who teach in English, and fifty-six who teach in French. Thus the young Egyptian learns one or other of the principal European, or rather, cosmopolitan languages, and so gains access to stores of history, geography, and science, from which a mere Arabic training would shut him out. Then there are a large number of European or American schools, belonging to various forms of Christianity, and attended by the children of Syrian Christians in connection with the Roman Catholic Church, and by the Copts, who are especially numerous in the schools of the American Mission, which also include among their pupils about 1000 children of Moslem parentage.

Is it better for the young Egyptian aspirant to learn the English or the French tongue? On this point the highest authorities differ; some thinking that French, having long been the principal official tongue, will continue to hold its own, while others affirm that English is already the prevailing language, and the most useful to the learner. Mr. Fraser Rae inclines to the latter opinion, and gives substantial reasons. Modern Greek is often heard in Egypt; but those who speak it find they must also speak English if they wish to prosper in business. The experience of a Greek shopkeeper in Cairo was, that in his early years he had to learn French, because the majority of his customers spoke it; but in his later years he has had to pick up colloquial English, because for one customer who now speaks French nine speak English. Certainly Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son have done much to spread the knowledge of the English language. "They employ thousands of Egyptians, who must know English;" and their Nile fleet carries many thousands of tourists every year, in dealing with whom the natives are obliged to speak some English. The result is that the English language is predominant among the foreign tongues spoken throughout the Valley of the Nile.

We have not space to go into detail of the obstacles which have beset the path of reform and right government in Egypt. The principal one, we regret to say, is the attitude of France. That a great nation, proud of its "enlightened" views, should

stoop to the miserable tactics which distinguish its relations to Egypt, is a disheartening thought to those who would fain believe in the humanising influences and the mighty progress of the century fast dying out. France, ever since she flinched from co-operation in the rescue of Egypt from anarchy and dissolution, has acted the part of the dog in the manger, and has endeavoured to hinder and render abortive almost every measure for the benefit of that country, especially if devised and attempted to be carried out by Englishmen. It is simply what Mr. Milner calls it—"the policy of spite." Accustomed for years to be everything to Egypt, "guide, philosopher, and friend," and using, or abusing, a friend's privilege to snub and bully her in every way, the bitterness of France towards both Egypt and England, since the British occupation, has been greatly intensified, and, in her blind hatred, she has tried to thwart measures which would not only benefit Egypt, but shorten the need of British military aid. The perpetuation of old abuses can be of no advantage to France. Yet she has done her best to delay the abolition of the Corvée, and the fair taxation of foreigners. She has opposed reductions in the number and pay of unnecessary officials, has withheld her consent to a reasonable press law, and has even made herself ridiculous by maintaining a separate post office in Egypt, although all the other Powers have abandoned that vexatious privilege.

Almost all European nations have interests in Egypt, and many urgently needed acts of government cannot be performed without the concurrence of the Powers; some processes requiring the assent of six, and some of sixteen interested nations. It is fortunate, then, that the general sentiment of the Powers is strongly in our favour, especially in the later years, since our efforts in the resuscitation of the Land of the Nile have borne such abundant fruit. Russia, which has but small interest in the country, backs France in her petulant behaviour simply from general political considerations, having their origin in the traditional policy of both States, and not in any real affinity between them. It would, then, in view of the attitude of these two ill-matched allies, be as unmanly and mean as it would be unwise and reactionary for us to give up our allotted work in Egypt right in the midst of it, when early difficulties

have been cleared away, when peasants, premiers, and princes alike are relieved of many and heavy burdens, but when also much remains to be done before the revived State can stand by itself, can shake itself thoroughly clear of the mud into which it had fallen, and can hold its own against a host of foes.

"England in Egypt"—the phrase seems to have originated with Thackeray. The great humorist, apologising for the imperfection of his description of Cairo in 1844, playfully writes:

"Well, it *isn't* a good description of Cairo; you are perfectly right. It is *England in Egypt*. I like to see her there with her pluck, enterprise, manliness, bitter ale, and Harvey sauce. Wherever they come, they stay and prosper. From the summit of yonder Pyramids forty centuries may look down on them if they are minded; and I say those venerable daughters of time ought to be better pleased by the examination than by regarding the French bayonets and General Bonaparte, Member of the Institute, fifty years ago, running about with sabre and pigtail. . . . . Be ours the trophies of peace!"

His words will bear repeating, with increased significance, after an interval of half a century. It is to English "pluck, enterprise, manliness," that Egypt owes her rescue from the Slough of Despond in which she was plunged eleven years ago. To the little "England in Egypt"—as is proved by the three acute and accurate observers, the titles of whose books appear at the head of this article—it is due that Egypt is now financially on a sound basis; that her stock forms a first-class security, and large portions of her debt are yearly cleared off; that her Ministers can show a considerable surplus every year, obtained not by oppression and unequal taxation, but by strict economy and supervision; that the land-tax has been greatly reduced in amount, while its product has largely increased, not melting away in process of collection; that the peasant is better off than he has ever been, having only a fixed rent—the moderate land-tax—to meet at a fixed time; that the fertilising water has been fully and fairly distributed; that local governors are under keen observation; that the corvée and the courbash are consigned to the land of bad dreams; that good education is permeating the country; that the law courts have been vastly improved, the prisons inspected and reformed, and the hospitals put in proper condition; that the army is

well trained and efficient, and the conscripts are easily raised; that no slaves are now sold in any part of Egypt, and domestic slavery is rapidly dying out.

We owe it, then, to our self-respect as a nation that we should not allow ourselves to be frightened out of our rightful course of duty by the spite-spiced paragraphs of Franco-Cairene journalists, or by the veiled threats or the jealous forebodings of French and Russian statesmen, who seek to draw off popular attention from the rottenness of their own home condition by picking quarrels, on the slightest pretext, with lands that are in a sounder, healthier state. "Without England," says Mr. Lane-Poole, at the close of his excellent book, "nothing would have been accomplished, and if England, after laying her hand to the plough, looks back, all that has been won by her patient endeavours will assuredly be lost."

Art. VII.—BUILDING SOCIETIES.

1. *A Bill to Provide for the Rating and Purchase by Local Authorities of Lands Suitable for Building Purposes in and near Towns.*[1]
2. *Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for the year ending* 31*st December*, 1890 (March 1892).
3. *Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for the year ending* 31*st December*, 1891.
4. *Return of Building Societies Incorporated Under the Building Societies' Acts, which have Terminated, or been Dissolved, or have otherwise Ceased to Exist, 2nd June*, 1892 (*Mr. Gerald Balfour*).
5. *A Bill to Amend the Building Societies' Acts* (Feb. 1893).

AMONG the many well-designed measures of last session which failed to become law, the Building Lands Purchase and Rating Bill was, as it seems to us, by no means the least

[1] Prepared and Brought in by Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Coghill, and Mr. Hugh Elliot.

noteworthy, though the evil it was designed to modify has hitherto attracted but little attention. Its objects were to rate periodically, on a fixed percentage of their capital value, lands in or near a town, which have an exceptionally high value for building purposes, and to enable local authorities to buy such lands compulsorily, while allowing the owner of the land to put his own value on it, and rating him and buying him out at his own valuation. It would thus have enabled local authorities to some extent to ensure that building operations in a town should be conducted, not for purely speculative purposes, but with regard to the needs of its population.

Though in a country, the population of which increases by such enormous leaps and bounds as our own, the growth of dwelling-houses must necessarily be equally enormous; no one who has, even in the most cursory manner, explored any of our big towns can doubt that their supply is greatly in excess of the demand for them. When the explorer has left the belt of market gardens which mark the limits of the country, he enters on an expanse of brick-fields terminating in half-dug foundations and embryo walls, indicating the "new neighbourhood" of to-morrow, and, as he passes through the suburb of to-day into the town of yesterday, he is everywhere struck by the fact that the number of unlet houses in the former, instead of diminishing, goes on increasing in each street of the latter. When he reflects on the facts that the system of drainage, the gas and water supply, and the maintenance of roads in connection with all these unlet houses have all to be paid for out of the rates, he is forced to the conclusion that their existence implies waste and mismanagement, and that in the building, as in other trades, there has been "over-production."

Besides being directly conducive to "jerry-building," faulty sanitary arrangements, and the needless destruction of open spaces, the speculative spirit which has led to this over-production has, as it appears to us, been, indirectly, one of the causes of the deterioration of a class of institutions which have recently lost a considerable amount of their former reputation for usefulness.

Building societies have, during the past year, occupied an unpleasantly prominent place in the newspapers, and the failure

of such bodies as "The Portsea" and "The Liberator' Societies, together with the run on "The Birkbeck," has naturally roused a feeling of distrust with regard to them which has scarcely yet subsided. As is usual in cases of panic, the startling failure of the few has injured the reputation of the many excellent ones that survive, and caused the public to ignore the fact that some of those that have failed—such as the Portsea, established in 1849—may have been in existence a considerable time. At the same time, however, such failures have had the beneficial effect of attracting attention to defects in the law relating to building societies, which the Authority chiefly charged with administering it has for some time vainly pointed out, and we now propose to examine what these defects are and the proposals made for remedying them.

Though there is no more resemblance between them than there is between a railway company and a life insurance society, building societies—owing to the fact that both are, together with trade unions, and loan and co-operative societies, registered at the Friendly Societies' Office—are not infrequently confused with friendly societies. While the latter are mutual insurance societies for granting aid in sickness and making payments at death, building societies are established for raising by the periodical subscriptions of the members a fund to assist them in obtaining freehold or other heritable property. The money is collected by means of shares in small sums from large numbers of people, and lent to others, who borrow on real security either for building or trading purposes, repayments being generally made on such a scale as to pay off both principal and interest in a certain number of years. When sufficient funds have been subscribed to enable the society to make advances, these are granted to the members either on application or by priority—forms chiefly confined to the older societies; or, among the newer bodies, by ballot or by sale, or still more frequently by both methods, which are, as a general rule, used alternately, but occasionally in a varying proportion, such as two ballots to one sale. While some societies are "*permanent*," others are "*terminating*"—*i.e.*, cease to exist within a period specified by the rules or on the happening of

a prescribed event; and while some, like "The Birkbeck," are "*certified*" or "unincorporated," others, like "The Liberator," are "incorporated."

There are two other forms of association, with objects far more analogous to them than are those of friendly societies, which are sometimes erroneously identified with building societies.

The once popular freehold land societies, established for buying lands in order to divide them into equal lots among the members, are distinguishable from building societies by the important fact that the latter are not permitted by the law to hold land or to erect buildings except for the purpose of carrying on their business. It may also be added that every society for the purpose of a building society, if it does not register under the Building Societies' Act, must, unless it is prepared to limit its membership to twenty persons at most, be registered under the Companies' Act.

The Industrial and Provident Societies' Act, again, authorises the formation of societies "for carrying on any labour, trade, or handicraft," and expressly includes the buying and selling of land under these terms. Though the individual interests of the members in these societies are limited to £200, they are rapidly increasing both in numbers and importance, as they offer several advantages over the ordinary building society to the working-class investor—such as gratuitous registration, exemption of the society from income tax, the right of members to inspect books, to prosecute for fraud, and to apply for an inspection, or the calling of a special meeting. The report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1891 shows that sixty-three of them received £98,413, of which they expended on land and buildings £26,843, their share capital being £205,246, the value of their land mortgages £390,682, and of their other assets £65,279. Two societies had over seven hundred members, while nine returned over £10,000 in land and mortgages, and one over £20,000. Despite their remarkable progress, however, these "co-operative land societies" are still a comparatively insignificant group, when compared with the societies governed by the Building Societies' Acts.

The building society system has now been in existence for the best part of a century. The first society is said to have been established at Kirkcudbright in 1815, under the auspices of the Earl of Selkirk, and in 1836 the Benefit Building Societies' Act (6 and 7 Will. IV. c. 32) provided for the certification by the Registrar of Friendly Societies of the rules of "benefit building societies"—a term which distinguishes the older from the newer form of association—limiting their shares to £150 in value,* and the subscriptions to 20*s.* per month per share. The property of such societies is vested in trustees, in whose names they may sue and be sued, and they are placed within the jurisdiction of the courts of law, both as regards winding up—under the Companies' Acts—and also in cases of dispute between members and the society in the capacity of mortgagor and mortgagee. The establishment in 1847 of the Freehold Land Societies, originally started with the object of manufacturing forty-shilling freeholds by purchasing estates in bulk, and sub-dividing them among the shareholders,† despite their dissimilar character, appear to have given a great impetus to the formation of benefit building societies, and by 1851 there were some 1,200 in existence, with a total income of £2,400. In this year was founded the Birkbeck Building Society, the most striking feature of which is a deposit branch for the purpose of accumulating a fund from which withdrawals can be promptly met, so as to maintain the credit of the society. This plan—the wisdom of which has been recently so strikingly justified—was originated by Mr. Francis Ravenscroft, who has for forty-six years been elected to the same office, and to whose ability and energy the society chiefly owes the fact that the cash balances of its depositors and investors have risen from £1,453 in 1852 to £5,674,713 in 1892, and its total receipts from £2,020 to £151,128,183.‡

* There is, however, nothing to prevent persons from subscribing for more than one share.

† These Societies appear very soon to have lost their political object.

‡ The Society derives its name from Dr. Birkbeck, the founder of the London Mechanics' Institute, in a room of which it began its business. Mr. Ravenscroft, who entered it at 18 years of age, is now the oldest subscribing member. See an interesting account of its history in *The Building Societies' Gazette and Land Companies' Record*, October 1, 1892.

In 1872 the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies reported that the subscribed capital of benefit building societies was over £9,000,000, their loan or deposit capital over £6,000,000, and their total assets over £17,000,000; but in 1874 their further creation was prohibited by the 37 and 38 Vict. c. 42, which provided for the formation of a new class of societies to be established by means of a certificate of incorporation obtained from the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and also for the incorporation of such of the older societies as desire it under the new system. Besides being bodies corporate, these newer societies are empowered to settle their disputes in case of mortgages independently of the courts of law, and enjoy special facilities for terminating their existence by the execution and registry of an instrument of dissolution, as well as for the uniting of two more incorporated bodies. In all these and various other respects, such as the fact that registration costs them £1 instead of from £2 to £50—they possess an advantage over ordinary companies, while they also have the privileges, enjoyed neither by companies nor land societies under the Industrial and Provident Societies' Act, of being able to pay sums not exceeding £150 due to the infant heirs of mortgagor members dying intestate to the administrator; of exemption from stamp duty as regards documents relating to the management of the society; and of obtaining practically limited liability for the members without being bound to add the word "limited" to the name of the society.

The certified societies remaining unincorporated are not required to make returns, and it is therefore impossible to arrive at any estimate respecting them. As they are constantly diminishing in numbers, and are governed by the repealed Act of 6 and 7 Will. IV., and two friendly societies' Acts repealed for other purposes, it seems indeed highly desirable that, as suggested by the late Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies,* they should be brought under the general legislation respecting building societies, and that the only important body among them, "The Birkbeck," should, if necessary, obtain a special Act of Parliament.

* Rep. for 1890, p. 29.

Setting this group aside, the total number of incorporated societies now in existence is 2,752, with a total membership of 602,388, and funds amounting to £50,382,365. They are to be found in every English and in ten of the Welsh counties, but 594 of them are in Lancashire, and 582 in Middlesex,* while of the Welsh societies, 76 are in Glamorgan. Yorkshire has 213, Surrey 157, Durham 118, and Kent 105 societies. All the other counties have under 100 societies —Northumberland coming nearest that figure with 73, while Rutland, Huntingdon, Berwick, and Pembroke have only 2, and Anglesea, Brecon, and Merioneth only 1 society each.† The total number of societies which have ceased to exist since 1874 is 1,237, of which 165 were established prior to that date. Some of these older societies appear to have carried on business for twenty, thirty, and forty years, while some of the more recent ones have, on the contrary, lasted but two or three years, and in some cases seem never to have transacted any real business at all. Union with other bodies was the cause of the termination of 84 societies; 26 terminated on the happening of events prescribed by their rules; and 32, on their termination, transferred their engagements to other societies; so that 142 societies may be said to have ended their existence with honour. No less than 410 societies were dissolved by *instrument*, with the consent of three-fourths of members holding two-thirds of the shares, and 181 by notice in the manner prescribed by the rules; but as the late Chief Registrar states that these rules "are often of the most oppressive description,"‡ and give an undue influence to the promoters, it would not be safe to place these 591 societies in the same category as the 142 just mentioned. Lastly, 466 societies, or nearly one-third of the total number which have ceased to exist, failed absolutely without leaving any record.§

Having regard to these facts, it is clear that though no less than 2,679 new societies were registered during the fifteen years 1876–90—the annual average being 179; and though

* It must, however, be noted that the total membership of the Middlesex societies, 136,671 and their total funds, £16,068,712; while the total membership of the Lancashire societies is only 103,393 and their funds only £7,847,024.

† Rep. for 1890, p. 135; and cf. Rep. for 1891, pp. 42, 45.

‡ Rep. 1890, p. 28.

§ Return, p. 35 and *passim*.

215 certified societies—the annual average being 14—were incorporated, this numerical increase cannot be taken as altogether an evidence of the progress of the building society system.*

A very large majority of the new societies belong to the terminating group, the success of one large body of terminating societies on the ballot-and-sale principle—the Starr-Bowkett societies, all established with uniform rules by one energetic promoter—having led to the formation of various similar sub-groups by imitators, such as "The Model," "The Richmond," "The Economic," and "The Bonâ Fide" Societies, &c. In various ways all these societies tend to depart from their original object of enabling members to provide homes for themselves by obtaining advances from the common fund, and to supply a mere outlet for gambling. In some cases it is endeavoured to turn the society into a loan company by making advances to mere outsiders, which is clearly a departure from the intention of the Building Societies' Act, 1874;† in others, again, it is the practice to sell "appropriations" before they have the money in hand, and then to buy back these fictitious sums for the purpose of enticing fresh speculators into the society—a process which may go on for two or three years before any genuine loan is granted, and which is sometimes found at the termination of a society to have constituted the sole form of business it transacted. In short, it is clear that, though very many of the older societies and some of the newer ones are excellently conducted, the Building Societies' Act, 1874, which was styled by its mover, Mr. M'Cullagh Torrens, "a Magna Charta for Building Societies," and was indubitably a vast improvement on previous legislation on the subject, requires to be made far more stringent.‡

The amendments in the law proposed with this object—the adoption of which has for several years been urged both by his predecessor, Mr. Ludlow, and by himself—are summarised by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, Mr. Brabrook, in his

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* Rep. 1890, p. 26. † See sec. 12.

‡ See Mr. Ludlow's remarks in Report, 1890, pp. 27-29; and *cf.* an excellent article by him on Building Societies in the *Economic Review* for January 1893, in which the whole subject is exhaustively treated.

Report for 1891, and have also been dealt with more at length in an interesting paper on "The Need for Reform in the Law Relating to Building Societies," read by him before the London Chamber of Commerce in November last.* Two of them are designed to confer on the members of building societies rights already enjoyed by those of friendly societies—namely, that of ascertaining from the books of a society how its affairs are carried on, and of applying to the Chief Registrar for the appointment of an inspector into the affairs of a society, or for the calling of a special meeting.† The remaining four consist of provisions for prohibiting the directors of a society from defeating the claims of existing members by the unlimited issue of preference shares having priority over them; for controlling the trustees appointed for the purpose of a dissolution; for making penalties in case of wilfully false returns more stringent, and for facilitating the recovery of penalties from the society or its responsible officers; and, lastly, for requiring from societies a prescribed form of annual return made up to a fixed date, and within a certain time after that date.‡ All these amendments have now been embodied in the Bill to amend the Building Societies' Acts cited at the head of this article, which was recently brought in by the Home Secretary, and which, it is to be trusted, will meet with little or no opposition.

"Some who think that the crisis calls for more heroic measures [said Mr. Brabrook, in the paper above referred to] may wish I had suggested some scheme whereby the choice of the auditors should be taken out of the hands of the members altogether, and an army of inspectors organised to parade the country and look after building-society management. While I am anxious that all possible help should be given to the small investor, I do not think it would be wise to attempt to do for him that which he can do for himself, for the best building societies are the best managed ones."

All who have studied their history, and thus realised the beneficial educational influence which the principle of encouraging them, as far as possible, to "manage their own affairs,"

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* See the *Times*, Nov. 17, 1892.

† *Cf.* the Friendly Societies' Act, 1875 (38 & 39 Vict. c. 60) s. 14 (g) and s. 23.

‡ Rep. 1891, pp. 37, 38.

has had on working men's associations, will fully agree with the truth of this statement, and also that the Chief Registrar is right in contending that it is the way in which the managers of building societies discharge their trust, rather than any Act of Parliament, which will determine whether the system is destined to decay or to continue to grow and prosper. Desiring for it, as we do, the latter alternative, we hope that the favourable reception given to them by the London Chamber of Commerce—an audience including representatives of both classes of building societies, as well as Members of Parliament of all parties—is an augury that the reforms Mr. Brabrook advocates will speedily become law.

There is, however, another respect in which it appears to us that the Legislature can indirectly help to ensure the stability of building societies. A considerable proportion of their investments must be of necessity on the security of small suburban houses. When managed with judgment, it is a security which can hardly fail to be profitable as it should be beneficial to the members who avail themselves of its help to become their own landlords. It is, however, one that, as Mr. Brabrook points out, is almost always in a falling market, having necessarily a tendency to depreciation as the people are pushed further out, and if once the directors of a society lend themselves to bolster up the credit of the jerry-builder, they voluntarily court its destruction.* Any measure therefore which, like that considered at the beginning of this paper, is calculated to control building speculation within reasonable limits, can hardly fail to render suburban house property a reliable, instead of a dangerous, investment for building societies.

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* *Cf.* The *Times* of November 17, 1892, above-mentioned.

ART. VIII.—THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM AND THE GENTILE MISSION.

1. *The Acts of the Apostles.*
2. *The Faith and Life of the Early Church: An Introduction to Church History.* By W. F. SLATER, M.A., Biblical Tutor, Wesleyan College, Didsbury. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892.
3. *Das apostolische Zeitalter.* Von CARL WEIZSÄCKER. Zweite, neu bearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg i. B. 1892.
4. *The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times; their Diversity and Unity in Life and Doctrine.* By GEORGE VICTOR LECHLER, D.D., Professor of Theology in Leipzig. Third edition, thoroughly revised and re-written. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.
5. *The Expositor's Bible: The Acts of the Apostles.* By G. T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin. In two volumes. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891–2.

FROM Paul back to Jesus is the prevailing cry in many schools of Christian thought. On other lips it becomes *From doctrine back to Church*—from metaphysical theology to history and life, from dogma to ethics, from the Nicene Creed to the Sermon on the Mount. This is the watchword of Dr. Edwin Hatch's posthumous and (alas!) unfinished Hibbert Lectures upon the relations of Christianity to Greek thought—in our judgment the most able and incisive of his writings; it was the main burden of his teaching. The same note, though less dominant, is distinctly heard in the new Anglicans of the *Lux Mundi* school. The socialistic current, which is so potent a factor in the politics of the day and in the newer literary and educational movements, has entered with irresistible influence into the course of religious thought and inquiry. This powerful tendency, which in its purer

elements is a product of Christianity, naturally exerts, for good or evil, a strong reaction upon the parental system. It is now visibly affecting every form of Christian activity, every department of research, and, in some directions, is bringing about a veritable transformation.

Sociology touches theology at many points. The investigations into the history and laws of aggregate human life that are now eagerly pursued by a host of students and are coming home, sometimes in startling and disquieting shapes, to men's business and bosoms—these new modes of thought teach us to read with new eyes the records of the Early Church. The New Testament writings are seen to be a grand "human document," while they are the "deposit" of Divine truth. They are searched not only for dogmatic and homiletic texts, but for facts bearing upon life, on the organic life and structure of Christian society. So it comes about that parts of Scripture which were formerly treated as mere husk for the dogmatic kernel of the faith, or used at best to supply illustrations and historical setting to spiritual doctrines, are found to be of priceless value. The early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, often discussed in a cursory fashion as if they were no more than a formal link between Jesus and Paul, in the hands of such an interpreter as Dr. Stokes resume their central and controlling position. The moralities of St. James, the pictures St. Paul gives us of the turbulent Church meetings at Corinth, turn out to be of vital import for a right understanding of practical Christianity. To some inquirers these records appear to be more instructive than the spiritual discourses of the Fourth Gospel or the glorious doctrines of salvation in the Epistle to the Romans.

The recent books enumerated at the head of this article bear signal indications of the trend of thought we have described. We quote the following significant sentences from the Preface of the new edition of the venerable Dr. Lechler's *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*—a treatise that has acquired the rank of a standard authority:

"The plan of the whole work is changed. In the first and second editions doctrine was always treated of first, both in the Apostolic and Post-apostolic period, followed by a description of the [corre-

sponding Church] life. . . . . Now I put the life in the foreground, leaving the doctrine to follow. I do so with the conviction that for individuals as well as mankind, in the Divine education of the human race and in sacred history, life and experience are the foundation, while consciousness, thought, and teaching form the superstructure. Godet says on John iii. 3, with truth and beauty: *Une nouvelle vue suppose une nouvelle vie.*"

From the opposite rationalistic camp comes the sentiment of Dr. Pfleiderer in the *Vorwort* to his *Urchristenthum* (p. vi.):* "History is truth as God has made it; dogma is truth as man makes it." Pfleiderer is a man of the times, and he has condensed into this epigram the strength and the weakness, the reason and unreason of the prevalent mood of critical religious thought.

In Weizsäcker's skilful delineation of the Apostolic age (*Das apostolische Zeitalter*) theology forms the accessory of the picture. Weizsäcker regards the Gospels as unhistorical, at the crucial point of the resurrection of Jesus, which is to him a spiritual not a physical reality. The Acts of the Apostles contains, in his opinion, a quantity of adventitious matter attached to its genuine Pauline traditions. On the whole, Weizsäcker finds a larger amount of history in this book of the New Testament than the Baurian school acknowledged, but we fail to discover the grounds of his discrimination between the actual and the legendary. His treatment of the Acts has the appearance of an arbitrary approval of that which suits his preconceived idea of the times, and an arbitrary rejection of statements refractory to his purpose. He attempts, in fact, to plane down the loftier features of the Apostolic age and to reduce it to a prosaic, familiar level. By cautiously eliminating the supernatural and the heroic, he construes the

* We had intended to include Pfleiderer's *Urchristenthum* in this review, but space forbids. Dr. Pfleiderer has expanded in this work the antithesis between Paulinism and Legalism which dominated his earlier discussions on St. Paul's theology (*Paulinismus* and Hibbert Lectures), into the wider antithesis of Hellenism and Judaism. In this expansion his views have lost their clearness and coherence; and some extraordinary changes of critical opinion disclose themselves, indicating a levity of judgment that we did not look for in this eminent scholar. Of course, Dr. Pfleiderer cannot write without making many keen and suggestive observations, nor without composing many brilliant passages. But the book is a huge paradox: it accounts for Christianity without Jesus Christ, as the product of the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism!

history in a style matter-of-fact enough; but his construction lacks the warmth and vital movement of the story of St. Luke, which Lechler has known how to infuse into his pages.

Weizsäcker has a curious eye for the external details of history. The machinery of the Early Church he understands and describes uncommonly well, but on the *pulse* of the machine he scarcely lays a finger. The valuable part of the *Apostolisches Zeitalter* is its concluding section, upon "The Community," where Weizsäcker discusses the assemblies of the Early Church, its modes of worship, and edification and social intercourse, its organisation and moral discipline. Here his work marks a distinct advance in the apprehension and interpretation of the New Testament data. Nowhere is the gravitation of interest from doctrine to Church more marked than in this influential book. The Pauline teaching Weizsäcker disposes of, cleverly rather than profoundly, in forty pages out of his 672. We should gather from the way in which this representative and able scholar discusses the subject that the Christian theology was a mere *by-product* of the Apostolic times.

Mr. W. F. Slater's book on *The Faith and Life of the Early Church* is a production of distinct mark. The high estimate formed of its qualities by this REVIEW was expressed in the "brief notice" of our issue for October last; and that estimate has been widely endorsed. Mr. Slater has felt the swing of the tide which is displacing so many things. The contents of his volume are very different from anything that would have appeared under such a title from the same quarter twenty, or even ten years ago—different in substance and aim, but still more in method and proportion. The author is occupied with "Life" rather than with "Faith," and with the *Life of the Early Church* in its external aspects, in its social expression and institutions, rather than with its spiritual character. The second title qualifies the first. But at the risk of seeming captious, we observe that these interesting chapters do not form an *Introduction to Church History*, in the usual or strict sense of the words. They are neither sufficiently continuous, nor sufficiently elementary, to answer this purpose. Mr. Slater is too modest. He should have entitled his able volume *Essays towards a Reconstruction of the History of the*

Early Church. His readers would then have been prepared for what is coming, and set at the right standpoint from which to survey his landscape.

We say, this is a notable book. Its style is easy and vivacious. It gives proof on every page of wide and modern scholarship. It exhibits great openness of mind and fertility of suggestion. While he has no tender regard for ecclesiastical traditions, the writer's loyalty to revealed truth is unmistakable. He has a well-informed conception of the bearing of New Testament facts upon modern Church controversies, and a shrewd insight into the character of patristic literature and the deductions to be drawn from it. With his general principles and the main drift of his exposition we are in hearty accord. The book makes throughout for a living conception of Apostolic Christianity, and for a broad and spiritual catholicity. Its manful protest against "the stubborn but unscriptural claim advanced on behalf of 'the historic episcopate'" (p. 408) we endorse with all our might. If we venture on some points to differ strongly from the esteemed author, these differences, pronounced as they may be, must be taken as an appeal for the reconsideration of details, not an impeachment of the argument.

Under the stimulus of Mr. Slater's teaching, we return to the Acts of the Apostles, and trace once more the earliest steps of the wonderful evolution by which the Judean Church of "the upper chamber" expanded into the Church universal. The germ of this vast unfolding lay hidden in Jesus Christ—in His person, in his behaviour towards contemporary Judaism, in the spiritual ideas He inculcated on his disciples, and in the effect of His death, resurrection, and ascension upon them. The consequences of these facts, ideas, and teachings could not appear to the Jewish disciples at once. But we are compelled to look to the historical Christ for the spring and rise of the stream of Church-life. From Him it derived its main colour and direction. What then were the plans of the Lord Jesus Christ for the future of his Church? How did the apostles, in the first instance, understand and interpret His instructions? Here, as we take it, is the indispensable starting-point for an "Introduction to Church History"; and

the difficulties surrounding the literary origin of the Gospels do not acquit the historian of the duty of defining his position in regard to this primary question. That Weizsäcker omits to do this is a fatal defect in his procedure.

Of course, if those sayings and actions of Jesus which pointed to the inclusion of the Gentiles in His Kingdom are "unhistorical," if they were imagined, or invented, in order to justify from His lips what the course of events had brought about, they lose their fundamental significance. But then the revolution itself becomes unaccountable. It is impossible to conceive how the Jewish Church should at any time, or in any sense, have tolerated an uncircumcised Christianity, if the Lord Jesus had not prepared for this and in effect anticipated the situation, by His express declarations, and by the general bent and outcome of His teaching. How, indeed, could Paul regard himself, with unqualified assurance, as the interpreter of the mind of Christ, if it were not that he had behind him the acknowledged word of the Master, and if the recollections of the elder Apostles had not sustained his contention and justified his liberal inferences? But for the larger teachings of our Lord—those, for example, connected with the healing of the Centurion's servant, and the "cleansing of meats," and the "discipling of all nations"—the Judaistic bias of the first believers would have remained invincible. Supposing that in some irregular way the Gospel had reached the Gentiles and the Conference of the year 51 had become necessary, had it not been for these indications of Christ's will, enforced and reinforced by later revelations of the Holy Spirit, the meeting of Paul and Barnabas with the elder Apostles would have taken an opposite turn. The Epistles of James and Peter and John would have then been devoted to the vindication of Jewish particularism. But the Church of the first Apostles could never have been content to sink into a Jewish sect. From the first it was conscious of a world-wide mission, however cautious and measured the steps by which, under the leading of Providence, it advanced to fulfil its destiny. The universalism of Jesus was better appreciated by the Galilean Apostles, and even by the body of Judean believers, than many modern critics give them credit for.

St. Peter chooses for his text on the day of Pentecost the prophecy of Joel—the very largest saying of Old Testament faith: "It shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, that I will pour my Spirit *upon all flesh.*" Now, we take the opening chapters of the Acts to be in the fullest sense historical. They are no "free composition" reading into the mind of the Jerusalem Church a catholicism of which it was innocent, but the veracious record of what was said and done—written with a "purpose" no doubt, but with the purpose of "tracing from the beginning accurately" (Luke i. 3) the life of the Apostolic Church to its source in the commands of the Lord Jesus and the mind and action of His Spirit. The material of these chapters bears clear marks of the Palestinian tradition, which St. Luke had drawn from the fountain head. The Hebraistic manner of the speakers, the action and feeling of the Jewish parties, the moral atmosphere within and without the Church, the topics and elements of the earliest preaching are reproduced with a fidelity that bespeaks our strongest confidence. And if St. Peter preached as St. Luke relates, it is certain that he regarded the Pentecostal baptism of the Spirit as the inauguration of a universal religion, and the Jews present from so many lands as the representatives and forerunners of "all flesh." Hence in his second recorded address the Apostle says: "*To you first* God, raising up his Servant, sent Him to bless you" (Acts iii. 25-26).

The story of Stephen in Acts vi., vii. shows that the quarrel between the Church and unbelieving Judaism was internecine; the appearance of toleration at Jerusalem was brief and superficial. On the other hand, the reception of the hated Samaritans and the baptism by Philip of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii.), whose condition forbids him to have been previously more than "a proselyte of the gate," proved the readiness of the Apostolic leaders to extend the Church beyond the national limits when occasion arose. Connected with this train of affairs was the preaching of the Gospel to Greeks at Antioch, and the despatch of Barnabas to superintend the mixed community that formed itself here (Acts xi. 19-25). In this Church from the first the circumcised and uncircumcised were in fellowship. Barnabas was the trusted

agent of the mother Church, and the intermediary between the two bodies; it may be presumed, therefore, that the joint communion at Antioch had the approval of the Apostles.

But before Barnabas received this commission, two pregnant events had occurred, related in Acts ix. and x.—the conversion of Saul of Tarsus, and the vision of Peter at Joppa followed by the descent of the Spirit on Cornelius and his Gentile house in Cæsarea. This latter occurrence occupies sixty-six verses in the narrative, a larger space even than the former. Luke's whole exposition leads us to infer that this was an event of capital importance, and had a decisive influence upon the mind of the early Church. This became, in fact, the *instantia probans* for the unity of Jewish and Gentile Christendom. It was now declared by the Holy Spirit that faith in Christ cancels Gentile uncleanness. From this time it was settled that uncircumcision is no bar to Christian rights. Barnabas had this example before him when he went down to Antioch, where the new principle passed into full effect; and for some years an undisturbed intercourse was carried on between the Judæo-Gentile society of Antioch and the purely Jewish Church in Palestine.

When "the Apostles and brethren throughout Judæa" called Peter to conduct for his proceedings at Cæsarea, the question that troubled them did not concern the reality of Cornelius' conversion nor the validity of his baptism, but Peter's action in accepting Gentile hospitality: "Thou wentest in unto men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them!" (ver. 3). The protest indicates, very precisely, the difficulty raised in the minds of orthodox Jewish believers at this crisis. They felt the obstacle which their national customs put in the way of intercourse with the foreign converts. Peter simply replies that such customs must give way to the clearly revealed will of God (verses 9 and 17). And the Jerusalem Church accepted his vindication.

Before long a Judaistic reaction set in at Jerusalem. It was promoted by a Pharisaic party, whom St. Luke is always careful to distinguish from the body of the Judæan Church. St. Paul openly stigmatises them as "false brethren." Weizsäcker ascribes the rise of this faction, with great probability,

to "the increasing excitement amongst the Jewish people that preceded the struggle for national freedom, under the influence of which patriotic legal zealots sought to exploit the Christian Church" (p. 154). We have no right to assume that these men determined the policy of James and Peter toward the Gentiles, or that Peter yielded to them further than in the momentary "dissimulation" at Antioch, which was so promptly and effectually checked. Those critics who hold that there was a permanent contention between Paul and the other Apostles, and that the latter, as a rule, avoided fraternising with Gentiles, with one consent regard the story of Peter and Cornelius as apocryphal. Let Weizsäcker speak for the rest. Discussing Acts xv., he writes (p. 175):

"In the Acts of the Apostles the decree of Jerusalem does not stand alone. It forms part of an extended and continuous representation of things, exhibiting the authority of the Mother Church, to which Paul, too, is made subordinate, and the entrance of that Church upon the Gentile mission under Peter's initiative. The baptism of Cornelius and his house at Cæsarea supplies the voucher for this latter fact; and the circumstantial character of this narrative indicates the decisive importance attributed to it. It is true that no further examples of the like proceedings are adduced; but when the Church had been brought to an express approval of Peter's act, it is natural that Peter should appeal to this in the subsequent discussion with Paul; and the writer in this way gives us to understand that the case in point is by no means to be regarded as an exception."

This is a just account of the drift of Acts x.–xv.—barring the one point of Paul's "subordination." But then Weizsäcker thinks that the writer of these chapters is throwing dust in our eyes! The Jewish Christians cannot have been so liberal as he makes out. "This whole narrative," Weizsäcker continues, "is discredited by the Epistle to the Galatians. Peter was not the pioneer of the Gentile mission, but simply and solely the Jewish Apostle." It is the *critic*, let us observe, and not the Epistle to the Galatians that gives the lie to St. Luke in this way. But Weizsäcker argues with consistency that if Peter and the Jerusalem Church were not thus early pledged to Gentile communion, the representation of the Acts is radically misleading.

"The eating of Peter with the Gentiles" [at Antioch], he says on

p. 178, "not only agrees with the unconditional recognition that he gives here (Acts xv.) to Gentile Christianity, but it is carried back by the Acts to the time of Cornelius' conversion, which forms the presupposition of this speech [at the Council]. Peter had already accepted the invitation of a heathen and become his guest. The vision of Joppa furnished the justification for his acting thus; it removed his scruples, showing him that he might eat unclean food without making a conscience of it."

Weizsäcker, to be sure, regards all this as a "suspicious enrichment" of the bald and inconvenient facts of history. The author of the Acts, he tells us, "has introduced" misleading "assumptions, and sacrificed to them important facts. Above all, he has assumed the harmony and unrestricted authority of the Apostolic leadership" (p. 169). He has assumed, in short, the very thing that Paul assumed in writing to the Corinthians at the height of the legalistic controversy, that the Church of the Apostles was "one body" and partook of "one bread" (1 Cor. x. 16, 17).

To us it is as clear as logic and criticism can make it, that upon the showing of St. Luke, the Christian Church of Jerusalem did not and could not decline communion with Gentiles; on this point, the Pharisaic party was steadily resisted and condemned. Had they refused such communion, they would have done so in defiance of the command, "What God hath cleansed, do not thou make common." The only escape from the dilemma is to suppose, with Baur and Weizsäcker, that no such command was given and that the revelation of Joppa and the scenes in the house of Cornelius never happened. Of course, Mr. Slater supposes nothing of the kind. He stoutly asserts the historicity of the Acts (pp. 13, 63). But we cannot reconcile his view of the attitude of the mother Church toward the Gentiles with the representations of St. Luke. The story of Peter and Cornelius is, to our apprehension, the pivot of the whole question.*

The Judaistic controversy put to a severe test the broad principle of Christian union established in the case of Corne-

* Comp. Baur: *Paul, his Life and Works*, vol. i., note on pp. 130–1. "Who can help detecting here a consistent adherence to a plan on the part of the author [of the Acts], but who can help finding it necessary to use that same consistent adherence against his statements?"

lius. That precedent, adduced by Peter (Acts xv.) at the Council of the Judean Church in the year 51, was admitted to be decisive against the plea of the legalists. The letter of the Council assumes and provides for the social intercourse of Jews and Gentiles, which was involved in the very fact of their being "brethren." Weizsäcker seizes the essential point when he says, speaking of St. Paul's position at this juncture (pp. 148, 9):

"The anxiety of Paul had for its object something beyond the immediate success of his work amongst the Gentiles; this further object could be nothing else than the success of his work in Jerusalem—its recognition there. This we can understand when we consider that, with all the freedom of his convictions and the independence of his action, he never ceased to cherish the hope that he might work for the building up of one great united Church of Christ."

In truth, this hope lay at all times very near to the apostle's heart. His present anxiety was relieved by the reception that Barnabas and himself, and Titus, met with in Jerusalem. When at the end of the conference, the Gentile missionaries exchanged with the three pillars, the "right hand of fellowship" on returning to their several fields of labour, that clasp was the token of a complete understanding amongst themselves, and of a frank and equal communion between the Churches they represented. It is strange that Baur's perverse account of this parting as an act of "separation" should still hold its ground amongst critics.* When twelve years later St. Paul addresses the Gentile believers as "no longer strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints and of the family of God, being built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets" (Eph. ii. 19–22), we see how firmly the compact had been maintained through the intervening years of strife. He is careful in that letter to place the truth, that the Gentiles are "of the same body" with believing Israel, on a basis wider than his own authority; it rests on the common, fundamental testimony of the organs of revelation (Eph. iii. 5, 6).†

* Comp. Slater, p. 83; Baur's *Paul*, pp. 129, 130. On the other side, see Lechler, vol. i., pp. 216–8.

† With this passage comp. 1 Cor. xv. 3-11: "*Whether I or they*, so we preach, and so you believed."

The Conference of Jerusalem had given public attestation to this fact.

The apostle Paul took *Titus* with him to the conference with the Church of Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1–5), as a sample of Gentile Christianity, and in order to test the disposition of the Judean Christians toward his clients. Would that Church abide by its judgment in the case of Cornelius, and acknowledge that faith in Christ effaces Gentile uncleanness and brings the stranger and foreigner into the family of God? or would it sustain the action of the troublers who had come to Antioch in its name, insisting upon circumcision and Jewish conformity? This is, in effect, the question that Paul addresses to "the men of repute" in Jerusalem. That question must be answered in deed as well as word—by the treatment accorded to Titus.

The answer—and as Paul indicates, the wholly reassuring answer to his challenge, he states in ver. 3—*Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was not compelled to be circumcised!* But what does this mean? What vindication, what "freedom" was secured by the fact that Titus, here at Jerusalem by St. Paul's side, retained his uncircumcised condition? The significance of the event lay in the fact that this Greek was admitted, along with his master, to the communion of the Church of the Apostles. Nothing less than this could satisfy the Gentile missionaries, or furnish a real justification of their work. The position that the Judeo-Gentile communion might be allowable at Antioch, but not in Jerusalem, could not have stood for a moment against St. Paul's merciless logic. He says: "Titus was *not compelled* to be circumcised." Now, in what did the attempted "compulsion" consist? in what could it consist, but in the effort of the legalists to shut him out from the Church table and the Lord's Supper? This was their obvious policy, the form of pressure to which they would infallibly resort, and that could be applied with the greatest effect at Jerusalem. In taking his Greek friend with him to the Holy City Paul deliberately raised this issue, and confronted the risk of his being refused communion! It was just this weapon that the Judaizers for a moment got into their hands at Antioch, when, by "withdrawing" from the common table,

Peter and the other Jews there "*compelled* the Gentiles to Judaise." The same word is pointedly used in the third and in the fourteenth verses of Galatians ii.; it means in both instances the same thing—and again in chapter vi. 12—viz., the attempt of the legalists to force Gentile believers into Jewish conformity by the refusal to communicate with them upon other terms. This compulsion the Gentile Apostle was bound to resist at all costs, and to all lengths.

To the contrary effect Mr. Slater writes, in his able and interesting chapter on "The First Council and its Results":

"Peter could enter the house of [Cornelius at] Cæsarea, but he could not bring Cornelius to his table at Jerusalem.* James and the primitive Christians in Jerusalem adhered to the legal practices and most likely would never eat the Lord's Supper with a Gentile" (p. 80). In a subsequent passage: "St. James, and probably most of the original disciples and Apostles, never ceased to conform to the Judaic institutions. They would never take the Lord's Supper with Gentiles. At Jerusalem no one could join the Agapé-Eucharist unless he were circumcised. Paul and Barnabas might take their own course abroad, but James could not imitate their freedom" (p. 117). "Peter was formally wrong when he joined the mixed Agapé at Antioch" (p. 83). "The chief Apostle left the Koinōnia and Agapé at Antioch, and there is no positive evidence that he ever returned to the fellowship of the Gentiles" (p. 163). Even the Apostle John, it appears, in the later Apostolic times, "would live with Jewish brethren, and 'eat' with them." The Gentile believers "would never imperil his ceremonial purity by attempting to eat with him" (pp. 170–1).

We have brought together these passages to show how boldly Mr. Slater carries out the principle of the "two communions," and to what striking situations it leads. It seems that the orthodox Jewish Christians in apostolic times, including Peter, who opened the door of faith to heathendom, and

* Mr. Slater cherishes no superfluous hero-worship for the Apostles. While we are on this point, we should be thankful if we could persuade him to spare St. Paul the reflection made on his preaching at Corinth on pp. 95-6: "To discourse like a Rabbi, &c. . . . . would never do now that his subordinates had arrived. . . . . If he attempted further temporising, his fellow Evangelist would be the first to detect it." This suggestion gives real pain to an admirer of St. Paul. The words of Acts xviii. 5 are difficult to explain, but of all the explanations offered this seems to us the most unlikely. We strongly dissent from the interpretation of 2 Cor. i. 19, given in the note on p. 96 in support of the above conjecture. The *gradual* method of St. Paul's Messianic argument in the Jewish synagogues Mr. Slater brings out more clearly than any interpreter we know.

John, the most spiritual of the Apostles and the nearest to the heart of Christ, with one consent refused to admit the uncircumcised to social fellowship. They were accustomed to act toward their Gentile fellow-believers as the Corinthians were directed to treat "any one named a brother" who had turned fornicator or drunkard: "With such an one," St. Paul says, "you are *not even to eat*" (1 Cor. v. 11). Had St. Paul's Gentile companion been so treated at Jerusalem, he would have shaken its dust from his feet, and left the Jewish Church, "pillars" and all, till they returned to a better and more Christian mind. One has only to consider the sacredness of hospitality and the immense significance in ancient times and in Oriental lands of the act of eating bread together, to perceive that the very existence of a common Christianity was involved in this matter, and that the sustained refusal of table communion with Gentiles on the part of the Jewish Apostles must have brought about a complete rupture and alienation. To call a Gentile man a brother in Christ, and refuse to break bread with him, would have been a mockery.

The Apostle Peter was guilty, upon the view we are contesting, of a tergiversation that takes away all our respect for him. If he could accept Cornelius' hospitality at Cæsarea, and then show him the cold shoulder when he happened to visit Jerusalem, if he had persuaded his Jewish brethren that God had cleansed the believing Gentiles, and when his liberal sentiments were put to the proof by the appearance of Titus, had joined them in barring out the uncircumcised "dog" whose presence would "defile their ceremonial purity," it seems to us that St. Paul's surprise and indignation at his conduct in Antioch were wasted upon such a man. But the fact is that the same "hypocrisy" is ascribed to Peter in Galatians ii. as to Barnabas and the other Jews of Antioch. These had habitually lived in table-communion with the Gentiles: must we not infer the same in regard to Peter? Is there not "evidence" of Peter's retracting his unhappy step in the very fact that the story is told in argument against the Galatian Judaisers? Had St. Paul's appeal failed, and St. Peter and the Jews of the Syrian capital persisted in their reactionary course, the conflict would have been a triumph for Paul's

enemies, and his reference to it would have laid him open to a crushing retort.

Let any one imagine the effect of Peter's continuing in a course which his brother Apostle denounced as "dissimulation," as "not walking straight according to the truth of the Gospel," as nullifying its vital principles and "making void the grace of God"—a course of conduct for which, in the deliberate judgment of that colleague expressed years after the event, "he stood condemned"; let any one measure the width of the gulf which the rupture must then have created between the foremost chiefs of the Church, and its consequences for their future relations, for the character of the Church, and for the authority and unity of the New Testament, and he will think more than once or twice before he accepts this opinion. The suggestion is against evidence and probability. The breach between the two Apostles closed as soon as it had opened. Peter had erred with characteristic impulsiveness, and with the same impulsiveness, we doubt not, he acknowledged his error and clasped Paul's hand in renewed friendship. The "false brethren" found themselves once more foiled and discredited. The friendly allusions to Peter in Paul's letters of this period, his glowing assertions of apostolic unity in later Epistles, and, on the other hand, the large infusion of Paulinism in St. Peter's First Epistle, to say nothing of the admiring reference to "our beloved brother Paul" in the Second, show that the apostolic founders remained subsequently on excellent terms with each other, and that the condemnation Paul passed on Peter for leaving the Gentile fellowship raised no more than a passing cloud between them.

Two things appear to us evident—(1) that Jewish and Gentile believers had a common Church life, and met in social fellowship; (2) that the Jews within the Church, certainly the believing Jews of Jerusalem, continued, during the first generation at least, to observe the Mosaic customs. Are these assertions contradictory? A number of the critics assume that they are. As Mr. Slater tells us in an excellent note on page 63:

"There was no express law against a Jew eating with a Gentile, but there was always a danger of eating food unfit for a Jew. . . . .

The Pentateuch does not forbid an Israelite to eat with a man of another nation, nor does Josephus speak of any difficulty."

One wonders, after this, why Mr. Slater finds so much difficulty in allowing it. The Mosaic rules are not those of Hindoo caste. They limited the *kinds of food* which an Israelite might eat, not the guests with whom he might eat. The Scribes draw up certain rules against partaking of Gentile food and against table-intercourse with the heathen, in order to avoid the possibility of eating unclean things, and by way of putting "a fence about the law." These rules were aggravated by hatred and disgust toward Gentiles, which was never stronger in the Jewish breast than at this particular time.

It must be carefully observed that such regulations were inferences from the law; they were no part of the letter of the law itself. They belonged to the "tradition of the Scribes," which Jesus had so sharply criticised. These prohibitions appear, moreover, to have varied at different times, and the laxer and stricter Rabbinical schools were divided upon this subject. Ewald says,* referring to the increasing rigour of the dietary rules at this period: "The rigid principles by which the Hagiocracy now sought to set itself against the heathen, which were peculiarly the product of the most recent ferment of these times, did not meet with general acceptance." Much more latitude existed in the matter than the Baurian critics allow for; and one must not take it for granted that to be "zealous for the law" and to admit Gentiles to the Eucharist were things incompatible. When Peter says to Cornelius (Acts x. 28): "You know how unlawful† it is for a man that is a Jew to join himself to or visit a foreigner," he is not stating a formal principle of Mosaism, but affirming the common and well-understood Jewish abhorrence of Gentile associations. But this barrier of national pride and contempt the Spirit of Jesus was bound to break through. It is very difficult to judge how far Judean Christians might go

* *History of Israel*, vii. 536.

† ἀθέμιτον, not ἄνομον or παράνομον (*against law*). The former is undoubtedly a strong word. St. Peter uses it again, in 1 Pet. iv. 3, of "*abominable* idolatries." But it signifies *godless*, rather than *lawless*, contrary to the sense of right and religion.

in fraternisation with the Gentiles, and yet avoid expulsion from Jewish society. The evidence is conflicting. Custom varied, and in some localities it would be easier for Jews to remain in the Synagogue after joining the Church than in others. In Jerusalem the mixed Communion would only occur occasionally, in the case of Gentile visitors like Titus or Trophimus.

We have been favoured with a memorandum on the subject from a learned Talmudist, Dr. Joseph Strauss, of Bradford, which is too long to cite *in extenso*, but the following sentences are of great interest:

"The reason for the prohibition (Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16) of making covenant with the heathen is distinctly mentioned—*scil.*, lest the Israelites becoming intimate with them should marry their daughters, who, as the great lawgiver justly feared, might lead them to worship idols and commit the abominable deeds practised among the Canaanites.

"In later times, especially after Alexander the Great, when Grecian manners and customs penetrated Judæa, the intercourse between Jews and Heathens was not only frequent, but intimate. For a time a reaction set in. Antiochus Epiphanes began, about 170 B.C., to force the Jews to submit to idolatrous practices, and to eat unclean food (1 Macc. i.). The consequence was that the Law was more strictly applied, so that the Chasidim—*i.e.*, the pious ones—would not eat anything from or with a Heathen.* The reaction did not last long, for when the Maccabean victories had made Israel great and independent, the Heathen was looked upon with more favour.

"The statute book of the *Shulchan aruch* † permits a Jew to eat with a Heathen at the latter's house, provided it is not a solemn festival meal, where the Jew would have to witness certain idolatrous practices."

As to the Gentile sitting at a Jewish table, Dr. Strauss shows that legal usage is very liberal:

"From Exod. xii. 48 ('No uncircumcised person shall eat thereof'—*i.e.*, of the Paschal Lamb) we can infer that a Heathen was permitted to sit down with a Jew and eat with him, provided it were not such a special national religious meal as that of the Pascha (comp. 1 Kings viii. 41–43, and Isaiah lvi. 6, 7).

"In Talmudic times, when there was a constant intercourse

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* *Talmud Babli:* treatise *Synhedrin*, 23 *a*; and *Chagiga*, 18 *b*.

† The *Shulchan aruch* (*Spread table*) is a standard compendium of the opinions of the Talmudic doctors, compiled in the fourteenth century A.D. Its substance is traditional and of the highest authority.

between Jew and Gentile, the *Tischgemeinschaft* (table-communion) was an established fact. There is a distinction made between the *ger zedeq* (righteous proselyte) and a *gēr tōshabh* (resident proselyte): the former conforms in every respect to Judaism, and receives circumcision; the latter, also called *gēr sha'ar* (proselyte of the gate—*i.e.*, one who only comes within the gate of Judaism), is not fully received, as he has not undergone circumcision, but is considered a Jew in so far as he eats with Jews and prays with them.

"The *Tischgemeinschaft* of Jew and Gentile was an everyday occurrence during the time of the Early Christian Church; and a Gentile sitting down with a Jew at the latter's table was even more usual than an Israelite going to the house of the Gentile."

The difficulty raised by the critics about Jew and Gentile communicating at the Lord's Supper turns out to be something of a bugbear. Peter and Paul agreed in principle that "meat commendeth us not to God." Both in practice avoided giving needless offence to their compatriots; and, of course, if Peter was to move freely amongst them, he must maintain his ceremonial purity. But that purity was not contaminated by sitting down at the mixed Communion, nor by admitting a Gentile to a seat at his table. So long as Peter did not touch unclean food, the law had nothing against him on this head. In a Church where Jews and Gentiles regularly ate together, the presumption is that the table would be supplied under Jewish direction. Wherever Paul had influence, the utmost consideration for Jewish scruples would be shown. Mere courtesy, to say nothing of the prestige enjoyed by Jewish Christians amongst their brethren, dictated such arrangements as would guard the susceptibilities of the former.

The one thing which pious Israelites dreaded above all was contact with idolatry; and this their Gentile brethren had renounced. The terms of the decree of Acts xv., as well as the instructions of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians, go to show that it was in this direction that the fear of intercourse on the part of Jews with the converted heathen lay. Their fraternity with the uncircumcised brought odium and persecution on Christian Jews, but it involved no legal disqualification, provided that the legally impure articles of diet were excluded from the common table.

The problem of mixed Communion in the first Churches was a difficult and delicate one. We admit, with Mr. Slater,

that there were conflicts of opinion, and not a few quarrels and heart-burnings over it. But we plead for the primitive fellowship symbolised by the "one bread" of the "one body," which he appears even gladly to surrender.* For our part, we are not prepared to sacrifice the Apostolic unity in the combat with Anglican uniformity. The sacrifice is perilous; and it is needless.

It was not his brother Apostles that St. Paul reproved, but a minority of timid and over-scrupulous Israelites, when he wrote to the Romans (xiv. 20): "For meat destroy not the work of God." The Apostle expressed the true sentiment of the body of Christ, when he prayed in that same Epistle (xv. 5–7): "May the God of patience and comfort grant you to be of the same mind one with another, according to Christ Jesus; that with one accord ye may, with one mouth, glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore *receive ye one another*, even as the Christ also received us, to the glory of God!" There was Apostolic unity, strained and tried, but true to the test; there was an abiding brotherly love between the two great sections of the Church, when this appeal was uttered. And the original unity of fellowship in the Spirit and of inter-Churchly communion, the old brotherhood of heart and hand must be restored, before the ideal expressed in these noble words of St. Paul will come within sight or hope of attainment.

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* See note on p. 31.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

Old Testament Theology: The Religion of Revelation in its Pre-Christian Stage of Development. By Dr. H. SCHULTZ, Göttingen. Translated by Rev. J. A. PATERSON, M.A., Edinburgh. Two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1892.

THIS work has been long known as a valuable discussion of the Old Testament religion from the critical standpoint, the present excellent translation being from the fourth edition. It is strange that the work of translation has been delayed so long. The author's style is most lucid and flowing, and it has been well preserved by the translator. The author belongs to the critical school, not perhaps the most extreme, but still extreme enough. The translator indeed says: "It is thought by many the author has succeeded in discovering the *via media* between the positions of Biblical scholars like Delitzsch on the one hand and Stade on the other." If so, the *via media* is nearer the left hand than the right. According to Dr. Schultz the early narrative of Genesis is hopelessly involved in myth and legend. In volume i. page 18–31 we have an eloquent defence of the use of such literary forms as vehicles of divine revelation. "Genesis is the book of sacred legend with a mythical introduction. The first three chapters of it, in particular, present us with revelation-myths of the most important kind, and the following eight with mythical elements that have been recast more in the form of legend. From Abraham to Moses we have national legend pure and simple, mixed with a variety of mythical elements which have become almost unrecognisable. From Moses to David we have history still mixed with a great deal of the legendary, and even partly with mythical elements that are no longer distinguishable. From David onwards we have history, with no more legendary elements in it than are everywhere present in history as written by the ancients." Legend and myth differ from each other as history and doctrine; one is the primitive form of history, the other of doctrine. The author will not even say "how far the name of Abraham, and the general sketch of his life, are to be regarded as historical." The priestly legislation is put at a late date, after the Persian age. We read significantly of "Ezekiel's legislation" (i. 340). The object of the first volume seems to be to trace the growth by

natural process of development of the Old Testament religion, its doctrines and institutions, out of the shadowy world of primeval myth and legend. This is the "historical" method. We fear we must conclude that conjecture and hypothesis enter very largely into the "historical" method so conceived. It is a question whether ideal or hypothetical would not be a better term. It will be seen with what deductions and discrimination the work needs to be read. The standpoint being thoroughly understood, it is impossible to doubt the author's ability, his mastery of Old Testament teaching and literature, or the freshness and suggestiveness of his expositions.

The first volume gives a clear, graphic sketch of the entire history of the Old Testament, especially with reference to the succession of religious ideas. This is treated of in five periods—the Patriarchal, Mosaic, Theocratic, Prophetic, and Hierarchical. In volume i. chapter v. the author tries to indicate the portions of the Old Testament which belong to these respective periods. He assumes three "sources," or writers—the Priestly, Jehovist, and another (c) of a less definite character. The result is a wonderful breaking up of the present books. The disparaging estimate of Riehm's *Old Testament Theologie* (i. 85) is somewhat surprising, as Schultz often refers to Riehm, generally with approval. The mention of "rajahs in the Turkish Empire" (i. 334, note) is unintelligible; perhaps pashas are meant.

Many of the detailed expositions of the first volume are admirable studies—the account of the life and work of Moses (chapter viii.), the description of prophecy (chapter xiv.), the picture of the servant of Jehovah (chapter xvi.), the account of the priesthood, feasts, and sacrifices (chapter xviii.). Any one of these, apart from the theory of the work and debateable points of detail, is worth the whole volume. The devout, religious tone is just as unmistakable as the skill with which illustration is brought to the different topics from every part of the Old Testament. The account of sacrifice and its meaning (pp. 373–406) is particularly helpful.

The second volume especially answers to the title of the work; it is an "Old Testament Theology." The teaching of the Old Testament on all the great doctrines of religion is systematised and expounded in a most complete and able way; the wealth of reference to different passages is remarkable. There are two main divisions—(1) "The Consciousness of Salvation," or personal religion, the basis of which is the covenant between God and man. The characteristics of Old Testament piety and morality are excellently set forth. The ideas of righteousness, grace, faith, law, holiness, both of life and religious service, the nature of atonement, are analysed and explained. (2) "The Religious View of the World,"—God's spirituality and personality, His attributes, His creative work, the doctrine of angels, the doctrine of man and sin, guilt and death, Israel's hope of the future culminating in the Messiah and His Kingdom, are all dwelt on in detail. Thus no topic is omitted, and none is slightly treated. While the critical theory still exerts its influence, and there is much to question, there

is less of this element than in the former volume. Whether the author believes in supernatural prediction, is by no means clear. And he often describes the views of the writers of Scripture without indicating his own relation to them. Thus, "The whole Old Testament regards the miraculous as a matter of course. In the historical narrative, especially of the Deuteronomic writers, we find events recorded as occurring in the early ages, which, according to our ideas, contradict in the strongest way possible the natural order of things." And yet, the exposition of the moral and religious teaching of the Old Testament, given in these volumes, is the most complete, the fullest of insight and clearness, that we know. Dr. Schultz's work brings out in a marvellous way the uniqueness of the Jewish Scriptures in the elevation of their teaching on the highest subjects of human thought, and faith, and hope. How can such a phenomenon be explained, save as a miraculous result? Even when the outward miracle is ostentatiously discarded, the far higher moral one remains. We can thus turn one half the teaching of such works as the present against the other half. Our last word shall be one of grateful appreciation of all that is good and helpful. Every earnest student of this work will understand the spiritual teaching of the Old Testament better than he did before; and so, we doubt not, the law, even though its exposition be alloyed with serious error, will still continue to be to thousands "a schoolmaster unto Christ."

The Creed or a Philosophy. By the Rev. T. MOZLEY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893.

We scarcely know whether the cleverness or eccentricity of Mr. Mozley's recent works is most conspicuous. The practised pen is evident in every paragraph. The autobiographic preface of the present volume is an interesting self-revelation, and quite explains all that follows. Most of the brief chapters are hopelessly disconnected, and the contents of the several chapters are often just as rambling. Still, there is method in the madness. The subject on which Mr. Mozley, after long self-repression, is compelled to deliver his soul is the idea of the Triune God taught in the Anglican Articles and Liturgy, and also in popular hymns. This is the burden of the discussion of "ousia" in the Old Testament, New Testament, Creed, Church of England, Prayer Book, Litany, Services and Collects, set forth with great acuteness and force in as many different chapters. The analysis of the material in these writings and of "Church Hymns" in another chapter on this subject shows much ability. The author's protest throughout is against the definition of "triune" applied to God as going beyond the definitions of the Nicene Creed. "I object to the expression and the notion of a 'Triune God'; to such expressions as three in one and one in three; to the use of the singular pronoun in referring to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; to the summing-up of the three Persons with the words 'one God'; to the phrase 'God

the Son'; and to all expressions favouring the opinion that the Son and the Spirit are nothing more than divine aspects, procedures, and offices, &c." The above services and hymns are criticised from this single point of view. One would naturally think that the author would stand by the Nicene Creed as the genuine expression of the Christian faith, but he knows very well that the same phrase "ousia" occurs in substance there. Accordingly we read: "The statement that I or anybody else takes his stand on the Nicene Creed can only be true in a certain sense." It would seem, then, to follow that the author must hold Sabellian views; but the quotation above seems against this, and we could not prove it from the present book. So acute a writer must know that the idea expressed in the one divine "ousia" and three persons is necessary, if we are to avoid Tritheism on the one hand and Sabellianism on the other. In fact, we are as puzzled about Mr. Mozley's position as he seems to be about the phrases he so mercilessly criticises. Whether so technical and theological a form as the Nicene Creed is suitable for use in a public service is another question. The comments on the phrase "God of God" are very strange (p. 54). They would be impossible in any one really having the theological knowledge which the writer often claims.

"The most probable meaning of the name Hebrew is Protestant." "Virgil was well acquainted with the Septuagint." The author thinks that "Tate and Brady, as a poetical composition, is really a work of high order." A very dark picture of the Mediæval Church ends with describing it as "the very Adullam of the world." "The invocation of a departed saint, though without a clear Scriptural warrant, is a simple and natural act." The author often refers with respect to Cardinal Newman, who, curiously enough, prevented him joining the Church of Rome, advising him, when he was contemplating the step, to wait two years. Long before that time Mr. Mozley had changed his mind, and the Cardinal afterwards regretted the advice he had given. The author is in his eighty-seventh year.

Evolution and Scripture; or, the Relation between the Teaching of Scripture and the Conclusions of Astronomy, Geology, and Biology, with an Inquiry into the Nature of the Scriptures and Inspiration. By ARTHUR HOLBOROW. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1892.

The author premises that his work is "not intended for those who can read their Bibles in simple faith, unaffected by difficulties, nor yet for those who see some difficulties, but have arrived at a solution of them which they deem satisfactory": but rather for "those who find it difficult to reconcile some of the conclusions of modern science with their Bible, and especially those who have been impressed with the

reasonableness of evolutionary ideas." In short, the work is addressed to those who, convinced of the truth of evolution, seek some means of reconciling it with faith in Scripture. The writer's scientific position is thus stated: "Special creation by miracle may be theoretically possible, but it is not scientifically verifiable. Evolution without design is neither theoretically conceivable nor scientifically verifiable. Creation by natural means, the process being an evolution, is both conceivable and verifiable." "Creation by natural means" sounds strange. What, then, does supernatural mean? In the chapters treating of the Scripture account of Creation, the author seems to give up the literal meaning entirely, and to retain merely the spiritual truth taught or suggested, which, however, he highly prizes. "The narrative in Gen. ii. 3, has long been regarded as partly allegorical. Considering the date of its composition, and the spiritual nature of the truths which it is obviously intended to inculcate, it is more rational, as it is more consistent, to conclude that it is wholly allegorical." Here we are back at the old Alexandrian mode of interpretation. If it is said that Christ treated the early Bible stories as historical, it is replied that "He who came from God to teach them spiritual truths would have no occasion to correct any of their imperfect knowledge of other matters." The writer holds that in such an age, Scripture could not have taken any other form than that of pictorial teaching. As to Scripture itself, the writer seems to regard it as itself the product of evolution under divine guidance, like the world. He seems to think that idolatry itself may have been one of the divinely appointed stages of education (p. 321). There is a chapter on "Inspiration and the General Structure of the Bible," but we cannot find in it the doctrine of inspiration in any sense. The Hebrew account of Creation is supposed to have been derived from the Chaldean account, to which, however, it is said to be greatly superior.

Notwithstanding the strange line of argument taken, and the strange conclusions reached, we are bound to say that the work not only gives evidence of close study both of science and Scripture, and is written with the greatest intelligence and care throughout, but constantly expresses the greatest admiration for the moral teaching of Scripture, differing in this respect from most of the works which advocate the same conclusions. "It is my belief that whilst the older views on inspiration attributed to the Bible a verbal integrity and perfection which it does not possess, the modern views fail to credit it with a spiritual integrity and perfection which it does possess. The author's own endeavours to express many of the thoughts which he has wished to submit to the reader have impressed him with the profoundest admiration for the language of these early chapters of Genesis. . . . . Of these passages, the account of the Creation has impressed him much; but not so much as the old story, which has too long been supposed to stand in opposition to the Evolution Theory—the Story of the Garden and the Fall."

The Superhuman Origin of the Bible. Inferred from Itself. By HENRY ROGERS. Eighth edition. With a Memoir by R. W. DALE, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 5*s.*

Nothing could be fitter than the issue of a new edition of this valuable book at the present time. For sobriety, suggestiveness, and thoroughness, the argument is admirable; nor is there anything in recent criticism to put it out of date. Indeed, the very questions which are now debated were before the mind of the writer, as will be recognised by the careful reader, although nearly twenty years have passed since its publication. What is now styled by some persons the "higher criticism" was already current in Germany, although as yet English minds had not been upset with the "new wine," nor had it been decanted into English bottles bearing an orthodox label. But what gives us especial satisfaction is that at last a memoir of Rogers, from the pen of the one friend especially fitted to write such a memoir, has been given to the world. Rogers was a peculiarly retiring man. He sought seclusion, not publicity, and he left nothing behind him to facilitate the work of his biographers. Consequently, all we can have is a brief memoir. What Dr. Dale has furnished, however, is very precious, and reveals a most estimable and attractive character, the character of an accomplished man, a delightful companion, a profound thinker, an admirable writer, a man of many sorrows, a humble, devout, simple-minded Christian. As a philosophical and theological critic he had few equals in his generation; as a Christian apologist he was unapproached in the brilliancy and force of his reasoning, and the wide circulation of his writings. A critic, who on emerging from scepticism, by way of Mauricianism, came almost immediately under the spell of Newman, stigmatised him as belonging to the "hard" school of theological critics, and there can be no doubt that his trenchant knife was severely applied to both the Newmans. The posthumous reputation of the Cardinal, and still more, the final judgment of posterity, will not, as we think, tend to discredit or condemn such criticisms of the Oxford school as Rogers published fifty years ago; whilst Francis Newman's dealings with his brother's character after his death will scarcely dispose any readers of the *Eclipse of Faith*, or the *Defence* of that volume, to commiserate the sceptical brother's sufferings under the keen logic and caustic wit of the essayist. How tender and deep was Rogers' sympathy with humble and honest doubt is abundantly shown in the latter part of the *Eclipse*, and especially in the pathetic closing pages. No one who gives that masterly book a fair and complete reading will, we think, consent to the epithet "hard," as applied to the writer. The volume has been an unspeakable blessing to many thousands of readers; it has saved from dreary doubt and bitter despondency many souls that were among the most

sincere and thoughtful of the perplexed, and it is a privilege to learn as much of Henry Rogers as Dr. Dale tells us.

Rogers was the friend and correspondent of Lord Jeffrey, of the late Sir James Stephen, of Macaulay, and Archbishop Whateley, as well as of such ministers of his own body as Dr. Binney. In the *Quarterly Review* he received such a tribute as has very rarely, if ever, been bestowed upon any modern apologist, and certainly such as no other Nonconformist ever received. If he had been willing, there is reason to believe that the way of high preferment in the Church of England would have been open to him. That, however, was quite out of the question. He dwelt apart among his own people. Macaulay endeavoured in vain to entice him to meet literary celebrities at his rooms. Rogers thanked him heartily, but laughed at the idea; "society" life was not for him, even though it were literary society, and notwithstanding his own great gifts in conversation and delight in the private society of congenial friends. He was a true and charming friend, and a most tender father. Dr. Dale has given us a beautiful memoir of his revered friend and tutor. A few days before he died, speaking of his home—Pennal Tower, near Machynlleth—he said: "Beautiful place; but I am soon going to a still more beautiful one." He died August 20, 1877.

Schaff's History of the Church. Modern Christianity. The Swiss Reformation. Two vols. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1893.

This is, perhaps, the most interesting part of Dr. Schaff's great work. Himself a native of Switzerland, he has found in the history of the Swiss Reformation a labour of love. His characteristic qualities as a historian are all at their best. Clearness, accuracy, fulness of learning, digested into a pellucid stream of narrative, valuable notes, not less valuable references to all available sources of authentic information, a sympathetic spirit—especially sympathetic with the Swiss reformers, but always truly Catholic—distinguish these volumes throughout. Zwingli, Bullinger, Farel, Calvin, Beza, are the heroes of the history, especially Zwingli and Calvin. Dr. Schaff is himself both Swiss, and, fundamentally, or at least on one side, a follower of Calvin. Without condoning the death of Servetus, he puts as favourable a construction upon that dark transaction as he fairly can. Without accepting the *horribile decretum*, he seems to accept in general Calvin's system of theology. He is so much of a Presbyterian in Church polity as to be apparently insensible of the essential defect of both the Calvinistic and the Zwinglian schemes of Church government, which made Christianity a matter of civil organisation instead of voluntary religious profession and fellowship. Correspondently, he scarcely does justice to the godly and peaceful Swiss Anabaptists, whose central principle was the grand truth that the end of Christianity was to establish "a pure

Church of converts, in opposition to the mixed Church of the world." The cruel and far-sweeping persecution, to the death, of these advanced Reformers, who must by no means be confounded with the fanatical and militant Anabaptists of Munster, is a deep blot, not less upon the history of the Swiss Reformation than of the Romish Church.

If Dr. Schaff is a Swiss in race and sympathy, he is German by early training. More than fifty years ago he was a pupil of Neander. Fifty years ago he became himself a teacher in the University of Berlin. A year later, on the recommendation of Neander and Tholuck, he was appointed Professor of Theology by the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States. He dedicates the present instalment of his history to Dr. Godet, of Neuchâtel, and Dr. Von Wyst, of Zürich, his "oldest and dearest Swiss friends." May his life and health be spared for the completion of his vast undertaking!

Jesus Christ. Heri et hodie ipse et in secula. By the Rev. Father DIDON, of the Order of St. Dominic. In two volumes. Second Edition. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1893. 12*s*.

We are glad to welcome a new and cheaper edition of this exquisite book, which we reviewed at length fifteen months ago. Its charm of style, with the writer's boundless enthusiasm for his subject, place the work in the front rank of Lives of Christ. Père Didon has steeped himself in the subject to which he has devoted the labour of a lifetime, and his intimate knowledge of the Holy Land lends peculiar freshness to his descriptions of such places as Nazareth and Bethlehem. Père Didon deals with old themes, but his manner of treatment is so fresh that his book never fails to quicken holy thought. We are tempted to quote from his five paragraphs on the Jewish people. "Nothing is more wonderful," he says, "than this little Semitic tribe, starting, under divine command, from the plain of Chaldæa, with its faith in One God, with the hope of becoming a people as the stars in number, and of seeing all the families of the earth blessed in Abraham, its chief. It camped under tents in Canaan, and there raised altars to Jehovah, whose name it invoked; emigrated into Egypt, to the land of Goshen, there to toil and increase. The severe hospitality of the Pharaohs soon changed it into slavery; under the inspiration of Moses it broke the yoke which crushed it, retired into the desert, and became once more nomadic and pastoral. Far from all civilisation, it received on Sinai the law which was to separate it from the heathen world. By patience, courage, and faith, it conquered the land which God had promised to it, and made itself into a little independent kingdom, until the day when, yielding to its fate, it was cast, like a handful of dust, abroad among the nations." The spirit of the whole work breathes in one of the closing paragraphs of the Introduction: "I

know that between the Christ of faith and cultivated minds of our time there have been many misunderstandings: perhaps this work may scatter some of them. I trust that something of Him, a breath of His soul and spirit, may have passed into these pages. I would hand on to all what He has given me." We cannot accept some of the writer's views; his Romanism necessarily comes out in his teaching about the Virgin and the Last Supper, but the book is one to charm and fire every Christian heart. Such a work from a Dominican friar is indeed a treasure which Christendom at large will know how to value.

Cathedral and University Sermons. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's, &c. London: Macmillan & Co. 1892. 6*s*.

This volume contains the choice sermons of one of the most accomplished of modern Anglican divines—sermons preached to such audiences as St. Paul's Cathedral gathers to hear the most renowned preachers of the English Church, and as the University of Oxford collects from its sons in its famous church to hear, in successive generations, its most select and thoughtful teachers of Sacred Truth. Beauty, depth, tenderness, are especially characteristic of Dean Church's sermons. Though he was for a good while a disciple and always an admirer and friend of Newman, there is little in common between the sermons of the master and the disciple, except, perhaps, beauty of language and penetrating depth of insight. And as to these points, there is as much unlikeness as there is resemblance—as much or more. Newman's was altogether a severer style, though Dean Church is always chaste and restrained; and Newman's insight into human nature and life reveals a more perilous interior of conditions and spiritual dangers or possibilities than is brought out into relief by Dean Church, who very often shows his insight into sin or danger rather by his exhibition of the divine truths, and helps, and safeguards, of the aspects of Christ and His work and offices, which are the best defence against sin and temptation, than in any other way. A rich and sweet philosophy, also, interpenetrates these sermons, such as may be suggested by the title of one of them, on "The Sense of Beauty a Witness to Immortality." Milton's words cannot but often be suggested to the reader of this volume:

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and rugged, as dull fools suppose,
> But musical as is Apollo's lute."

Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. London: Methuen & Co. 1892.

Dr. Driver is at his best, and is seen in his best aspect, in this volume. It is pre-eminently a book for the times. It is full of fine

suggestions, of deep and subtle thinking, and a fine glow of religious feeling. On the compatibility of evolution with faith, and in what respects it may be compatible, the first sermon deserves the study of all students of the Scriptures who are perplexed by present-day questions. To the volume is prefixed an introduction, read as a paper before the Folkestone Church Congress, on the "Permanent Moral and Devotional Value of the Old Testament for the Christian Church." Taken altogether, this book is intended, no doubt, to show how Dr. Driver, notwithstanding his well-known views on what has come, conveniently perhaps, but certainly misleadingly, to be styled the "higher criticism," is able to maintain and to teach and preach a highly spiritual and an orthodox doctrine of Christian faith. In giving an emphatic general recommendation to this volume, as one to be welcomed and read by Christian teachers who would meet the needs of the present generation, we by no means commit ourselves to all the concessions it may seem to make, or all the views which it advocates; and certainly we do not desire to withdraw the *caveat* it has been our duty to offer against his general theory as to the composition of the Old Testament Scriptures. Dr. Robertson's volume on the *Religion of Israel* is one which suggests grave objections to some of Dr. Driver's views, and it may be hoped that so able and devout a critic will see fit to modify some of his opinions.

The Doctrine of the Prophets. The Warburtonian Lectures for 1886–1890. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Canon of Ely Cathedral. London: Macmillan & Co.

How to Read the Prophets. Being the Prophets arranged chronologically in their Historical Setting. With Explanations, Map, and Glossary. By Rev. BUCHANAN BLAKE, B.D. Part III., "Jeremiah." Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Of the remarkable advance during recent years of our English Universities, and especially, perhaps, of Cambridge, in the learning proper to the study of the Old Testament the volume before us is an illustration. At present, perhaps, "the new wine," for which our English writers have been largely dependent on rationalistic German sources, has proved somewhat "heady," with the effect of a certain unsteadiness and an occasional extremeness of view on the part of those who have imbibed it, which, when our own thoroughly English school has been fully developed into an independent position, may be expected to pass away, as the extreme views as to the legendariness of

Roman history, adopted from Neander half a century ago, have had to be materially modified, and as the still earlier disintegrating critical views as to Homer have had to be largely abandoned. Professor Kirkpatrick's volume will by some students be thought to be tinctured by the influences to which we have referred, and certainly it assumes the truth of certain critical conclusions which are by no means as yet established. But it is not in any sense an extreme book, and it will be found in many ways a help to the well-informed and careful student. The tone throughout is devout and reverent. The views given are ably and also temperately supported. The Professor exercises generally a cautious and independent judgment. If he fails to give satisfactory views as to the nature and scope of prophecy he does but share the lot of most who have written on the subject. He well expounds and supports many wise and sound conclusions, and his volume will be welcomed by Biblical scholars.

Mr. Blake's volume on Jeremiah is a very valuable and much needed contribution to Biblical study, although, as might be expected, he cannot be said to have solved every difficulty connected with his deeply interesting subject.

The Gospel according to St. Peter, and the Revelation of St. Peter. Two Lectures on the Newly Recovered Fragments together with the Greek Texts. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, B.D., and MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, M.A. Second Edition. London: C. J. Clay & Sons. 1892. *2s. 6d.*

This little volume will be eagerly scanned by students of early Christian literature. We have had not a few exciting discoveries of late. In 1883, Bishop Bryennius published the *Teaching of the Apostles;* in 1891, Mr. Rendel Harris gave us the *Apology of Aristides*, now the French Archæological Mission at Cairo has added to our store the *Gospel and Revelation of St. Peter*. The document was dug up in an ancient cemetery at Akhoûm (Panopolis) in Upper Egypt six years ago, and has been somewhat tardily published. The *Gospel of St. Peter* is evidently a Docetic fragment. It represents our Lord crying out at the cross, "My power, my power, thou hast forsaken me," as though the Divine Christ who had descended on Jesus at the Jordan now forsook Him. The document forms a good example of a "Tendency writing," in which "old statements are suppressed, or wilfully perverted and displaced; new statements are introduced which bear their condemnation on their faces." Mr. Robinson justly says that no one who compares it with our four gospels will fail to return to them "with a sense of relief at his escape from a stifling prison of prejudice into the transparent and the bracing atmosphere of pure simplicity and undesiguing candour." It is a

poor thing indeed. So far, all critics agree that the fragments presuppose and allude to the canonical gospels. Such is the view of the two English scholars, and continental scholars agree with them—Schürer, Bratke, Lods, Zahn. Mr. Robinson says of the Peter-gospel, "The unmistakable acquaintance of the author with our four evangelists deserves a special comment. To him they stand on an equal footing. He lends no support to the attempt which has been made to place a gulf of separation between the fourth gospel and the rest, as regards the period or area of their acceptance as canonical. . . . . He uses our Greek gospels; there is no proof that he knew of any gospel record other than these." The *Revelation* has a lurid interest from its terribly realistic descriptions of the "place of chastisement." Mr. James has written a learned introduction to it, and draws some interesting comparisons between it and other apocalyptic literature. These scholarly lectures are supplied with copious notes, and the Greek texts are given in full. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of early Christian literature.

1. *The Psalms.* By A. MACLAREN, D.D. 1893. *7s. 6d.*

2. *The Gospel of St. Luke.* By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. *3s. 6d.*

3. *The Acts of the Apostles.* By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D. Vol. II. *7s. 6d.*

4. *The Epistle to the Philippians.* By ROBERT RAINY, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. *7s. 6d.*

1. It is no wonder that the expositions of such a writer as Dr. Maclaren are in great demand, and that the continual succession of fruitage from the fine old tree is always sure to be highly prized. The volume of the Expositor's Bible now before us contains studies on thirty-eight psalms, and is to be followed by a second, if not also by a third volume. One consequence of the present unsettled state of criticism as to the dates and authors of the Psalms is that local and personal illustrations are almost wholly wanting in these expositions. We do not know that this is, on the whole, a disadvantage. It is certain that hypotheses as to the writers of the Psalms, and the circumstances under which they were written, have often led interpreters away from the true "inwardness" of the Psalms, and that, as Dr. Maclaren says, "the deepest and most precious elements in the Psalms" are often little affected by such hypotheses. Having ourselves tasted the richness of this volume we invite our readers to taste it for themselves.

2. This is a volume of expositions written as a commentary on the International Sunday School Lessons for the American *Sunday School Times.* We cannot doubt that it will command a wide circulation in this

country. Dr. Maclaren is a prince of expositors, and his expositions are as wholesome as they are able, and as interesting as they are instructive and edifying. Every paragraph is luminous with vivid expressions, gems flash out on every page, and yet there is no violence or eccentricity of language, no mannerisms of any kind. Throughout it is felt, also, that the expositor speaks as one whose doctrine is learnt from the oracles of divine truth.

3. This volume closes Dr. Stokes' studies in the Acts of the Apostles. He has been able to condense the closing part of his work, because the latter chapters of the Acts are occupied mainly with the work of St. Paul during a comparatively brief period. Dr. Stokes frankly owns that on such topics as the Apostle's conversion and mission to the Gentiles he has nothing fresh to say. He has used the chief works on St. Paul freely, and has produced a sound, workmanlike volume which shows much good sense, and has a fine spiritual tone. Dr. Stokes agrees with Archdeacon Farrar in regarding the thorn in the flesh as severe ophthalmia. The book is good and useful, but not brilliant in style or thought. The note on p. 307 is very stiff.

4. Some writers would have given a more "genial," a more picturesque, descriptive, and sympathetic exposition of such an Epistle as that to the Philippians than Principal Rainy has here given. This, however, is a piece of good and thorough work, the work of a sound and well-read expositor, and especially of an orthodox Scotch divine. The chapter on the "Righteousness of Faith" is an especially clear and well-thought-out chapter.

Clues to Holy Writ; or, The Chronological Scripture Cycle. A Scheme for Studying the Whole Bible in its Historical Order during Three Years. By MARY LOUISA GEORGINA PETRIE, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Three thousand ladies scattered through the whole Empire and the Continent also are counted in the classes for the use of which the contents of this compact and handy volume have been prepared and collected. The whole work has grown from a request made to Miss Petrie, in her early college days, twelve years ago, by the founder of the "Christian Women's Education Union." The volume is dedicated to the Duchess of Bedford. It is throughout written for the plain reader who knows no language but English. The line of divine revelation is chronologically divided into nine terms, and explanations intended to facilitate the study of these in the Scriptures are given in successive sections. The whole organisation, for which the help of this volume was originally intended, is spoken of as a "College by Post." A valuable feature is the series of examination questions. The volume is capitally got up, and cannot but be very useful.

Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, with Introduction, Notes, and Maps. By HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, B.D. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The Book of Judges. With Map, Introduction, and Notes. By JOHN SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A. Cambridge: University Press. 1892. 1*s.*

Professor Ryle's is the best commentary we have on Ezra and Nehemiah. The little historical books afford a fine field for the commentator, and Professor Ryle has given much loving labour to his task. He discusses the structure, history, antiquities of the books, and other allied questions in an exhaustive introduction. Nothing bearing on the subject seems to have escaped him. Those who have been close students of the lives of Ezra and Nehemiah will be best able to appreciate the ripe scholarship and research of this valuable addition to the Cambridge Bible. Mr. Black's smaller volume is quite as painstaking. It is really a wonderful little book for a shilling. We have often found the great convenience of having both text and good notes in such a handy form. The Cambridge smaller Bible ought to have an enormous circulation.

Memoranda Sacra. By J. RENDEL HARRIS. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This first volume of Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's "Devotional Library" is made up of Mr. Rendel Harris's addresses to a little company who met fourteen years ago at Cambridge for worship and personal help. No one who turns these pages will be surprised that the addresses left a dint on many a character and many a memory. They have a happy knack of treating old subjects, and the illustrations cling to one's memory. We entirely disagree with Mr. Harris when he says that the Transfiguration is a subject seldom preached on, and he altogether ignores Stanley's hymn, "Master, it is good to be"; but the papers are admirably adapted to set a devout reader brooding over great themes, and open up many side avenues of thought where it is a joy and a blessing to linger. We heartily commend the volume to all who know how to prize and use a book of devotion.

Characters and Characteristics of William Law, Nonjuror and Mystic. Selected and Arranged, with an Introduction, by ALEXANDER WHYTE, D.D., of St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

This volume is already in its second edition, all the copies of the first edition having been sold off in a few weeks. Its publication has met

a demand. Law is one of the most famous of religious writers—the testimony of Dr. Johnson and of the Wesleys to the quality and power of his writings having been endorsed by later generations. But his most impressive passages were scattered through several volumes, where they stood in contexts of more antiquated matter. In this volume they have been extracted and collected. They stand very well apart, and, not only on account of their moral power, but as affording a picture of the times, seen from Law's point of view, they are exceedingly interesting.

Christ Mystical; or, the Blessed Union of Christ and His Members. By JOSEPH HALL, D.D., Bishop of Norwich. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Opportunity is taken in this little volume to insert an Introduction on the Theology of General Gordon, written by his Gravesend Presbyterian Pastor, Mr. Carruthers Wilson, this small treatise of Bishop Hall's having been one of the General's favourite books. The Introduction is very short indeed, and not new. It is, however, interesting as far as it goes, and serves to show how genuine and thorough a mystic was Gordon of China and Khartoum. "We are members," he says, "of Christ's body mystical, existent ere the worlds were made, yet fashioned in time." With this view Gordon joined a sacramental doctrine as transcendental as that of any "Catholic," but held apart from any doctrine of "apostolical succession" or priestly prerogative. Bishop Hall's is a striking and impressive treatise. His style appears in it at its best for directness and force, and the matter is deep and stirring in its spirituality.

Restful Thoughts in Restless Times. By C. J. VAUGHAN, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 5*s.*

This is a volume of singularly wise and searching sermons, peculiarly suited to the times we live in. Not often have we noted in the Master of the Temple's sermons so much point and power as in this volume. Among the subjects are—Christianity without the Cross; the Idolatry of Work; Gambling; Strong Language; Lawful, not Expedient; Nevertheless (a striking sermon); the Faith and the Bible; the Person Really on his Trial; the Place of Mind in Religion; the Pathetic Side of Infidelity; Two Citizenships; An Inspired Definition of Inspiration (Men spake from God, 1 Peter i. 21).

The World of the Unseen: An Essay on the Relation of the Higher Space to Things Eternal. By ARTHUR WILLINK. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

After carefully reading the greater part of this treatise, we have found ourselves utterly unable to understand what the author means

by the Higher Space. We are relieved, however, to find that a clear comprehension of space in "the Fourth Direction" is not required of us. We are told that we may imagine it; of that we do not feel quite sure. But we are quite sure that it is a long step from such an imagination to the position "that there is a logical ground for the acceptance of the conception of it as existing—Somewhere," and we are sure also that the author gives us no assistance at all in taking such a step. There may be some meaning in the sentence, "A closed box is a prison from our point of view, but it is not so from the point of view of Higher Space," though we should not like to be called upon to expound it. We fail, however, to see how it helps us to understand how the spirit of a man who is buried alive, escapes through his coffin and through the superincumbent earth, because "there is an open side, of which we can know nothing, save that it does exist, through which and by which the spirit passes into the Higher Space" (p. 78).

The author has apparently been trying to spiritualise the material, but has succeeded only in materialising the spiritual.

We have received from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. several volumes of the new issue of Maurice's works. *The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament* is one of the most original and characteristic of his books. The fifth and sixth volumes of his *Lincoln's Inn Sermons* contain courses of sermons preached on Sundays during a year, from Advent to Advent, in which he consistently, though seldom distinctly, preaches or implies his special universalist and mystical theology. *The Gospel of the Kingdom of Heaven* consists of a course of lectures on the Gospel of St. Luke. The preface to this volume is one of Mr. Maurice's cardinal manifestoes, and is full of curious subtleties of thought and unexpected turns of interpretation—most persons in reading it are likely to feel more or less bewildered. The Commentary—*i.e.*, the series of expositions originally delivered as sermons or "lectures"—agrees in sentiment and tendency with the Preface. This volume seems intended as an antidote to Renan's *Life of Jesus*.

Do the Dead Return? A Record of Experiences in Spiritualism. By a CLERGYMAN of the CHURCH of ENGLAND. London: T. F. Unwin. 1893.

The clergyman who writes this book has become an ardent convert to spiritualism, and gives a singularly naïve account of his experiences. He tells how he received a visit from a young friend who had recently died, and sent by him a message to his relatives. The account of spirit writing, and the mistake made by the spirits in a simple verse, do not increase our respect for spiritualism as set forth by this weak but evidently sincere and earnest clergyman. It is a paltry business after all.

Pillars of our Faith: A Study in Christian Evidence. By the Rev. R. P. Downes, LL.D. London: *Great Thoughts* Offices. 1893. 4*s*.

We are glad that this most timely and helpful volume has been published at a price that will facilitate the extensive circulation which we desire and predict for it. Into its pages Dr. Downes has not only crowded the great thoughts which for many years have been passing through his mind, but breathed the great and quickening emotions which those thoughts have kindled up within his large and generous soul. The style of the work is perhaps a little too florid for some tastes, and from some pens it would not flow quite naturally, but in this case the style is emphatically the man, and for its purpose, which is to provide a popular apology for Christianity, and a sympathetic and persuasive appeal to those whose faith has been perplexed, it should prove effective in a high degree. Our space does not permit of extracts or of detailed comment, but we can promise the reader quite an embarrassment of riches, both of rhetoric and of reasoning, in Dr. Downes' glowing, kindling, and convincing contribution to by far the most important and most pregnant controversy of the time. The subjects treated are: The Present Unbelief; the Existence of God; Man Visited by God for Divine Uplifting; the Written Word; the Incarnate Word; the Christian Church; the Christian Consciousness.

The Universal Bible Dictionary. Based upon the Latest Authorities. By the Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

This is an admirable result of infinite care. For neatness, brevity and cheapness, combined with accuracy, we do not know its equal. It omits doctrinal terms, and is merely what it professes to be—a Bible Dictionary. Of course it will not take the place of such a work as Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, but it is the very thing for Sunday-school teachers and the current use of Bible readers generally.

The Expositor. Fourth Series. Vol. VI. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

This is a more than ordinarily valuable volume. Let the unwary reader, however, take heed how he reads. Rationalistic criticism is free of the pages of *The Expositor*. We are aware that even to use the word *rationalism* is an offence to some critics, who are good Christians. We ourselves, however, believe that reason and rationalism are not equivalent terms or forces. Tholuck and Olshausen, as well as Hengstenberg and Storr, held to the distinction between the two meanings. We regret to find Dr. Driver going all lengths with Dr.

Robertson Smith in his criticism of that learned writer, and Dr. Taylor apparently prepared to regard Dr. Cheyne's views as to the Psalter as quite moderate. On the other hand, Dr. Beet contributes an able and valuable series of papers on the root questions of Evangelical theology.

The Sermon Year Book, and Selected Sermons. For 1892. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1892. 6*s*.

This is a volume preachers will prize. The sixteen sermons given *in extenso* are stimulating, the outlines crisp and suggestive, the anecdotes and illustrations are worth using again. The book will help many a preacher. It needs an index of subjects and preachers to make it perfect.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL.

The Naturalist on the River Amazons. A record of adventures, habits of animals, sketches of Brazilian and Indian life, and aspects of Nature under the Equator, during eleven years of travel. By HENRY WALTER BATES, F.R.S., late Assistant Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. With a Memoir of the Author by EDWARD CLODD. Reprint of the unabridged edition. With Map and numerous Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1892. 18*s*.

IT is now thirty years since Bates' *Naturalist on the River Amazons* was published by Mr. Murray. The original edition has long been out of print, and has become very scarce. The only form in which the book has been on sale of late has been in the abridged edition, and it was the author's cherished desire that a complete edition might be published. This handsome volume has at last gratified that wish, though Mr. Bates did not live to see it. Mr. Clodd's memoir is of singular interest. He has been able to enrich it with some very valuable letters from Darwin and Sir Joseph Hooker, who discuss the doctrine of evolution with Bates in a way that shows how high an estimate these two leaders of science set on his work before he had achieved anything like a reputation. Bates was born in 1825 at Leicester, where his family had long been engaged in the manufacture of hosiery. His father was a man of considerable intellectual power, and an advanced Unitarian. The boy had a good education, and became a great student. He was specially partial to Gibbon, and used to say that "no one ought to make any pretensions to be con-

sidered a reader who had not twice gone through the *Decline and Fall.*" Young Bates was a born naturalist. He scoured the country-side for butterflies, then turned to beetles, and sent accounts of his captures to the *Zoologist.* He had made an important friendship with Mr. A. R. Wallace, then master of the Collegiate School in Leicester, and in 1847 Wallace proposed that they should make a natural history expedition up the river Amazons. They therefore sailed from Liverpool on April 26, 1848, and, after a rapid passage, found themselves at Pará. It was a Roman Catholic festival. All the sights and sounds showed the young naturalists that they "had come to a land where perpetual summer, warmth, verdure, and genial nature invited the inhabitants to a life of pleasure rather than one of anxiety and toil." Mr. Wallace returned to England with his collections in 1852, but Bates lingered in the country seven years longer. He explored in detail the whole valley of the Amazons, making the name of Ega, where he fixed his headquarters for four years, a household word among European naturalists by his wonderful collections. He found upwards of 7000 species of insects alone in the neighbourhood of Ega, 550 being distinct species of butterflies. When Bates returned to England he set to work upon his collections, which were gradually sold and dispersed to different parts of Europe. A friendship with Darwin proved the making of Bates. The great scientist gained from him a mass of facts which were of much value in the working out of his theories, and took a keen interest in all Bates' work. He encouraged him to write his travels, introduced him to Mr. Murray, who published the book, and generally exerted himself to help the struggling Leicester naturalist. The book proved a great success. It won Bates foremost rank as a naturalist. The work shows a rare combination of faculties. Minute attention as an observer is joined to a striking literary faculty, so that John Gould, the great naturalist, who had long wished to see the mighty King of Waters, felt that he had almost gained his ambition: "Bates," he said, "I have read your book; I have seen the Amazons!" But though Murray gave him £250 for the book, Bates was in struggling circumstances. He had married since his return to England, and had a young family to maintain. After he moved to London his brothers allowed him £100 a year. He had also £23 interest. This was his total income. At this crisis the post of Assistant-Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society fell vacant, and through Mr. Murray's strong recommendation Bates secured this congenial post, which he held till his death in February 1892. He proved himself a very able man of business, and not only made the Society eminently prosperous, but became the trusted friend and adviser of successive generations of explorers, who found in the chief permanent official a man whom they could both trust and esteem. It is only necessary to read the letters from Darwin and Hooker to take the true measure of Bates' power as a naturalist. This handsome volume, with its fine illustrations, will, we hope, win for his fascinating work a multitude of readers.

1. *Rulers of India. The Marquess of Hastings, K.G.* By Major Ross-of-Bladensburg, C.B., Coldstream Guards. *2s. 6d.*

2. *Lord Lawrence.* By Sir Charles Aitchison, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. *2s. 6d.*

3. *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples.* By Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. Twentieth Edition, Revised. Eightieth thousand. *3s. 6d.*

Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1893.

1. The Marquess of Hastings was born in December, 1754, and sailed for India as Governor-General in 1813. He belonged to an Irish family descended from Paulyn de Rawdon, who is said to have commanded a body of archers at the Battle of Hastings. At the age of nineteen Lord Rawdon became lieutenant in the 5th Foot and embarked for America to take part in the War of Independence. He displayed capacity of no mean order during our disastrous struggle with the Colonists. His gallantry at Bunker's Hill led General Burgoyne to write, "Lord Rawdon has this day stamped his fame for life." In subsequent engagements the young officer steadily increased his reputation, so that when he returned to England in 1782 he seemed marked out for conspicuous position. But, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, during the thirty years that followed Rawdon never rose above mediocrity. This is the more remarkable because both his family connections, his personal abilities, and his past services combined to mark him out as one of the coming men. The reason seems to have been that he became warmly attached to the Prince of Wales, estranged himself from Pitt, and openly joined the Opposition. On the death of his father, in 1793, he became Earl Moira in the peerage of Ireland, and took part in two military expeditions, but it was not until 1813, when he was appointed Governor-General of India, that he found the sphere for which "his energy and military ability, his strength of character and liberality of mind, his high personal integrity and scrupulous sense of honour," peculiarly fitted him. He had strongly resisted Lord Wellesley's policy as to the introduction of that system of imperial rule which became the basis of British supremacy in India, but when he reached the East, Lord Moira had the manliness to acknowledge his mistake and set himself to carry out the plans of his illustrious predecessor. On his arrival in Calcutta he found himself confronted by many grave problems. He began his rule with five hostile discussions with native powers. Four were amicably settled, whilst an attack on one of the strongholds of the Raja of Rewa settled the fifth. By a series of successful

campaigns extending over five years the Governor-General subdued the Gurkhas, and overthrew the Maratha powers, thus bringing to an end the lawlessness of Central India. The main lines of the reconstruction which followed are clearly traced by Major Ross, and show how much our Indian empire owes to the wise administration of the Marquess of Hastings. "Essentially a man of action, his resolute will bore down all opposition to his well-matured plans. The breadth of his policy, the vigour of his intellect, the sagacity of his measures, and the skill of his operations, surprised his enemies, overcame their resistance, reconciled them to his authority, and effected his purpose in every detail." He was created Marquess of Hastings in 1817, and returned from India in 1823. His expenditure had been so lavish that he was compelled to take the post of Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Malta. He died in November, 1826, at the age of seventy-two.

2. Lord Lawrence is one of the heroes of our Indian Empire, and Sir Charles Aitchison's record of his life and work can scarcely fail to be one of the most popular volumes in the "Rulers of India" series. After a bright sketch of the Lawrence family, we follow the future Governor-General to India. During great part of the outward voyage he suffered severely from sea-sickness, so that he was in no physical state to bear the strain of life during the sickly months of the rainy season. He often said that a hundred pounds a year in England would have taken him straight home. He had to remain ten months in Calcutta to pass examinations in Hindí and Persian, and was ill nearly the whole time. When he was appointed to the Delhi territory in 1831 things began to improve. Here he gained that mastery of detail which was the secret of so much of his success in later life. For two years he worked morning, noon, and night. His appetite for work indeed seemed to be insatiable. A young civilian could have no finer field for the development of his powers than the Delhi territory, and John Lawrence was not the man to allow any opportunity to slip by unimproved. The violence of the grandees, the insolence of their retainers, the oppression of the petty chiefs, helped him to understand the blessings of British rule. He also gained a warm sympathy with the sturdy yeomen in the agricultural district around Delhi, and was accessible at every hour of day or night to all who wished to see him. Lord Hardinge, who had taken the true measure of John Lawrence, sent him to govern the Trans-Sutlej territory, at the foot of the Himálayas. He was called from this peaceful and congenial sphere to serve as Chief Commissioner in the Punjab. The Mutiny of 1857 proved to be "the romance of his life." He was broken down by fourteen years of incessant labour, and had begun to think that the day was not far distant when he must be invalided home to England. The two chapters in which the story of the siege of Delhi is told are the most stirring in Sir Charles Aitchison's book. The mutineers offered a stubborn resistance, and the siege wore on from the 8th of June to the 20th of September, when at last the British flag was

hoisted on the royal palace, and the whole city was in our hands. Lawrence was stern enough when occasion demanded sternness, but he was never vindictive, and would not allow any wholesale measures of vengeance to be taken on Delhi. Nor would he suffer the destruction of the city and its noble buildings. He was able to return to England in 1859 for a much-needed rest. Four years later he was appointed Viceroy. His term of office proved uneventful, but seeds were then sown which are still bearing good fruit. The peaceful development of Indian industry went steadily forward, whilst princes and people were allowed full enjoyment of their just rights. After his return to England in 1869 Lord Lawrence rendered conspicuous service to many philanthropic institutions, and for three years acted as Chairman of the first London School Board. His name will never cease to be honoured as a Christian ruler. He had expressed his firm conviction that it was due "to an over-ruling Providence, and to that alone, that a single Englishman was left alive in the Punjab" during the Mutiny. Under his rule Christian missions took a new position in India, and our Government set itself to do "Christian things in a Christian way." This story of Lawrence's life will make every Englishman proud of his country.

3. No man save Sir William Hunter could have given us this *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*. It has been translated into five languages, and the English issue has risen to eighty thousand copies. It traces the story of India, from the earliest times to the present day, in a series of brief, bright, condensed paragraphs. Nothing has escaped the writer's view, and the results of thirty years' labour and research are often compressed into a few sentences. We have no book to compare with it. The student who masters it will have gained a general grasp of the whole course of Indian history. The volume is uniform with the "Rulers of India" series.

"*The Grasshopper*" *in Lombard Street*. By JOHN BIDDULPH MARTIN. London: Leadenhall Press. 1892. 21*s*.

Mr. Martin's well written preface shows that he is not unaware of the special difficulties of his task. The men about whom he writes have not turned the course of history; he treats of family matters which have not very wide interest; and, owing to the obligations of professional confidence which the banker shares with the family lawyer and doctor, his most racy stories must be left untold. He furnishes details about family history, and about the premises in Lombard Street, which have little interest save for members of his own firm; but Mr. Martin has some good material, and has used it in a way which cannot fail to interest a host of readers. Any one who wishes to understand how our fathers carried on their monetary affairs, and get a few glimpses of the great financiers of the past, will find much to interest them in this volume. The account of Gresham given in the first chapter is very readable. Lady Gresham was much

disturbed by her husband's frequent absence from home on State business. Gresham writes to Sir Thomas Parry: "I thank you for the gentill entertainment you gave to my poor wyffe, who I do right well know molests you dayly for my coming home—such is the fondness of women!" A number of the early books of the "Grasshopper" are said to have been lodged in one of the vaults of the Royal Exchange, and to have been destroyed in the fire of January 1838; whilst the early title-deeds seem to have perished in the Great Fire of London. The name of Martin was known among the goldsmiths of Elizabeth's reign, but the first glimpse of the present bank is gained from *The Little London Directory* of 1677, which enters Charles Duncomb and Richard Kent, of the "Grasshopper," Lombard Street, among the "Goldsmiths that keep running cashes." The name Martin first appears among the partners in 1703. "Mr. T. M.'s maxim's" for bankers, still preserved in the handwriting of Ebenezer Blackwell bear witness to the sagacity of this founder of the Martin family. "To appear cautious and timorous contributes very much to give persons in credit an esteem among mankind," is an illustration of the homely wisdom of these counsels. The most entertaining chapter in the volume is that devoted to Ebenezer Blackwell, of Lewisham, the friend of John Wesley. We are glad to note that Mr. Martin has availed himself of the pamphlet by Mr. E. W. Brabrook on "Methodism in Lewisham." We notice an error on p. 54, where the conjecture is hazarded that Wesley and Whitfield might have passed each other at sea in 1754; unfortunately for this supposition, Wesley returned from Georgia in 1738. Blackwell's note-books, still preserved at the "Grasshopper," contain many amusing entries. Thus, in March 1754, we read, "To paid for chestnutts and horses, when Mr. Whitfield was at Lewisham on his way to Georgia, 12*s*." Next year he pays "Cozen Burton, to get her child cured of the king's evil, £3 3*s*." He gives £20 17*s*. to his sister "to buy her cloaths" on her marriage to Dr. Rudd, and many entries attest his liberality to the Methodist leaders. The entries of Blackwell's bets would have startled John Wesley. He bets freely on the duration of Parliament, the matrimonial prospects of his friends, and similar matters. It is rather hard to have these things turning up against a man after the lapse of 140 years. He buys a seat at the Old Bailey for 10*s*. 6*d*., that Miss Peggy Martin may hear Elizabeth Canning's trial, spends a shilling to provide the girl with sweetmeats, and lays a wager on the issue of the trial. The account of his household expenses throws considerable light on the domestic affairs of the last century. A pound of green tea costs 12*s*. 6*d*. or 11*s*.; a pound of Bohea, 8*s*.; a ton of Scotch coal, 32*s*.; a wig, 21*s*. His expenditure for 1750 is set down at £705 6*s*. 4*d*. The chapter is crowded with interesting items. It is followed by a racy account of the Stones, who were also partners in the "Grasshopper." The second part of the volume, dealing with "The Business," will be a mine of information for students of banking. Martin's bank had large transactions in lotteries, though as dealers rather than as specu-

lators. The return for twenty years shows that their losses were £373 7*s.* 4*d.*, of which one year is alone responsible for £246 14*s.* 6*d.*, whilst their gains were £5257 15*s.* 6*d.* The largest profit was £1453 2*s.* 3*d.* in 1753. The list of subscriptions contains some amusing items. £25 is paid to Captain Cowie, in March 1758, for a ball on the *Royal George* privateer; £3 1*s.* 6*d.*, in 1803, to Birch & Co., for dressing a turtle. The old sign of the "Grasshopper" is lost, but Martin's Bank is now formed into a joint-stock company, with country branches of its own in West Kent, a district with which all the partners are intimately connected. The story of Alderman Backwell brightens the section dealing with "The Premises," and the concluding chapters, devoted to "The Customers," contain some good things. The Barings, who were linked by marriage to the Grasshopper firm, have kept an account there since 1764. One fact shows with what care the firm has transacted business. Only sixteen cases of forgery have been successfully carried out at its expense during the last thirty-seven years. Of the £6000 thus lost, nearly £2500 was recovered. Mr. Martin has chronicled the history of his bank with great skill and discretion. His book is well written, handsomely got up, and contains some fine portraits. It is a volume which every student of English banking will certainly have to master.

John Wyclif. By Lewis Sergeant. Author of *New Greece*, &c. Heroes of the Nation Series. London and New York: Putnam's Sons. 1893. 5*s.*

This volume is careful and thorough. It deals with an obscure period and a personal history which is surrounded by peculiar obscurity. Mr. Sergeant has bestowed special pains on the question of Wyclif's family and birthplace, not, however, with complete success, although with not a little ingenuity. Looking on his hero as the last of the schoolmen, he carries his lantern into the thick depths of mediæval school-philosophy and theology. Of course, a chapter could not but be given to "Monks and Friars." The "Seething of Europe;" the "Conference at Bruges;" Wyclif's bold views as to the "National Church;" Pope Gregory and his Bulls; the ordeal through which Wyclif passed at Oxford and at Lambeth; his condemnation, first by the Papal Bull and afterwards at Oxford; John of Gaunt and the political broils and confusion; Wyclif's retirement to Lutterworth, defeated but not dishonoured or prostrate; and the effects of his life and history—all these matters are carefully treated in this honest and painstaking book, the value of which will be best appreciated by serious students of Wyclif and his times. The Reformer was a veritable hero, a strong and kingly sort of man, and his likenesses would seem to agree with this; but, unfortunately, not one of them is contemporary, or nearly so; all seem to be ideal pictures, or at best guesses founded on traditional description. The volume is well illustrated. We should note that it contains a very full and useful chronological table of events and dates.

The Story of the Nations. ***Poland.*** **By W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and other Slavonic Languages in the University of Oxford. London: T. F. Unwin. 1893. 5s.**

Mr. Morfill has tried to furnish a readable history of Poland by bringing into prominence the most stirring episodes and salient characteristics, and putting in the background the less interesting details. His tale is a mournful one, but he has told it in a temperate way without constituting himself a partisan or a political advocate. The first chapter deals with the country and people. Poland was 713 miles long by 693 miles broad, with an area of 282,000 square miles and a population in 1880 of 24,000,000. The list of the provinces is given with some good descriptive paragraphs as to Cracow with its castle and the cathedral in which the Polish kings used to be crowned. The population of Poland consisted of Poles, Red and White Russians, Lithuanians, and other people. The early history of the country is simply a confused mass of legends. It is not till A.D. 963 that we reach an undoubted historical event in the conquest of the Polish Prince by the German Emperor, Otho I. Mr. Morfill traces the history of the country step by step till it became, in the sixteenth century, the most powerful State in Eastern Europe. The story of its downfall is told with many graphic details. There is a valuable chapter on Polish literature. The father of Copernicus was a native of Cracow, and the famous astronomer studied at its University. Adam Mickiewicz is the greatest poet the country has produced. The pages on the social condition of Poland furnish some interesting sketches of the dress and habits of the people in former times. Mr. Morfill ascribes the fall of the kingdom to the want of patriotism among the nobles, who preferred their own family and local interests to the good of the nation; to the intolerance of the clergy; the absence of any real middle class; the wretched condition of the serfs; the want of talent and energy in the Polish sovereigns. When we add that Poland had no natural frontiers, and was surrounded by powerful and grasping neighbours, we are not surprised at the decay and fall of the once proud kingdom. Mr. Morfill's volume is profusely illustrated with striking representations of all that concerns Polish life and history. It is the best book on the subject we know, and may be safely commended as a wise and well-written history.

Some Noble Sisters. **By Edmund Lee. London: James Clark & Co. 1892.**

The author of *Dorothy Wordsworth*, it is evident, delights in the companionship of choice and charming women, and has accordingly, in this volume, introduced his readers to "Sidney's Sister" Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth, Susanne Kossuth Meszlengi, Caroline

Herschel, Mary Lamb, Elizabeth Whittier, and Eugenie de Guérin, in addition to Dorothy Wordsworth, of whom he had already written in a separate sketch. With the outline of the story of most of these "noble sisters" many of our readers are no doubt familiar. But it was a happy thought thus to group and bring them together. The story, perhaps, with which our readers are least likely to be familiar, is that of the Hungarian lady, Kossuth's noble and patriotic sister. Hers is a touching history, worthy to be joined with the rest. We think, however, that in his introductory paragraphs to this sketch, Mr. Lee has overlooked the true liberality in recent years of the imperial relations with Hungary, which, indeed, would seem to have a fully equal position with Austria under the equitable rule of the present Emperor. The whole book may be recommended as one likely to interest and inspire the brightest and best of the sex for which especially it is intended. We understand that the author is a professional gentleman, who delights to spend his leisure in such studies as are indicated by the present volume. Happy the business man who has the leisure and the taste to occupy himself in such work. Whether, if he found his business sphere in London, he would be able to do so may be doubted.

Indian Wigwams and Northern Camp Fires. By EGERTON RYERSON YOUNG. London: C. H. Kelly. 1893. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Egerton Ryerson was a great educationist. His enlightened sagacity and organising genius laid the basis of Canada's national education. His relative does not dishonour the name he bears. Those who have heard him know how graceful, picturesque, and effective a speaker he is on the platform. Those who have made acquaintance with his former volume, *By Canoe and Dog-Train among the Cree and Salteaux Indians*, know how enthralling is his narrative, how thrilling often are his episodes, how fresh throughout is his story, how humour and pathos, by turns or combined, take the reader captive, and what a storehouse the volume is for boys and girls, as well as men and women. The present volume takes us among the Scotch and French Canadian half-breeds, most interesting Christian races, the one Presbyterians, the other Roman Catholics, tells us more about the Indians, opens out to us what is now Manitoba, as it used to be twenty years ago, when it was the "great lone land," in its terrible winters, among its Methodist Mission Stations, far, far away north to distances even still remote from the enterprise of British colonists, with its canoeing and its sledges and dog-trains, its interesting Christian settlements, and much more no less interesting. Methodist missionaries have done the work of Christian teaching in these regions, and their record is everywhere most honourable. One leading feature in this volume is its references to natural history. The dog stories are capital,

and will be the delight of young readers. But it is a capital book throughout, full both of entertainment and instruction. The illustrations are good and very picturesque.

Bygone Yorkshire. By WILLIAM ANDREWS, F.R.H.S. Hull: Brown & Sons. 1892. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This new addition to Mr. Andrews' popular antiquarian series is marked by the brightness of treatment and wealth of quaint information that we find in earlier volumes. The editor has secured a very capable band of helpers, who have each contributed one or two papers, so that there is abundant variety of style as well as of matter. Some expressions need revision, but, as a whole, the contributors have done their work well. Mr. Tyack's *Ivanhoe Country* deals pleasantly with Rotherham, and the way in which he traces the early association of Guy Fawkes with Yorkshire in another paper is very interesting. The papers on York and Ripon are full of good things, and the links between "Farnley Hall" and Turner, the landscape painter, furnish Mr. J. A. Clapham with material for a bright sketch. Yorkshire Castles and Abbeys have due prominence, and many an out-of-the-way scrap of lore is treasured in the volume. It is a book which Yorkshire people will not be allowed to keep to themselves.

The Kelt or Gael. By T. DE COURCY ATKINS. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

This is the writing of an enthusiast, who is much more, at least in this volume, of an Irish De Courcy than of an English Atkins. It deals with the Ethnography, Geography, and Philology of the "Kelt or Gael." The philology contains some curious elements, and the vocabulary is wonderful. The writer discovers that of all European languages the Irish most nearly resembles the Latin—*e.g.*, "intleacht" is Irish for "intellectus," and "dublachadh" for "duplicatio." Of course, these and scores more of his instances can only be direct Irish transcripts from the Latin.

BELLES LETTRES.

ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

THOSE who wish to refresh their memory or dispel their ignorance of one of the greatest, perhaps the most typical, of modern French sculptors, cannot do better than read M. Philibert Audebrand's article on "David d'Angers" in *L'Art* * for January (first issue), and then

* *Librairie de L'Art.* Paris.

the modest little work upon which it is founded, *David d'Angers, sa Vie et ses Œuvres, par son Fils.* This sturdy Angevin genius, trained in Spartan hardness, battling with poverty and discouragement from his earliest years, lived a life in its way not a whit less heroic than that of the grandest of the heroes to whom his chisel gave the second life of marble. His history is an inspiring record of single-minded devotion to art, steadily winning its way to universal recognition and applause.

In subsequent issues M. Jules Mommira continues and concludes his interesting *compte rendu* of the art treasures formerly belonging to Ingres, now preserved in the Museum at Montauban. Lovers of the decorative will turn with interest to M. Emile Molinier's article on some of M. Ehrmann's paintings for the Paris Hotel de Ville, and will not be disappointed in either the letterpress or the illustrations. An excellent article on the peculiarly French art of bookbinding, as exemplified in the Exhibition at the Cercle de la Librairie, by M. Henri Beraldi, and some delightful gossip about Corot and his way of life at Mont de Marsan by M. Camille Leymarie will also well repay perusal.

M. Gabillot's learned monograph on *Les Hüet** should do something to re-establish a fame to which the whirliwig of time has proved all but fatal. Jean Baptiste Hüet was essentially a man of the last century, and his repute was distinguished by the revolution in taste which the fall of the *ancien régime* brought with it. Yet was he a good man and true, nevertheless, albeit somewhat lacking in imagination, and a master of technique in many kinds. If we may judge by the excellent engravings which illustrate M. Gabillot's letterpress, it is as a painter of animals that he best deserves to be remembered. He tried his hand, however, with more or less success, at landscapes, mythological pieces, and portraits, and apparently engraved and etched with skill. His eldest son achieved some distinction in water-colours, and his second in the dainty art of miniature.

The Noble and Joyous History of King Arthur. The Book of Marvellous Adventures, and other books of the *Morte d'Arthur*. By Sir THOMAS MALORY. Edited by ERNEST RHYS. London: Walter Scott. 1893. *1s. 6d.*

These two volumes distinctly enrich the Scott Library. They are daintily got up, with olive green covers tastefully edged with gilt, and will form a very acceptable present for a lover of Arthurian romance. The charm of the Morte d'Arthur is indeed felt by every one who turns Malory's pages. It is a fascinating study to compare Tennyson's idealised Arthur with the King whose portrait Malory paints with all his warts. Lancelot is a far more interesting figure than his prince. Mr. Ernest Rhys furnishes useful introductions to

* *Librairie de L'Art.* Paris.

each volume. Professor Rhys, Mr. Alfred Nutt, and Dr. Sommer have dealt with the folk-lore and legend of the subject in a way that scholars will appreciate. These volumes are intended for those who simply want to enjoy the wonderful tale, and Mr. Rhys wisely adapts his preface to their case. There is, perhaps, no more interesting study of literary origins in the whole course of English literature than that which the Morte d' Arthur supplies. The paragraphs devoted to this subject will lead many to seek for fuller information on the subject from other sources. The edition will be a treasure for all lovers of romance, and will make them turn with fresh delight to Tennyson's wonderful poetic versions of the story. He has often borrowed the very words of the old romance-writer; but he has added a fresh charm even to Malory's prose poems.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *The Christian Miscellany and Family Visitor.* 1892.
2. *The King's Highway.* A Journal of Scriptural Holiness. Vol. xxi.
3. *The Methodist Temperance Magazine.* Vol. vi. (New Series). 1892.
4. *From the Cradle to the Pulpit.* Being Sketches of the Youthful Days of some Wesleyan Methodist Ministers. By EDITH GREEVES.
5. *Amos Truelove.* A Story of the Last Generation. By CHARLES R. PARSONS.
6. *Sybil's Repentance; or a Dream of Good.* By Mrs. HAYCRAFT.
7. *Lady Marjorie.* A Story of Methodist Work a Hundred Years Ago. By EMMA LESLIE.
8. *Jacob Winterton's Inheritance.*
9. *Nell, the Clown's Wife; or, How the Poor help each other.* By EMILY GRADIDGE.
10. *Sinclair's Museum, and other Stories.* By WILLIAM J. FORSTER.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1893.

1. Mr. Law's natural history papers form a valuable feature of *The Christian Miscellany* for 1892; and there are good articles on Lancaster, Berne, Knaresborough, and other towns. The volume is

distinctly attractive, and shows that it is just the magazine for the family circle. Young and old will alike enjoy it.

2. *The King's Highway* deals with every phase of the great subject of holiness and gives accounts of the chief conventions of the year. "Good Testimony" is a helpful part of the programme. It is the magazine for those who wish to know all that is being said and written on holiness.

3. The *Temperance Magazine* is full of suggestions and facts. Band of Hope workers will find much valuable material here ready to their hand. The volume ought to be in the hands of all temperance workers.

4. *From the Cradle to the Pulpit* is a book of unusual interest. It was a happy thought to gather together these sketches of the boyhood of famous Methodist preachers, and the idea is well worked out. Young people will be glad to read about Joseph Benson, Adam Clarke, William Morley Punshon, and the other preachers whose early days Miss Greeves has painted with a loving hand. She writes gracefully and is in warm sympathy with her subject.

5. Mr. Parsons has scored again with *Amos Truelove*. That wealthy Quaker is a widower who falls in love with Charity Chamberlain, and manages at last to persuade her to take himself and his children to her heart. The scenes are sometimes overdrawn, as when the Truelove boys and girls go courting Charity for their father, but there is much fun, much good teaching, and not a little improbability about this entertaining story.

6. *Sybil's Repentance* is a tale that young folk will eagerly read. The girl who allows the dog to destroy the old man's will because he left his property to a grandson that had been brought up in the slums becomes herself the heiress and falls in love with the very youth she had robbed of his fortune. It is a story that will help young people to be brave and true.

7. *Lady Marjorie* is a good story, though somewhat improbable. The little lady of title rebels against the rule of her two prim aunts and runs away to London to become a governess. There her scapegrace father, who had selfishly neglected his child, finds her out. She visits him at the Fleet Prison, and goes with him to America, where he is transported for forgery. She is naturally a fine character, and Methodism turns her into a noble woman. How she wins her father to a better life, and becomes the happy wife of Laurence Meredith, we must leave Miss Leslie herself to tell.

8. *Jacob Winterton's Inheritance* is one of the best stories we have read for a long time. Little Lettice is a charming maiden, and the book is full of suggestive bits of Bible teaching.

9. *Nell, the Clown's Wife*, is a pathetic tale of circus life, which ought to touch many a heart and win increased sympathy for the struggles and temptations of such as Nell.

10. Mr. Forster has many good lessons to teach in *Sinclair's Museum*, and they are put in a way to make young folk remember them.

The Pseudonym Library. Danish Stories. *The Cruise of the Wild Duck*, **and other Tales. London: T. F. Unwin. 1893. 1s. 6d.**

These are stories such as one likes to have at hand for a leisure hour. *The Cruise of the Wild Duck* describes the escapades of a young fellow who comes into a fortune on his father's death. He buys a yacht in order to indulge his passion for the sea; but at last in disgust with his nautical experiences gives her to his friend and companion, Klaus Tommerup. Tommerup manages to make his way in the world as a trader, and marries a bright girl, who had been tortured by living with her drunken father on Quarantine Island. The story is slight, but the characters are sketched with a vigour that makes them seem real portraits. "She died and was buried" is a pathetic tale of a girl who dies of consumption. Her sweetheart, a waiter with loud, low tastes forms a striking little study. "A Romance of the Downs" tells of a West Jutland maiden who lost in succession three sailor lovers who were brothers, and married their father at last. "The people on the downs talked about it a good deal, and said it was odd of Sara to marry the old man after she had been the sweetheart of all his three sons. But the people on the downs—and a good many others—think and speak generally as if there were only one kind of love. And in reality there are many." The girl had become indispensable to the old widower in his days of loneliness, and cared for him like a daughter. The little volume is a welcome addition to the Pseudonym library.

Chaucer. **By Alfred W. Pollard, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893. 1s.**

The latest addition to Messrs. Macmillan's primers is one of the best volumes even of that admirable set of handbooks. Mr. Pollard plunges at once into his subject in his first sentence, so that in the compass of 142 pages he manages to pack all the facts about Chaucer's life and writings, with full descriptions of the various poems. A good appendix is added on the metre and versification. The primer will be a treasure to all young students of Chaucer.

Lyrics from the Hills. **By Charles Armstrong Fox. Cheaper Edition. London: Eliot Stock. 1892.**

In a "Prefatory Note" Mr. Fox compares Nature to "a book of plates to which the written Word is the text. The book of plates was published first, for children must first be taught by picture, the text followed long after." In this spirit he approaches his subject. Keen perception of the charm of mountain, lake, and sky is blended with

reverence and faith. The verses reveal the hand of a true poet. What a happy touch this is about Wordsworth:

> "He left the world his solitude,
> To people lonely lives."

The sonnet entitled *Spring Cowslips* may be referred to as a specimen of Mr. Fox's meditative vein; while the little poem on *The Skylark* is a true gem. There is much to delight every lover of poetry and of Nature in this volume.

The Course of Progress. By F. W. SCHULZ. New York: Argyle Press. 1892.

Mr. Schulz has given us a vigorous study of present-day questions from an American standpoint. We agree heartily with most of his conclusions, and relish his satire; but the poem is dull, and is spoiled by prosaic expressions and halting lines. There are some good passages which betray no little felicity of style and thought.

1. *Our Earth—Night to Twilight.* By GEORGE FERGUSON. London: T. F. Unwin. 3*s.*

2. *The Song of America and Columbus; or, the Story of the New World.* By KINAHAN CORNWALLIS. New York: *Daily Investigator* Office. $1. 1892.

1. Mr. Ferguson's second volume closes his self-imposed task. We are sorry to add that no one will regret that this long-drawn poem is finished. It is a pity to waste time and money on such a book.

2. Mr. Cornwallis has a subject of historic interest, and he writes pleasingly upon it. His lines and phrases are sometimes stilted, but there is considerable descriptive power and some freshness in his poem.

Poems in Petroleum. By JOHN CAMERON GRANT. London: E. W. Allen. 1892. 2*s.*

There is no doubt about Mr. Grant's poetic force and feeling; but his odd title will repel some readers, and there are pieces in the volume which one regrets to find, such as the sensuous study, "Stings of Life." "Robert Lambert" is a stirring ballad on the Captain of the *Java* who was killed in action with the U.S. frigate *Chesapeake* in 1812. Some of the shorter pieces are happy, but the three "In Memoriams" on the Duke of Clarence, Whittier, and Tennyson are not of special merit.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Unseen Foundations of Society. An Examination of the Fallacies and Failures of Economic Science due to Neglected Elements. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T. London: Murray. 1893.

EXCEPT in general terms, it is impossible in a short notice to characterise this great and powerful book. No more opportune and helpful work on Social Science has been published in our time. It meets one of the most pressing of our present needs: clear and thorough thinking, careful and unbiased reasoning on the social questions of the day. In method, it is at once critical and constructive, shattering still further the already "shattered science" of Political Economy by its keen analysis of the leading terms and doctrines of the Mill-Ricardo school, and contributing greatly to the work of reconstruction now in process in most of the European and American Schools of Economics by bringing into light and prominence those hidden springs of wealth and progress which have hitherto been neglected or ignored. The style of the book is clear, vigorous, vivacious. The matter is superabundant, a little far-fetched at times, perhaps, but well worth the fetching; it is never entirely irrelevant, and whether it is brought from the realms of history, or science, or Scripture, or philosophy, it is invariably interesting, illuminating, and suggestive. Much piquancy and charm are added to the pages by the personal references and reminiscences in which they abound.

The spirit of the book is broad and sympathetic. It is not a systematic treatise, but professed economists will be compelled by it to reconsider what they mean by wealth and value and labour and capital and rent, by the wages fund, by unearned increments, &c.; and their science will not be so "dismal," nor so frequently disparaged, if they profit by the Duke's examination and exposure of the fallacies which underlie the current usage of these terms, fallacies for the most part due to those neglected elements in economic truth which, above all others, are essential to the accurate interpretation of the past, to the wise and equitable ordering of the present, and to the profitable direction of the future social relations and activities of men of every grade and every class. The book is one to be read and pondered and resorted to at every turn in the current and thick-coming controversies on the social questions of the day. It is a splendid chapter of 600 pages added to the duke's first work, and might have been described, though not so aptly or so fully, "The Reign of Law in Economic Life." No one will call it, as Mr. Bright called the closing chapter of that charming book (on *Law in Politics*) a "nonsense" chapter. It is as full of

sense and wisdom as it is of fact and argument. It can hardly fail to exercise a salutary influence on those whose duty it is to inform and steady the public mind and to move and guide the public will. Out of its materials an impregnable breakwater might be formed against which the rising tide of socialistic sophistry would chafe and fret in vain.

Extracts from a book so wide in range, and yet so closely reasoned and compacted, can convey but a slight idea of the wealth of illustration and the weight of argument that it contains, but the closing sentences may furnish an example of style and treatment, and explain our high appreciation of the volume as a whole:

"We cannot assert too broadly the wide scope of that great branch of knowledge which deals with the ultimate laws that govern the great human household in which we live. Those laws touch on everything concerning it. Economic science takes note of war, as we have seen, in its historical methods of inquiry and in its imperative demand for security of possession. It takes note of religion and of morals, in their powerful—sometimes their overwhelming—effects on the economic conditions of society. It takes note, among the very foremost of its concerns, of law and jurisprudence, as the groundwork of all security for personal freedom—for the defence of rights, for the enforcement of obligations, and for the upholding of that confidence which is an indispensable necessity in the pursuits of industry. . . . The popular dislike of political economy has been not only natural, but largely justified. Political economy has too often been made a bad as well as a 'dismal' science. But in its real nature it is neither. On the contrary, it is the most vast, the most various, the most interesting of all subjects of human inquiry. . . . What we have to do is to hold fast to that one fundamental conception of all science, that in the constitution of man, quite as much as in the constitution of the external world, we are in the constant presence of, and have to deal with, natural law in the strictest sense of the expression—laws which can be traced, ascertained, and defined—laws which can indeed be yoked to our service, but which cannot be neglected or defied. Above all, we have to cherish and maintain that noble faith in the truthfulness of the Divine government over the whole system of things we live in, which has been so amply rewarded, even when it was unconscious, in the sphere of physics—even that faith which assures us that the laws of Nature work together for good to all who sincerely seek to know them, who are faithful to them, and who yoke them to their appointed use. This inspired faith puts an end to the paralysis of pessimism on the one hand, whilst it is at the same time as far as possible from an idle optimism on the other. It is awake to the tremendous difficulties in our way arising out of the number and complication of the laws to be reckoned with; and it is especially alive to the fact that a perennial fountain of human corruption is among the most powerful of them all. But always in our science the grand conclusion is in sight—a conclusion reached by the purest and strictest logical process—that the real

welfare of everybody is bound up with the real welfare of everybody else, if only we estimate aright wherein that real welfare consists, what are its necessary limits, and the means whereby alone it can be attained."

Civilisation and Progress. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER. Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged. London: Longmans. 1892. 14*s*.

An extremely interesting, but not conspicuously successful attempt to construct another Philosophy of History on purely naturalistic data by a thinker of some originality, who is also an author of considerable gifts and powers. The subject is too vast and complex for any one man, unless indeed he were to bring to his task the rarest combination of the highest and most varied abilities and devote to it the energies of a lifetime. Even then a complete and true philosophy could not be constructed on the lines laid down by the author and imposed upon him by his creed. The human mind, the author thinks, is compelled by its very constitution to believe in the existence of an intelligent, powerful, beneficent, but limited Will; a being not infinite or perfect, but sufficient to account for the existence of the mixed and limited world in which we live; a cause adequate to produce the effects which we perceive. But he discards all supposed special and supernatural revelations of the character, purposes, and activities of that Cause, whether in the course of nature or of human history. In these conditions it was not to be expected that the author should be able to produce an explanation of the phenomena of Civilisation that would commend itself to those who believe in the supernatural intervention as well as in the ordinary workings of the Divine Being in the affairs of the world.

The chief object of the book is to gather up and fit together and systematise the principal theories of modern civilisation — Hegel's, Comte's, Spencer's, Buckle's—by means of a "new organon," consisting in the employment of "the laws of the human mind as a whole as the standpoint of interpretation." Defining "the end of civilisation" as "the expansion and elevation of the individual," the author sets himself to trace and describe the effects of the various factors in civilisation: Religion, Government, Physical Science, and "the controlling factor," Material and Social conditions. In the course of the work a multitude of questions of great interest and importance are discussed, and always in a fresh and vigorous, if sometimes quite needlessly, irritating way. Among other things, Mr. Crozier claims to have "solved the problem of Carlyle, 'Given a universe of knaves, how to get a common honesty from their united action'"; to have "given the *coup de grâce* to Physical Science as a standpoint of interpretation for the great problems of the world and of human life;" to have "rung the death-knell of all forms of supernaturalism;" to have destroyed

scientific materialism, revolutionised the problem of evil, shown how all religions are constructed, and "detected the philosophies underlying all religions, and explained all the mysteries of religious ritual and practice."

The strongest destructive parts of the book are those which deal with Materialism, Positivism, and Agnosticism; the weakest those which touch upon Christianity. The strongest constructive portions are those in defence of Democracy as a form of government, and of Individualism as a form of society; the weakest those which treat of the origin, nature, and effects of Religion, and seek to prove that the "controlling factor" in civilisation is not religion or morality or even science, but the material and social conditions of men.

A super-excellent index and a copious list of contents add greatly to the value of a volume which, widely as we differ from the author's point of view, and strongly as we dissent from many of his doctrines and conclusions, we regard as an earnest and courageous, but too heavily hampered effort to interpret the phenomena of human nature and of human life.

A second Preface, and a brief description of Hegel's *Philosophy of History* have been added in this edition.

The Studies of a Socialist Parson. By W. H. ABRAHAM, M.A. (Lond.) Hull: W. Andrews & Co. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Abraham is confident that "the religion of Jesus Christ, especially the Anglican form of it, has power to adapt itself to any true ideal of human life." "We shall find further," he adds, "that no reconstruction of society can be accomplished unless the principles of the Sermon on the Mount are adopted as its laws." The first and longest paper is an historical review of "The Working Man, past and present," which is well written, and full of details that help a reader to take a bird's-eye view of the whole problem. We are rather startled by the statement that "the wickedest thing the Stuarts did was the abolition of feudal duties, by which landlords held the land." There are other points where we find ourselves unable to follow Mr. Abraham; and his sentence, "Wesley and Whitefield were moving the masses to tears by their fervid appeals," is a very inadequate description of a work which, as Mr. Lecky points out, played so large a part in the social regeneration of England. Still, Mr. Abraham's book is suggestive, and reveals a sympathy with working men which does him honour. The Anglican flavour of his address is accounted for by the fact that they were preached in St. Augustine's church. The statement that Christ "founded a brotherhood which all may join, to which every baptised Englishman belongs," has a strong Maurician flavour about it; but the book is, as a whole, sensible and suggestive. The timely words on "Decency in Journalism and Conversation" deserve to be widely read.

Mothers and Sons. By the Rev. the Hon. E. LYTTELTON. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

This is a very useful little volume—frank, true, searching, and suggestive. That such a writing should have been delivered as a lecture at Cambridge and also at Worcester, and now be published by request, is an encouraging sign. The book itself is full of encouragement. The lecture could never have been delivered, still less would it have been published by request, if there were not, among the best and most influential mothers—not meaning by that description the highest in rank, but the best educated, and those who also occupy a superior position in society—many who carefully and prayerfully instruct their sons in religion during their early years, and who are earnestly anxious to know how to do such work for their boys in the best and the wisest as well as the most loving way. It would, indeed, be well for all mothers to read this book. Those who have thought of little more than caring for the physical welfare of their sons would certainly be touched and stirred as to the deeper and higher responsibilities of maternity. The volume is written by a man of noble family and churchly education, presumably for Churchwomen, but there is not a word of narrowness or of High Church superstition in the volume, and it is as suitable, and may, perhaps, be as much needed for Nonconformist as for Anglican parents. In reading its pages we see more clearly as we proceed how it is likely to be true, and in the case of true-hearted and wise Christian mothers cannot but be true, that the character of well brought-up boys is largely determined by the influence and character of the mother. Let us, in closing this brief notice, ask just one critical question. Why does a scholar and teacher like Mr. Lyttelton use so indefensible a vocable as "educationalist" instead of the legitimately formed "educationist"?

Monumental Brasses. By the Rev. HERBERT W. MACKLIN, B.A. Second Edition. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1891. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Macklin seeks in this handbook to put the explorer of churches in a position to appreciate more fully the true value of the monumental brasses which are found on their floors and walls. His experience as Honorary Secretary of the "Cambridge University Association of Brass Collectors" has enabled him to give valuable hints to all who wish to make a collection of brasses for themselves. There is no other cheap manual dealing with the subject, so that the field is practically unoccupied, and Mr. Macklin's book has evidently supplied a felt want. An attractive volume might be written on the romance of brasses. The Surrey Archæological Society has a beautiful little brass in its possession, which was originally in Netley Abbey, but was discovered some

years since in a cottage, doing duty at the back of a fireplace. It was quite uninjured. Mr. Macklin shows how much may be learnt from brasses. They "give a complete pictorial history of the use and development of armour, dress, and ecclesiastical vestments from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth century." They are almost the only dated mediæval works of art. After an instructive sketch of the origin and history of the manufacture of brasses, we find detailed directions as to making a collection. In a few pages, everything a beginner needs to know is gathered together here. The account of various classes of effigies is very full and interesting. Then the accessories, such as canopies, crosses, heraldic bearings and inscriptions, are dealt with. The Literary Guide will show a collector where to turn for special information, and the lists of brasses in various counties is invaluable. The illustrations are numerous and excellent. Every young beginner will find this handbook the very manual he needs. It has indeed no rival.

The Monumental Brasses of Lancashire and Cheshire: with some Account of the Persons Represented. Illustrated with Engravings from Drawings by the Author. By JAMES L. THORNELY. Hull: William Andrews & Co. 1893. *7s. 6d.*

By the kindness of the publishers we have been favoured with a copy of Mr. Thornely's handsome volume, which will enable those who have mastered the general outlines of the subject in Mr. Macklin's guide to study in detail the brasses of the counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester. The book represents a course of pleasant wanderings to many an ancient church, and much loving fellowship with the past in happy hours of leisure. After a brief sketch of the history of brasses, which enables Mr. Thornely to show the interest of his subject for the antiquarian, he turns to the brasses of the two counties. There are only twenty-six examples given, but these comprise nearly all that are found in Lancaster and Cheshire. Those counties can boast of no Flemish brasses, or thirteenth century effigies of warriors and crusaders, but the brasses have peculiar biographical and genealogical instructiveness. This is very clearly brought out in Mr. Thornely's bright and readable descriptions. The style of the book is easy, but it is always forcible. The engravings have been prepared with great skill, and some of the brasses, like the Legh and Caterall memorials, with their troop of children, are very interesting. The sketches of John Huntingdon and James Stanley well illustrate the wealth of biographical matter in these pages. Mr. Thornely's book will be eagerly sought by all lovers of monumental brasses.

The Locomotive Engine and its Development: A Popular Treatise on the Gradual Improvements made in Railway Engines between the years 1803 *and* 1892. By CLEMENT E. STRETTON, C.E. With numerous Illustrations. London: Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

During the past twenty-two years Mr. Stretton has given many lectures and addresses on the Development of the Locomotive to persons actively engaged in railway work. He gathers up the fruit of much research and wide experience in his remarkable little volume. Mr. Stretton says we often hear of a speed of 90 or 100 miles an hour being reached, but for twenty-five years he "has ridden upon many engines, and travelled in all the fastest trains upon all the railways in this country, for the special purpose of ascertaining their rate of speed. Upon a few occasions, and under favourable circumstances, he has recorded the very high speed of 79.9 miles an hour, but he has never been able to time a train or engine at actually eighty miles an hour. One is rather surprised after this statement to learn that so early as 1853 engines on the Bristol and Exeter Railway reached a speed of eighty-one miles an hour; but these have been altered, and their speed reduced. The power of steam was known to Hero of Alexandria fully two thousand years ago, but no attempt seems to have been made to apply it to practical uses. Richard Trevithick, who built the first tramway-engine in 1803, is the "father of the locomotive"; but, though his engine worked satisfactorily, it was not a commercial success, for it proved more expensive than horse traction. It was really George Stephenson who solved the practical problem by his successive inventions. Mr. Stretton's illustrations of the various engines, with his explanatory notes, help a reader to trace every important step in advance. Young people with a mechanical turn of mind will delight in this book, and all who wish to study the locomotive will find Mr. Stretton a competent and most entertaining guide.

The Book Lover: A Guide to the Best Reading. By JAMES BALDWIN. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Baldwin has given us a delightful little manual. The extracts "In Praise of Books," which are clustered together as a "Prelude," are enough to quicken every reader's appetite for the best literature of all ages, and many exquisite fragments are woven into the chapters that follow. The suggested "Courses of Reading" and schemes for practical study are the outcome of a "long experience as a lover of books and a director of reading. They have been tested and found to be all that is claimed for them." Mr. Baldwin is of Robert South's

mind, that "he who has published an injurious book sins, as it were, in his very grave, corrupts others, while he is rotting himself." He has a righteous horror of a bad book, and gives many timely warnings to young readers on that score. Under Poetry, we are sorry to notice that he omits Browning. The popular shilling volume of Selections from his poems ought certainly to be added. The "also at Birmingham," on page 64, is not quite correct, as a reference to Jean Paul Richter has crept in between John Bright and George Dawson. The sentences quoted under many of the books recommended for study are very happy and distinctly appetising. "What books shall young folks read?" is a capital chapter, and the lists of books on all subjects for young and old will be helpful to readers and librarians. We should like to see *Italian Explorers in Africa*, recently published by the Religious Tract Society, added to the list of volumes on the Dark Continent. We are amused at the suggestion that each book should have a compartment divided off for itself on the shelf. That is certainly too elaborate a plan, though it is well to have shelves not too wide. *The Book Lover* is full of delightful quotations and wise hints. Everybody ought to have it within reach and consult it often.

Bell's Standard Elocutionist. By D. C. Bell and A. M. Bell. Enlarged Edition, completing the one hundred and seventy-eighth thousand. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The enormous popularity of this volume seems due rather to its copious "exercises" than to its "principles," which, though clear and sensible, are somewhat brief. The writers have shown their sound judgment in giving prominence to "extracts in prose and poetry," on which a beginner may exercise his powers. It is practice, with a few wise hints, that makes the best reader and reciter, and there is ample material here for all who wish to perfect themselves in an art which adds new pleasure to social life.

Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1892. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1892.

There is much in this report to interest students of American Governmental methods. Take this one fact. The Pension Office has been brought to a high state of perfection. It has a staff of 2009 persons, and the "pieces of mail" received rose from 1,103,802 in 1889 to 5,375,120 in 1891; whilst the numbers sent out increased during the same time from 631,651 to 4,316,616. Congress added 445 persons to the clerical force; the medical boards were increased from 400 to

1225. This is only a specimen of the insight into the working of the governmental machine given in these crowded pages.

Arcana in the Ruwenzori; or, Treasures in Uganda. London: Eliot Stock. 1892.

This pamphlet deserves a niche for itself in the record of human folly. How any one could waste time and money in trying to prove that somewhere in Central Africa Enoch built a strong tower, proof against the Deluge, in which he placed some precious Hermetic books, passes our comprehension. A wilder, more useless production we have seldom met.

A Journalist on Journalism. Being a Series of Articles by W. T. STEAD, on "Journals and Journalism." Edited, with a Biographical Sketch, by EDWIN H. STOUT. London: Haddon & Co. 1892. 1*s.*

Mr. Stead has, perhaps, done more to revolutionise journalism than any living man. Many will, therefore, be glad to study his views as they are conveniently presented in this pamphlet. We cannot help feeling that at many points they are visionary, but they are often very sagacious, and show that Mr. Stead has thrown his whole soul into his work. We scarcely wonder at the influence he has acquired when we see what infinite pains he has taken to be well-informed on every point connected with his calling. Mr. Stout, who acted for some critical years as Mr. Stead's private secretary, has added a good biograpical sketch of his chief to the series of articles.

Free Libraries and Popular Culture. Presidential Address to the Hull Literary Club, 1892. By the Rev. J. MALET LAMBERT, M.A., LL.D. Hull: Andrews & Co. 1892.

Mr. Lambert's plea for free libraries is backed up by statistics which show how far Hull lags behind other great towns in this important matter. The earnest and powerful advocacy of reading in this able address cannot fail to impress those who study it.

Where shall we Go? A Guide to the Watering-places and Health Resorts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Edited by A. R. HOPE MONCRIEFF. Twelfth edition. London and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1892. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The sketches in this book supply just the details which any one needs in order to make a selection of a holiday resort. Very full notices are

given of such places as Brighton and Bournemouth, and justice is done, so far as possible, to every place mentioned. We have examined the book with some care at several test points, and find that it gives a very fair idea of each watering-place. It is evident that the book supplies a felt want, for it has reached a twelfth edition. It is edited in a workmanlike way, and provided with good maps, information as to hotels, boarding-houses, and all other needful details.

Complaining in our Streets. The Problem of the Unemployed. By FRANCIS PEEK. Second Edition. London: Isbister & Co. 1892. 6*d.*

Mr. Peek published two Articles in the *Contemporary Review* for 1888 which attracted considerable attention. He thinks that the coming winter is likely to prove far more trying than the year which was disgraced by the West-end riots in London, and urges that wise measures for relieving the unemployed should be adopted without delay. He holds that the Guardians of the Poor should separate the industrious from the idle by means of test labour and greater discrimination used in the treatment of men and women of good character. We hope this temperate and suggestive pamphlet will be widely studied.

"The Leisure Hour Library." New Series. *The London Daily Press.* By H. W. MASSINGHAM. With Illustrations and Portraits. London: Religious Tract Society. 1892. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Massingham's papers on *The London Daily Press* attracted much notice as they appeared in the *Leisure Hour*. The subject is one of unusual interest, and these sketches are packed with information attractively put. The account of the *Daily News* is full and evidently sympathetic. The writer has not managed to lay bare the editorial sanctum of the *Times*, but his account of the machinery used in Printing House Square and the paragraphs devoted to M. de Blowitz are very good. Mr. Massingham is inclined to endorse the dictum of a shrewd politician who said to him the other day, "The most influential paper in this country is the *Daily Chronicle*." It enjoys the confidence of trade-unionism and of the London working men more conspicuously than any paper since Feargus O'Connor's *Star*, and the earlier and more advanced days of its modern namesake. It is to be noted, however, that Mr. Massingham is himself on the staff of the *Chronicle*. There is much information about the staff of the various dailies which their respective readers will specially prize, and all the papers are in good taste. Numerous illustrations add considerably to the interest of a volume which deserves a wide circulation. The introduction points out

the enormous influence exercised by the daily press, and inquires what is its attitude towards faith and morals. The writer thinks "that the percentage of men who have discarded all allegiance to Christianity is at least no higher than amongst those who practise in medicine or law," but holds that the day is approaching when Christian men will demand even in the daily press a larger recognition of Christianity.

Sussex Folk and Sussex Ways. Stray Studies in the Wealden Formation of Human Nature. By the late Rev. JOHN COKER EGERTON, M.A., Rector of Burwash. Edited by the Rev. HENRY WACE, D.D. With a Preface by the Rev. HARRY JONES, M.A. A new Edition with Four Illustrations. London: Chatto & Windus. 1892. 5*s*.

It is a great honour for any book to have two such sponsors as Professor Wace and Prebendary Jones, but in this case the honour is richly deserved. Mr. Egerton spent the chief part of his life at Burwash, and died there at the age of fifty-eight. He was a man of classical scholarship, and was descended from the famous William of Wykeham, a fact which won his father and two of his brothers free education, and other advantages. Mr. Egerton himself had scarcely any country taste save one for "country human nature," but he made up for his limitation of range by the ardour with which he threw himself into his study of his rustic parishioners. His lecture on the history of the parish will be read with interest, but it is the glimpses of the sons of toil with their quaint sayings that make this book a constant source of amusement. It is more full of humorous and witty things than any book of jokes we have met, and may be warranted to supply abundant food for laughter. We pass from one odd saying to another, wondering at the loving labour spent on this book, and admiring the devotion with which a gentleman and scholar like Mr. Egerton gave his life to these humble Sussex folk. Few books have such emphatic right to the honour of republication.

Hymns and Chorales for Schools and Colleges. Edited by JOHN FARMER, Organist of Baliol College. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1892.

Mr. Farmer has prepared an admirable selection of the best Hymns and Chorales for Schools and Colleges. He asked friends who were fully qualified to give an opinion to furnish him with lists of hymns, and then selected those which should appear in his collection. The short biographies of English hymn writers prefixed to the volume add much to its value and interest. They are brief, but compact and correct. The index, arranged according to Church seasons, is a con-

venient feature, and shows how catholic the selection is. The tunes and chorales are taken from the best collections of sacred music, and bear such names as those of Luther, Purcell, Rosenmüller, Farrant, Freylinghausen, and Bach. The tunes are printed in bold type on the left page, with the words opposite to them. A little group of Latin hymns forms a valuable feature in this most welcome collection.

Our Country's Birds and How to Know Them. A Guide to all the Birds of Great Britain. By W. J. GORDON. With an Illustration in Colour of every Species and many original Diagrams by G. WILLIS and R. E. HOLDING. London: Day & Son. 1892.

This is a companion volume to *Our Country's Flowers*, and we know no handy book on birds to match it. The plates will be quite a revelation to many as to the beauty of our English avifauna, and it only needs a glance to see how true they are to life. Mr. Gordon gives some useful hints as to "Sortation," by which a beginner will quickly learn how to tell the birds he meets. The "Examples of Identification" are very helpful, and we have descriptions of the orders, genera, an index to the families and sub-families, and a capital chapter full of particulars which enable any one to separate between the species. The complete list of dimensions of birds, arranged according to average size, is a novel feature, and will be of much service. The book is just the thing for a young collector, and indeed for all lovers of birds. Any one who uses it will soon be able to identify all the birds he sees.

The Junior Society Class. Prize Essays. By W. B. FITZGERALD, W. H. CHAMINGS, and J. SURMAN COOKE. London: Wesleyan Sunday School Union. 1892.

This is a valuable and suggestive little volume. Mr. Fitzgerald's paper is so well written, so carefully arranged, and thought out, that we do not wonder it took the first prize, but each of the three essays comes from the pen of an expert, and all will repay careful study from those who wish to develop the latent possibilities of the Junior Society Class. There is no doubt that Methodism has here an organisation, which, "if properly worked, is sufficient, with due care on the part of the leaders, and vigorous oversight on the part of the pastors of the church, to prepare our catechumens for full church membership." We do not agree with all the suggestions made, but certainly this manual ought to be in the hands of every Junior Society Class-leader. It cannot fail to open their eyes more fully to the greatness of their opportunity and to supply valuable counsels as to the best methods of preparing for and conducting their weekly meetings.

The Epworth League. By JOHN HUGH MORGAN. Rochdale: T. Champness.

Mr. Morgan was much impressed when attending the recent Methodist Œcumenical Conference with the progress made by the Epworth League in America. He has investigated the whole subject thoroughly and gives a clear account of the methods and aims of that vast young people's society. His book is brightly written, and is the best account of the Epworth League that we have seen.

Hazell's Annual for 1893. A Cyclopædic Record of Men and Topics of the Day. The Year's History in all Parts of the Globe. Revised to Nov. 30, 1892. London: Hazell, Watson & Viney. 1893. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Hazell's Annual has now reached its eighth year of issue. It has 740 pages, closely printed in double columns, and is packed with information as to men and things such as everybody wants to have at hand. The new articles on the Salvation Army, Uganda, the highest viaducts in the world, influenza, and other topics, contain the most recent facts, and are admirable specimens of the mass of condensed information gathered together in this stout volume. The list of new biographies shows how carefully the editor selects his material. *Hazell's Annual* ought to take its place beside *Whittaker's Almanack* on every bookshelf. In its own line it is certainly unsurpassed. The articles on the literature of the year and the obituaries are of exceptional value.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (December 15).—M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu who wrote three papers in February, May, and July 1891, on "The Jews and Antisemitism," returns to the subject with a study of "Jewish Genius and Intellect." The matter has often amused him as a cosmopolitan *dilettante*, interested in all the arts, and accustomed to range freely over the five or six great literatures. He has been specially interested in comparative national psychology which forms for him the chief attraction of the politics of other countries and the history of art. He seeks to give the result of his studies as to Jewish artists and historians, leaving politics, social economy, and the monetary question for a later essay. The Jews of Bible times were the prophetic people. It is, however, a striking fact that the race which but yesterday was emancipated from the Ghetto should actually rival Frenchmen in the most modern arts and sciences. The writer explains the striking fact that Judaism has produced more men of talent than the Aryans in proportion to its numbers by the historic education of the nation, the antiquity of its culture, the hereditary selection of two thousand years of suffering and labour. Disraeli, Gambetta, and Lassalle, a striking trio of Jewish celebrities, furnish M. Leroy-Beaulieu an interesting study. He deals also with the Jewish talent for music. Nothing like a distinctive national genius can be traced here. Their great musicians have shown in this respect no creative faculty. Mendelssohn is German in the inspiration as well as in the form of his art. Halévy and Hérold are amongst the most French of French composers. The article opens a new and interesting line of research. It is denied, however, that Gambetta was of Semitic blood.

(January 1).—M. Gaston Deschamps' article on "The Isle of Chios," begun in the last number, is here continued. His first paper described his arrival, and gave many sketches of the functionaries and the society of the capital. Now he deals with "the past and the present." The Greeks of Chios have organised a little museum of antiquities near to their public schools and a fine library, which has inherited almost all the books and manuscripts of the learned Adamantios Koraïs, doctor of the faculty of Montpelier, an illustrious philologist and teacher of whom the people of Chios are very proud. Here M. Deschamps passed long hours studying the old chroniclers and brooding over the past history of the island. After a rapid *résumé* of this confused and bitter past we turn to the present. He describes his visit to the Genoese citadel, the Castro. It is stoutly built, and has stood firm amid numerous earthquakes which have devastated the island. The Turks wished to instal themselves there, and did remain for some time, but the earthquakes threw down their houses, mosques, baths, and they were compelled to seek safer quarters. The Chiotes take as much space as possible for their gardens and courts. There are many villas embowered in the Campos, some of which are inhabited all the year, whilst others form the dwellings of rich merchants of Alexandra, Odessa, and Smyrna. All are well kept. The want of rain sometimes causes great trouble; but the owners have done their best to provide against this by forming vast cisterns to catch the rain-water, or water from springs and streams. Travelling in the wilder parts of the country, M. Deschamps met quaintly-dressed peasants with mules laden with straw and hay; stout girls passed seated on donkeys among their paniers and crockery. Sometimes a strong fellow was seen leading a pretty mule, which bore a rich lady going to visit her estates, a mass of various coloured draperies protected by a large umbrella.

(January 15).—M. C. de Varigny writes about "The Woman of the United States." He points out that like all races essentially progressive, the

Americans have great powers of adaptation. They have shaken off our British stiffness and prejudices. But the American women are still more cosmopolitan than the men. Europe charms them, attracts and holds them by its intellectual and artistic culture; by its historic souvenirs, as well as by its comparative cheapness and its inexpensive pleasures. Only one who has lived in America, where living is costly and labour incessant, can appreciate to the full the artistic pleasures of Europe, the museums and picture-galleries, the historic monuments, and great cities where every stone has its history. Having given the point of departure of the woman of the States, her equality with man, then allowing for her intellectual and social preponderance, the charms of her sex refined and developed by natural selection, by the union between young girls free in their choice and a race of colonists energetic, vigorous, profoundly imbued with religious convictions, and respectful of the conjugal bond, it is easy to understand that the woman ought to be the definitive expression, the superior type of the race, and its environment. That is what the American lady is to-day, and it is with legitimate pride that the American shows her to Europe as the finest product of his two centuries of civilisation.

(February 1).—M. Leroy-Beaulieu gives us another article on "Jewish Particularism and Cosmopolitanism." "How is it," he asks, "that the Jews, who can appropriate the civilisation of every land so easily and completely, remain a people within a people, an international confraternity scattered among the nations? Whence that persistent particularism joined to that egoistic cosmopolitanism which permits him to transport himself from country to country without ever mixing entirely with those among whom he may dwell? The reasons are neither physiological nor ethnographical; they are entirely historical. For a long time the Jew was nowhere allowed to root himself. Banished with such precautions from their Christian neighbours, the Jews have lived apart, and two or three generations of freedom have not entirely changed the habit. Whenever he attempted to pass outside his Jewry and shake off his particularism he was driven back again, as is the case in Russia to-day. Difference of religion and mutual intolerance suffice to turn men of the same blood into hostile tribes almost strangers to each other. So far from the Jew having remained untouched by the nations that surrounded him, all his history proves the contrary." It is with man as in the old fable of the cloak. The bitter blast of persecution compels him to remain enveloped in his particularism; the warm breath of liberty leads him to cast it aside. Jewish particularism has been preserved most strictly in the East and in Eastern Europe. Some interesting details are given as to dress and language which illustrate the main contention of the article. The desire of the Jews to assimilate themselves to those among whom they live is shown in their readiness to adopt national names or alter their own. Simon is turned into Symonyi in Hungary; into Simionescie in Roumania. The paper will certainly tend to promote a better understanding between the Jew and the nations among whom he settles. M. Leroy-Beaulieu absolutely refuses to believe that the difference of blood has set an eternal enmity between the posterity of Japheth and the sons of Shem.

(February 15).—M. de Vogüe gives a valuable sketch of "The Exploration of the Commandant Monteil," who started from St. Louis on the Senegal in October 1890, with a single white companion and twelve natives of Senegal, and journeyed round by Lake Tchad and up to Tunis through the warlike tribes of Haoussa and the Great Sahara invested by freebooters. Monteil was lost to view, and it was feared that his little expedition had reached a tragic end, when news came on May 23 last year that he was safe at Kano. He had been assailed by all kinds of misery in the bends of the Niger, but had at last struggled through his difficulties. The mosquitoes were so fierce that sometimes Monteil passed whole nights without closing his eyes. He had many remarkable experiences with the native tribes and chieftains, which are given in this valuable narrative of French exploration. M. Blanc's paper on "Samarcand" gives a striking account of that strange eastern city which

fills all who first gaze upon it with surprise and wonder. He deals with the Reghistan, which occupies a hill in the centre of the place, surrounded by three *médressé*, or religious monuments, which serve as schools and places of prayer. There is also an account of the tomb of Tamerlane and other noted sights of Samarcand.

(March 1).—M. Valbert writes upon "The Algerian Question and the Report of M. Jules Ferry." He says that Algeria has become a French possession for more than sixty years; but people are still discussing the question as to the best method of governing it. The first plan tried was to send a Governor invested with vice-regal powers, both civil and military. As the colonists increased in numbers and wealth, they obliged France to consider their wishes more carefully. The Governor-General's power was lessened, and the people were allowed to draw the cords between themselves and France more closely. They regard Algeria as a prolongation of French territory. It is not self-government, but assimilation, which Algeria sought towards the end of the Empire. A senatorial commission has recently visited the country to deal with some reforms in the Government, and M. Ferry has written their report. The colonists suffer from the tendency to sacrifice the general good to the interest of individuals. Certain politicians think that the colonies exist to furnish places for those who cannot find them at home; but really the colonies are made for the colonists. There are now six to seven hundred thousand shepherds in the forests of Algeria. M. Ferry shows in his report that the country is a world apart, and that it ought to be ruled by a Governor-General with ample powers, having great powers and a great opportunity.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (January).—M. Godet's article on "Louis Bonnet and his Work" is the most interesting feature of this number. The old veteran, who had rendered so great service to French Protestantism, died last March at the age of eighty-seven. The paper is based on his own recollections dictated in extreme old age. They only come down to the year 1846, but the later part of his life can be told by his friends. Bonnet was the son of a small farmer on the edge of Lake Leman. He studied at Lausanne for the ministry, and in the spring of 1825 became a private tutor at Bâle. Then he entered the University there, and in 1829 became chaplain in a Swiss regiment in France. The revolution of the following year brought to an end the employment of Swiss regiments in France, and Bonnet came over to London as co-pastor of the Huguenot Church in the City. Two years later he married a young Swiss lady from Neuchatel. His fifteen years in London were full of happy pastoral labour, and here he wrote his *Family of Bethany*, which attained great popularity. The first part of the sketch closes with Bonnet's removal to Frankfort-on-Main as pastor of the French church there.

(February).—The article on "The Preaching of Eugene Bersier" will be read with pleasure by all admirers of that great preacher. There is also a paper on "Arany," the national poet of Hungary, which gives a good account of the man and his work. The review of "Maury's History of the Revival in the Reformed Church in Geneva and France" (1810–1850) is, however, the most important article. That happy event in the history of French Protestantism had never found a chronicler till M. Maury appeared. His two volumes are the outcome of his professional lectures at Montauban. The beginning of the century was a time of great decadence in the Reformed Church as its lifeless and unevangelical preaching bears witness. The Revival was in its initial stage due to the Moravians. "The Church of the Brethren," says M. Maury, "has been our spiritual cradle." Some interesting particulars are given in the article. Robert Haldane and other Evangelists from Scotland and England carried forward the good work thus begun.

(March).—The second part of the biographical sketch of Bonnet describes his pastorate at Frankfort. The Church of which he had charge had been founded in 1554 by the Walloon refugees chased from England by Mary Tudor. Frankfort was then the seat of the Germanic Diet, so that Bonnet was brought into close relationship with many men of note. His preaching

became a great power, and during his forty-six years' pastorate he took a large part in all that concerned the best interests of the town and district. In 1836 he founded the Evangelical Society, of which he became President. Some account is given of his writings and of his family life. On his death-bed he said to a friend: "When I am alone with God at night his presence is as sensible to me as though I really saw him."

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (December 15).—Signor Bonghi's study of "The English Laws Against Electoral Corruption" deals with our Corrupt Practices Prevention Act, the Ballot Act, the Municipal Corporations Act, and similar measures. He appends two tables, which furnish a complete list of all those corrupt and illegal practices which invalidate an election, and the penalties which attach to each offence. These are explained with considerable detail in the text of the article, and a clear account is given of the tribunals which deal with such cases. He shows that the elections are the fountain of power in a free country. If pure, the benefit is great; if they are allowed to become corrupt, no one knows what evil may follow. It may not be easy to keep them pure, but it ought to be a cardinal duty of a free government to accomplish this. The writer urges that the laws which affect elections ought to be revised in Italy, and made as exact and complete as English legislation. Above all, a tribunal ought to be formed independent of Parliament that would decide as to the validity of elections as of any offence against the rights of any individual or against the public weal.

(January 1).—"An ex-Minister" writes a valuable paper on "Europe in 1892." He says the year has been uneventful. Not a single event that has happened will claim any distinguished notice in history. None of the States of Europe have undergone any substantial change in their own Constitution or in their relations to neighbouring States. No monarch or head of any State has been constrained to stain his sword for the defence of his own rights or those of his people. Two feelings have been predominant in the minds of all the rulers of European nations—an intense love of peace and a boundless fear of war. This has led all to increase their armies and navies either openly or in secret, and has prompted princes, chancellors, and ministers to work together for the preservation of peace. The Triple Alliance, considered to be an insuperable barrier against the hostile intentions of any nation, was renewed last spring.

(January 15).—Alessandra Chiappelli deals with "A New Page of the History of the Ancient Church According to a Recent Discovery." He says that two new documents have recently enriched the ancient ecclesiastical literature, which on different accounts attract not only the attention of learned men, but excite the interest of the cultivated public. One is the ancient Apology of the Christian Aristides the Athenian; the other is the Commentary on Daniel by Hippolytus, recently discovered in Greece, and as yet only published in part. Composed the one a century later than the other, they prove what rapid strides the Christian Society had made during that interval. With Aristides we are yet in the serene and classic land to which Paul had borne the seeds of the Gospel, where Dionysius the Areopagite had suffered martyrdom. Persecution had not yet become serious, and the philosopher hopes to lead the Emperor to respect the new faith and keep the peace by calm and persuasive words. With Hippolytus we are in the midst of Rome under the terror of the persecution of Severus. Some extracts are given from Hippolytus' work, with a full account of the writer and the work itself.

(February 1).—Raffaele de Cesare's account of "The New Cardinals" holds the place of honour in this number. There has not been a consistory in this second half of the nineteenth century so rich in cardinals, for, including two reserved cases, there were sixteen creations. The last consistory has re-established the proportion between foreign and Italian cardinals, which Leo XIII. transgressed for a moment not without fear and opposition from his court and the old prelacy. If Lucien Bonaparte, born in Rome, is counted as an Italian, and Thomas Zigliara, born in Corsica, as French, there are now thirty-five Italians, and twenty-eight foreigners in the Sacred College. Six are French, four

Spaniards, three belong to Austria-Hungary, two to Portugal, two to Poland, two to Ireland, two to North America, one to Belgium, and one to England. All the new cardinals being bishops or archbishops belonged to the priesthood. The cardinal priests are fifty-one and the deacons six. Mertel, the oldest cardinal, is eighty-seven; four others are well beyond eighty; twenty are between seventy and eighty; and seventeen between sixty and seventy. Logue and Malagola, the youngest cardinals, were born in 1840. The influx of so many new men does not seem likely to affect the policy of the Sacred College. The ten who are resident bishops will govern their own dioceses with the same zeal as heretofore and with greater prestige. The foreign cardinals do not, of course, remain in Rome. The Archbishops of Tours and Rouen are regarded as friends of the French Republic, and their names were suggested for the cardinalship by President Carnot. A considerable extract is given from Archbishop Vaughan's sermon in defence of the temporal power of the Pope which greatly offended Signor de Cesare as an attack on the peace of the new Italy by an Englishman. The article will be read with interest by all who wish to know something about the new cardinals.

(February 15).—Pietro Bertolini discusses "The Reforms in the Administration of Public Works," which the Italian Government proposes to undertake. Genala, the minister in charge of this department, said some time ago at Cremona that the principle which the Government ought to follow was that of decentralisation; but decentralisation in all its breadth not in any narrow meaning. He holds that special powers ought to be given to separate States and other public bodies, so that they might carry out public works. The whole subject is carefully discussed in this sensible article.

(March 1).—Signor Giacosa, of whose visit to America we gave some particulars in a former number, writes upon "Chicago and its Italian Colony." On his arrival he found the Italians of the city much disturbed by a bitter attack made on their consul, Count Manassero di Costigliole. There seemed no calumny which one of the weekly journals was not prepared to pour on the count's devoted head. Giacosa was greatly impressed with Chicago. New York is not, on the whole, very different from the great European capitals, but at Chicago one sees American life pure and simple. The principal characteristic of the exterior life of the place is its violence. Everything is pushed to extremes. The vastness of things, the movement, the cries, the noises, the display of the shops, the public exhibitions, the ostentation, the misery, the stir, the drunkenness. The daily movement in the principal streets is calculated at two million passengers. The Italian colony is small, and consists mainly of workmen who have a high character. There are, however, a good many Italians engaged in the fruit trade. Raffaele de Cesare has a sympathetic article on "The Episcopal Jubilee of Leo XIII." The pilgrimages, which have brought profit to all, have been a popular feature of the celebration. No civil function, save perhaps the funeral of Victor Emmanuel, has ever drawn so many people to Rome. If the Pope could bring about better relations with the civil power, the greatest work of his long life would have been accomplished.

METHODIST REVIEW (January-February).—Bishop Goodsell, of California, has a thoughtful paper, entitled "Whither? A Study of Tendency." He expresses his belief that "all the denominations, imported or original, on American soil are surely undergoing transformation and assimilation, and that those which are incapable of either have no long or valuable life." The influence of America's free institutions encourages the intercourse of people of different denominations. At the opening of the Columbian Exposition a Cardinal and Roman Archbishop spoke whilst a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church offered the prayer. The old Calvinism is defended nowadays "nowhere, except in the South, where provincial immobility has affected theological thought." The bigotry of New England to-day is not that of persecution, but of indifference. The Bishop has been greatly surprised by the fact that Congregationalist ministers seem to be mostly uninformed as to the controversies of Wesley, Toplady, and Fletcher. "Our Congregational

brethren seem not to know that Methodism avoids the necessity of a second probation and a new theodicy by teaching that it is impossible for God to permit a man to suffer hereafter from an inadequate or unjust probation." Dr. Goodsell says that there is less visible sign of coming unity with other Christians among the Baptists than any other church in America. They are mostly "Strict Baptists," and "lead a life of isolation only surpassed among Protestants by the Protestant Episcopal Church." Yet even here there are signs that "the solvent of denominational fixedness is already at work."

SYDNEY QUARTERLY (September).—This number arrived too late for notice in January. It contains a good sketch of Dr. Martineau and a sympathetic notice of Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, who discovered a process for eliminating phosphorus in the manufacture of steel. It is written by one who knew Thomas well. The paper on "The First Visit Gold Mine," headed "Fantastic and Otherwise," is a very exciting record of the way in which "Dr. Boem, of Sydney," who had vowed never to speculate again, is drawn into the vortex by the hope of fabulous wealth, and is ruined by a disgraceful set of swindlers.

THE CENTURY (January, February, March).—Salvini's autobiography in March gives a striking description of Rachel, whom he saw at the Teatro Metastasio in Rome. He says: "Expression, attitude, the mobile restraint of her features, grace, dignity, affection, passion, majesty—all in her was nature itself. Her eyes, like two black carbuncles, and her magnificent raven hair, added splendour to a face full of life and feeling. When she was silent she seemed almost more eloquent than when she spoke. Her voice, at once sympathetic, harmonious, and full of variety, expressed the various passions with correct intonation and exemplary measure. Her motions were always statuesque, and never seemed studied. If Rachel had been able to free herself in her delivery from the cadence traditional in the Conservatoire, where she had studied—a cadence which, it is true, cropped out but rarely—she would, in my belief, have been perfect. She was the very incarnation of Tragedy."—Captain Ussher's account of "Napoleon's Deportation to Elba," published from an old manuscript, will be read with special interest. The great general made free comments on his friends and foes. He once said of Blücher: "The old devil has always attacked me with the same vigour; if he was beaten, an instant afterward he was ready again for the combat." Ney, he said, was a man who lived on fire, and would go into the cannon's mouth if his master so ordered; Junot had stood by his side whilst Napoleon was writing a despatch on a drumhead during one engagement. A shot passed, tearing up the earth about them; but Junot simply remarked that it was very apropos, as he needed sand to dry his ink. Henry B. Fuller's "Westminster Abbey" is profusely illustrated. Dealing with Archdeacon Farrar's suggestions as to an American "Westminster Abbey," he says: "Our English well-wisher, in his suggestions for a National American pantheon, provides for our early explorers and colonisers, our poets and theologians and historians; but he does not lay equal stress upon our 'statesmen,' as we are fond of calling them. Now, when we consider that the one character to evoke the vivid, spontaneous, unbounded enthusiasm and sympathy of the American people is the political orator, that this same people is in the habit of prompt and definite action in a matter which really moves and concerns it, and that in no other land is ante-mortem abuse more subject to the corrective of post-mortem praise; we may imagine the make-up and aspect of our pantheon after a hot political campaign that happened to be followed by a season of severe mortality. It might, at first, give us considerable complacency; shortly it would displease us, presently it would disgust us; and in the future we should be well enough satisfied to bury our illustrious dead near their own families and amidst the scenes with which they were associated during life."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (January, February, March).—Mr. Nelson deals with Official Circles in his first paper on "Washington Society" in *Harper* for March. He says the Society of that capital is a moving and breathing

picture of the life of the country. It is essentially republican. The men and women who compose it come from all parts of the land. "They have self-respect and kind considerateness for others, and they recognise the proprieties of speech and manners. They feel their own powers, and have realised their value. They are clean-minded, and they have won their leadership by their own efforts." Theodore Child's vivid paper on "The Escurial" makes one understand how hard it will be to fill the place of such a writer on the staff of *Harper*. "Our Own Riviera," by Julian Ralph, is an entertaining study of Florida in winter. "Jacksonville is the busiest centre and the starting-place for most tours. The true Southern negro abounds in the city, and is a never-ceasing source of amusement and interest. The hackmen driving slowly up and down before the hotels calling out to the boarders: "I'd just as lieve drive you as Vanderbilt," or "Lend me a dime, an' I'll pay you back or sing you a song. I know lots of songs, and when I open my mouth you'll think I either got music or delirium tremens." Many little incidents are told which throw light on the life of such a resort. One lady took a room solely for her trunks at ten dollars a day, whilst an economical young woman told Mr. Ralph that she was filling her mother's closets and her own with dresses, while her mother put her things on the chairs. "Mamma has had her day, you know," said the maiden, "and she doesn't care."

ST. NICHOLAS (January, February, March).—"Battling Under Water" in *St. Nicholas* for February gives a full account of the torpedo and all the latest inventions, whilst "Railway Speed at Sea" brings out many significant facts. The heat in the boiler-room of the fast United States' ship *Concord* was one hundred and sixty-five degrees. The men fainted in front of the furnaces, and fifteen minutes was the longest time they could endure the heat. Commodore Melville, of the United States Navy, has designed a ship with smoke-stacks a hundred feet high, which have the same effect as a tall factory chimney. "The firemen do not find this natural draft so oppressive, and these smoke-stacks give a steam power that sends the great ship, with spinning screws, at the rate of twenty-six miles an hour. And, even at this railway speed, she will use so little coal that she can run 24,000 miles, or almost all round the world, without renewing her supply." The pictures of Columbus' three caravels are a feature of the March number, and there is an entertaining paper, entitled "A Tournament of Roses," which describes a gay festival kept at Pasadend in Southern California. The best paper is on Philadelphia. That "City of Homes" was founded fifty-eight years after New York, fifty after Boston. Penn sat in London over maps and plans, and laid out his new city on paper just as "boom" towns are laid out to-day in the West and South. In its first forty years Philadelphia grew faster than any other American city in its first hundred. In twenty years 2500 houses were erected. The ground-rent paid for houses in the city is fixed by the first sale, and cannot be changed. If the ground and house increase in value the ground landlord gains no advantage by this; it is all appropriated by the owner of the house.