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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—PUSEYISM AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey. By H. P. Liddon, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1894.

WHATEVER expectations may have been formed as to the contents of the third volume of Dr. Pusey's Life, we venture to say that, in one respect at any rate, they have not equalled the reality which is presented in the volume now in our hands. Such highly-coloured and self-loathing pictures of penitential experience, such confessions of inward sin and guiltiness, are not to be found, so far as we know, in any modern biography, scarcely even in the confessions of such penitents as Bunyan, John Nelson, or Newton of Olney. They are profoundly pathetic, but it almost makes one shudder to read them. They are the confessions, to make the case more extraordinary, not of an unconverted and unchurchly man, but of the Canon of Christ Church, the great University preacher, the guide of forlorn and penitent souls. Besides these startling revelations there will be found very much else to surprise the student of human nature, and of the history of the Church of England. Not only is the character of

Pusey seen as under the limelight, but the meaning of Puseyism is revealed, not indeed completely and in all lights, as we shall have to show, but yet with an insight and an authentic and confidential fulness of disclosure not elsewhere to be found in any single work. By the publication of these volumes, taken in connection with certain other authorities, which we shall cite, the means are for the first time available for forming something like a complete judgment on the merits of Pusey as a party organiser and leader. It is a satisfaction to know that Dr. Liddon, by his statement of the case, and the history belonging to it, has done all for his revered leader, for his party, that any man could do; his information, his ability, and his discretion as a disciple and apologist being all that the friends of Pusey could desire. If with these volumes in our hands, the verdict of public opinion should be adverse to the principles and policy which Pusey spent his life in teaching and promoting, that opinion, it may be believed, is little likely to be reversed. And the fourth volume, whenever it may appear, can scarcely be expected to modify, much less to reverse, the judgment which the first three have helped to mature and fix.

In the article on the first two volumes, which we published twelve months ago, after tracing Pusey's history and the development of his character up to the period of his settled conversion from liberalism in Church and State to Tractarianism, we dealt with his tract, afterwards expanded to a treatise, on *Baptism*, but yet never completed, with his great sermon on the same subject, which led to his suspension by the Vice-Chancellor for two years as a preacher, and, anticipating at this point the contents of the present volume, we showed how that tract and that sermon were followed up by the sermon on the "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," preached in the University pulpit in 1845. The tract and the sermons enabled us to draw out distinctly and pretty fully the principles of Pusey's whole scheme of sacramental doctrine, and especially what he taught as to the relations of private confession to "absolution" and the "Holy Eucharist." We were able also to supply evidence from a letter of Pusey's to Mr. Hope-Scott, published in the memoirs of that gentleman,

himself a convert, largely through Pusey's influence, to Romanism, to what terrible lengths Pusey was prepared to carry penitential discipline even in the case of women. We prepared our readers to expect in the sequel of the biography fuller developments of Pusey's teaching, both as to the Confessional and as to other points of Romanising discipline, and troubles and controversies between himself and his episcopal superiors. The present volume more than fulfils our expectations in this respect. It will be our duty, however, in this article, even more than in the preceding, to supplement from other sources the information given by the biographer, so as more completely to represent both the character and methods of Pusey, and the full truth as to the character and influence of Puseyism.

Before we lead the way to the record of penitential history and discipline, which is the great feature in the earlier portion of the volume, it will be necessary to set down in order a few points in Pusey's history which it will be needful to bear in mind in following, however freely, the lines of the present volume, which includes the middle period of Pusey's life, between 1845 and 1860, leaving still incomplete the history of the practical and final development of his teaching, and of his personal influence among the clergy and laity of his Church. The fifteen years with which we have to deal may be described generally as a period of severe conflict, in which Dr. Pusey had more personal difficulties to contend with than at any other period of his history. We have referred to his suspension in 1843–5 from his position as preacher in turn before the University. During those two years the crisis of Newman's career took place. The secession of Newman from the Church was a terrible blow for Pusey. Whilst he was still staggering under the effects of that blow, the lamentable consequences of his undertaking at Leeds, as the founder of St. Saviour's Church, began to unfold themselves, one after another of the St. Saviour's clergy going over to Rome, while the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was roused to indignation against Pusey and his helpers and agents. Almost coincident with Newman's departure from Oxford was the introduction upon the scene,

as Pusey's episcopal "father in Christ," of Dr. Wilberforce, who in 1845 was appointed by Sir Robert Peel to the See of Oxford, from which Dr. Bagot was most thankful to be translated to that of Bath and Wells. Bishop Wilberforce's relations with Pusey from the first were those of a watchful guardian of old English orthodoxy and Church Order, who was filled with suspicions of Pusey's teaching and influence, and very soon Pusey found himself privately inhibited from preaching within the See of Oxford. This inhibition, which lasted for two years, and was only removed finally in consideration of certain explanations and pledges which the Bishop had received from Pusey, was the immediate consequence of the delivery by Pusey, before the University, of the sermon on the "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," which we analysed in our former article, and which was the first sermon delivered by him after his suspension, and was regarded by Pusey as the "fit and natural conclusion" of the sermon which had been condemned by the Vice-Chancellor and the Six Doctors. It was the reverse of a recantation of that sermon. Great domestic and personal sorrow and suffering came upon Pusey about the same time. His eldest daughter's death in 1845 was a bereavement second only to the loss of his wife. He himself was prostrated by serious illness, and had to retire for many weeks to Tenby in order to his restoration.

These points being borne in mind, our readers will be able to follow us in the remarks which we are about to offer on the most salient points in the volume. We shall, as we have intimated, make it our business here and there to supplement the information afforded by Dr. Liddon, who has by no means furnished all the facts and evidence which are necessary in order to a complete and true judgment of the character and influence of the "Master in Israel" at whose feet he himself had sat as a student, and whom he regarded with so deep an affection.

The present volume of the biography enables us to see what effects the principles which Pusey taught in his sermon on "The Entire Absolution of the Penitent" produced upon his own mind and life. It shows the results of his teaching in his own case. He regarded himself as a penitent who had

greatly sinned after baptism, and who could only obtain peace through confession and absolution. His wife's death he regarded as a direct punishment for his sins, and his suspension as a preacher as a providential chastisement for his "secret faults." The death of his daughter also was a punishment for his sins. His illness was another stroke of punishment from the hand of God. He therefore urgently desired to make his private confession to Mr. Keble in the church at Hursley, that through his ministry he might receive admonition, strengthening, and comfort. He had begun to press for this as early as 1844.

"My dear wife's illness," he writes to Keble, "first brought to me what has since been deepened by the review of my past life, how, amid special mercies and guardianship of God, I am scarred all over and seamed with sin, so that I am a monster to myself; I loathe myself; I can feel of myself only like one covered with leprosy from head to foot; guarded as I have been, there is no one with whom I do not compare myself, and find myself worse than they; and yet, thus wounded and full of sores, I am so shocked at myself, that I dare not lay my wounds bare to any one: since I have seen the benefit of confession to others, I have looked round whether I could unburthen myself to any one, but there is a reason against every one. I dare not so shock people: and so I go on, having no such comfort as in good Bishop Andrewes' words, to confess myself 'an unclean worm, a dead dog, a putrid corpse,' and pray Him to heal my leprosy as He did on earth, and to raise me from the dead: to give me sight, and to forgive me the 10,000 talents; and I must guide myself as best I can, because, as things are, I dare not seek it elsewhere.

"You will almost be surprised that, being such, I should attempt, as I do, to guide any. I cannot help it. Those whom I in any way guide were brought to me, and by experience or reading, or watching God's guidance of them, I do what I can, and God who loves them has blessed them through me, though unworthy. But I am trying to learn to wish to influence nothing on any great scale; to prefer, I mean, every one's judgment to my own, and only to act for myself as I best may, and for any souls whom He employs me any way to minister to. When I can, it is a comfort to use words classing myself with other sinners: it is a sort of disowning of what people make of me. I hope all this will not shock you too much, or do you harm; the real testimony to the life of the Church is not in such as me, but in simple people, such as my own dear child. He is working marvels among such; it quite amazes me to see His work with individual souls. So then pray be not dismayed at what I write. I have not said so much to any one for fear of dismaying them. It seemed as if I had no right. But there is abundant, super-abundant, proof of

God's great grace with people's souls in our Church, though I am a poor miserable leper. . . . ."

Keble did not respond to his friend's wish. The sermon, however, which Pusey preached in 1845 at Christ Church on the subject of Confession and Absolution, and to which we have already referred—a sermon in which parts of the pointed and solemn application had in his own mind a direct and special reference to his own case and his own need, as a sinner and a penitent, of confession and absolution—his distress arising from Newman's secession, his own long illness, and his seclusion during his convalescence at Tenby—combined to bring Pusey to a final decision on the subject of personal confession, which Keble found himself unable any longer to resist, much as he shrunk from compliance. Pusey demanded that Keble should put him to severe discipline and self-mortification as a preparation for confession. To this Keble replied: "Mere suffering is the first and simplest thought; but then there are duties to be done. And have we a right to disqualify ourselves for them? Is it not best to leave it to the Almighty to do so, if he see fit, by sickness?" No such considerations, however, availed to satisfy or restrain Pusey.

"I am," he wrote, "a great coward about inflicting pain on myself, partly, I hope, from a derangement of my nervous system; haircloth I know not how to make pain: it is only symbolical, except when worn to an extent which seemed to wear me out. I have it on again, by God's mercy. I would try to get some sharper sort. Lying hard I like best, unless it is such as to take away sleep, and that seems to unfit me for duties. Real fasting—*i.e.*, going without food—was very little discomfort, except in the head, when the hour of the meal was over, and Dr. W[ooten] said and says, 'It was shortening my life.' Praying with my arms in the form of a cross seemed to distract me, and act upon my head, from this same miserable nervousness. I think I should like to be bid to use the discipline. I cannot even smite on my breast much because the pressure on my lungs seemed bad. In short, you see I am a mass of infirmities. But I might be able to do something, in faith, if I was bid to do it."

Having in the meantime composed and delivered a sermon in reply to Dr. Jeune, who, in the University pulpit, had attacked Pusey for his sermon on Absolution, Pusey, on December 1, 1846, went to Hursley and made his confession, sending, before he left, a thank-offering in money for Hursley

church, "from one who feels himself unworthy to offer it himself." A day or two afterwards he wrote the following letter to his father confessor:

"My dearest Father,—I dare not write much, yet thus much I may say, in comfort for all the sorrow I gave you last week, that I cannot doubt but that through your ministry and the power of the keys, I have received the grace of God, as I know not that I ever did before. I can no more doubt of His mercy vouchsafed to me thus far, than of my own past misery. All indeed is very bad. . . . . However, things seem with me other than they ever were before; at least, I seem to hate myself more thoroughly, and, bad as my prayers are, still to have a love and hope I never knew before. So although, through my wretchedness, you have seen that what is seeming may be hollow, yet through God's unbounded mercy you will have seen anew that His grace is vouchsafed through His ordinances to penitents, however fallen. You will pray that it be not in vain. You will know, in some little measure, what a hard task is before me. To think of myself as last in God's sight (had He made me such) would be nothing; but to feel that I have had gifts of nature and drawings above others, and to feel that this wreck is my own making, it is very bitter. . . . . May it only be healing. And then I found my late sermon printed. Alas! what a key you have to it. I hardly know how I could have got through it now. Oh, that that miserable thing should be I! Yet I trust, by His mercy, it is no more I. It ought to have cut one's heart open to read it. However, do not think (I pray) that I need comfort. It seems to me the most blessed sorrow (when occupation does not take it away) I ever felt. God would not deal thus with me, if He had not pardoned me."

It need hardly be said that "the miserable, miserable thing" referred to as being himself, is the unconfessed, unabsolved sinner described in the University sermon.

Pusey had brought with him a rule of discipline for Keble to sanction. It is portentously voluminous and detailed—it might be the rule of a Middle Age ascetic; it reminds one of the discipline of Oriental ascetics who have never known anything of Divine grace, or Christ's mercy, or the liberty of the children of God. Among an infinite number of details, he resolved "to wear haircloth always by day unless ill; to use a hard seat by day and a hard bed by night; not to wear gloves or protect his hands; to eat his food slowly and penitentially, 'making a secret confession of unworthiness to use God's creatures before every meal'"—how unlike the Apostle's exhortation, to "eat our food with gladness and singleness of

heart!" One of his rules was "never, if I can, to look at the beauty of Nature without inward confession of unworthiness;" another, "to make mental acts, from time to time, of being inferior to every one I see;" another, "to drink cold water at dinner, as only fit to be where there is not a drop to 'cool this flame';" still another, "to make the fire to me from time to time the type of hell." These are a few selected out of scores of rules. Some, of course, are good rules for useful and lowly living; but most are conceived in a spirit of mechanical self-humiliation, which it is most painful to realise, and which ought to open the eyes of all except those who are completely disciplined and dehumanised ascetic bond-slaves to the terrible degradation of Christian teaching and principle involved in the doctrines and discipline of "Puseyism."

It would seem that, however reluctantly, Keble let all these rules pass with a general *caveat* and remonstrance. There were some other proposed rules, however, which he absolutely refused to sanction:

"Pusey was very anxious to use 'the discipline' every night with Psalm li. Keble did not advise it. Pusey entreated. 'I still scruple,' wrote Keble, 'about the discipline. I could but allow, not enjoin it, to any one.' Another rule which Pusey begged to have set him was, 'Not to smile, if I can help it, except with children, or when it seems a matter of love (like one who has just escaped the fire).' But Keble hesitated. 'I should not be honest,' he wrote, 'were I not to confess that I cannot yet reconcile myself to not smiling. Is it not a penalty on others more than on oneself?'"

That Dr. Pusey was sincere in what he said and did respecting this question of confession and priestly absolution is of course beyond dispute. Nor can we be insensible to the pathetic aspect of his penitential experience. In the "Confessions" which are here in part disclosed we have furnished to us some explanation of the morbid tone of his theology—one-sided as it was throughout; we hear the keynote of the minor strain of feeling which dominated all his life-service. But the issue we have to deal with is not at all affected by the question of personal sincerity and devoutness. Our question is as to the truth and wisdom of his work and counsels; the good or evil of his characteristic aims and influence; and whether he was fit and competent to fill the

part of a religious leader and guide. What we say is, that he was in many ways, and on the whole, very unfit. He lived in a private world of his own, which was visited mostly by morbid souls. Of the actual play of life, of the influences which mingle in life's battle, or life's school, and by which character is moulded or marred, he had no true, sober, or practical knowledge. If we could have produced here so much—and, long as it is, it is but a portion—of his voluminous letter to Keble in preparation for his Confession, as is printed in this volume, our readers would have before them a striking illustration of the infinite multiplicity of mere particulars, many of them quite insignificant, which, in his view, made up the total of conduct, the school of character, the picture of the soul's life and state. The moral principles, of which once and again we catch just a glimpse, are for the most part lost and submerged. Of the grand evangelical truths which make up the Gospel Revelation as taught by our Lord, as insisted upon and illustrated by the Apostles, there seems to be scarcely any recognition. We are in the school, at once Pharisaic and ascetic, of mechanical ordinances—"touch not, taste not, handle not"—we see a soul in bondage, and, it would seem, totally unconscious of the nature or conditions of true spiritual life and liberty. We are reminded of the petty fanaticism of a mediæval devotee, who had never seen the writings of St. Paul, and who had no knowledge, at first hand, of the Gospels. Instead of the pardon of sin to the believing penitent by the Saviour of sinners, we are told of the remission, by the authority of the priest who carries the "keys," of sins, confessed to him one by one. It is he who pronounces absolution after having summed up the items of the confession. The "Great Absolver" is out of sight; the eye of faith is not directed to the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world," nor to the one and only Mediator between God and man, Who breathes His peace into the soul of the believing penitent.

The Church of England allows confession to be made to the minister of Christ where, for the comfort and relief of the soul, the penitent sinner feels the need of such confession; but the mind of the Church of England, as expounded by its highest

authorities, and gathered from its broad and general teaching, is unquestionably opposed to the habitual practice of confession, and especially to any claim on the part of its ministers to require such confession, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence of Divine absolution. When this was urged upon Pusey, his stereotyped reply was that he did not enforce confession. To us this seems to have been a disingenuous subterfuge. He taught that in the case of wilful sin after baptism there was no means of peace, no provision for the sinner's pardon and absolution, except by the way of auricular confession to the "priest-physician," who is invested with authority to hear the confession, to judge as to the sincerity and sufficiency of the repentance, and to pronounce or withhold absolution. A number of priestly-minded clergymen received this doctrine with conviction and enthusiasm. It was whispered with awe and solemnity from lip to lip, it was embraced by women, it was taught to children, and, as the one message of hope to souls awakened to a sense of their sin and their peril of eternal damnation, it became in many quarters the High Church gospel of forgiveness. It had this advantage over the mere formalism of the dry High Church, that it recognised the fact of sin in the depths of human nature, of sin as a barrier between man and God, and the need in order to pardon of conviction and repentance. But, whatever Pusey might say, this doctrine did, in effect, enforce confession to the priest on all who received it. It did so by the most potent methods, under the most severe and stringent spiritual penalties. Whilst Pusey in his correspondence with Dr. Hook and his Bishop (Wilberforce) pleaded that he did not teach compulsory confession, that he left it free to all either to confess or to abstain from confessing, he was, in fact, using with all his authority and with terrible solemnity the motives which belong to the eternal world and the dread hereafter, in order to constrain all that came within the scope of his teaching, if they desired peace of conscience and any assurance of pardon, to seek this from the priest by way of confession. Any other kind of enforcement, any legal compulsion, was of course out of the question.

The difference between such a doctrine as this and that of

the Church of England, even as understood by such a High Churchman as Dr. Hook, is shown by a passage in a letter from Hook to Pusey, given in this volume as part of the correspondence relating to the case of St. Saviour's Church, Leeds. Keble, who had visited Leeds at Pusey's request in connection with that case, reports as follows to Pusey:

"I called on Hook, and asked him if he objected to the principle or to the way of carrying it out. He said, 'To the principle, for they [*i.e.*, Pusey and his followers] taught confession and absolution as a "Mean of Grace,"' whereas he considered that 'the Prayer-book allows it only as a "Mean of Comfort," and that only in "exceptional cases."' I asked him how he reconciled this with what he himself said to me about his opinion of the practice of 1844. He said 'he was of the same mind then as now, that the confession he approved and practised was no more than confession to a Christian friend (quoting St. James v. 16), and that more than that was more than the English Church allowed.'" *

Bishop Wilberforce, Pusey's diocesan, held consistently and often insisted on the same view.† Hook, in a letter to Bishop Longley, thus states his own feeling and experience on this point: "Often, very often, in my life, God knows, I have required and sought ghostly advice and counsel, but in my early years I sought and opened my grief to a friend who was, and is, a layman; and for the last two-and-twenty years I have obtained it from one who is bound to me by the closest ties which can bind together two human beings, and without whose tender care and affectionate support I should not have been able to endure the hard warfare I have had to sustain during the last fourteen years, &c." ‡

This doctrine of auricular confession and priestly absolution, with all that is involved in it, its whole depth and mystery, was taught by Pusey through books of Roman Catholic devotion and spiritual discipline, which, with more or less, sometimes with very little, omission or adaptation, he had printed and circulated for the use of the priests of his party, and the congregations under their charge..

We are not particularly concerned to defend the formularies

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* *Life*, vol. ii. p. 84; also *cf.* p. 39.
† See especially *Wilberforce's Life*, vol. iii. pp. 419-420, and vol. ii. pp. 76-79.
‡ *Hook's Life*, vol. ii. p. 347.

of the Church of England, in which are to be found some expressions which seem to favour in part the teaching of Pusey. There can also be no doubt that some of its divines and devotional writers have used expressions liable to be interpreted as favouring more or less the views of Dr. Pusey and the Anglican Confessionalists of to-day. But there was unquestionably a definite distinction between the principles which underlay Pusey's system of doctrine and those which since the Reformation have ruled in the Church of England, and which give character in general to her formularies. That difference Dr. Hook in one of his letters very clearly indicates. He speaks of himself as regarding the Bible and the patristic divines, taken together, as the authorities for the teaching of the Church of England. He intimates that Pusey had dropped the Bible from his basis, and had felt himself at liberty, at his own will, without the authoritative guard and correction, if need were, of the Bible, to adopt such opinions as he found and approved in such patristic divines as he made to be his authorities.

To us it seems abundantly clear that the teachings of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, and in particular of St. Paul, scarcely enter at all into the theology of Dr. Pusey, except so far as they may have been recognised, directly or indirectly—or, as not seldom is the case, utterly perverted—by the patristic authorities on which he relied.*

Dr. Pusey insisted on the benefit of confession to children, especially to young boys. This practice of juvenile confession has been characteristic of the whole Puseyite school. To our thinking there is no feature in the movement which Dr.

* Bishop Wilberforce printed in the Appendix to his Charge of 1851 passages from the religious books of devotion borrowed from the Church of Rome which Pusey had reprinted and circulated. He quotes a recent writer of the Romish Communion who, referring to "Dr. Pusey's doctrines," says: "For one whom our books of controversy have brought round, twenty at least have yielded to the power of our devotions." The Bishop further says: "Even if all direct statement of Roman error were excluded, yet they are alien to the established teaching of the Church of England;" and amongst other passages he gives the following as a sample of the sort of devotional book which Dr. Pusey introduced to the congregations of the English Church: "On the second day thou wilt offer homage to the heart of Jesus, lying as an infant in the stable, on the third to His mouth, on the fourth to His eyes, on the fifth to His hands, on the sixth to His feet, on the seventh to His flesh."

Pusey organised and led more painful or deplorable. In the *Life of Archbishop Tait* this subject is dealt with at length, as it formed one of the subjects with which the Archbishop was especially called upon to deal. We find him quoting confessional questions addressed to children of six years old, and he gives the following passage from one of several High Church Bishops who condemned the full-blown system of Confession which was the direct fruit of Pusey's teaching:

"Bishop Moberly of Salisbury, as one who had spent most of his life as headmaster of a great public school, expressed his firm conviction that the practice of habitual confession was 'mischievous in the highest degree.' 'I confess,' he added, 'that there is not one thing in all the world which is deeper in my heart and conscience than the corrupting influence of any such system as this getting into our schools. As to little children being taught to go to Confession in the manner described, it appears to me to be cruel in the last degree, and not only cruel, but utterly and entirely false.'" *

Pusey's heresy on the point of Confession and Absolution was the tap-root of all the mischievous and fatal influence which he has exercised as a leader in his Church, and we cannot refrain from quoting here the words of one who had no sympathy with the views of Low Church Evangelicals, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Speaking of the Church of Rome, he uses language which condemns the Puseyism of the Church of England. Having in the first volume of his *Biographia Literaria* set down certain views and considerations which seem to favour the Roman theology at some points, he proceeds as follows:

"As, at the risk of passing for a secret favourer of superannuated superstitions, I have spoken out my views on the Roman theology, so, at a far more serious risk of being denounced as an intolerant bigot, I will declare what, after a two years' residence in exclusively Popish countries, was the impression left on my mind as to the effect and influence of the Romish religion, as it actually and practically exists. Repeating the answer long since returned to a friend, when I contemplate the whole system as it affects the great fundamental principles of morality, the *terra firma* as it were of our humanity; then contrast its operation on the sources and conditions of national strength and well-being; and lastly, consider its woful influences on the innocence and sanctity of the female mind and imagination, on

* *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. ii. p. 179.

the faith and happiness, the gentle fragrance and unnoticed ever-present verdure of domestic life—I can with difficulty avoid applying to it the Rabbin's fable of the fratricide Cain after the curse, that the *firm earth trembled wherever he strode, and the grass turned black beneath his feet.*"

Such has been the effect of that which is the central curse of the Romish system, the practice of sacramental confession and priestly absolution. The same system cannot but directly tend to produce the like results even in England. The influence of the "priest," with his prerogative as confessor and absolver, upon the confidences and the family integrity of the home, is one part of the evil effect to which Coleridge refers, and scarcely less injurious perhaps than the depraving moral influence of the Confessional in its questions and private answers. The two evils are indissolubly linked together. All the elements of evil, though not as yet, it may be, fully developed, are present in germ in the organised system of Anglican Confession and family influence.

Let us add that, as introduced by Pusey, the system lacked certain provisions which are found in the Church of Rome, and which though themselves often connected with naturally allied evils, yet at least recognise dangers and difficulties which the system of Confession in the Anglican Church ignores, and against which Dr. Pusey would have been powerless to make any provision even if he had seemed to be conscious of the need of such provision. The Church of Rome does not entrust the power of the "keys," the sacramental secrets of the Confessional, the ministry of Absolution, to utterly unprepared and untrained striplings, fresh in many instances from all that belongs to the secularity and worldliness of University life and English society. Dr. Pusey's theory was that even a full-blooded and undisciplined University man, issuing from the midst of his comrades, had no sooner passed through the forms of ordination and under the hands of the Bishop, than he was definitely empowered and commissioned to receive secret confessions of sorrow, temptation, and sin; to make what inquiries might seem to him to be right; to administer consolation or rebuke according to his best judgment; to pronounce absolution from guilt, and admit into the favour of God and the fellowship of the Church, or to repel the

unsatisfactory penitent from the sacrament and the Church. The "priest," invested with such an office, ought to have a wisdom more than human, ought to have grace and godliness beyond question and well approved in the sight of the Most High, ought to be something between a man and an angel. Such, in truth, is the *theory* of the Roman Catholic Church. Their priests have been trained for their office and are supposed to share the "angelic life." Every priest, moreover, is not, as such, entitled to receive confessions. Confessors, as such, have a special training and a special licence. How lamentably the Roman Catholic theory breaks down, as practically known and tested, we do not need to say: Coleridge's words describe the result, and the letters of Erasmus, with very much literature besides, remain as evidence before the world. But, at least, that Church recognises the monstrous absurdity of investing young men, taken fresh without training from the mixed ranks of a seething and promiscuous life, with attributes for which no man can be equal, which in fact involve a usurpation of the prerogative of the one and only Priest and Saviour of human kind.

We have intimated that at the bottom even of Dr. Pusey's errors there was a truth—the deep truth of man's sinfulness and need for pardon. Let us add—for we desire to be in all things fair and just—that there is truth in what Dr. Pusey often says as to the benefit to be derived in certain cases, and especially in the case of the young, from penitent or grievously tempted souls "opening their griefs," their temptations, their besetting sins, their intellectual and moral perplexities, to a wise and good father in Christ, a good man of much experience and approved sympathy and wisdom. But the deadly poison of his teaching on this subject consists in this, that it is not simply a wise and good man, but it is the priest only—the "priest-physician" of souls—of whom he speaks, the ecclesiastical father-confessor—and that this physician and confessor is invested with the power both of searching the heart and of pronouncing or withholding absolution as from God. It is this which turns priestly claims into blasphemy, and depraves spiritual counsel and fellowship into terrible degradation, into demoralising slavery of soul and will.

The subject of sisterhoods naturally comes into view in connection with that of confession. We need not say that there was truth in Dr. Pusey's general feeling that, when the work of Christ needed to be carried on in society, and especially to be carried into certain classes of society, this could best be accomplished by means of the organised service of devoted women. He was not the first discoverer since the Reformation, and amongst Protestant nations, of this great need. German Protestants, as Pusey knew, had organised sisterhoods at an earlier period than Pusey's first movement in the same direction. Sisterhoods, indeed, have been more steadily and effectively organised in connection with the high Anglican party in the Church of England than with any other section of religious society in England. Too high praise can scarcely be given to the manner in which they have often done their work, especially in hospitals. They have set a high and noble example to the Christian women of all the Churches. And yet this movement has too often been spoiled, sadly marred, even seriously tainted, because of a principle, derived from his patristic authorities, which Pusey associated with it from the very first, as well as by the introduction into many of the Anglican sisterhoods of Pusey's confessional system. That principle was "the superior sanctity of unmarried life."

The doctrine we are now referring to, that of the superior sanctity of the unmarried life, is nothing less than a heresy against the primary and fundamental constitution of humanity, and has in it a taint of heathen gnosticism. It involves treason against the "honourable" and the divinely-appointed "estate of matrimony." It was a part of the doctrine of celibacy, as taught by mediæval monkery, and incorporated in the popular teaching, the hagiology, and the cherished institutions of the Romish Church. It is possible to conceive of cœnobite institutions, apart from any such doctrine, as founded on high and fine ideals, and as congenial resorts and refuges for sincere devotees, who longed to be separated from the world's corruptions and consecrated to the service of their fellow-men in all good ways, both in respect to this world and the world to come. Pusey, however, embraced the false and morbid idea which we have indicated, an idea which is in

direct antagonism to the teaching of the Bible, and which the actual history of the monastic system, regarded in its broad aspect and character, and allowing for happy and eminent exceptions, refutes with a terrible irony of practical contradiction. That consecrated men and women may, in response to a manifest call of combined need and opportunity, and under the highest Christian motives, feel themselves constrained to forego the attractions and comforts, the manifold blessings and means of blessing others, connected with family life, and to give themselves up wholly and solely to sacred missions for many years together, or even in the end for life, no well-informed Christian student of history can doubt. But for men or women to take such a course because a life of celibacy is conceived to be intrinsically holier, more saintly, than any other life, even than the life of a truly Christian wife and mother—to be a life approaching the angelic—and, in conformity with this idea, to consecrate themselves by a life-long vow; this is in reality an anti-Christian error of the deepest dye, equally opposed to divine doctrine, whether in relation to creation or redemption, to nature or to grace. This, however, was the error which Pusey imbibed, at a comparatively early period of his history, from his patristic guides. In discreetly-chosen language his biographer informs us that Pusey's object was not so much to "relieve the misery and ignorance of the great towns," as to "restore the consecrated single life." A "consecrated life" is of course the true idea; a consecrated single life may, in some instances, be a noble instance of self-denial and self-sacrifice. But a consecrated married life may be equally noble, equally saintly, not less angelic, if such a word is to be used at all. It may involve even sorer trials and greater self-sacrifice than would, to all human seeming, have been known in a single life, and it may be at least as fruitful in high moral and spiritual results. Here we may quote a few manly and at the same time Christian lines from Dr. Hook's letter of congratulation to Dean Stanley on his marriage. "I look," he says, "upon a good wife as a means of grace intended by God to soften man's heart, and to prepare it for that heavenly joy which is experienced by those over whose heart the love of God is shed by the Holy Ghost through our Lord

and Saviour Jesus Christ. How *all* is love when we approach our Lord!" *

Through life, Pusey's knowledge of human nature was continually at fault, of which an exemplary illustration is afforded by the history of the ill-omened St. Saviour's Church. It would seem, indeed, that at one time his friends dared even to amuse themselves with stories showing his weakness on this point, if we may judge from a story which is told in J. B. Mozley's *Letters*, and which we may quote as a relief to our discussion, as well as an illustration of Pusey's want of insight into character:

"I heard," writes J. B. Mozley to his sister in 1841, "rather an amusing account of a young lady's visit to Oxford last term. The young lady, who had come to Pusey in such deep distress and perplexity, it seems, was flaunting about with young gentlemen a good deal of the time—shopping, going down the river, and amusing herself very pleasantly; dear, good Pusey all the time being full of pity and concern for her painful state of doubt and anxiety. A certain young kid-gloved and scented gentleman of —— College was a particular favourite of the young lady, but she had several others as well, and used to go about quite *comitata catervâ*, as we say in the classics, surrounded by a bodyguard of handsome young gentlemen. . . . Pusey had ventured to suggest that she might dress a little more soberly, but had been answered by her sister: Would he have young ladies to go about like nuns?" †

Mozley, it will be remembered, a few years before the date of this letter, had for several years been domesticated within Pusey's house, and knew him better than almost any one else. A recluse of such a character was not fitted to organise sisterhoods.

The man who had the clearest knowledge about the sisterhoods which were founded and administered under Pusey's influence was Bishop Wilberforce, and next to him, for distinct and intimate knowledge of the whole matter, must be ranked Archbishop Tait. These two authorities absolutely agreed in their practical judgment and counsel as to this question, as may be read in the Archbishop's Life.‡ It was Wilberforce's misfortune to be called to the episcopate just as Pusey's Rome-

* *Dr. Hook's Life*, vol. ii. p. 418.
† J. B. Mozley's *Letters*, p. 111.
‡ See in particular vol. i. p. 452 (*cf.* 457-8).

ward leading had become conspicuous and prominent. It was his peculiar difficulty and sorrow that by personal association and the closest family ties he was connected, and indeed had been generally identified in public opinion, with the party of which Pusey was the head. Two of his brothers, to whom he was most tenderly attached, were among the most influential supporters of Pusey, and both went over, some years later, to Rome. Under these circumstances, for him to deal with Pusey as his diocesan was a trial and difficulty of extraordinary severity. A dispassionate judge of the case will, we think, admire the Bishop's conduct in this matter more than anything in his life-history. His insight, his patience, his skill in the controversy, and his steadfast firmness and fidelity, maintained during many years, are beyond praise. In this volume of Pusey's biography, as might be expected, an attempt is made to represent Wilberforce as incompetent, for want of patristic learning, to judge or anyway deal with Pusey. Let the reader refer to the Bishop's Life, and on this point judge for himself. Though not so learned in patristic lore and mediæval theology as Dr. Pusey, Wilberforce was a competently learned prelate, was not ignorant of the best patristic writers, was at pains especially to inform himself as to the views of the standard divines of his own Church, and was incomparably superior to Pusey in theological insight and faculty, as indeed is shown by his acute and able criticism of Pusey's own special views. Not only, however, was it his duty to deal in the way of discipline with Pusey, whom at the very outset of his episcopate he felt compelled privately to inhibit from preaching in his own diocese, but he found it necessary years afterwards, after long consideration, to remove from Cuddesdon the author of this biography of Pusey, because, with all his learning and excellences, and notwithstanding his self-restraint as a follower of Pusey, Liddon's influence in the College was proved to have been rather Puseyistic than Anglican, to have been the means of imbuing the theological candidates with a Romanising bias, and was increasingly objected to by loyal Anglican supporters of the College. Dr. Liddon was a great preacher and a great divine; Christendom owes very much to his *Bampton Lectures;* but his Romeward and mediæval bias must have been more

extreme than has been generally supposed. The whole tone of this biography, quietly as it is written, tends to show this. He admits no fault in Pusey, except an amiable and over-sanguine confidence in his followers or instruments. He writes throughout as a sedate and discreet partisan, who never forgets himself or uses extreme language, but also, except under the strongest compulsion, makes no concessions to the opposite side. Once, indeed, he forgets his prudence and commits himself. Bishop Longley (then of Ripon) had desired Mr. Macmullen, Dr. Pusey's representative and nominee as one of the clergy of St. Saviour's, "to retract the assertion that the Blessed Virgin intercedes." Dr. Liddon hereupon remarks that for such a "retractation it would surely be difficult to allege authority either from Scripture or the formularies of the Church of England" (p. 125). So far Dr. Liddon had gone towards Mariolatry; so unsafe an interpreter was he of the tenets sanctioned by the Reformed Church of England. It is noticeable that, as Liddon holds Wilberforce to have been wrong where he came into collision with Pusey, so he condemns Bishop Longley of Ripon for the part he took, in concert with Dr. Hook, in removing the Romanising clergy from St. Saviour's Church, which Pusey had built and endowed. He couples Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Longley as having, in their dealings with Pusey and Puseyism, shown a "curious pedantry," and he expresses his belief that if Bishop Longley had exhibited towards St. Saviour's, from which clergyman after clergyman went over to Rome—till, first and last, the number exceeded a dozen—the "same discriminating judgment which characterised his gracious sway as Archbishop of Canterbury, much bitterness might have been avoided, and the Church of England might have been spared serious loss" (p. 368). And yet Bishop Longley was the same man as the Archbishop, was nearly of the same ripeness in years, and not more infirm or less acute in judgment. It was his fault as Bishop Longley that he differed very gravely from Dr. Pusey.

The Bishop of Oxford was a great friend and zealous promoter of sisterhoods, as might have been expected, but not of sisterhoods organised on Pusey's lines. Canon Butler, of Wantage and Worcester, who was as High a Churchman as is

at all compatible with any sort of loyalty to the Church of England—there was not a little of the Romeward tendency in him—bears this testimony to the Bishop's administration and influence as regards Sisterhoods:

"Most tenderly and delicately," he writes, "the Bishop enforced his opinions, so that in many delicate and complicated questions we always felt that whether his mind was or was not entirely the same as our own, we should ever be sure of a fair hearing. Nothing could be kinder, wiser, or more large-hearted, than the line which he adopted; and it is certainly not too much to assert that to him our English Sisterhoods owe their present position of usefulness and acceptance."

Bishop Wilberforce, however, was totally opposed to the underlying principle of celibacy which to Pusey was of so much importance, and of course to the use of confession among the Sisterhood. The House of Mercy at Clewer, perhaps the best known of all the Sisterhoods, was founded under the direction of Pusey, and was a source of no little anxiety and trouble to the Bishop. In regard to that establishment the Bishop writes as follows to the Lady Superintendent, a sort of Prioress, who had been placed by Pusey in charge:

"I suppose," he says, "that such a life as that of the Sisters of Clewer is likely specially to attract those who would desire and probably have practised constant confession, who would wish to submit their lives to the direction of the priest, who would crave after books of Roman Catholic devotion, simple or adapted, and who would probably desire to wear and see crucifixes and the like. How, then, are such persons to be treated by us? (1) We cannot provide for such a life, because we disapprove of it. (2) We cannot suffer it to be led as a part of the common life in Sisterhood, so as to give really its colour to our institution. We cannot, *e.g.*, allow the Sisters to practise continual confession to, or elect into directors, the warden or chaplain of our house. Nor can we allow them to use amongst their Sisters, still less to lend to them, Roman Catholic books, or to wear openly, or to exhibit in their rooms, images or representations which the Church of England discourages; nor can we allow them to be visited in the house by other clergy than those of our house, for the carrying out by their means of any system which we do not administer by our clergy."

In a letter written about the same time to the well-known Rev. T. T. Carter, whom Dr. Pusey had placed in charge of Clewer, he writes as follows:

"I see plainly that Clewer has a tendency to run into a system with

which I can have nothing to do. If Sisterhoods cannot be maintained except upon a semi-Romanistic scheme, with its *direction*, with its development of self-conscious and morbid religious affection; with its exaltation of the contemplative life, with its perpetual confession, and its un-English tone, I am perfectly convinced that we had better have no Sisterhoods. . . . . You *must not* let the soft influences of the women's souls with which you have to deal lead you into becoming a director. You must with me distinctly act, and say that Clewer is to be Church of England and *no more*. We must have no *evasions* as to Roman Catholic books, as to the going at stated times to Richards, Pusey, &c. Evasion seems to me to be the very clinging curse of everything Romanistic."

Against the perpetual vow in particular the Bishop never ceased to bear his testimony and assert his authority. To a clergyman of the Puseyite school he had written in 1850 objecting "absolutely, as un-Christian and savouring of the worst evils of Rome, to the vows involved in such a statement as 'she is for ever consecrated to the service of her Heavenly Spouse.'" "I object," he says, "to the expression itself as unwarranted by God's Word, and savouring of one of the most carnal perversions of the Church of Rome." In November 1854, to another clergyman who had written to him on behalf of a young woman who desired to take a vow and enter a Sisterhood, he wrote a letter, from which we take the following extract:

"When you ask me to give her the Apostolic benediction 'on her public resolution of chastity and devotion to Christ,' you ask me to do what it is quite impossible for me to do. Such a resolution made publicly, and confirmed by a Bishop's act, is really and *bonâ fide* a vow. Now even a secret resolution of chastity is what I should dissuade. No one has, without God's express appointment, the right in my judgment to bind themselves for the future in such matters. Let them follow the guiding hand of God from day to day, and rely for persevering in a course of right or service on His daily gifts of guiding, enlightening, strengthening grace, and not on the strength of any past vow or resolution."

In 1860 he had still to contend against the same agitation in favour of perpetual vows. In his Diary, November 30th, he says: "Clewer. Early Communion, and admission of three Sisters—two rejected. Would not consent to alter the rule about no vows." At the Church Congress in 1862 he thus expresses himself: "I believe that the abuses of that life have come (1) from the promises of *perpetuity*, and (2) from the vows

connected with the admission of persons having property, and being allowed to give that property up in any moment of excitement to this purpose." He adds a paragraph in regard to the special application of the word "religious" to such a life, which we quote here for a reason which will immediately appear:

"One single word on the use of the term 'religious.' I confess that I have the very deepest objection in any way to apply the word 'religious' to such a life. I think it was adopted at a time when the standard of lay piety was very low, and, at all events, as no good seems to me to be got by the use of a word ambiguous, at least in its meaning, and which seems to imply that God can be better served in the unmarried Sisterhood than in the blessed and holy state of matrimony, I think it is a pity that it should be used."

Now let us compare with what we have been quoting a passage in the volume of Pusey's Life which we are reviewing. If we read intelligently and with well-informed minds between the lines, it will, as we think, appear to be at the same time an admission of the truth of the current charges against Dr. Pusey which are very distinctly intimated in Bishop Wilberforce's Letters and Diary, and also a skilful apology on his behalf. It refers to Dr. Pusey's tone of feeling and manner of life, about the year 1848—that is, when his work as an organiser of the Confessional and of Sisterhoods was just beginning:

"Probably he had hardly realised the gravity and intimacy of these questions—questions often involving delicate family relations—which he would be called upon to settle, nor the force of prejudice that the religious life would not unnaturally excite, nor the difficulty of guiding and restraining the emotional and sensitive characters with whom he might be brought in contact. It must be remembered that in England and in English families, with the exception of the limited circle of the older Roman Catholics, there had been for centuries literally no experience of the Religious life. The special vocation of a Sister of Mercy, the character involved and the claims of such a character, were altogether unknown. That young ladies who were considered 'serious' should object to theatres and dancing was looked upon as a pardonable eccentricity, but that those who were not evangelical should take a stricter view of life, should shrink from society and entertain thoughts of a vow of celibacy in place of an eligible marriage, was almost inconceivable. Besides, there was then, especially amongst religious-minded people, a very high and right sense of filial obligation. There was also a notorious jealousy of interference on the part of a spiritual guide in the private arrangements of family life.

"With his unworldliness and simplicity, his overwhelming sense of Divine guidance, the sanctity of the human soul, and the nothingness of all worldly objects and aims, Pusey found himself, almost before he was aware of it, opposed to the wishes and judgments of respected friends, and sometimes thwarting the most cherished aims which they entertained for their children. Again, his small knowledge of the outer world, and his own disciplined disposition, were not the best qualifications for guiding any excitable and emotional temperaments with which he might have to deal, and in those delicate relations which a gainsaying and censorious world could not rightly appreciate, he laid himself open to misconception and gossip, against which a man more worldly-wise would have been on his guard. . . . . In his simplicity Pusey himself was as unconscious of the gossip as he was regardless of the means to avoid it. The fact is, as Keble suggests, that he was so centred on the great spiritual efforts on which his heart was set that he was too little careful of social conventionalities, the observance of which would have prevented those misinterpretations of his conduct, and relieved his friends of the pain which he could not understand that he was causing them."

So much in general Dr. Liddon has to say by way of explaining, and at the same time explaining away, what he speaks of as exaggerated and distorted stories in relation to Dr. Pusey's conduct and deportment as a spiritual director and father, when he had to deal with emotional and excitable women, who came to him for religious counsel and guidance. The tone of the passage is that of one who has himself accepted the views which Pusey held in regard to spiritual direction, to the vow of celibacy, and to what he speaks of as the "religious life," thus laying himself open to the reproof contained in our preceding extract from Bishop Wilberforce.

There are not wanting evidences, indirectly furnished in the biography, of the extent to which Pusey carried the practices of which he was continually accused, but as to which he seemed always to have some evasion to fall back upon. The Rev. Mr. Dodsworth, one of his closest friends and associates for many years, one of his most trusted allies, at length made up his mind to follow Newman and Manning into the Church of Rome. His tongue was then loosed, and being out of patience because Pusey still, as he thought, unfairly and more or less dishonestly, lingered within the Church of England, he wrote a public letter to Pusey in which he described the extent to which his former guide had been accustomed to go in the

Romanising direction. The date is May 1850, and the subject is "the position which Dr. Pusey had taken in the present crisis."

"You," he said, "have been one of the foremost leaders on to a higher appreciation of that Church system of which sacramental grace is the very life and soul, both by precept and example. You have been amongst us the most earnest in maintaining Catholic principles. By your constant communion and practice of administering the Sacrament of penance, by encouraging everywhere, if not enjoining, Confession and giving special priestly Absolution, by teaching the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist as applicatory of the one sacrifice on the Cross, and by the adoring of Christ's Real Presence on the Altar in the form of Bread and Wine, by your introduction of Roman Catholic books, adapted to the use of our Church, by encouraging the use of rosaries and crucifixes, and special devotions to our Lord—as, *e.g.*, to His five wounds—by adopting language most powerfully expressive of our incorporation into Christ—as, *e.g.*, our being incorporated by the blood of our Lord—by advocating counsels of perfection, and seeking to restore with more or less fulness the conventual or monastic life; I say, by the teaching and practice of which this enumeration is a sufficient type and indication, you have done much to revive amongst us the system which may be pre-eminently called Sacramental. And yet, now, you seem to shrink from the front rank, you seem ready to hide yourself under soft assurances of truths which it is said no six men in the Church of England will be found to deny, and behind ambiguous statements which can be subscribed in different senses."

Dr. Liddon seems to have felt it necessary to quote these statements of Mr. Dodsworth, made in a pamphlet too famous to be ignored. But no reply is given or even attempted. Pusey never dealt with them frankly or directly. His biographer has no observation to make. They are fully borne out by the statements of Mr. Maskell, who, like Mr. Dodsworth, had for years been one of Pusey's most influential disciples and helpers, and whose "accomplishments as a Liturgical scholar and position as chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter"—to borrow Dr. Liddon's own description of the grounds of his importance as a critic of Pusey's conduct and methods—lend special importance to his assertions. The passages we are about to quote are from his reply to the pamphlet which, in the form of a letter to his fellow-helper, the Rev. W. Upton Richards, Dr. Pusey had in 1850 been compelled to write by the publication of a joint letter addressed to himself by Mr. Allies,

Mr. Dodsworth, and Mr. Maskell, all of whom had then joined the Church of Rome, and which raised the searching question, "Under what authorisation," to use Dr. Liddon's words, "private confessions were received and absolutions given in the Church of England," thus attacking Pusey at the most vital point in his system, and showing also how at that point he was most vulnerable as an Anglican priest. In Mr. Maskell's reply to this pamphlet occurs the following passage:

"In page 6 of your letter to Mr. Richards, you blame Mr. Dodsworth for having said in his published letter to you that you have 'enjoined' Auricular Confession, and you say that you could not enjoin it. Suffer me to say that Mr. Dodsworth's use of the word was just and reasonable. He does not use it simply without limitation; he says that you have 'encouraged, if not enjoined,' Auricular Confession; but it is evident that in the sense of compulsion, he knew, as well as yourself, you could not possibly enjoin Aucular Confession. And he knew also, as I know, that to say merely that you have encouraged it, would fall as far short of what your actual practice is, as the word enjoin in the sense of compelling would exceed it. He knew that you had done more than encourage confession in very many cases; that you had warned people of the danger of deferring it, have insisted on it as the only remedy, have pointed out the inevitable dangers of the neglect of it, and have promised the highest blessings in the observance, until you have brought penitents in fear and trembling upon their knees before you.

"There are some other parts of your letter to Mr. Richards which have somewhat more than startled me. I have almost begun to doubt the accuracy of my memory, or that I could ever have understood the commonest rules of plain speaking upon very solemn mysteries and duties of the Christian faith. I mean such passages as these: 'We are not to obtrude, nor to offer our services, nor to cause confusion by intruding into the ministry of others. . . . . In like manner, when residing elsewhere;' from which, of course, no one would suppose that you go from home into other dioceses for the express purpose of receiving Auricular Confession . . . . 'when any came to me I ministered to them. But not having a parochial cure, I have not led others to confession.' . . . . Far be it from me to say you do not believe every word of these sentences to be strictly and verbally true; what I do say is, that so far as I have known it, they do not in any adequate or real way represent your practice. . . . . The Bishop of Exeter would repudiate with horror the system of particular and detailed inquiry into every circumstance of sin, which, in correct imitation of Roman Catholic rules, you do not fail to press. . . . . What, then, do you conceive that the Bishop of Exeter would say of persons secretly received against the known will of their parents, or confession heard in the houses of common friends, or of clandestine correspond-

ence to arrange meetings under initials, or in envelopes addressed to other persons? and more than this, when such confessions are recommended and urged as a part of the spiritual life, and among religious duties; not in order to quiet the conscience before receiving the communion. I know how heavily the enforced mystery and secret correspondence regarding confession in your communion has weighed down the minds of many to whom you have 'ministered'; I know how bitterly it has eaten, even as a canker, into their very souls; I know how utterly the specious arguments which you have urged have failed to remove their burning sense of shame and deceitfulness." *

The reference to the Bishop of Exeter in the passage we have quoted derives peculiar force and authority from the fact that before he went over to Rome Mr. Maskell had been Chaplain to Bishop Philpotts of Exeter, who had done much to shield Dr. Pusey from censure, especially in the case of Miss Sellon and the Plymouth Sisterhood.

If we compare Mr. Maskell's statements with the apologetic passage we have quoted from the biography, it will be seen how close a correspondence there is really between the positive assertions of the one and the inner meaning—scarcely veiled—of the other. Why Dr. Liddon thought it necessary to quote Mr. Dodsworth, but could not bring himself to quote the more distinct and fuller statement of Mr. Maskell, we shall not try to conjecture. It is evident, however, that the biography in this third volume, as we showed was the case in the volume preceding, omits singularly important and very damaging evidence as to the private influence used and the sort of discipline carried out by Dr. Pusey.

The history of the St. Saviour's Church and Mission at Leeds, which was begun in the second volume of this biography, is completed in the present volume. It was the immediate fruit of the penitential sorrow which took hold of Pusey after his wife's death, which deepened during the following years of trouble and grief, when his beloved and devoted daughter was taken from him, and when his sufferings culminated in his illness, compelling him to leave his work and his home, and to seek health on the coast of South Wales, and which knew

* The foregoing passage is quoted from Maskell's *Letter to Dr. Pusey*, pp. 17–21, by the Rev. Bourchier Wrey Saville in his pamphlet entitled *Dr. Pusey: an Historic Sketch.*

no relief till he had made his soul's confession to Keble in Hursley Church. During the former part of this period Pusey conceived the thought of making a penitential offering, by building and endowing a church and a college for mission priests in Leeds, where his friend, Dr. Hook, was vicar, on whose sympathy and co-operation he thought that he could rely. His intention was to apply his system, in full development and force, to a dense and spiritually needy population, consisting chiefly of working men. The parish clergy were to be of his nomination, acting as patron, and they were to be assisted by a college of unmarried priests or deacons. Suspicion, however, was awakened against the project almost from the first, not only in the minds of Dissenters and Evangelicals, but of Dr. Hook and Bishop Longley, neither of whom was in any sense a Low Churchman. The ornaments, the memorial window, and especially the inscription above the porch of the church, asking the prayers of all that entered for the soul of the sinner that built the church—an inscription which stands there to-day—all suggested Romish proclivities. The Bishop felt it his duty frequently to intervene with objections, all of which did not prevail. He objected strongly to the inscription, but was informed that the unknown benefactor insisted upon that being retained as an absolute condition—without which the whole scheme must be abandoned. Years passed before the church was ready to open. The opening services, in which Pusey took by far the greatest share, did not serve to allay suspicion. Not a word of disclaimer, not a sentence implying at any point a difference from Rome and Romanism, was uttered throughout the twelve services. Dr. Pusey, indeed, though by this time his bosom friend, Dr. Newman, was known to be determined, and to have made every preparation, to go over to Rome, steadfastly refused his consent to a word being spoken by any one to reassure those who naturally identified the views of Pusey with those of Newman. Then came the clergy of the college. Their methods and teaching, and the whole spirit of their administration, savoured of Rome. The books of devotion, the Breviary which was recommended for use, the administration of the Sacraments, all were, at least to the general view, nothing but Popish. Dr. Hook remonstrated. The

Bishop interfered. Pusey was appealed to, and Pusey called in Marriott and Keble. All was in vain. The clergy, one after another, went over to Rome—till more than a dozen had so gone over. All but one employed during the first five years went away to that goal.

Dr. Liddon has given a very fair account of this unhappy business, with quotations on both sides, in which he seems to admit that Pusey cannot be acquitted of grave error in administration, although he blames Hook for his vehemence, and—this we think is unfair and unreasonable—seeks to make the Bishop and Pusey, by their severity of judgment, responsible, at least in part, for the secessions to Rome. Dr. Hook was indeed placed in a pitiable condition by the course of events, and certainly in no way and to no degree gave any countenance to the Romanising methods and practices of the offending clergy. The following extract from a letter to Pusey may serve to indicate what his feelings were in the matter:

"*Knowing* St. Saviour's to be a semi-papal colony, however careful the clergy there may be to keep within the letter of the law, I shall take an early opportunity, and I expect one soon to offer, of speaking of it as I think, and so of disconnecting it in men's minds from Leeds. . . . .

"Do not write upon this subject any more, for it is useless. When I compare your defence of St. Saviour's with what goes on there, you only make me the more suspicious. You are either incorrectly informed, or you have got into the habit of defending a cause. I am not going to argue with you. If you are, as you say you are, agreed with me in principle, instead of writing, you will set to work to eradicate Romanism at St. Saviour's. If in your attempt to do so you fail, *then* we shall be in the same boat. I do not care for what men *say:* I look to what they *do*. What you have *done* is to send Romanizers here—one of them the friend of some of the late perverts; if guided or in ignorance, try to prevail upon them to resign. Undo what you have done, or at least attempt it. If you either cannot or will not, do not write any more. All you can say is, that you think that they are not Romanizers—and all I can say is that, as I know them to be Romanizers, I shall warn all men of the danger of touching pitch."

When Charles Marriott, at Pusey's request, went to visit St. Saviour's, he reported to Pusey that "there was more to complain of here than you thought for," and justifies the Bishop in removing one of Pusey's trusted agents, whilst he also decides

that another, of whom Hook had complained repeatedly and bitterly, was unfit for his post, and ought to be induced to resign. This was in 1846–7. In 1851 things came to a final crisis at St. Saviour's, the result of which is described in a note from Pusey to Keble: "I had a sad visit to St. Saviour's. It has again to be built up from its foundation. The Bishop has cleared everything away, and I fear that two at least will come back as Roman priests with a Roman mission," This was in March 1851. All the clergy but one went over. Even Dr. Liddon has to confess that "Hook, if he expressed himself with unguarded vehemence, took the measure of men more accurately than Pusey." The man that led the march Romeward in the first instance was backed up by Pusey to the end of his connection with St. Saviour's, and it is to this fact that the biographer refers. Besides which, he was sent to the Church, as Pusey had in the end to confess, when he was known by Pusey to "have been seriously shaken as to the English Church." * So that there was colourable ground for Hook's charge that Pusey had knowingly sent to St. Saviour's men who were disaffected to the English Church, and Papists at heart—"a colony of Papists," Hook said. Hook's generosity and personal friendship for Pusey, notwithstanding the acuteness of his vexation and his deep indignation, sometimes vehemently expressed, prevented him in his correspondence with Pusey from completely uttering his mind as to the whole character of the movement which Pusey led. In Hook's life, however, extracts are given from a very strong letter which Hook, thoroughly roused, sent to the *Guardian* in 1850, and in which he speaks out fully in regard to the Puseyite Movement. Our space will not allow us to quote from this letter, but it tallies very closely with the passages we have already quoted from the letters of Dodsworth and Maskell, and with the statements as to the tactics of Pusey and his coadjutors contained in Bishop Wilberforce's Life. The consensus of evidence is indeed conclusive as to what we have not shrunk from describing as the conscientious stealthiness and subtlety with which Pusey used his private counsels and influence in

* *Letter from Pusey to Hook*, p. 131.

the process of Romanising the Church of England. Very saintly men have indisputably thought, in some instances, that it was their duty to use such means in the prosecution of their religious purposes. The *Tracts for the Times* had given lessons in the needful arts. Hook in his letters repeatedly describes such tactics as Jesuitism.

As to the question of the "Real Presence" and of Eucharistical Adoration we shall say nothing in this article. Much indeed occurs on the subject in the present volume of the biography, but the crisis and climax may be looked for in the next. The other matters discussed relate chiefly to University reform and administration, and to questions connected with politics and politicians—interesting, but in the Life of Pusey not of chief importance.

We are much mistaken if the effect of this biography, as it proceeds, will not be deeply to stir the mind of English Christians in a sense unfavourable to the maintenance of Dr. Pusey's influence within the Church of England. The picture presented by his attached disciple is one more likely to alarm than to attract. So long as Pusey was little more than a name and an ideal of which little or nothing was known in living detail, an ideal secluded in secrecy, but known to be worshipped by not a few eminent persons, the element of mystery heightened his influence, while the actual facts respecting his work and his teachings were not understood. His great age also combined with his seclusion to enhance the awe, and even reverence, with which many regarded him who could not be counted Puseyites. He was known to be profoundly religious. He was understood to lead a saintly life, apart from all worldly strife or show. His learning, though limited in its range, was within that range greater than that of any other living divine. He was a man of high rank and still higher family connections. He was very wealthy and exceedingly generous. Such a combination of characteristics tended to make him a religious leader of pre-eminent influence. He had spent half a century in magnifying the prerogatives of the priesthood, and had maintained their claims by all the resources of his learning, all the influence of his frequent and powerful preaching, and by the unbounded use of his private resources. That Anglican ministers

of a priestly temper and of high ministerial claims, many of them also being men like Pusey, of marked religiousness of spirit, should use all the means in their power to magnify his fame and bring their followers under his influence, was natural and inevitable. He was just the sort of man also to influence a certain class of devout, benevolent, and enthusiastic women. Such women have great power over other women, sympathetic with themselves. So, not only through Sisterhoods, but in many ways besides, the character and influence of Pusey were held up continually to admiration, and grew more attractive and potent from year to year. Since his death a halo of glory and reverence has gathered about his name and memory. Now, however, that the facts are brought to light and can be scrutinised closely, now that a deliberate analysis of his character and the elements of his influence is possible, we hope that the process of disillusion will take place speedily and effectually.

Already we think that we see signs that this is likely to be the case. A reaction against sacerdotalism is undeniably taking effect within the Church of England itself. The Episcopal Bench contains a considerable proportion of distinctly anti-ritualising Bishops. Clergymen of eminence and great ability, some of them occupying the highest administrative positions in the Church next to the Episcopal, are distinguishing themselves by an independence of spirit and attitude, by a boldness of tone against the Romanising party, such as, we think, has not before been witnessed. The biography indeed would intimate that the tide is rather flowing afresh in favour of Pusey's character and memory. Dr. Liddon quotes some words, attributed to Dr. Hook, which speak of Pusey as the "saint whom England persecuted," and leaves it to be inferred that after Dr. Hook's disgust and indignation, because of St. Saviour's Church history, he in later years went back to his former admiration of Pusey. We take leave to altogether distrust this representation. Hook indeed always admitted, even in the fiercest heat of his righteous anger, the personal saintliness of Dr. Pusey; but that he ever changed his mind as to the evils of his Romanising influence, as to the fatal and terrible mischief of his teaching on the subject of the Confessional, we venture to say there is no evidence; certainly there is

none either in his Life, or in the Life of his brother-in-law and constant correspondent, Lord Hatherley. On the contrary, we find him speaking in 1864 of the High Church party as being damaged by the assumption of its name "on the part of those who are grovelling in the lowest depths of Romanism." This was at a period when Dr. Hook had for some years been settled at Chichester as Dean, and when many years had passed since the St. Saviour's troubles. Still later, in 1869, he defined a true High Churchman to be one who "cordially accepted the work of the Reformers; hating Rome as much as Rome hates us." These are not the phrases that would have been employed by Hook if he had changed his mind as to the influence and effects of Puseyism in the English Church. Outside the English Church the effect of the development of Puseyism and its influences has been to render much more intense the antagonism of Nonconformists generally to the Established Church, especially outside of the large towns. In country towns and in villages wherever Dissent, and especially Methodism, has obtained a footing, the Established Church is regarded by an increasing number with an awakened, an alert, an intense feeling of sectarian animosity, such as has not before been known. In London, and some other of the large towns, the effect of this is seen in the sharp divisions on the School Boards, the like of which were not known in the great towns twenty years ago. Secularism and unorthodoxy make a gain out of the prevalence of High Anglican Romanising claims and superstitions.

The tide, indeed, we may fairly hope, within the Church of England itself, has begun to turn against the Romanising party. Mr. Gladstone's article on Heresy and Schism is, we think, one sign of this. The recent correspondence in the public journals, and especially in the *Times*, on the subject of Anglican Orders is a very striking "sign of the times." It arose out of Cardinal Vaughan's attack on the Orders of the Church of England, first in his address some months ago on the Reunion of Christendom, and afterwards in a private letter of explanation published in the *Times* for October 5. To him Anglican clergymen stand in the same category as Nonconformist clergymen; all alike are merely laymen. No Anglican minister can prove his true

apostolical succession, or establish any claim to be a "sacrificing priest." In response to the Cardinal's challenge, Dr. Taylor of Liverpool, the Archdeacon of Warrington, promptly wrote to the *Times*,* blythely consenting to his conclusion. "Cardinal Vaughan," he says, "is quite right. On the basis he assumes the Orders of the Anglican clergy are invalid, and for this simple reason, that the Church of England neither has nor professes to have a 'sacrificing priesthood,' which he holds to be the essential character of the Catholic rite of ordination." He proceeds to sum up the evidence in proof that the Church of England, as reformed, distinctly abandoned (1550–4) for its clergy the claim and character of a sacrificing priesthood. He closes his letter much as he begins it, disallowing, indeed, the Cardinal's contention that the Church of England has "no valid ministry," but earnestly hoping that the Cardinal's "authoritative statement will have some effect in dissipating in many minds the idea" that there is in the Church an Order of "sacrificing priests." The Archdeacon of Warrington thus boldly joins Archdeacon Farrar and Archdeacon Sinclair in their antagonism to such Romanising priestly claims as Dr. Pusey spent most of his life in contending for. After a fortnight's discussion the leading journal in its issue of October 20 sums up the case in a remarkable article.

It was the pretence of Pusey and his party—a most audacious pretence—that their system of theology and their priestly claims were founded on the teaching of the "judicious Hooker." The *Times* cites a passage from Hooker—not a few other passages might be quoted—which effectually refutes this claim, and which closes by asking "what better title could be given" to the clergy than "the reverend name of presbyters or fatherly guides," and by affirming that "the Holy Ghost, throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not anywhere call them priests." "Can a Church," says the writer in the *Times*, "which declares in its Articles that the sacrifices of Masses were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits, be thought to assert for its ministers the sacrificial functions which it thus expressly repudiates?"

* October 9, 1894.

After intimating that Newman's Tract 90 is the stronghold of the ritualistic innovators, and their only line of defence, from which it has no wish to drive "men of such high personal character and such devotion to their duties as many of them are," the *Times* closes its article with these significant words: "They must not complain if 'An Ordinary Layman' and his like regard their claims and their practices 'sometimes with irritation and always with contempt.'" The last words are quoted from a letter, under the signature "An Ordinary Layman," which is published in the same issue of the paper, and which reflects the prevalent feeling of the laity on the subject. "Among a not inconsiderable acquaintance," says the writer, "I know but a few laymen who would trouble their heads about it at all, and not more than one or two who even profess to believe that either of the miraculous powers claimed by Cardinal Vaughan for the Romish priest are possessed in any degree by our own clergy." This is on one side a reassuring statement; but it suggests alarming questions. What, if this be true, do the laity think of their clergy? And how far are the monstrous and for most men quite incredible claims which for nearly half a century have been asserted by a large and often highly placed section of the religious teachers and guides of the people of England, answerable for the scepticism which during the same period has disturbed the minds and desolated the hearts of so many men of masculine intellect and powerful character? Nevertheless, for the reasons we have intimated, we venture to hope that the worst effects of the Romanising conspiracy are over. Forty or fifty years ago Thomas Mozley, at that time one of the innermost circle of the Tractarian school, inspired the *Times* on all ecclesiastical subjects, while the same circle sustained religious reviews and magazines of much apparent learning and of subtly-trained ability, especially in the field of casuistry and special pleading. To-day all this is changed. The balance of learning and ability as writers is no longer on the side of the Anglican Romanisers; there are schools of evangelical training in theology which are no less learned and able than orthodox; while the press teems with volumes of Christian exposition and instruction, to which Nonconformist divines largely contribute, and which are read

by students of all Churches. Best of all is the distinct and resolute uprising within the Church of England of a school of teaching at once liberal and orthodox, which is altogether and strenuously opposed to the Romanising and ritualising party in the Church of England. The reaction, indeed, comes late —very late. One cannot but lament that the English Church did not earlier learn the things which belong to its peace. The middle classes distrust Anglican clericalism, even when they go to church. Political power has come to village Methodists and Dissenters coincidently with the development of the irreconcilable spirit of antagonism of which we have spoken. What is threatened for Wales they confidently expect, before long, to see consummated for England. All that is involved in the question they seldom, indeed, understand. But the situation is not the less serious on that account. We ourselves are not enemies of the Church of England; but we feel it to be our duty to state unpleasant truths as to which we have special means of information, and to do our part towards disturbing the clergy in that "fools' paradise" where a large proportion of them, it is evident, continue to dream their dreams in fatal unconsciousness. Ecclesiastical arrogance and intolerance—the intolerance of a curiously ignorant bigotry—coupled with irrational and degrading superstitions, weigh, like a sentence of doom, on Anglicanism in modern England.

Art. II.—THE KARAKORAM MOUNTAINS AND TIBET.

1. *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas.* By W. M. Conway, M.A., &c. London. 1894.
2. *Diary of Journey across Tibet.* By Captain H. Bower. London. 1894.

MOUNTAINEERING is now an established science. It has its rules, its leaders, its triumphs, and its disasters. Year by year its votaries scale the peaks, cross the passes, and traverse the glaciers of the loftiest mountains in the world, and the return of each expedition is generally the foundation of

another undertaking. Mr. Whymper has climbed the Andes of the Equator, and has stood on the summits of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi. Mr. Graham has ascended the Himalayas of Kumaon and Sikkim, and has claimed to have reached the greatest elevation ever attained in mountaineering. Even the snow-fields of Kilimandjaro and Kenia have been explored, and their icy slopes have been scaled. But amongst the records of mountaineering none stand higher than the accounts of climbing and exploration contained in the first of the volumes noticed in this article. Never was there a grander field for exploration than that presented by the Karakoram-Himalayas. Never were there more able and more enthusiastic mountaineers than Mr. Conway and his gallant companions. And never was a work of mountain-travel more picturesquely written, and more beautifully illustrated, than the volume which records their adventures.

The range of the Karakoram mountains rises between the Alpine region of Western Tibet on the south, and the plains of Chinese Tartary on the north, and divides the districts of Kanjut, Balti, and Nubra, which are under the rule of the Maharajah of Kashmir, from the Tagdumbash Pamir, and the basin of the upper Yarkand river, which are portions of the Chinese dominions. The Karakorams form the great watershed in this part of Central Asia; the rivers which descend from their southern slopes find their way into the Indus, while those which drain their northern flanks flow into the Central Basin of Chinese Tartary. After a south-easterly course across, about four degrees of longitude, the Karakorams are broken by the Karakoram Pass (78° E. long.), which is 18,800 feet above the sea, and over which runs the great road from Leh to Yarkand. East of this Pass the chain divides, one branch running east, and forming the northern rampart of the Great Table-land (Chang) of Chinese Tibet, while the other portion, bending to the south-east, forms the northern boundary of the basin of the Indus. The Karakoram range proper—or Mustagh, as it is generally called—is of astonishing height, its peaks constantly rising from 25,000 to 28,000 feet above the sea. But it is not merely the height, but also the remarkable character of these peaks which fills the beholder with amaze-

ment. They continually present a panorama of an endless series of needles, pinnacles, and towers, the needles being often too sharp and slender for the snow to rest upon, while at other times dazzling white spires shoot far up into the clear blue sky. Captain Younghusband, who crossed the Mustagh from Chinese Tartary to Western Tibet in 1887, thus describes his first view of these magnificent mountains:

"In my eagerness to get a glimpse of the view on the other side, I walked on ahead at a brisk pace, and ascended a small outstanding hill, from which I got the first sight of the great Mustagh range, which forms the watershed between the rivers which flow into the Indian Ocean, and those which take their way towards Central Asia. At my feet lay the broad valley of the Shaksgam river, bounded on each side by ranges of magnificent snowy mountains, rising abruptly from either bank, while up this valley, far away in the distance, could be seen an immense glacier flowing down from the great main range of the Mustagh or Karakoram mountains.

"The appearance of these mountains is extremely bold and rugged, as they rise in a succession of needle-peaks like hundreds of Matterhorns collected together; but the Matterhorn, Mont Blanc, and all the Swiss mountains would have been several hundred feet below me, while these mountains rose up in solemn grandeur thousands of feet above me. Not a living thing was seen, and not a sound was heard; all was snow and ice and rocky precipices; while these mountains are far too grand to support anything so insignificant as trees or vegetation of any sort. They stand bold and solitary in their glory, and only permit man to come amongst them for a few months in the year, that he may admire their magnificence, and go tell it to his comrades in the world beneath. As I looked on the scene I felt as if I were intruding on the abode of some great invisible but all-pervading deity, and experienced a keen sense of my own insignificance, such as those only can appreciate who have been alone in these awe-inspiring solitudes of the Himalayas." *

Another wonderful feature of the Karakorams is their enormous snow-fields, which are veritable deserts of snow. From the summit of the Hispar Pass, Mr. Conway looked down upon a vast smooth lake of snow, *three hundred square miles* in extent, and encircled by a gigantic ring of snowy peaks.† Colonel Godwin-Austen beheld the same great snowy wilderness from the head of the Punmah glacier, and saw the mountains rising here and there out of its white expanse, like islands in the midst

* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1888, pp. 506, 507.
† *Climbing and Exploration*, p. 378.

of a sea of snow and ice.* He also met with another great plain of snow at the foot of the Mustagh Pass, on which he encountered most tempestuous weather. But the most remarkable feature of the Karakorams is their glaciers, which are the largest in the world outside of the Polar regions. The great glacier-region of the Mustagh lies between the main range on the north and the Shayuk on the south, and reaches from the Kanjut valley to the Karakoram Pass. The size of the glaciers is perfectly astonishing. The Hispar glacier is forty miles long, and the Biafo glacier is of equal length, whilst the Chogo and Baltoro glaciers are at least thirty-five miles in length. Mr. Vigne in 1835–1836, and Dr. Falconer shortly after, had seen the ends of some of these great rivers of ice,† and they have lately been explored by numerous scientific travellers, and visited by many ardent sportsmen. It was this region of enormous glaciers which was the scene of Mr. Conway's mountaineering adventures. His party, consisting of seven Europeans and one hundred natives, started from Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, on April 13, 1892, and a few days after they crossed the Tragbal Pass (11,850 feet), which leads over the range forming the northern boundary of the valley of Kashmir.

What is termed the valley of Kashmir consists of an alluvial plain, 5500 feet above the sea, and surrounded by a ring of snowy mountains, the peaks of which attain an altitude of from 13,000 to 18,000 feet. Through this plain, which is fertile and well cultivated, flows the Jhelam, which escapes from the valley by the gorge of Baramula. From the alluvial character of the soil, it is certain that the valley was formerly a great lake, and Mr. Drew has estimated that in ancient times the waters of this inland sea must have reached 2000 feet above the present level of the valley. Curiously enough, the inhabitants of Kashmir have a tradition that long ago the valley was filled by a great lake, and that Solomon cleft open the mountains at the Baramula Pass and drained off the waters.

Descending from the Tragbal Pass, the travellers journeyed up the valley of the Kishenganga, until they reached the main range of the Himalayas, which they crossed by the Burzil Pass

* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1864.
† *Travels in Kashmir and Tibet*, vol. 2, chaps. ix.–xii.

(13,500 feet). The snow was soft and the fog dense, but the arduous passage was at last accomplished, and the party entered Western Tibet, descending into the barren valley of Astor, through which a large river flows to the north and empties itself into the Indus. On the western side of this valley rises the peak of Nanga Parbat, which towers to the height of 26,669 feet. The aspect of this snow-clad giant is magnificent in the extreme. Mountain seems to be piled upon mountain; 16,000 feet of snow and ice glitter in the rays of the sun; the top appears to form a crystal citadel, and from the snow-fields that cover its gigantic slopes glaciers descend into the valleys below. But wonderful as is the sight of the snows of Nanga Parbat, glowing with the varied tints in the light of the evening sun, the view presented from the ridge called Hatu Pir is, perhaps, still more extraordinary. The traveller at this point looks down upon the great valley of the Indus at the spot where the river bursts through the main range of the Himalayas. Lieutenant-Colonel Tanner says that some of the precipices which tower above the Indus at this place are 17,000 feet in height; * and Mr. Vigne declares that of all the prospects he ever witnessed in Tibet, this was the most magnificent.† The astonishing scene shall be described in Mr. Conway's own words:

"When we emerged on the crest of the ridge a wonderful view burst upon our gaze, and that notwithstanding the mist that swallowed up the distance, and the clouds covering Rakipushi, Nanga Parbat, and the Dichell peak. The notable feature was the Indus valley, coming end on towards us from the north, bent at right angles, when, after receiving the waters of the Astor river, it had swerved past us, and so going away westwards into Chilas. I had never seen any valley that compared to it either in kind or dimensions. It was barren as an Arabian wady; it was floored with the strewn ruin of countless floods, bleached and blasted by the suns of countless summers; it was walled along by rocky cliffs, a maze of precipices and gullies, untrodden of human foot, bare of vegetation and almost of *débris*. The river wound through it in a gorge, cut down into the alluvium. The waters resembled a twisted blue ribbon, dusted with white here and there where there were rapids. It was hard to believe that we were gazing at a rushing river two hundred yards wide, so far was it below us. It looked like a sluggish stream that a horse might have leapt. . . . The beautiful Dubanni, on the whole the most beautiful group of snowy

* *Geological Magazine*, 1883, p. 468.
† *Travels in Kashmir and Tibet*, vol. 2, p. 302.

mountains we ever saw, blocked up the end of the valley. We marked where the way to Gilgit branched off to the left. Through the faint mist, now that the sun was shining, the elemental rocks glowed with every tint of purple and grey, the colouring of Egypt with the sky of Greece. Only two patches of green could the eye discover in all its wide range: the tiny oasis of Bunji far away, and the few fields of Taliche, like a little carpet forgotten on the rocks by the border of Chilas at our feet."*

Crossing the Indus at Bunji, Mr. Conway ascended the valley of the Gilgit river, which flows into the Indus from the north-west, and in two days reached the Fort of Gilgit, which stands in a barren valley full of the marks of ancient glaciers. The importance of Gilgit may be judged from the fact that it commands all the *easy* passes leading over the Hindu Kush and the Mustagh, from Central Asia to the plains of India. The great trading route from Central Asia leads out of the valley of the Oxus, over the Hindu Kush, and through Yasin to Gilgit, and the easy routes from Chinese Turkistan meet at Gilgit, whilst the route through Chitral and down the Kabul river valley to Peshawur is commanded from Gilgit, so that the importance of Gilgit as a military position may be easily imagined. In a garden at Gilgit is the grave of Lieutenant Hayward, who was murdered at Darkut, in Yasin, in 1870. He was on his way to Badakshan, and was killed in a pine forest, his five servants meeting with the same fate. His body was recovered by Mr. Drew three months afterwards, and was buried in a garden not far from Gilgit fort.†

The Bagrot valley, a branch of that of Gilgit, was next explored by Mr. Conway's party. Its scenery was beautiful. Forests of pine and fir clothed the mountain slopes. Verdant meadows, admirably cultivated, stretched along the river. Fruit trees shaded the villages, and grassy swells high up on the mountains afforded pasturage for the flocks; while, high above all, the snowy peaks soared white and glittering into the deep blue sky.

Having spent a month in the Gilgit valley, Mr. Conway prepared to enter the territory of Kanjut, which has had such a

* *Climbing and Exploration*, pp. 121, 122.
† See Drew's *Northern Barrier of India*, pp. 195-200.

striking history that a brief notice of it is necessary. The Kanjut valley consists of the two districts of Hunza and Nagyr, which are divided from each other by the Kanjut river. The mountains surrounding the valley are magnificent, being deeply covered with snow, and of an astonishing height, Rakipushi—the highest peak—being 25,550 feet above the sea. The Kanjutis are Dards of Aryan race, and are Mahommedans, but belong to different sects, the Nagyrs being Shiahs, while the Hunzas, who are braver and more intelligent, are Maulais. These Kanjutis were, until lately, the most formidable brigands in Central Asia, and their valley was a perfect nest of robbers. They carried on marauding expeditions far to the northwards, they regularly plundered the caravans proceeding from Leh to Yarkand, and they carried away thousands of slaves from the regions they devastated. They defeated the troops of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and secure in their mountain-valley, which was full of great castles and walled villages, defied all enemies. But in 1891 our Indian Government took this matter in hand, and ordered these daring robbers to abandon their plundering raids. They insolently refused, and looked to Russia for help, as a Russian officer had several times visited Kanjut, and had led them to believe that Russia would protect them. The British forces meantime advanced and carried the fort of Nilt by storm, the gate of which was blown in by gun-cotton, daringly placed against it by Captain Alymer. The Kanjuts lined the precipices and prevented a direct advance up the river, but the cliffs were climbed in broad daylight by our gallant sepoys led by British officers, the Kanjut entrenchments were turned, and their forces fled. The Rajah of Hunza escaped into Chinese Tartary, the people submitted to us, and have lived since peaceably with their neighbours.* Mr. Conway found the Kanjut valley beautiful. Fields bordered the streams, and were irrigated by canals, while groves of trees rose round the houses. Great castles with lofty towers were very numerous, and the villages were surrounded by high walls of wonderful strength. The people were friendly; they were tilling the fields and con-

* A most interesting account of the campaign in the Kanjut valley is given by Mr. E. F. Knight in his book, entitled *Where Three Empires Meet.*

structing canals, and the call for prayer regularly sounded from the mosques and holy shrines. But the glory of the valley was the magnificent mountains which surrounded it. These snowy giants, with their vast glaciers, were indescribably grand, and Mr. Conway's party spent a month amongst these rivers of ice, and snowy fastnesses.

But now came one of the great feats of the expedition, the crossing of the Hispar Pass. The Hispar valley is a branch of the Kanjut valley, and runs east and west, and its upper portion is filled by a vast glacier, *forty miles* long, at the head of which is the Pass. Standing on a ridge on the southern side of the valley, Mr. Conway beheld this great river of ice, and thus describes the spectacle:

"From the high position now attained, I beheld the broad snow col itself, and the long majestic glacier, descending all its forty miles in one grand sweep to my feet. . . . . The all-enveloping cloud-shadow solemnised the scene, and emphasised the grand character which this view possesses above all others I have ever beheld. Not only could I clearly perceive the whole length and breadth of the mighty Hispar glacier, and the perfect series of peaks bounding it on the north, but there were still more distant mountains peering over our pass from an excessive remoteness. And if I turned to the west, and surveyed the region whence we had come, there were all the mountains of Budlas, far away as Chalt and the Hunza Peaks joining on to them, so that from west to east the great range was stretched out before me, peak beside peak, for a length of at least ninety miles. And it looked ninety miles. There was no doubt nor mistake about the scale of the thing. There was the glacier to measure by in one direction; in the other, the mountains were well known to us; we had seen them from close at hand, and learned to wonder at the grandeur of each alone.

"After long gazing at the whole view, the eye finally rested upon the glacier—so vast a thing; so much vaster than any glacier I ever imagined. Its last twenty miles are entirely stone covered, so that the nearest white ice was far away. The whole surface looked level, and there were evidently no ice-falls to be surmounted. Many tributary glaciers swept round corners to join the main stream, but they appeared neither to add to its volume nor to disturb its tranquility. There was nowhere any visible trace of life or man. It was a glimpse into a world that knows him not. Grand, solemn, unutterably lonely—such, under the soft grey light, the great Hispar glacier revealed itself." *

* *Climbing and Exploration*, pp. 328, 329.

For nearly a week the party toiled up this vast glacier, with an endless series of snowy peaks to the right and to the left, until they reached the top of the Pass, which was 17,650 feet above the sea. The view forwards towards the east presented the great lake of snow already mentioned, and it was with some trepidation that they descended to the surface of this vast snowy expanse; but on turning a rocky promontory, they saw before them the great Biafo glacier, forty miles long, stretching away straight as a line and level as a table. Down this majestic river of ice they marched for several days, while the mountains on either hand towered into the sky in the form of snowy needles and crystal pinnacles, and finally reached Askole after a fortnight's marching, and frequent halting amidst the ice and snow. The Hispar Pass thus leads over *eighty miles* of glacier-ice, and is consequently the longest glacier-pass in the world.

After a few days' rest, Mr. Conway and his companions started to explore the Baltoro glacier, which is nearly forty miles in length, and comes down from the main range of the Mustagh. At its head is the *old* Mustagh Pass, which has for a long time been disused, owing to enormous accumulations of ice and snow; but it was, nevertheless, crossed by Captain Younghusband in 1887.* The two ranges which border the Baltoro glacier to the north and to the south contain grand peaks of snow, and the mountain group at the head of this glacier is probably the most magnificent in the world. Here rise the giants of Gusherbrum (26,378 feet), the Hidden Peak 26,480 feet), Masherbrum (25,676 feet), and K2 (28,250 feet). Amongst these sublime mountains Mr. Conway spent five weeks, and made his greatest mountaineering exploit in the ascent of Pioneer Peak. Ascending from the main stream of the Baltoro glacier, the climbing party for several days made short ascents and long halts, and finally camped at 20,000 feet, at the foot of a great snowy slope, which led up to the top of the peak. At six o'clock next morning they started for the final ascent, the Swiss guide, Zurbriggen, leading the way. The cold was intense, and their feet rapidly became quite benumbed. Still they pushed on upwards, although the slopes of ice they

* See *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, August 1888.

scaled were so hard and slippery that they had to cut steps in them by means of their axes. For hours they climbed the snowy slopes, while the panorama around and beneath them became grander and grander. Mr. Conway declares that the extreme height had such an effect upon him that, although he still heard the guide's axe cutting steps, his faculties were dulled. At last the topmost ridge was surmounted, and they stood on the summit of the Peak, which was 23,000 feet above the sea. They were all exhausted, and could not have climbed further; their lungs were sound, but their hearts were weak. They remained on the top for more than an hour, during which they gazed with admiration at the sublime view which presented itself all round. Southwards they looked over the mountains of the Indus valley, while away to the north-west range after range of snowy peaks appeared, one behind another, until the prospect faded away in the distance into the mysterious and unknown depths of Central Asia. On their way down from the summit they had a narrow escape from a terrible accident. While descending a slope of ice, the leader of the party (a Gurkha) slipped, and fell down the slope. Fortunately all the climbers were roped together, and the two behind held the rope tight, while the Gurkha hung on the icy slope. He was perfectly cool, and with his axe cut steps for his feet, and so managed to regain the track. It was, however, a narrow escape, as the snow slope where the accident happened was 2000 feet in depth. After this the descent was safely accomplished. With the ascent of Pioneer Peak, the great events of the journey of Mr. Conway's party closed. They left the Baltoro glacier, and crossing the Skoro Pass (17,320 feet) entered the beautiful Shigar valley, and floated down the river to Skardo, the capital of Baltistan.

It is here that the signs of the greater extension of the Tibetan glaciers in the past become most prominent. In every part of Tibet which Mr. Conway visited, in the valleys of Astor, Gilgit, Bagrot, Kanjut, and Shigar, he had seen old moraines, and markings of ancient glaciers. But it is at Skardo that the marks of former glaciation can be best studied, for old moraines are visible here on every side. Mr. Drew says of the Sind valley, that in ancient times it was filled with

a glacier forty miles in length,* whereas the glaciers in this valley are now very insignificant. The same writer tells us that the great glacier of Nubra was formerly four times as long as it is at present.† Dr. Thomson, fifty years ago, saw the marks of ancient glaciers not merely in Tibet, but also all along the southern slopes of the Himalayas;‡ and when Sir Joseph Hooker was exploring the southern flanks of the Himalayas in Eastern Nepaul, and in Sikkim, he saw in all directions traces of enormous glaciers of former days, where none exist now.§ These phenomena present a strange problem for geologists to unravel. The glacial period of ancient times in England and in North America is a most interesting study, but the glacial period of Central Asia is a far more extraordinary phenomenon.

From Skardo Mr. Conway journeyed to Leh, and returned to Kashmir along the great trading route to Central Asia. In concluding our notice of Mr. Conway's travels, we are bound to state—indeed, our extracts will have shown—that his book is an admirable literary production. He writes most graphically and powerfully, and the illustrations, the work of Mr. McCormick—the artist of the expedition—are very beautiful. We believe that the result of Mr. Conway's expedition will be to bring fresh companies of mountaineers to the sublime solitudes of the Karakoram-Himalayas.

We now turn to another portion of Tibet, that we may speak of the remarkable journey of Captain Bower.

A few years ago a melancholy tragedy occurred in Central Asia. An accomplished Scotchman, Mr. Andrew Dalgleish, who had been travelling in Central Asia, was murdered in the wilds of the Karakoram Pass. The murderer was an Afghan, named Dad Mahomed, who had established himself as a trader in Leh, the capital of Western Tibet. He met Mr. Dalgleish, and, having committed the murder, he hurried into the depths of Central Asia, fearful of the consequences of his atrocious deed. The Indian Government sent Captain Bower to capture this miscreant, and after a long chase through the wilds of

* *The Jumnoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 220. † *Ibid.* p. 278.
‡ *Western Himalaya and Tibet*, p. 479.
§ See his *Himalayan Journals*, vol i., pp. 231–235; vol. ii. pp. 104, 118.

Central Asia, Captain Bower succeeded in capturing Dad Mahomed in Samarkand, where the murderer escaped the penalty of his crime by hanging himself in prison. A monument has been erected to Mr. Dalgleish in the Karakoram Pass.

On his return to India, Captain Bower determined to penetrate into unknown Tibet, and to traverse the country from one end to the other. Accompanied by Dr. Thorold, he set out from Leh in June 1891, and kept the destination of his expedition a perfect secret from the Tibetans.

After a short journey, they reached the great Buddhist monastery of Hemis, where an annual miracle-play is performed, to attend which thousands of Tibetans flock to the monastery from all parts of the country. Captain Bower witnessed this extraordinary performance, which takes place in the great courtyard of the monastery. Priests dressed in grotesque robes, and wearing hideous masks, danced for hours, while a hidden choir chanted in true cathedral style, and holy Lamas constantly sprinkled holy water, to repel the demons. The object of this strange performance appears to be to fill the minds of the Tibetans with reverence and awe for the power of their priestly protectors.*

Leaving Hemis, Captain Bower and Dr. Thorold pushed on towards the East, and crossing the frontier between the territories of the Maharajah of Kashmir and Great Tibet, they found themselves on the western edge of the Great Central Plateau of Tibet, which is called the Chang Thang. This remarkable table-land, which extends from east to west for nearly a thousand miles, is the most extensive and most elevated plateau on the surface of the earth. A high snowy range divides it from the basin of the Sanpu on the south, and another chain of mountains forms its northern rampart. The average elevation of the Chang in its western or higher portions is 16,000 feet, and although its height diminishes towards the east, its lower parts, even here, rarely descend below 14,500 feet. Its southern portions were traversed in 1874 by the pundit Nain Singh, who found them to consist

* A most interesting account of this ceremony is given by Mr. Knight in *Where Three Empires Meet.*

of splendid grassy plains, full of countless antelopes and wild sheep, and studded with great salt lakes.

The first point of interest in Captain Bower's route across the Chang was the Mangtza Lake. This is one of the salt lakes which are so numerous on the Great Plateau, and which seem to be slowly drying up. The appearance of the lonely Mangtza Lake, with its deep blue waters, was very beautiful. Thick beds of salt surround the blue waters of the lake, and Tibetans come from great distances to carry the salt away. Beyond the Mangtza Lake, the English travellers crossed a lofty snow-clad range, and descended to another beautiful salt lake, which was 17,930 feet above the sea. The solitude was perfect. The blue lake slept peacefully beneath the snowy peaks, whilst the hills around were covered with multitudes of wild yaks and antelopes feeding in fearless security. Signs of man, there were none. Beyond this sequestered but beautiful lake was another range, and yet another lake still larger, which, like the others, was salt; and it would have been difficult to have obtained fresh water had it not been for the discovery of springs. Whilst on the banks of one of these salt lakes, a black tent was seen in the distance, and shortly after some Tibetan nomads made their appearance. They offered to guide Captain Bower's party on their eastward journey, and again the travellers pushed on, over another lofty range, and then along the shores of another salt lake. The faithless guides, however, almost immediately afterwards deserted in the middle of the night; pursuit was impossible, and the Englishmen were left to their own resources in the midst of this wilderness of lakes and mountains.

Abandoned thus, in the heart of a dreary and inhospitable desert, Captain Bower's party pushed boldly on towards the south-east, and journeyed for several weeks without meeting a single human being. Low rounded hills, with gently sloping sides, and here and there higher snow-capped ranges, surrounded the travellers, while far away in the distance lofty snow-clad mountains blocked the view. Great open valleys, sometimes full of grass, and sometimes bare and sterile, were traversed, and these broad flat valleys often opened out into plains of considerable extent. Salt lake after salt lake was

passed, all of which seemed to be slowly drying up, and were surrounded by beds of dry, hard salt. But the most astonishing thing about this Tibetan wilderness was, that although no human inhabitants were seen in it, it literally *swarmed* with wild animals. Yaks abounded in amazing numbers. Sometimes great herds of these magnificent animals were seen grazing together, and on one occasion a company of no less than seventy was discerned in one herd. In fact, the number of wild yaks in Northern Tibet is almost incredible, and Colonel Prejevalsky, who traversed some parts of this region, estimated the yak population to consist of *millions* of these great animals. This is very surprising, when we think how scanty is the herbage and how limited are the grazing grounds in these desolate regions. The open valleys were often full of graceful antelopes, which seemed particularly to love the most elevated districts. The wild asses, or kiangs, were seen in vast numbers. They careered over the plain in great troops, opening out and wheeling to and fro, like cavalry acting under orders, and galloping in perfect legions and squadrons across the desolate wastes. Wolves also swarmed around the travellers, and on one night they made an attack on the camp, so stealthily that they carried off seven sheep in the darkness without making the slightest noise or raising the least alarm. Snow-storms were frequent, although it was August, and again and again the travellers were shrouded in driving snow, or enveloped in thick mists and fogs. Another great trouble was the high wind that seemed always to be blowing on the elevated plains, a fact which is not surprising when we remember that these uplands are from 15,000 to 16,500 feet above the sea. The wind was often so furious that it blew a perfect hurricane, and at night the tents had to be carefully secured with great stones to prevent their being carried away bodily. Provisions began by-and-by to fail, and the little caravan of English travellers, with their followers, was placed in great peril of starvation.

At length, some Tibetan nomads were one day observed in the distance, but they were suspicious and hostile, and received the English party with a volley from their rude matchlocks. Friendship was, however, ultimately established, and presently

great numbers of nomads appeared dressed in sheepskins, with their hair hanging down in long pigtails, and mounted on shaggy ponies. They endeavoured to turn Captain Bower back, and failing in this, they accompanied him as he marched on. The numbers of the Tibetans increased at every stage; mounted men issued forth from every valley, and at last hundreds of men accompanied the English party on their journey, and pitched their tents all round them at night. At last, when Captain Bower was encamped about eighty miles to the north-west of the great lake, Tengri Nor, a Tibetan official, who was governor of one of the neighbouring provinces, met him. Negotiations now commenced, and the Tibetans demanded that Captain Bower should immediately return by the same way that he had come. This the gallant officer emphatically declined to do, and declared his intention of marching straight on Lhassa. Filled with horror at the idea of a European entering the holy city, the Tibetans announced that they would fight if he ventured to carry out his purpose, and although they admitted that many of them would be killed in the conflict, they said that they might as well be slain in fighting with the English as be put to death for allowing them to advance, as this would certainly happen to them if they permitted the explorers to proceed. Ultimately, after prolonged discussion, a compromise was agreed on. Captain Bower was to return for several marches towards the west, and he might then journey northwards; the Tibetans on their part promising to furnish him with guides, provisions, and baggage animals. Recruited by their long rest, and amply provided with supplies, the daring English travellers once more set out, but winter was now setting in, and this lateness of the season foreboded increased sufferings. They had not gone far before their trials recommenced. The first trouble was the want of water, for as it was now the end of October all the water in the country was frozen. This was a most serious thing for the baggage animals, and many of the ponies broke down and died by the side of the track, or had to be abandoned to the wolves. Another danger consisted in the robbers or Chukpas, as they are termed, who roam over these wastes in strong parties. On one occasion an enormous caravan of yaks, horses, and thousands

of sheep was encountered, driven by these robbers. At another time, in the night, Dr. Thorold heard a man give a low whistle near the tents, and in the morning it was found that some ponies were missing, which had evidently been carried off by the robbers. These marauders never openly attacked the English party, but one day a party of them, all of whom were well mounted on shaggy ponies, surrounded the explorers. They were armed with matchlocks, swords, and long spears, and were altogether a most savage-looking set; but they limited their hostile demonstrations to abusing the guides who were accompanying Captain Bower's party. These robbers are a perfect terror to those who cross the Tibetan solitudes, and are most daring in their depredations. They frequently attack the nomads, and sometimes even carry on their plundering raids in the very neighbourhood of Lhassa. The Tibetan Government is constantly making efforts to put them down, and conflicts often take place, while, if any Chukpas are caught on plundering expeditions, they are put to death with great cruelty. Some time ago an army from Lhassa invaded the territory where the robbers abound, when the latter promised that, if the Government would but give them leave to carry out one more plundering raid, they would live quietly and harmlessly afterwards. Leave was granted, but the robbers did not keep to their compact, and continued plundering as before.

The cold now became very intense, the thermometer fell to 15° below zero, and the wind blew with such fury that night after night it seemed as if the tents would be carried away. Wild animals were as numerous as ever; yaks and antelopes swarmed on every side, wolves prowled round the camp, and on one occasion the tracks of a bear were observed. Nor were birds absent from these solitudes—ravens flew about, eagles circled over head, and the sand-grouse was very abundant.

Day after day the weary march was continued until the nomads, with their black tents and vast herds of tame yaks, were again met with. The journey over the great plateau of the Chang seemed endless, but it was drawing to a close. On December 1 Captain Bower's party crossed the Yag Pass, and descended the snowy slopes on its eastern side, getting

down at length into a narrow valley, in which many wild animals were feeding. While marching down this glen they turned a corner, and a most welcome sight was suddenly presented to their eyes. In the midst of the valley rose a towering pyramid of rock, and perched on its very summit was a huge Buddhist monastery, while at the feet of the rock was a regular village of stone houses. No wonder that the travellers were overjoyed at the sight, for these were the first houses that they had seen for *five months!* On the great table-land of the Chang there had been only the black tents of the shepherds, but now stone houses had been seen again. Dr. Thorold went to the monastery, hoping to be allowed to examine its interior. The Lamas, however, refused to allow him to come in, alleging in excuse the curious reason that there was only one gate which it would be proper for them to open in order to admit him, but that if they allowed him to enter through this doorway the result would be that the Yag Pass would be permanently closed! From this point onwards their road led them continually by monasteries, villages, towns, and cultivated fields. The monasteries were particularly remarkable. Their number was extraordinary, and from different points on the route they presented striking spectacles; the whole inhabited region of Tibet—except the Chang—was full of them. They were seen perched on the top of inaccessible crags or of jagged and rocky peaks; they were found in the very midst of clusters of houses, and of extensive towns. They were often of large size; in fact, it was not an unusual thing to see a town which seemed to be nothing but an enormous monastery, whilst the gilded roofs, beautiful adornments, and massive strength of some of these monasteries, showed how richly they were endowed.

On December 7 Captain Bower and his companions met with the first trees that they had seen for *six months*, for on the Great Plateau they had crossed, although grass is plentiful, and bushes may be seen in sheltered spots, no trees will grow. The country now became very beautiful. The valleys were well cultivated. Splendid forests clothed the hill-sides, grassy slopes rose above, giving pasturage to stags, mountain-goats, and deer. Snow-peaks towered above into the clear blue sky,

and winding rivers meandered through the valleys. Clear blue sky, bracing air, grassy glades, dark green forests, and glorious snowy mountains, all combined to make a magnificent country.

Unfortunately, the human inhabitants of this lovely land were utterly unworthy of the country. The Tibetans were rude, insolent, and hostile. They collected in crowds around the English travellers, and insulted them in every possible way. At one village a conflict almost took place. A great crowd pressed upon the travellers, and a Tibetan, when asked to stand back, insolently drew his sword. Stones were flung, and clods of hard earth thrown at the Englishmen, but at length the tumult subsided. When Captain Bower was on a roof, trying to take observations, stones were, of course, hurled at him. The people were also thievish, and had to be closely watched, as they were always attempting to steal something. They crowded round and indeed mobbed the travellers all day long, and any attempt to speak to them was received with loud laughter and abuse. On one occasion a crowd gathered and seemed determined to continue gazing at the strangers *all night*. In fact, in the morning, Captain Bower's party, on opening their eyes, saw the same people gazing at them from the same places as they had occupied on the preceding evening. As Captain Bower approached the important town of Chiamdo, he was met by a Chinese governor, and by a company of Buddhist Lamas. The Governor was polite, but the Lamas threatened that if Captain Bower tried to enter the town they would fight, and declared that they had 3000 men armed with guns, ready to attack him. A conflict appeared imminent, but Captain Bower, at the entreaty of the Governor, agreed not to enter Chiamdo. Accordingly, his party passed the town, having the river between it and them. Chiamdo seemed to be a large place, of about 12,000 inhabitants, a quarter of whom are monks; and two magnificent monasteries with gilded roofs occupied the middle of the town. The people gathered on the flat roofs and gazed at the Englishmen as they passed, as if they had been inhabitants of another world. In the evening, after Chiamdo had been passed, the warlike Lamas forced their way into Captain Bower's room, and violently declared that they would not allow him to halt for the next day, as he had

decided to do. Patience could stand it no longer, and when they again referred to the 3000 men armed with guns, Captain Bower snatched up a gun and drove them all out of the room. Once more the Chinese Governor came forward; the halt was agreed to, and the bellicose monks departed. It was not surprising that many of the inhabitants of this lovely part of Tibet felt such a strong desire to see the Englishmen, as many of them had fought against us in the recent conflicts in Sikkim. They had the most vivid recollections of the terrible fire of the English breech-loaders; and one man, who had been in a battle with our troops, said to Captain Bower: "I was told I had to go and fight the English, and with a lot of others I started for Sikkim. When we got there we suddenly heard a rattle of musketry; a great many men fell. I got hit in the face, turned round and went straight for home, and have stayed there since." Notwithstanding their terror of the English weapons, the people seemed to be very pleased at the idea of the English taking their country, for a Tibetan told a caravan-driver that he had heard that the English were coming to take Tibet, and he should be heartily glad if such a thing took place, because the English always paid for everything, and never took anything by force.

Nothing strikes a traveller so forcibly in the more populous parts of Tibet as the evidences of the power of Buddhism, which appear on every side. Not to mention the countless monasteries, with their thousands of Lamas, the hill-sides are covered with praying-flags, and the streams are constantly full of praying-wheels, which are turned by the power of the water. At one point of his journey Captain Bower passed through a valley in which there were many villages and much cultivation. The sides of the hills rising above this valley were covered with long lines of flags, which, doubtless, were inscribed with the regular Tibetan prayer, and the inhabitants said that these praying-flags were always kept waving on the slopes of the hills. On the top of bleak passes piles of stones were constantly found, which were crowned with poles surmounted by praying-flags. At one spot an enormous caravan of Buddhist pilgrims was encountered. Men, women, and even little children, in vast numbers, were all on the march.

Many of them carried praying-flags in their hands, and they bore heavy loads on their backs. These pilgrims were hastening to the holy city of Lhassa, in order to be present at the great festival which is held at the beginning of the new year, which occurs in the middle of February. The Tibetans then assemble in Lhassa in multitudes, and the festival lasts for a month. The ceremonials are closed by a kind of vicarious sacrifice, in which a man is supposed to bear away the sins of the people. After this the nation is considered to be purified, and the worshippers depart to their homes. At the different monasteries, particularly those which are reputed to possess a special sanctity, regular festivals are also held, which are attended by great numbers of the people, so that in many parts of Tibet streams of pilgrims are incessantly traversing the roads, in order to reach some holy shrine where they may take part in a festival. Never has a country been so thoroughly consecrated to religion as Tibet, and never has a priesthood obtained such a power over a people as the Lamas of this extraordinary land. The Lamas, in fact, are the rulers of the country, and the people are their abject slaves.

Captain Bower reached Batang, near the Yang-tze-Kiang (there called the Di Chu), in January, 1892, and after a few days' rest resumed his journey eastwards. He crossed lofty ranges, amongst which lies the town of Lithang, at an elevation of 13,300 feet, and reached the Chinese frontier town of Ta-Cheng-Lu, from whence he made his way to the Yang-tze-Kiang river, and was carried down its broad bosom through the midst of China, until he reached Shanghai, where he ended his adventurous journey.

Captain Bower's great achievement consists in his exploration of the Great Central Plateau of Tibet (the Chang). In 1874 the Indian Pundit Nain Singh traversed the whole of the southern portion of the Chang, from its western edge to Lake Namcho,* and a few years ago another Pundit, A. K., journeyed over its eastern plains.† In 1886 Messrs. Carey and Dalgleish, on their way to Khotan, crossed the western corner of the Chang; and in 1890 Prince Henry of Orleans and M.

* *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1877. † *Ibid.*, 1885.

Bonvalot entered the Chang from the north, and traversed its surface as far southwards as Lake Namcho,* while Mr. W. Rockhill has lately journeyed for hundreds of miles on the Great Plateau. But Captain Bower is the first European, in modern times, who has crossed the whole length of the Chang from west to east, and has described its whole extent.

Travelling in Tibet has its special difficulties and its serious dangers. The intense cold, the extreme altitude, and the scarcity of food occasion great privations; and the inhabitants are unfriendly and troublesome. Nevertheless, the delights of wandering in these wilds are great. The atmosphere is clear and luminous, and the air is sharp and bracing. The sky is of a deep blue, and the mountain slopes, though barren, glow with brilliant colours. The great grassy plains swarm with countless animals, and glitter with the broad and bright surfaces of lakes; while in the distance rise the long lines of pure white snowy peaks. It is not surprising that those who have wandered in this mysterious region declare in after years that there is no land on the face of the earth that they would revisit with greater pleasure than Tibet.

Art. III.—THE NEW ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. *The New Acts of the Apostles, or the Marvels of Modern Missions.* By Arthur T. Pierson. London: Nisbet & Co. 1894. 6*s*.
2. *The Official Report of the Missionary Conference of the Anglican Communion, May,* 1894. Edited by George A. Spottiswoode. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1894.
3. *Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* 1701—1892. With much supplementary information. London: Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. 1893.

* See the account of their journey, entitled *Across Thibet.*

4. *Centenary Volume of Baptist Missionary Society.* 1791—1892. *Centenary Celebration Reports.* Editor: JOHN BROWN MYERS. London: Baptist Missionary Society.
5. *Makers of our Missions*, and *Women on the Mission Field.* By JOHN TELFORD, B.A. London: Charles H. Kelly. 1895.

DR. PIERSON'S lectures on "The New Acts of the Apostles," were delivered in connection with the Missionary Lectureship founded by Mr. W. P. Duff in memory of his father, the great Indian missionary. The first series of lectures on this foundation (dealing with Mediæval Missions) was given by Dr. Thomas Smith, who had been associated with Dr. Duff in Bengal. In 1884 Dr. Fleming Stevenson chose for his subject "The Dawn of the Modern Mission;" in 1888 Sir Monier Williams dealt with Buddhism. Dr. Pierson delivered his lectures in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other Scotch towns in 1893, at the time when he was filling Mr. Spurgeon's place at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. Dr. Andrew Thomson, who heard some of them, says he was "astonished at their power and freshness and varied excellence. They were as new and fragrant as the flowers of spring." The lectures are essentially popular in style and treatment, so that a more severe taste will find not a little that needs pruning or revision, but they are eminently adapted to excite and quicken the interest of Christian men and women in the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations. The book thus in some measure meets the wish expressed by a speaker at the Anglican Missionary Conference for "a text-book on the history of missions, not a mere string of facts and dates, but a nineteenth century Acts of the Apostles, showing how God has been with His faithful servants, slowly and surely building up His Church in all parts of the world, guiding and comforting them in all their trials and difficulties." The title is certainly a happy one. It is not original. The late Bishop of Ripon described the story of John Williams as "The twenty-ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles." William Carey, also, in his famous "Enquiry into the obligations of Christians, to use means for the conversion of the heathens," dwells in much

detail on the Acts of the Apostles as the first record of Christian service. He would have endorsed Dr. Pierson's contention that St. Luke's record is the history of primitive missions, and embodies the abiding principles which all succeeding generations must follow. The very abruptness with which St. Luke closes his narrative suggests that it is incomplete. Each generation is to add new chapters till "the crown of all the earth" is placed upon the head of Christ.

Dr. Pierson's treatment of his subject is eminently suggestive. The new Pentecosts and the new opening of doors, the call and sending forth of the new Apostles, the voices and visions which mark out the appointed field of service, the converts and martyrs, the signs and wonders, the new hopes and incentives, are topics peculiarly adapted to inspire enthusiasm and provoke to love and good works. The fact that new Pentecosts mark every stage in the history of missions, is itself an inspiration; those outpourings of the Spirit, in some respects surpassing any recorded in Apostolic days. "Witness the story of Tahiti and all Western Polynesia; of the Hawaiian, Marquesan, Micronesian groups; of New Zealand, Madagascar, and the Fijian Islands; of Nanumaga, under Thomas Powell; of Sierra Leone, under William Johnson; of the missions in the Valley of the Nile, in Zululand, and on the Gaboon River; in Banza Manteke, under Henry Richards, and Basutoland under Dr. Moffat. Read the memoirs of Dr. Grant and Fidelia Fiske in Oroomiah; of Mackay in Uganda, and his namesake in Formosa. Follow the work of Judson in Burma, of Boardman among the Karens; of Cyrus Wheeler on the Euphrates, of Clough and Jewett at Ongole, of William Duncan in his Metlakahtla, and Joseph Neesima in his Doshisha." This is a wonderful list, but every student of missions could add to it. The heroic service and sacrifice of the Church of Christ in this greatest of all missionary centuries, has, indeed, been richly honoured by the outpouring of the Spirit.

William Carey had the seer's gift to discern the signs of the times a hundred years ago. As a boy he delighted in travels, and eagerly devoured the *Life of Columbus* and Captain Cook's *Voyages*. He recognised that the world was opening to receive the Gospel, whilst the mighty spiritual awakening, brought about

by the Evangelical Revival, had prepared the Churches both in England and America to enter the open doors. Others were not so quick to discern the will of God as Carey, but he knew no rest till he had conquered every difficulty and was free to carry the Gospel to India. In our day what Dr. Pierson describes as "the new open doors" show that the Church has an opportunity such as earlier ages never dreamed of. The seven wonders of the world to-day are world-wide exploration, world-wide communication, world-wide civilisation, world-wide assimilation, world-wide emancipation, world-wide preparation, and world-wide organisation. Every one can understand the force of these calls to service. "The first condition of a world's evangelisation is its exploration." Modern travellers have made us familiar with almost every corner of the earth. The greatness of our opportunities for service has thus been clearly revealed. "Now, at last, there are no distant lands, no foreign peoples; the whole world is one neighbourhood; those who were afar-off are brought nigh." As the Rev. F. S. Webster said in the Anglican Missionary Conference, "the open sores of heathendom are before us; we cannot plead ignorance, the press and electric telegraph have so changed the condition of things that Africa and China are as near to us as Lazarus was to Dives." While the world is thus opening up to our view, and highways are being prepared for the Church's messengers, the nations are being made ready to welcome them. "Civilisation is in our day the forerunner of missions," Dr. Pierson says. This is true, but the converse is yet more true. Missions are the forerunners of civilisation. Fiji and Madagascar may be cited as illustrations of the latter fact. Every messenger of the Gospel has been a pioneer of commerce and civilisation. Each additional missionary to Madagascar and the South Seas has, it is estimated, been the means of adding indirectly £10,000 a year to commerce in those regions. Where no hope of gain would ever have tempted men to enter, such heroes as Cross and Cargill, Hunt and Calvert have boldly ventured to land, with wives and little children, that they might save men from sin and cruelty in their most terrible forms.

Dr. Pierson has a fine subject in "The Calling of the New

Apostles." No one can doubt that "the modern missionary era has given birth to a royal race of giants." He goes back to the thirteenth century to trace the bright succession of apostolic men and women. Christ has never lacked His witnesses. "No century or generation has been without its missionaries; and these lives have so been linked together that, since the first link was forged amid the white-heat of Pentecostal fires, this grand succession has continued, without one break or missing link in the chain." Raimundus Lullius, a young noble of Majorca, was the pioneer among the Moslems. He spent thirty years in scandalous excess, then he renounced the world and joined the Order of St. Francis. He mastered Arabic, and conceived a plan for establishing missionary colleges, where young men might be taught that and other languages. He pleaded with popes and kings for help to carry out his schemes. When he found that they would not hear he himself went to Africa. As soon as he revealed his mission he was cast into prison. He was then driven out of the country, but found his way back and was again made a prisoner. When seventy years of age he visited the chief cities of Europe to enlist helpers. He pleaded to deaf ears. Though others were unmoved, he returned to Africa in 1314, at the age of seventy-eight. Two years later he was stoned to death in Bougiah. Dr. George Smith pays him a grand tribute: "No Church, papal or reformed, has produced a missionary so original in plan, so ardent and persevering in execution, so varied in gifts, so inspired by the love of Christ, as this saint of seventy-nine, whom Mohammedans stoned to death on the 30th of June, 1315. In an age of violence and faithlessness, he was the apostle of heavenly love." The next name which Dr. Pierson passes in review is that of Francis Xavier. He thinks that no life since that of St. Paul has shown such absorbing zeal for the glory of God. Xavier's preaching, however, knew nothing of the washing away of sin by faith in Christ. At the close of ten years' work he reckoned his converts by the million, but it was baptism that had made them Christians, not the renewing of heart and life. John Eliot, the Roxbury pastor, who became the apostle of the Indians, formed the red men into a commonwealth, with civil courts,

and Christian institutions. He trained a native ministry, translated the Scriptures, and prepared a Christian literature for his converts in their own tongue. His life motto is given at the end of his Indian grammar: "Prayer and pains through faith in Jesus Christ will do anything." A less known name is that of Baron von Welz, an Austrian baron, and an adherent of the Lutheran Church, who became the first missionary to Dutch Guiana. About 1664, he invited others to join him in a society of Jesus, intended to promote Christianity and the conversion of the heathen. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, the Danish pietists, who landed at Tranquebar in 1706, were the pioneers of modern missions in India. The Danish East India Company sent instructions to their Governor in Tranquebar, to put every possible hindrance in the way of the projected mission. Nor was he slow to carry out their orders. The missionaries were even refused a shelter till one of the Governor's suite took pity upon them. Then they were allowed to have a house on the wall close to the native population. Ziegenbalg had neither grammar nor dictionary, yet such was his industry and application that in eight months he could speak Tamil. He prepared a grammar and two lexicons, translated the New Testament, set up the first press, established a Missionary Seminary, and made a preaching tour into Tanjore. He died in 1719, leaving over three hundred and fifty converts, catechumens and pupils. Another memorable name is that of Hans Egede, the Apostle of Greenland. He was a Danish pastor in the Lifoden Isles, who went with his wife, children, and some forty settlers, to found a Christian colony among the Eskimo. Dr. Pierson says: "Those stupid dwarfs, like the icebergs and snowfields about them, seemed frozen into insensibility; and, feeling that only some sure sign of Divine power could melt their stolid apathy, Egede boldly asked for the gift of healing, and was permitted in scores of cases to exercise it, while his wife received the gift of prophecy, predicting in the crisis of famine the very day and hour when a ship should come bearing supplies." The settlement had to be broken up, and it seemed as though Egede's work would come to naught, but in 1731, Count Zinzendorf met two of his Eskimo converts. That incident proved one of the main

factors in the formation of Moravian missions. Next year two members of the brotherhood were sent to the West Indies. Thus began that noble missionary work which has been the glory of the Unitas Fratrum. Up to 1882, they had sent forth 2,170 missionaries. Protestant Churches give on an average one of their members out of five thousand to the foreign field; the Moravians give one out of every ninety-two. No Church has been so richly baptized with missionary zeal as the Unitas Fratrum. Self-sacrifice is for its agents the paramount rule of life; and the more hopeless and trying a field is the more mighty is its attraction to these apostolic men and women. The most discouraging sphere in the world is probably their mission in Tibet. They have three stations. The missionaries have been toiling and praying for forty years, yet only sixty-three converts have been won. Such discouragements might drive others from the field, but the Moravians stick to their post. In her beautiful little volume, "Among the Tibetans," Mrs. Bishop gives some particulars as to the two noble Moravian missionaries who were the only permanent European residents in Leh. "For twenty-five years," she says, "Mr. Redslob, a man of noble physique and intellect, a scholar and linguist, an expert botanist and an admirable artist, devoted himself to the welfare of the Tibetans, and, though his great aim was to Christianise them, he gained their confidence so thoroughly by his virtues, kindness, profound Tibetan scholarship and manliness, that he was loved and welcomed everywhere, and is now mourned for as the best and truest friend the people ever had." He escorted Mrs. Bishop on a three weeks' journey to Nubra. Among its pleasant villages, Mr. Redslob's scholarship, old-world courtesy, kindness and adaptability, and medical skill, ensured him and his friends a welcome, the heartiness of which Mrs. Bishop felt quite unable to describe. "The headmen and elders of the villages came to meet us when we arrived, and escorted us when we left; the monasteries and houses, with the best they contained, were thrown open to us; the men sat around our camp-fires at night, telling stories and local gossip, and asking questions, everything being translated to me by my kind guide, and so we actually lived 'among the Tibetans.'" Yet, though Mr.

Redslob was beloved of all, and showed intense sympathy with the people in their affairs, though he almost ranked as an abbot amongst them, he had little encouragement. Mrs. Bishop went with him to the monastery of Deskyid, perched on a majestic spur of rock. It was a great convent with a hundred and fifty lamas. Mr. Redslob stood in the blazing sunshine on the roof of its highest tower, holding controversy with the abbot, whilst the monks around indulged in much scornful laughter. The abbot accepted a copy of St. John's Gospel. "Matthew," he said, "is very laughable reading." Such comments reveal the depth of prejudice against which the truth has to struggle. The good Moravian died soon afterwards. During his last illness "anxious faces thronged his humble doorway as early as break of day, and the stream of friendly inquiries never ceased till sunset, and when he died the people of Ladak and Nubra wept and 'made a great mourning for him,' as for their truest friend." The new Acts of the Apostles scarcely has a finer chapter than this. Tibet is opening to the Gospel, and some more favoured worker will by and by enter into the labours of such men as Dr. Marx and Mr. Redslob.

Christian Frederich Schwartz, the founder of the native Christian Church in India, was regarded, both by friend and foe, with something akin to veneration. Even the redoubtable Hyder Ali called him the Venerable Father Schwartz, and Bishop Heber described him as "one of the most active, fearless, and successful missionaries who have appeared since the Apostles." He saw the country around Trichinopoly dotted with native churches, and became the patriarch of the whole region. He made laws and gave judgment, and wielded an influence greater than that of the Rajah himself.

Five years before Schwartz died Carey found his way to Serampore. India has never lacked a succession of true apostles. Nor have other lands been less favoured. Robert Morrison's twenty-seven years in China laid the foundation for Christian evangelism in that vast Empire. He translated the Scriptures, baptized the first Chinese convert, ordained the first native minister, and laid the foundations of an Anglo-Chinese college. Judson's heroic life in Burma, Livingstone's labours in opening up Africa for Christ, Dr. Duff's educational

work in India, and John Williams's triumphal progress in Polynesia, crowned at last by his death at Erromango—these stories are a continual inspiration to Christian heroism.

But the peculiar glory of this missionary century has been "the new apostolate of women." Any one who turns the pages of Mr. Telford's little book, "Women in the Mission Field," will see how large a share of the success obtained is due to these Christian ladies who have borne their full share of peril and privation among the heathen. Mary Moffat's name will always be linked with that of her husband in the apostolate of Bechuanaland; Mary Livingstone's touching story is engraven on the hearts of all friends of Africa; whilst the work of Mrs. Judson and Mrs. Boardman among Burmans and Karens, of Margaret Cargill, Hannah Hunt, Mary Calvert in the midst of Fijian cannibals, of Miss Tucker at Batala, and of Miss Whately at Cairo, shed lustre on this age of missions. These workers, though better known, are but a type of all the rest. It is hard to find a missionary's wife who has not caught the holy enthusiasm. Sometimes when the husband's heart was failing the wife has held up his hands and fired afresh his zeal and devotion. When Hans Egede was about to sail for Greenland some sailors warned him of the risks which he ran in venturing among savages who had actually killed and eaten some of their party. Egede thought of his four children who were going with him, and stepped back from the vessel in which he was about to take his passage. His wife, who had for six years kept him at home, now cried, "O ye of little faith!" and boldly stepped on board. Whilst her husband and children wept, her face shone as though it had been the face of an angel. When James Calvert was urged to visit Ono in 1840, he told his wife that he could not bear to leave her alone as their own island was in danger of war. Mary Calvert had not been two years in Fiji. She was living in the midst of degraded cannibals, but she calmly replied, "It would be better to leave me alone than to neglect so many people; and if you can arrange for the work to be carried on, you ought to go." What quiet heroism breathes in such words! Dr. Pierson lingers over the names of Hannah Mullens, whose work for Hindu women bore such blessed fruit; and of Mary Williams, who, when stricken by

the terrible death of her husband, was urged by the Polynesian chief to beware lest she killed herself with sorrow: "If you, too, are taken, O what shall we then do!" He reminds us how Fidelia Fiske, who braved the unutterable filth of Persian huts at Oroomiah, became the real pioneer of women's work in Persia. In a meeting held before she returned to America, ninety-three women greeted her as the instrument of their conversion.

"New Converts and Martyrs" furnish many inspiring pages in *The New Acts of the Apostles.* In 1738 John Beck was rewarded for his trying years of fruitless labour among the Eskimo. He and his colleagues had patiently borne derision and insult. The savages broke their furniture, stole their food and manuscripts, pelted them with stones, and broke the boat on which their hope of subsistence depended. But in 1738, whilst Beck was preparing an Eskimo Bible, a company of Greenlanders came and watched him. The missionary read them portions of the Gospel, till one of the party said, as he listened to the story of the Passion: "How was that? Tell it to me once more; for I, too, want to be saved." Kayarnak drank in the message. At Easter, in 1739, he was baptized, with his wife and two children. A great change came over his countrymen, so that, in 1747, the first church in Greenland was built, and 300 people gathered there for worship. Patient toil had won a blessed harvest. Africaner, the Hottentot chief whom Robert Moffat led to Christ, is another notable trophy. In Burma, Kho-tha-byu, who had been accessory to not less than thirty murders, became the Karen evangelist. He was baptized in 1828, at the age of fifty, and began to itinerate through the villages, bringing back parties of as many as 150 at a time for baptism. He was ignorant, almost to the verge of stupidity, yet the moment he began to speak about Christ he almost seemed inspired. The Karens sometimes thronged his house so that there was danger of its breaking down, and he had scarcely time for food or sleep. The success of the mission "exceeds, perhaps, any other, except that to the Hawaiian Islands."

But if these single portraits are deeply impressive, it is still more wonderful to watch the transformed communities that

have sprung up as the result of missionary labour. William Johnson's seven years' work among the freedmen at Sierra Leone laid the foundations of a Christian State; Samuel Marsden saw New Zealand transformed by the Grace of God; Fiji has been saved from horrors of cruelty which baffle description. Dr. Pierson says, "If one could dip his pen in the molten brimstone of hell's fiery lake, he could still write no just account of the Fijians fifty years ago." How great the triumph won by the Wesleyan missionaries is Miss Gordon Cumming bears witness. "I doubt," she says, "if there is any other corner of the world from which the outgoings of morning and evening waft to heaven so united a voice of prayer and praise." The West Indies, Madagascar, the Friendly Islands, furnish illustrations of the same happy transformation. The Baptist Mission on the Congo is bearing blessed fruit. Even India, "the Malakoff of heathenism," is furnishing her converts and martyrs. A century ago the Directors of our East India Company put on record their deliberate conviction that "the sending of Christian missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most expensive, most unwarranted project that was ever proposed by a lunatic enthusiast." The Marquis of Hastings dismissed a chaplain in India for distributing tracts. "The man," he said, "who would be so rash as to do such an act, would let off a pistol in a powder magazine." Yet what has been the fruit of missionary labour in India. The first Prince of Travancore publicly expressed his opinion in 1874: "Marvellous has been the effect of Christianity in the moral moulding and leavening of Europe. I am not a Christian; I do not accept the cardinal tenets of Christianity as they concern man in the next world; but I accept Christian ethics in their entirety. I have the highest admiration for them." Henry Martyn was horror-struck by the sights which he saw in India. "I shivered as if standing, as it were, in the neighbourhood of hell. The fiends of darkness seem to sit in sullen repose in this land." Since his day a great change has come over that vast Empire. Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay, drew up a list of the horrors removed by our Government. If India has

not yet acknowledged her debt to Christianity, those who study his list may be assured that the day for such acknowledgment cannot long be delayed. Suttee, exposure on the banks of the river, and the burying alive of parents are tragedies of the past. No children may now be cast into the Ganges; infanticide, in every form, is forbidden; the day of human sacrifices in the temples, and voluntary suicide beneath the idol-car or in the water, is gone. Voluntary torment by hook swinging and other hideous outrages are no longer possible. Mutilation and barbarous punishments have been brought to an end. Slavery is abolished. Our Government no longer patronises idolatry, or grants legal support to caste. Lord William Bentinck's governor-generalship marks the beginning of a more enlightened rule in India. We have not yet reaped our harvest, but we have effected a revolution in social and national life, which is opening many eyes to the blessings that follow in the train of Christian principles and influence.

St. Paul's wonderful record of perils borne for Christ is eclipsed by the story of modern missions. John G. Paton records something like fifty occasions when his life was preserved in answer to prayer. "His whole narrative evinces the interposition of God. No biography has done more in modern days to revive faith in Providential preservations." The whole story of the Fijian mission teaches the same great lessons.

People often speak about the slow progress of missionary work, but a general survey of the field will show how rapidly many of our results have been gained. It is true that no convert was won in Tahiti for fourteen years. Since 1811, however, more than a million converts have been gathered in to the Church in Western Polynesia. The first Karen was enrolled in 1828, now there are 200,000 Karen Christians and 500 self-sustaining churches. Half a century saw the whole of Fiji saved from cannibalism and idolatry. In Tinnevelly and other parts of Southern India, it has been computed that 50,000 people turned from idolatry in the year 1878. Sir George Grey, who presided at the closing meeting of the Anglican Missionary

Conference, pointed out that "really at the present moment the Church is advancing with more rapid strides than it has done for some centuries."

In the closing section of his book, Dr. Pierson deals with the future. The whole world is waiting for the Gospel. Medical missionaries are welcomed everywhere. During the last sixty years they have done much to open doors long closed. Something like 359 qualified medical missionaries are in the field, seventy-four of whom are women. The United States have sent out 173; Great Britain, 169; Canada, 7; Germany, 3; 126 are working in China, 76 in India, 46 in Africa. "All India clamours for capable women who are trained nurses and qualified physicians." The way in which Christian hospitals are thronged with patients bears witness to the growing demand for such institutions. Every book of travel in the East or in Africa teems with arguments for medical missions. Sickness, unrelieved by any healing art, is stretching out its arms for help. The doors are open everywhere. Here is the Church's opportunity. "The new Acts of the Apostles is, like the old, an unfinished book. Other chapters wait to be written! What shall they record!" If the spirit of generous giving and heroic service rest on all Christian people, there is no doubt that new Pentecosts will be ours, with new apostles, new converts and martyrs, new signs and wonders, and success and blessing which shall eclipse even the triumphs of the closing century.

The Anglican Missionary Conference held last summer in St. James's Hall shows that the Church of England is awake to the greatness of the present call and opportunity. It indicated, as some one said, the high water-mark of that great tide of missionary enthusiasm which has been rising in the Church of England so rapidly and so steadily during recent years. Archdeacon Sinclair points out, in his "Words to the Laity," that the Low Church party has been "marvellously abundant in good works," as the annual report and meeting of the Church Missionary Society bears witness. In this respect they far surpass High Churchmen. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Presidential Address to the Missionary Conference, made no secret of his wish and hope that the day was not far distant when the Church should be her own Mission

Society. "In the Apostolic time we never doubt that the Church itself was the great mission power; that, as every individual realised that the first business of a Christian was to make other people Christians, so the Church seemed to be doing nothing by limited instruments, while it was all working with power in the Holy Ghost." This was the spirit and method of the first age of Christianity. A century or two later the task seemed to have passed into the hands "of amazing men, of great saints filled with the Spirit of God," like Patrick or Ulfilas, Columba and St. Martin who went forth,' winning tribes and nations for Christ. This was the personal era of missions. Then came the Governmental era when great kings and conquerors offered those whom they vanquished a choice between baptism and the sword. The crusades, in which the Christian world sought to force the Moslems to renounce their own faith, and the Inquisition which laboured to repress heresy at home were the natural sequence of this Governmental era of missions. The era of Societies then set in. Dr. Benson compares the Church Missionary Society to the Society of Jesus, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Congregation at Rome, *de propaganda Fide*. "The Societies are banded together upon principles. They engage enthusiasm; they even enlist fanaticism; and they have a very considerable power of bringing to bear the riches of rich men. But they are, after all, Societies within a society whose special business it is to do this work for Christ. It is a great success, but it is a pathetic success. The spirit which, in politics, we call 'party' has a great deal to do with the interest, and vehemence, and energetic success of the Societies." There is no doubt that the Archbishop has put his finger on the sore, but the only cure for it, as the *Guardian* pointed out at the time, is the healing of the Church's discords at home, and he would be a sanguine man who ventured to predict that such an event was near at hand. The controversy aroused by this deliverance has made it abundantly clear that the time when the Societies shall cease to exist is not yet in view. Till it dawns they furnish the best means for evoking the zeal and power necessary for the evangelisation of the world.

The pressing problems of the mission field were handled by the Conference in a way which will help members of all Societies. The diversity of opinion brought out shows how difficult of solution many of these questions are. Nonconformists, even though they reach widely differently conclusions on many of the points under discussion, will be none the less interested in their suggestive treatment. In the first session of the Conference Prebendary Webb-Weploe insisted strenuously that the conversion of the world is the task of all disciples. "There is not a member of the Church that has a right to say 'the call to missionary work is laid upon that man or that woman, and not upon me.' It is laid upon every single individual that makes up the weakest or the minutest portion of the great body of Christ; and until the Church realises this as a whole, and until it is preached from our pulpits, pleaded for in our publications, and impressed by every personal power that we have upon our neighbour, we, the ministers of the Gospel who are set apart now for this work in this land, are not fulfilling our high province and duty, and the Church of God is not awakened yet to its high and holy calling." This is a fine putting of a cardinal truth. Every Christian should have his share in the conversion of the world. Those who cannot labour among the heathen are bound "to hold the ropes." This is a plain duty. Other matters must be left to the individual conscience. No one will work successfully in the foreign field who does not feel a personal call to missionary service. Many of the disappointments and failures, much of the instability of some workers, is doubtless due to the fact that they have gone forth without feeling that it was their divine vocation. Bishop Selwyn refers to four wonderful sermons which his father preached in the University of Cambridge in 1854. Charles Mackenzie, then a College Fellow, was much moved by those discourses. "Perhaps at some time," he thought, "I may be called to go." A little later the call came. He now sleeps by the waters of the Zambesi. Bishop Steere and Bishop Smythies followed Mackenzie. Dr. Selwyn refers also to the seed which his father cast into Coleridge Patteson's heart and which bore such memorable fruit in that consecrated life.

The pages devoted to Methods of training will repay study. The late Bishop of Zululand once said to Dr. Maclear: "We require amongst our Zulus almost better men than you employ in England." A missionary who has no colleague to consult with or help him certainly needs to be specially gifted and furnished. Such a solitary leader ought, indeed, not only to be peculiarly endowed, but also, if possible, to have been thoroughly trained. The late Bishop Selwyn often insisted on the maxim: "Learn to wait upon yourself." All kinds of training—physical, intellectual, and spiritual are needed. "The temptations to slackness and sloth in work, the terrible exposure to temptations of the flesh to which a tropical climate and heathen land expose our younger missionaries, are such as urge on missionary societies this fact, that none be sent forth who have not found Christ their strength in victory over sin." This is the great essential, but every kind of capacity and training will find its sphere on the mission field.

How to deal with other religions is a great problem. Dr. Bruce, who has laboured long in Persia, said that the spirit of intolerance and persecution was "the only element in Islam which makes mission work" in Turkey and Persia so difficult. The Ulema claim that the Koran and the traditions contain all guidance needed by the Church and State. "These laws are unchangeable, and are the same for all lands and for all ages. Hence the stagnation which characterises all Mohammedan States; if there is any progress in them it is entirely owing to influence from without, and has been effected in spite of the opposition of the Ulema."

The discussion in the Conference on Eastern religions was of deep interest. Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Rangoon, ventured to assert that there were not two millions of Buddhists, pure and simple, throughout the world. Wherever Buddhism is considered to be the national religion it is supplemented by some other form of religion. In Burma by the worship of nats, in Tibet by that of fays, elfs, and sylvan deities, in China by Confucianism and Taouism, in Japan by Shintoism. Buddhism is really not a religion but a system of philosophy. It utterly fails to meet the wants and aspirations of the soul.

In a few terse sentences Dr. Strachan showed that it is a system without God, soul, or immortality. To those who are convicted of sin it says: "There is no God to help you; save yourself." The principal of St. John's College, Agra, described Hinduism as "one of the most gigantic systems of grovelling idolatry that the world has seen; it is an irrational philosophy; it is a degrading sacerdotalism, and the most thought-stifling and progress-paralysing system of caste that ever existed."

In dealing with the relations to Romanist missions some strong words were spoken. The Bishop of Lahore, after a quarter of a century in India, had "never met with an organised mission of the Church of Rome to heathen or Mohammedans, except where God had previously and conspicuously blessed the labours of some other Christian body." This is well in keeping with Wesleyan experience in Fiji, where Rome is exerting every art to rob the Methodists of their converts. Mr. Eugene Stock, Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, quoted Bishop Cotton's verdict on Xavier's labours in India and Ceylon: "I consider his whole method thoroughly wrong, and its results in India and Ceylon most deplorable." Xavier "made Christians" by baptizing hundreds of infants newly born. The way in which the paraphernalia of Buddhism have been used by Romanist missionaries in China and Japan is also severely commented on. Miss Gordon Cumming has "seen the very identical devil-dancers engaged from the temples of Siva to accompany the processions alike of heathen gods and of Roman images of Christ and the Virgin mother; she has seen the image of Buddha opposite the image of the Virgin in the same chapel and apparently receiving equal adoration; she has seen Hindus, Buddhists, and Roman Catholics paying their vows together at the shrine of St. Anna, by whom certain miracles were believed to have been wrought." Mr. Stock asserted that it was the literal and painful truth that, all round the world, Rome's attitude towards the Church of England was one of persistent, bitter, unscrupulous interference and opposition. In 1877 considerable discontent arose in rural Bengal because the missionary set his face against caste. Rome saw her opportunity. A large band of priests and nuns appeared, who

denounced the Anglican churches and village chapels as devils' temples, promising seceders freedom for caste restrictions and heathen customs. They distributed little brass crucifixes and openly offered money bribes. People excommunicated for gross sins were eagerly received by the Papists. Little Roman congregations were thus formed in many villages, composed of the least worthy of the Christian community.

After referring to the troubles in Uganda, Mr. Stock quoted from Bishop Tucker some statements of fact, which went to prove that Rome had pursued her policy of mischievous interference at every Church Missionary station in Eastern Equatorial Africa. In contrast to such methods Mr. Stock referred to the relations of his society with other Protestant Missions. These societies, he reminded the Conference, raise three-fourths of the whole amount spent on missions by Protestant Christendom; they send out four-fifths of the whole number of Protestant missionaries, and have four-fifths of the converts enrolled by Protestant missionaries. "The English Nonconformists alone are not far behind the Church of England in contributions, and they are considerably ahead of us in the number of missionaries and of converts; and when we add the Scotch missions and the German missions, and, above all, the great Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Methodist, and Baptist missions of America, our inferior position is at once accounted for. Only in East Africa, in South India, in New Zealand, and among the Red Indians of North West Canada, do the Anglican Missions stand first in extent and in results. In China and Japan, in particular, we are but a small minority." He showed that, in many places, the Church of Christ is represented by the non-episcopal denominations, and urged that the wise and Christian policy of Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson who refused to plant missions on islands already occupied by Presbyterians and Methodists, and thus recognised the reality of their work for Christ should be followed. Canon Jacob spoke in the same spirit. If the rate of progress shown by American missionaries during the last ten years were maintained, he held that India would owe her religion far more to America than to England. No discussion of the Conference is likely to bear better fruit.

Some valuable papers were read on the problems to be solved. Dr. Koshi protested against giving material support to converts, as both impolitic and unreasonable. He considered mission industrial settlements unwise. In his district of Travancore, where caste prevails to such a fearful extent, the native Christians are often in great difficulty. In Cottayam and a few other places, where Christians are growing in number and influence, and enjoy the protection of missionaries, they have grown bold enough to set the caste system at defiance. The high-caste Hindus now find that they cannot either harm them or treat them with disrespect. Such facts throw a stream of light over the Indian horizon. Even caste is doomed. It is a terrible problem in many parts of the country. Mr. Sharrock shows that in South India the Church is honeycombed with it. A native pastor says it sticks as closely to people as their skins. Mr. Sharrock pleads for a policy unanimous, persistent, progressive and authoritative. He holds that if Bishop Wilson's dictum had been carried out, "the distinctions of caste must be abandoned decidedly, immediately and finally," caste would years ago have ceased to be a problem.

The subject of African slavery was trenchantly discussed in some valuable speeches and papers. More diversity of view makes itself manifest in the section dealing with polygamy. Dr. Matthew, Bishop of Lahore, said that in obedience to the decision of the Lambeth Conference in 1889, he had desired that no polygamists should be admitted to baptism in his diocese. He himself did not agree with that decision. It required him to tell a polygamist, who was in all other respects eligible for admission to the Church, that the moral law required him to fulfil the contract made with his wives, but that the fulfilment of his duty would exclude him from the Church of Christ. The most valuable statement on the other side was from Bishop Selwyn, who argued that concessions made out of compassion always come home to roost. He was persuaded that in no shape or form ought the great bond of marriage to be weakened. It must be borne in mind that the abandonment of polygamy does not imply that the wives who are put away are to be left without support, and that the

polygamists are in all races and nations but a small minority of the male population.

Methods of work naturally received ample discussion. Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Rangoon, had found it positively painful to go through the villages on the Karen hills in his diocese. He had been in the habit of taking a big basket of medicines, and sometimes spent two or three hours a day ministering to the sick. Europeans can form no idea how some of the villagers are suffering for want of the simplest forms of medicine. When in India, the bishop had prescribed more than three hundred thousand times, and thus found the way open to many a heart. The Rev. Dr. Landsell described the sights he had witnessed in the East. Once in Chinese Central Asia he found preparations being made to cast the devil out of a woman. Tom-toms were beaten, and the poor creature was made to go round and round a rope stretched from the ceiling. Dr. Landsell next came to Leh in Tibet. Bigotry rules supreme in that country. "No European now living has ever set foot in Lhassa, the capital of Tibet proper, and the Lama priests are most bigoted men to get near. Yet, one of their shushogs, or incarnations of Buddha, actually humbled himself to come and ask medical advice of the Moravian missionary." In the Cashmere valley there was scarcely man, woman, or child who did not know about Dr. Downes' hospital. In Corea he found that the American missionary doctor had gained access to Court, and the Queen and Princesses were eager to secure his advice. In Bangkok, Baghdad, Gaza, and Jaffa there was universal respect for the medical mission. Industrial missions may be of great value in some cases; but the medical missionary finds that the world is his parish. To him sooner or later every house and heart are opened.

We have only touched on a few of the subjects discussed in the Anglican Missionary Conference. The fact is that the missionary's work covers the whole compass of human life. Every nation, every religion, every type of character, every hindrance to success, every means of winning men for Christ must in turn be studied. The field is the world. Now that it is being universally opened to the messengers of the

Churches we need a Pentecost at home as much as they do abroad. Our work is a vast one; how vast we dimly begin to discern as we turn the pages of this voluminous report. But the Churches are awake. No one can study the centenary volumes of the Baptist Missionary Society without seeing that Carey's Church has caught his mantle and is seeking to follow in his steps. *The Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, under which Society John Wesley served in Georgia, is a wonderful volume, crowded with details of two centuries of toil in all parts of the world. Much has been accomplished; but what a work is yet to be done! The most zealous efforts of all the Churches can scarcely overtake it. The great Societies continually find themselves short of funds. Yet who can wonder at this when he sees what agencies are to be maintained in all parts of the world? We have strong confidence that, as the facts become more fully known, the Churches will be baptized more and more with the spirit of liberty. Success is coming nearer. A gentleman in Boston once asked Dr. Judson whether he thought the prospects bright for the speedy conversion of the heathen. "As bright," he answered, "as the promises of God." The forty-four years that have passed since Judson was laid to rest beneath the ocean have brought out the truth of that word. The prospect of healing all the open sores of the world should fill every Christian heart with fresh love and zeal.

Art. IV.—CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND MODERN THOUGHT.

Personality, Human and Divine. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1894. By J. R. Illingworth, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1894.

THE series of University Sermons known as the Bampton Lectures has rendered large and varied service to Christian theology. Its value is partly dependent upon its variety. The

lecturers have been men of widely divergent gifts and habits of mind; they have approached one great theme from very different points of view; they have shown the bearing of Christian truth upon utterly distinct fields of thought. The verger who said he had heard thirty sets of Bampton Lectures and thanked God he was a Christian yet, was—a verger, unless indeed he were an Oxford wit in a verger's gown. The effect produced by a study of a number of these volumes is very different from that produced by the argument of one. One man undertaking a Christian *apologia* may appear like a special pleader, but a score of men writing upon subjects that have nothing in common but their religious aspect and the confirmation they afford of religious truth, produce quite another impression. Firm must be the bulwarks which throw out to all quarters of the compass bastions so solid and outworks so well manned as these. Not to travel beyond the last few years, let the reader consider the scope of such works as Liddon on the "Divinity of Christ," Row on "Christian Evidences," Wace on "The Gospel Witnesses," Temple on "Religion and Science," Gore on "The Icarnation," and Sanday on "Inspiration," and say whether the flying buttresses thus thrown out on different sides by men of very different temperament and ability have not, at the same time, displayed in fuller and more striking outline, and materially strengthened the fortress of Christian evidence against the assaults of its many vigorous and versatile antagonists.

The latest contribution to the series is not likely to be popular. But it may be none the less valuable for that. Already the work is said to take "high rank amongst rare theological masterpieces." At the Church Congress Mr. Illingworth's Lectures received a lofty eulogium from Professor Sanday, and it is always an honour *laudari ab laudato*. It is probable, however, that the author of "Personality, Human and Divine" will have to be content with "fit audience, though few." His theology more than borders upon metaphysics; and the only thing the average Englishman dislikes less than metaphysics is theology. The subject is felt to be abstruse, and the author's handling of it is not likely to attract, by its style, readers who shrink from its subject-matter. The style is indeed admirable.

It is clear, strong, masterful, the language of a man who knows what to say and how to say it. But it is severe, marked by the self-restraint which characterises the deep thinker who is also a true artist. It does not bend this way and that, to attract and conciliate. Those who know Mr. Illingworth's "Sermons in a College Chapel" and his essays in *Lux Mundi* on the "Problem of Pain," and "The Incarnation in Relation to Development," will know what to expect. Those who are strangers both to the lecturer and the subject will not improbably vote both to be unendurably dry. But they will be wrong. Both subject and treatment have a fascinating interest of their own if approached from the right point of view. We are far from flattering ourselves that we can succeed in interesting in so profound a theme as the Interior Nature of the Divine Being any who are not prepared to find interest in theological studies; but we have some hope that we may be able, within the compass of a short article, to show the vast present-day importance of the somewhat abstruse topic chosen by the latest Bampton Lecturer, and so to provide a point of view for its study, as that some who would not otherwise have sought out the volume may be drawn to master it for themselves.

In any case it will not be difficult to show of what inestimable importance in relation to current scientific and philosophical thought is the Christian Idea of God, what are the dangers by which that doctrine is seriously threatened, and how they may best be met. If our readers have patience to follow us so far, the value of Mr. Illingworth's treatise will need no further demonstration. In the title chosen for this article, the word "Theology" must be understood in its narrower, not in its wider sense. Amongst the early Greek Fathers, who coined the word and first exemplified the study, Christian theology meant literally the Christian doctrine of God, as He is in Himself, without reference to those wider circles of cognate subjects which we include under the general name of theological studies. It is the innermost, loftiest, deepest truths which are thus brought within the field of view. We cannot wonder if many shrink from their contemplation. They are apt to dazzle and blind the mere casual spectator. When Sirius enters the field of the telescope, the observer starts back, dazed by its brilli-

ance. The Sun cannot be viewed at all by the unprotected eye. But the sublimity and difficulty attending the study of the Christian doctrine of God must not deter us from its pursuit. Not to know God is not to worship Him aright, and not to worship Him aright is to worship idols. The εἴδωλα against which both St. Paul and St. John warned their readers have not vanished with "Peor and Baalim" and "that twice-battered god of Palestine," with the "brutish gods of Nile" and "Typhon huge ending in snaky twine." Typhon and Baal and Dagon are with us to-day, and the only cure for the owls and bats which infest the shades and love the dark is sunshine. "This is life eternal, to know Thee," said the Saviour, who alone has enabled man fully to know God; and for lack of this knowledge, thousands of the most thoughtful and intelligent men amongst us are groping in darkness which may be felt, "having no hope," because they are virtually "without God in the world." What is there in modern thought which makes the knowledge of God peculiarly difficult to many in our generation? and how do the arguments of the latest Bampton Lecturer remove their difficulties and shed light upon the subject?

It will be admitted at once that the centre of the whole discussion is the Personality of God. No scientific man hesitates to admit the unity of Nature. Nothing has done more to establish that unity than the scientific investigations of the last half-century. The telescope has enabled us to understand how stars and suns and systems are bound together by the most subtle and irresistible of bonds. The spectroscope has revealed to us the common elements of which the orbs of heaven, equally with our earth, are composed. The microscope has aided the biologist in tracing out the unity which pervades all the myriad forms of life which for countless ages have inhabited the globe. Everywhere the man of science finds not a chaos, but a cosmos. The first article of his faith—for he has a faith—is the uniformity of the reign of Law and the unity of that Order which man has done nothing to construct, and which as yet he most imperfectly understands. There is no question, moreover, concerning the unity and persistence of Force in the universe. The doctrine of the Conservation of

Force is one of the strongholds of modern science. That no energy perishes, that each as it disappears is but transmuted, that all the various and mighty forms of energy which we recognise in dynamics, in heat, in electricity, in magnetism, are one in the sense that they can, under certain conditions, be changed one into another, this doctrine—not yet fifty years old—lies at the basis of scientific reasoning. Certain forms of anti-theism, some types of atheistical theory, polytheism in its various disguises, superstitions and unbeliefs innumerable, concerning the origin and significance of the universe, are slain outright by the unquestioned discoveries of modern science. It has built up for the world a portion of theistic belief and established it upon an immutable and irrefragable foundation.

But it stumbles at the word Personality, it stops fatally short of the God of religion. Science does not altogether object to the word God, if it may employ it in its own sense. It will even rejoice in being able to make use of the sacred associations which belong to the words God and Religion, if they be first emptied of their essential significance. The author of *Natural Religion* only speaks for a multitude of others when he asks why the habitual and permanent admiration of the beautiful and sublime in Nature and a reverent submission to its laws may not be regarded as a true and adequate worship of God. Identify God with Nature, says the teacher of this school, and we will bow at your shrine, and you can join in our visions. But what virtue is there in throwing around vital differences the cloak of a common phraseology? The name God is too sacred to be used as a counter to conjure with. When we are asked to admire, to worship, reverently to submit, we must distinctly understand What or Who is the object of worship. Religion is not a transferable formula. And when we come to close quarters with those who accept the teaching of science and stumble at the fundamental truths of religion, we find that the main stumbling-block is the Personality of God. Nature, it is said, leads us to a sublime unity in τὸ ὄν, That which is, but stops short of, or distinctly denies, a higher unity in ὁ ὤν, Him who is. She brings us to the foot of a majestic throne, but denies that there is any Ruler upon it. The only Face which Nature reveals, accord-

ing to this teaching, is one which turns every beholder to stone.

The main objection, moreover, which the man of science has to take the next step with the teacher of religion, is that he objects to "anthropomorphism." The ox, as Xenophanes said long ago, would make an ox-god, the lions a lion-god, and man, when he sets to work, pictures a man-god upon the throne of the universe. The dream of the man, though as much loftier than the imaginings of an ox as a man is above a brute, is no nearer the real facts of the case. The phrase, "Author of Nature," current a hundred years ago, does, it is said, but beg the question. It is not a step upwards in thought, so it is contended, but a step downwards, to pass from Nature—"the splendour in the grass, the glory in the flower"—to a Ruler of the universe who proves to be only a "magnified and non-natural man." Mr. Cotter Morison has expressed the whole issue in a sentence when he says: "An anthropomorphic God is the only God whom men can worship, and also the God whom modern thought finds it increasingly difficult to believe in." *

We accept the dilemma as it stands. History has proved the former of its two statements, contemporary events are constantly illustrating the latter. A profound truth lies hid in the first clause of Mr. Cotter Morison's sentence, if the word "anthropomorphic" be properly understood, and there lies the solution of the problem. We do not think that religion should ignore or minimise the difficulty expressed in the second clause. Modern thought does find it increasingly difficult to believe in such a God as has been repeatedly presented to it as an object of worship. The difficulty should be faced for many reasons. Partly because all difficulties felt by honest men demand sympathy rather than indifference or contempt from truly religious teachers. But more especially because we at least believe that at this very point religion has much to learn from science: that here God would teach His people lessons from without which they have shown themselves slow to learn from within. The stumbling-block may prove to be a stepping-

* *Service of Man*, p. 49.

stone, and both sides may learn, by patience with one another, valuable lessons which partisan controversy can never teach. The difficulty in the Christian doctrine of God felt by modern thought, and the impossibility that religion, if it is to remain religion, should give up the "anthropomorphic," that is, the personal element in the Divine Nature—the element which gives to faith its vitality, and to hope all its elasticity and power—precisely here lies the crux of the whole question, the problem of problems for to-day.

The difficulty is not overcome, it is only avoided, by an insistance upon the difficulties which attach to alternative theories of the universe. Great force may sometimes lie in an *argumentum ad hominem*. A militant atheist may well be arrested by an inquiry as to what he proposes to substitute for the Deity he denounces. Materialism is encompassed with difficulties, almost every one of which is fatal to a system the fundamental fallacy of which is indicated in its very name. Pantheism puts an end to morality, and the ideal substitutes for God, whose name is legion, "come like shadows, so depart." But retorts like these are at best negative in their character. They serve against errors, they do not help one iota the thinker who is honestly puzzled by the great enigma of life. Hence the prevalence of Agnosticism. This convenient asylum is thronged at the present moment by refugees of all kinds, many of them undeserving the name of thinkers, some of them quite as reverent and far more honest and thorough than many professors of Christianity. These, if asked whether they believe in God, answer, "We do not know enough to answer the question." So far as such men represent the view that man does not, because he cannot, obtain a real knowledge of the Divine, they are not only in error, but are seriously obstructing the truth. So far, however, as they insist upon the inadequacy of many current views of God's nature, the danger of adopting human, narrow, unworthy views of Him, the need of including in our knowledge elements derived from modern science which do not readily fit in with some preconceptions and traditions, and the desirability of our confessing ignorance rather than presumptuously attempting to pass off our shallow conceptions as adequate knowledge, these Agnostics are doing

religion good service, and are themselves in harmony with the inmost spirit of Christianity. But the utmost effort should be made first to understand and then to overcome the difficulties which lie in the way of accepting the doctrine of the Divine Personality. As the late Mr. Aubrey Moore said in the close of his admirable article in *Lux Mundi*: "Human nature craves to be both religious and rational. And the life which is not both is neither." Yet in order to be religious, we must believe in an "anthropomorphic" God, and, in order to be rational, we must refuse so to believe. From this *impasse* who is to deliver us?

It is Mr. Illingworth's object in these Bampton Lectures to shed light upon this particular difficulty, and it will be ours to draw attention to some salient points in his very valuable argument. The title of the book prepares us for its method. We must begin with human personality, if we are even to understand the meaning of the Divine. A considerable school of scientific teachers explain away the personality of man, and we cannot be surprised that they deny the personality of God. But Mr. Illingworth does not beg the question by assuming the fact of personality. In his first chapter he tells us that the very meaning of the word has only been gradually discovered; it has taken long for man to find out "all that is potentially or actually contained within himself—in a word, what it means to be a man." For, happily enough for the race, man "lives first and thinks afterwards." Life is prior to logic, and infinitely larger. The understanding is always trying to master the meaning of that which seems so simple and means so much, to make explicit that which lies implicit in the common life of every day. Just as the baby has to learn how to say "I am I," so the race has taken long to arrive at self-consciousness, and doubtless it has not yet fully mastered the open secret of what it means to be a man. "Personality, as we understand it, is universal in its extension or scope—that is, it must pertain to every human being as such, making him man; and it is one in its intention or meaning—that is, it is the unifying principle, or, to use a more guarded expression, the name of the unity in which all a man's attributes and functions meet, making him an individual self." But even the

wisest of the ancients, Aristotle and Plato, did not fully understand either of these statements. Christianity originated a new epoch, and gave an astonished world for the first time to understand the meaning of manhood, the true significance of individual life, as well as the scope of a universal religion. Mr. Illingworth mentions, as representative names in the evolution of the sense of personality, Augustine, Luther, and Kant, especially the last. The lecturer may perhaps himself be classed as a Kantian or a Neo-Kantian. But we do not think that the importance of Kant's contribution to the subject is at all over-rated. It is Kant's doctrine of the unity of apperception which, more than anything else, has made plain the pregnant truths with which the first lecture concludes, and on which so much of the subsequent argument depends. We transcribe a passage which contains doctrine demonstrably true, and of the first importance. To have apprehended it thoroughly implies the rising for ever above the shallow phenomenalism which deludes so many students of physical science, and makes them proud of "throwing metaphysics overboard:"

"Personality is thus the gateway through which all knowledge must inevitably pass. Matter, force, energy, ideas, time, space, law, freedom, cause, and the like, are absolutely meaningless phrases, except in the light of our personal experience. They represent different departments of that experience, which may be isolated for the purposes of special study, as we separate a word from its context to trace its linguistic affinities, or pluck a flower from its root to examine the texture of its tissues. But when we come to discuss their ultimate relations to ourselves and to one another, or, in other words, to philosophise about them, we must remember that they are only known to us in the last resort, through the categories of our own personality, and can never be understood exhaustively till we know all that our personality implies. It follows that philosophy and science are, in the strict sense of the words, precisely as anthropomorphic as theology, since they are alike limited by the conditions of human personality, and controlled by the forms of thought which human personality provides" (p. 25).

That is the first stage in the argument concerning anthropomorphism, a term which is used to create a prejudice against theology and religion, but which may be used with equal truth in regard to all our knowledge. Man makes Nature in the sense that all knowledge—philosophical, scientific, ordinary—implies

a relation to personality. The very forms of thought which the scientific man takes for granted in his discussion, presuppose a personal experience of which they are but an extracted and sublimated fraction. If theology rests upon personal experience and is "anthropomorphic," so is all true knowledge. Any antecedent objections, therefore, based upon the associations of this question-begging word, fall to the ground.

On coming to analyse human personality, we find it impossible to do so adequately. We cannot place ourselves outside ourselves. But one fact is certain. "There is a synthetic unity in my personality or self; that is to say, not a merely numerical oneness, but a power of uniting opposite and alien attributes and characteristics with an intimacy which defies analysis." Thought, desire, and will are intimately and indissolubly blended in every act of self-consciousness. Closely connected with our self-consciousness—which, all sophistries of phenomenalism notwithstanding, is simply and necessarily one—is freedom, or the power of self-determination. Freedom of the will does not mean, as it is to be hoped both parties in the endless controversy have learned by this time, the ability to act without a motive. It does mean, says Mr. Illingworth, "the ability to create, or co-operate in creating, our own motives, or to choose our motive, or to transform a weaker motive into a stronger by adding weights to the scale of our own accord, and thus to determine our conduct by our reason." Our belief in freedom is grounded on two things, "its immediate self-evidence in consciousness and its progressive self-justification in morality." And, gathering the results of a prolonged examination into a single sentence, it may be said that the three constituent elements of personality are "self-consciousness, the power of self-determination and desires which irresistibly impel us into communion with other persons, or, in other words, reason, will, and love. These are three perfectly distinct and distinguishable functions, but they are united by being the functions of one and the self-same subject, and gain a peculiar character from this fact. They are the thoughts of a being that wills and loves, the will of a being that loves and thinks, the love of a being that thinks and wills, and each attribute may be said to express the whole

being, therefore, in terms of that attribute." Personality is then shown to be the most real thing we know, our test of reality in other things. Mr. Illingworth's arguments here need not be reproduced. Readers of Professor T. H. Green and of Lotze will recognise familiar thoughts, but Mr. Illingworth does not slavishly follow either of these writers, and he puts his own points in his own way with clearness and force.

The conclusion to which he brings us is that we are spiritual beings. This may seem a strangely obvious and elementary result to have reached after fifty pages of reasoning, but foundation-stones must be well and truly laid, and more depends upon this one than at first appears. For it implies the supernatural and prepares the way for God. Historically, man has always believed himself to be spiritual, but when critical analysis is shown to justify what might be set aside as a crude and primitive belief, we stand on firm ground. And, just in proportion to the clearness of our conception and the firmness of our grasp upon the doctrine of the personality and spirituality of man, will be our hold of the doctrine of the spirituality and personality of God. So intimately connected are the doctrines of Scripture, that only he who is persuaded of the truth revealed in the first chapter of Genesis that man is made in the image of God, can really hold the truth of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, that God appeared in the likeness of man. We may form anthropomorphic views of God, if we hold theomorphic views of man. If man is not spirit, he reads the sublime words, "God is Spirit," in vain. They convey no meaning to his ears, or a meaning which fails to commend itself to his reason.

We shall not attempt to follow Mr. Illingworth in his survey of the history of man's belief in a personal God. He seeks to show that the sense of Divine Personality entertained by man, though vague, is universal, that it has been progressively refined, not only by Greek philosophers and Hebrew prophets before Christ appeared, but in the course of subsequent centuries by Christian thinkers. Here, again, life precedes thought. It took the Christian Church three hundred years to work out the truths embodied in the Person and Life of the Lord Jesus Christ, and it has taken Christen-

dom a thousand years more to apprehend the scope of much of His teaching concerning the knowledge of God and the duty of man. The conclusion reached by this historical survey is that belief in a personal God is an instinctive judgment progressively justified by reason. "Our reason, our affections, our actions, all alike, feel about for contact with some supreme reality; and when the mind, speaking for its companion faculties, names that reality a Person, it is giving voice also to the inarticulate conviction of the heart and will—an instinctive, mystical conviction that is in truth too deep for words." But though the heart has reasons of its own, which the reason does not know, reason can justify to itself that which it was incompetent to originate and is incompetent actually to demonstrate. This is the place for those famous "proofs" of the being of God, which, it is now generally acknowledged, are not proofs in the strict sense of the term, since the Ultimate can never be proved by the less ultimate, nor the Unconditioned by the conditioned. The cosmological, teleological, ontological, and moral arguments for the existence of God have been alternately vaunted as the four pillars on which the most fundamental of all religious beliefs rests, and decried as hollow forms of reasoning to which the *coup de grâce* has been given by the discoveries of modern science. In fact, they are neither one nor the other. They are, as Dr. John Caird and others have pointed out, open to some of the objections which in recent times have been raised against them and they can never pretend to furnish a demonstration of the being of a God in the full Christian sense of the term. But they may be viewed as "an analysis of the unconscious or implicit logic of religion, tracing the steps of the process by which the human spirit rises to the knowledge of God." As such, they receive interesting and instructive treatment at the hands of Mr. Illingworth, but there is the less need for us to follow him here in detail, inasmuch as in the Donnellan Lectures of Mr. J. H. Kennedy,* Prof. Knight's "Aspects of

* *Natural Theology and Modern Thought.* By J. H. Kennedy, B.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1891. The argument drawn from the Beautiful and Sublime in Nature and the treatment of Darwinism in its relation to the argument from design are admirable specimens of enlightened Christian criticism of prevalent theories.

Theism," and similar works, this part of the subject has been recently treated with great fulness and ability. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Illingworth with great skill makes the very discoveries of science to strengthen his position. Evolution has strengthened teleology. It is not enough nowadays to say that design implies an artist, a machine implies a maker. "A system whose every phase and part, while existing for its own sake, exists also for the sake of the whole, is, if possible, more suggestive of rational design than even a machine would be, especially when it is a progressive system which culminates in the production of a rational being. . . . In other words, we see in Nature, not merely an artist or designer, but a Person."

We leave this part of the subject, however, to dwell upon a feature of Mr. Illingworth's volume, which appears to us more valuable than his treatment of these four arguments, because it has been less fully worked out by other writers, and because its treatment requires most of all that delicate spiritual insight which is one of Mr. Illingworth's most characteristic qualities. He reminds us frequently of Newman, whom he evidently admires and often quotes. The subject of the fifth lecture, "Moral Affinity Needful for the Knowledge of a Person," is one which requires discriminative handling; but, if adequately presented, it may prove to be one of the most fruitful of all modes of meeting current difficulties. The question so naturally arises—How is it that every one does not believe in God, and in God as Personal? If the arguments are so many and so cogent, how is it they are not universally accepted? Either God has fully revealed Himself as a Person or He has not; if not, it appears to reflect upon His character in relation to His creatures; if so, why is not that revelation universally accepted? Mr. Illingworth replies that it is not so simple a thing to know a Person as is usually supposed. All knowledge is the result of a process for which many faculties are necessary, though we pay little heed to the details till our attention is called to them. The simplest acts of perception are highly complex, and the acquisition of the most ordinary scientific knowledge requires an assemblage of qualities, moral as well as intellectual, which we too readily take for granted. The same, but in far higher degree, is true in our acquiring

knowledge of human persons, and the deeper and greater the character, the more complex and difficult is the process:

"We may easily idolise, or under-estimate a man, but to know him as he is—his true motives, the secret springs of his conduct, the measure of his abilities, the explanation of his inconsistencies, the nature of his esoteric feelings, the dominant principle of his inner life—this is often a work of years, and one in which our own character and conduct play quite as important a part as our understanding; for not only must the necessary insight be the result of our own acquired capacities—which will have to be great, in proportion to the greatness of the personality with which we have to deal—but there must further exist the kind and degree of affinity between us which can alone make self-revelation on his part possible" (p. 117).

The bearing of this upon our knowledge of a Personal God is obvious. How much there is in the self-manifestation of God which does not, especially at first, reveal Him as a Person, and what preparation is needed if men would educate themselves to obtain such a knowledge of Him! If God be indeed, as we believe, a Person, how much there is in His nature which He cannot reveal to man because of hindrances which we ourselves place in the way! If in acquiring the knowledge of a human person, "earnestness, energy, patience with adverse appearances, susceptibility to slight impressions, quickness to catch hints, appreciativeness, moderation, humility, delicacy, fineness" be needed, how much more in our attempt to know so much as we may of the Divine!

"Briefly to resume then, if God is personal, analogy would lead us to suppose that He must be known as a person is known—that is, first, by a special study distinct from any other; and secondly, by an active exercise of our whole personality, in which the will, the faculty through which alone our personality acts as a whole, must of necessity predominate; while in proportion to His transcendent greatness, will be the seriousness of the call which the knowledge of Him makes upon our energies" (p. 125).

Well may Dr. Martineau speak of a belief in God as one which it is "hard to avoid honestly, difficult to attain worthily, and impossible to compass perfectly." Knowledge of God, vision of God, are possible only to the pure in heart. The Holy Grail does not appear to unpurged eyes. If it needs long education to know a great man as a person—in any other way, that is, than the external knowledge of his appearance and

movements which is obvious to a casual spectator—surely the attainment of a knowledge of God requires education of the loftiest kind, and a careful training of faculties other than the purely intellectual.

We are not attributing, and we do not understand Mr. Illingworth to attribute all intellectual error in religion to moral causes. If the failure to discern a personal God in Nature and in human life be attributed to moral causes at all, the word moral should be understood in its widest sense. We are not exactly charging an Agnostic with immorality when we say that to discern the higher and finer truths of natural religion, a moral as well as an intellectual discipline is necessary. We are inclined, however, to think that here Mr. Illingworth lays his finger upon the ailing place in his diagnosis of the disease which affects so much of modern thought on religious subjects:

"There are still slighter defects, which often pass as intellectual, and yet which, on reflection, can be seen to be of moral origin and, like the infinitesimal aberration of an astronomical instrument, vitiate our entire observation. For example, the assumption that the knowledge of God is primarily intellectual involves, on the face of it, an undervaluing of His attribute of holiness. The assertion that our faculties cannot apprehend what they cannot comprehend, cannot feel what they do not understand, implies a more complete self-knowledge than we in fact possess. The kindred denial, that spiritual experience may be as real as physical experience, casts a slur upon the mental capacity of many of the greatest of our race, from which true humility would shrink. The transference of the method of one science to another, the neglect to distinguish clearly between hypothesis and fact, the undue bias of the imagination by special kinds of study, the premature deduction of negative conclusions, the dangers, in fact, of specialism in an age when knowledge is increasingly specialised, are more often admitted in theory than really in practice avoided. And though these and such-like imperfections may seem to many to be trivial, when regarded from a moral point of view, they are not so in the particular context and connection with which we are now concerned; and still less so in the case of teachers (and every writer is a teacher) who would abolish an august tradition, coeval with recorded history, and inviting the highest hopes and aspirations of mankind" (p. 128).

We fasten attention for the moment upon the clause "the dangers of specialism in an age when knowledge is increasingly specialised," and find in it one chief explanation of current difficulties of belief in a Personal God. God is present in

Nature, in some sense, no doubt; that is the belief of every Theist. But the measure of self-revelation which He has made in the physical universe is very narrow, necessarily, and for wise purposes narrowed within closely defined limits. The immanence of God in Nature means His activity in that sphere according to certain self-imposed laws. "Physical nature," says Dr. Martineau, "is not God's characteristic sphere of *self-expression*. Rather is it His eternal act of *self-limitation*, of abstinence from the movements of free affection, moment by moment, for the sake of a constancy that shall never falter or deceive." The artist devises for his own purposes a picture-frame as well as a picture: the frame has its own value, its rigidity and plainness set off and preserve the canvas in the centre, but a close study of the frame alone does not prepare us to understand the characteristic work of the artist. This illustration bears, perhaps, but a slight analogy to the work of God in the physical universe, and His relation to man, but within limits it appears to us to express an often-forgotten truth. The attention of many students of science is concentrated upon the picture-frame. To how great an extent the close study of one series of facts and phenomena will cause a fine mind to become atrophied through over-specialisation, Darwin's own testimony concerning himself conclusively proves. Such a process of atrophy in a much smaller measure we conceive to be going on in the minds of many in this generation. "Proofs" of the personality of God do not affect them, and are not likely to affect them. For these "proofs" are addressed only to the intellect—the logical or mathematical intellect—and fall short of demonstration, while it is the imagination, the sensibility that is defective. The chief lines of proof are, as we have seen, only an analysis of the elements of an instinctive belief, one which in this case is utterly wanting. Such arguments, addressed to the intellect alone, will never be adequate. They serve an important place, but for a true apprehension of the Personality of God, a personal preparation is necessary. The region of personal life, as we know it in man, must be closely studied, the tokens of the manifestation of Personal Divine life must be understood, and the eye must be educated to discern them. A discipline as real

and searching as the discipline needed by the student of science, though very different in character, must be undergone, ere the man who has fallen out of touch with spiritual truths and spiritual facts can again discern and be impressed by them. It is a great enterprise, as it is a holy joy, to acquaint oneself with God, and if the harassed and anxious spirits of this generation would bestow upon this sacred study one tithe of the trouble and undergo one tithe of the training freely bestowed upon other branches of knowledge, the change in human life would amount to a revolution. Around us hovers incessantly a Spiritual Presence, but the beat of His wings is inaudible, and the glory of His face is invisible, because men assume that the highest knowledge of all may be attained with ease though the conditions of attaining it are systematically neglected, or even completely ignored.

To one part of his subject Mr. Illingworth has, perhaps, hardly done justice. A current objection to the personality of God which has weight with many is that personality necessarily implies limitation. It seems to some derogatory to the perfection of the Absolute, the infinite Being, to ascribe to Him the personality which belongs to finite existence, and to limit His excellence within the narrow bounds of personal life. Mr. Illingworth has not stated this objection in its fulness, nor has he met it except indirectly. As far as we can gather, however, it forms the most serious objection to the Christian doctrine of God in the minds of the majority of those unbelievers whom we have now in view. The reply to it is threefold. First, personality must be distinguished from individuality. We do not ascribe individuality to God, as if He were one of a class. The polytheist degrades God by attributing Divine attributes to one and another individual of a class, but the God of the Theist is different indeed from Jupiter Capitolinus, or Zeus, "ruler of gods and men." Secondly, personality, even as we know it, does not limit, but indefinitely extends being, it is the highest, widest, richest form of being known to us. It is a mark of personality that in the unity of its life it may embrace such vast and varied knowledge, the active, unifying principle of self-consciousness making it possible for one Self to combine a multitude of

experiences in the past, to blend all these with an ever-progressive present, and to possess unlimited power of development in the future. But, thirdly, personality is not attributed to God by the Theist, still less by the Christian, in precisely the same sense in which it is attributed to man. As Lotze has so well pointed out, in a passage, part of which Mr. Illingworth quotes, and on which he more than once comments: "In point of fact, we have little ground for speaking of the personality of finite beings; it is an ideal, and, like all that is ideal, belongs unconditionally only to the Infinite. Perfect personality is in God only; to all finite minds there is allotted but a pale copy thereof; the finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of this personality, but a limit and hindrance to its development." * As a matter of fact, our personality is limited on every side. Our *ego* implies a non-*ego*, and our inner life is awakened by stimuli from without, but neither of these statements is true of the Divine Being. Our knowledge of ourselves, again, is imperfect, so much within us is incomprehensible to ourselves, and never rises into full self-consciousness. Only the Infinite is, in the full sense of the words, "self-scanned, self-centred ,self-secure," possessing in His own personality, not, as is objected, a source of limitation, but rather the one secret of freedom from all limitations. But a single drop of that unbounded sea, a ray of that unsullied light, is ours; a drop, a ray, derived from Him who made man in His own image, and Who by this one avenue gives us a glimpse into His own perfect nature. Yet men, with their higher faculties drugged into stupor by persistent study of phenomena of a lower type, are found to-day denying to the Most High God attributes possessed by His creature man, and reducing Him whose personality is to ours as a blazing sun to a flickering lamp, either to the abstraction of an Idea or the blind striving of a purposeless and meaningless Will.

A Christian can never treat this subject of the nature of God as if he were only a Theist. A real belief in the Incarnation must modify and ought to dominate and control every other belief and religious conviction. It may be logically true

* *Microcosmus*, ix. 4, §§ 4. 5. E. Tr. vol. ii. pp. 687, 688. The whole chapter deserves careful study.

that only a believer in a Personal God could accept the doctrine of the Incarnation. But most Christians have not reached Christianity *viâ* Theism; rather they believe intensely in a personal God, because they are so firmly convinced that God was in Christ, that He speaks to man in and through Him for evermore. The relation between the two beliefs is really this, that Christianity crowns and completes a genuine Theism. Theism may be true and Christianity false; whether that be so or not, depends upon the truth of a number of facts and doctrines which constitute Christian evidences and which do not concern us now. But if Christianity in the usual sense of the word, including the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity, can on other grounds be proved to be true, it does not, as the Unitarian asserts, add to the simplicity of Theistic beliefs a number of intolerable and incredible metaphysical speculations, but it consummates the line of thought upon which we have been thus far led, and safeguards it against a number of subtle adversaries. The arguments for a personal God raise, as Mr. Illingworth says, "an expectation which, apart from the Incarnation, is not adequately met; while the Incarnation so completely meets it as to clinch the entire circle of proof." If this be so, we have an additional evidence for the truth of Christianity, which in its turn furnishes additional evidence for the truth of the arguments for a personal God.* But not only so. Christianity safeguards Theism, and thus proves that it is its Divinely-appointed crown and consummation. "Ye believe in God, believe also in Me." It is a striking fact that pure Theism has never long stood alone, and alone has never achieved great religious victories. It furnishes a standing-ground to which we are led by Nature when rightly interpreted, but one on which mankind was not intended long to rest. The bare doctrine of a Personal God was for centuries preserved by Judaism, because it was enshrined in a further revelation, valuable indeed, but not intended to be permanent or universal. A personal God who

* We may draw attention in passing to a masterly essay by Mr. R. H. Hutton of the *Spectator* in his published *Theological Essays*, No. vii., entitled "The Incarnation and Principles of Evidence," in which the argument of the above sentence drawn from the *completing* power of this particular doctrine is admirably worked out.

has created a personal being like man, and has so far revealed Himself in Nature, must, we cannot but argue, do more and reveal Himself further. Christianity asserts that He has done so. The doctrine of the Trinity, rightly understood, does not disturb and confuse, but completes and crowns all previously known truths concerning the personality of God. The early Fathers, as has been well shown by Mr. Aubrey Moore, do not treat the doctrine of the Trinity as an inexplicable mystery which complicates the simplicity of Monotheism, but as the very condition of rationally holding the unity of God. Tertullian, Clement, Origen, Athanasius, all point out that in the doctrine of the Trinity lies a solution of difficulties concerning the personality of God, not a multiplication of them. The popular impression to the contrary arises from a failure to understand the term "Person," and a tendency to pervert orthodox teaching till it is brought perilously near to Tritheism. The Christian Scriptures, in unfolding to us the sacred mysteries of the Trinity and so much as we may understand of the interior nature of the Godhead, do but describe to us a deeper and richer unity in the Divine nature. "We may be wrong," says Mr. Moore, "to speculate at all on the nature of God, but it is not less true now than in the first centuries of Christianity that for those who do speculate, a Unitarian, or Arian, or a Sabellian theory is as impossible as polytheism. *If God is to be personal as religion requires, metaphysics demands still a distinction in the unity which Unitarianism is compelled to deny.*" * We should have been glad if Mr. Illingworth had been able to give more prominence to this thought, and to work it out at length in his last lecture. An exposition of it seems almost demanded by the nature of his subject, and Mr. Illingworth possesses qualities which would have enabled him to do it full justice.

A more practical, and perhaps more generally convincing method, however, is to test the Christian view of God and the world in another fashion. Metaphysics may demand a distinction in the unity of the Godhead, but the great majority, even of thoughtful men, will be quite ignorant of it. What metaphysics demands in these regions of abstract thought

* *Lux Mundi*, pp. 101, 102. The italics are ours.

matters to most people about as much as the constituents of the rarefied atmosphere on the top of the highest Himalayas. It is possible to test the value of the Christian doctrine of God much more effectively. For it is quite clear that the views of God now in debate imply a closely connected view of the universe, of the world, of man, and of man's present condition and future destiny. Belief in God is not some abstract tenet which may be accepted or rejected, adopted or changed, like a proposition in the higher mathematics. If it means anything to a man, it means everything. All mental and moral health depends upon it, all clearness of vision, all buoyancy of heart, all brightness and elasticity of hope. As is a man's view concerning God, so is the measure of his solution of that mystery of life in which we dwell and of which we form a part. And it is not difficult, without the aid of metaphysics, to contrast in their general character and their practical bearings such "working hypotheses" as are now most generally accepted on this greatest of all problems.

For practical purposes, these may be conveniently reduced to two—the Christian and the Agnostic. Materialism, Pantheism, and dogmatic Atheism doubtless have their votaries, but we seldom meet them. These are creeds of the study rather than of the market-place. The man who does not accept the Christian view of God and the world to-day in this country is for the most part Agnostic. He says, "I do not know," uttering the words either with the sadness and bitterness of a man who has lost a footing he would give all he has to regain, or with the levity which shows that "I don't know" carries with it "I don't care." On the other hand it is desirable, for many reasons, to place the creed, not of the Theist, but of the Christian. Partly because pure Theists are few, while Christians are many; but chiefly because Christianity is the only practically complete form of belief in a personal God. The problem, Given nature to find God, is endless. It is that which many men are setting themselves to-day, but the only solution of the equation gives to x many values, some of them impossible, and all of them difficult of application. This is not to say that the study of natural theology is useless; only that it is, and must ever be,

insufficient. Christian theology has, in the past, too largely handed over its cause to philosophy, so far as its dealing with some fundamental problems is concerned. Christians do not believe in that shadowy Divine Being who is reached by a combination of the cosmological, the teleological, and the ontological arguments, but in the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The God of the Jews, whilst infinitely above any conception of the Divine Being entertained amongst the Gentiles, and whilst emphatically a God of righteousness, is mainly a Lawgiver and a Judge. What Christians are concerned to hold and defend is not only a personal, not chiefly a legal, but an ethical conception of the Deity. Christ reveals to us the Father. He reveals One who is Father, not now and then, here and there, in certain aspects and relationships, but an eternal Father in eternal communion with an eternal Son through the eternal Spirit. He is, to use Dr. Fairbairn's words, "the infinite home of all the moral emotions with all their correlative activities." Such a God may not only be abstractly conceived, but trusted, worshipped, adored. Such a God, revealed in Christ as the hope of mankind and the salvation of the world, by the very shining of His Face banishes difficulties which haunt the Theist's conceptions of creation and providence, the meaning of human life and the hope of human immortality. For the Theist's creed and the Theist's God some might be content to argue; for the Christian's creed and the Christian's God all might well be prepared to die.

We make bold to say that the choice to-day lies between the God of Christ and the no-god of the Agnostic, that is, of the Pessimist. The antithesis between Christian theology and modern thought reduces itself ultimately to this. There are many intermediate stations upon which a man may find more or less temporary standing-ground. But whether it be as a question of logic, or a question of actual survival and persistence of belief, these two hold the field. The Christian solves the problem thus: "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Those who will not, cannot, do not accept the Christian solution of the world-enigma,

virtually give it up, accepting some form or other of the negative creed which for them is the only one possible. It is well to understand that this implies, sooner or later, an acceptance of Pessimism. It may well be later rather than sooner, for the human mind and heart alike recoil from that gloomy abyss. But the more thoroughly any theory of the universe which does not imply a personal God is actually embraced and worked out, the more clearly does the horrid goal of Pessimism loom in sight. If behind the world-order there is no Intelligence, no Purpose, no Righteousness, no Love, then of all real and abiding hope there is an end. The most carefully worked-out theory of a universe conceived as the product of the striving of an Unconscious Will—that of Edward von Hartmann—is also the most elaborately reasoned theory of Pessimism. David Strauss went far towards it in his *Alte und Neue Glaube*, but contrived to find a shelf on the very edge of the precipice. Von Hartmann completed what Strauss and others feared to contemplate. His philosophy of the Unconscious will have done mankind a service if it has shown, with the "vigour and rigour" so characteristic of German systems, what is implied in relinquishing the belief in a personal God. "Hartmann," says one of the latest students of the gloomy depths of Pessimistic philosophy, "has in any case helped to dispel misunderstandings concerning the three great problems of philosophy—God, the world, and man. For he has not feared to show that if the Absolute Being be impersonal, the gospel of despair necessarily follows. Pessimism has taken its place as the inevitable sequel to a theology which finds Deity in Will, or in the Unconscious, in Force, or in any principle devoid of selfhood and rationality. It appears not only that no man can see God and live, but also that no man can be truly human without seeing God—and dying. For as Jean Paul has said, 'No one in Nature is so alone as the denier of God. He mourns with an orphaned heart that has lost its great Father, by the corpse of Nature, which no world-spirit moves and holds together and which grows in its grave; and he mourns by that corpse until he himself crumbles off it."* When sunlight disappears, the

* Wenley, *Aspects of Pessimism*, pp. 317, 318.

world grows cold. The absence of the sun from the solar system for a very few hours would imply the destruction of all life from the surface of the globe. Those who shrink from the paralysis of moral and spiritual cold which would ensue upon the acceptance of a gospel of despair must beware how they shut out from men's hearts the sunshine of belief in a Personal God.

It may be said that in the presentation of such an alternative there is no argument, that it is a mere prejudicing of a serious question to introduce a picture of intellectual and moral consequences. Let us have the truth, it is said, at all costs, not the most comfortable and hopeful creed because of the comfort and hope it brings. The truth, by all means, and at all costs: men who are frightened into religion simply because life would become dreary without it are not likely to be religious truly or long. But in our consideration of the alternative presented between Christianity and Agnosticism, which was not introduced to prejudice calm and impartial thought, there does lie an argument of a very cogent kind. It was intended to appeal to those who shrink from the abstract discussion of difficult and fundamental questions. From such discussion the well-instructed Christian has no need to shrink. Materialism and other forms of Atheism carry in themselves the seeds of their own destruction, and those who most carefully reason out such theories of the universe are best prepared to appreciate their fundamental untenability. But if abstract discussion be deprecated, there remains only the practical appeal. The appeal to that Cæsar leaves the condemned Agnostic no hope. From the human heart aching to agony when left to itself, from human life deprived of hope and elasticity, and progress, when robbed of a personal Deity, there goes up the cry, "O God, Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless, till they find rest in Thee!"

If it be said, in closing, that a discussion such as is raised by Mr. Illingworth, and such as we have here pursued, is of little use because those who do not believe in a personal God amongst us are few, we have two answers. First, it is to be feared that the number of practical Agnostics amongst educated men in this country is not small, and that it is even increasing.

Observers like Mr. A. J. Harrison, who are well acquainted with educated society and skilled artisans, consider Agnosticism a living and even dangerous enemy. But secondly, there is a species of unbelief, which makes it difficult to *realise* these fundamental articles of the Christian creed, that is only too common. Who does not recognise those tendencies in current thought and life which make it needful even for Christians perpetually to revive and re-invigorate a faith that is neither dead nor dying, but which, like everything that lives, will soon die, if it be not well nourished and exercised? For these and for other reasons the subject chosen for the Bampton Lectures of 1894 seems to us to have been both timely and important, and we can with confidence commend Mr. Illingworth's able and suggestive treatment of it to all students of Christian theology, and all admirers of the prevailing tendencies of modern thought.

ART. V.—MANXLAND AND "THE MANXMAN."

1. *The Land of Home Rule.* An Essay on the History and Constitution of the Isle of Man. By SPENCER WALPOLE. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1893.
2. *The Little Manx Nation.* By HALL CAINE. London: William Heinemann.
3. *The Little Man Island.* By HALL CAINE. Douglas. 1894.
4. *The Laws relating to Nonconformists in the Isle of Man.* With Notes and Observations. By JOHN ROBINSON GREGORY. Douglas: S. K. Broadbent.
5. *The Manxman.* By HALL CAINE. London: William Heinemann. 1894.

FEW persons acquainted with the constitution of the Isle of Man could restrain a smile on reading the title of the first book placed at the head of our article. True, no living

man probably knows more about the methods of the insular government than does Mr. Walpole; but then his late Excellency was always remarkably successful in concealing his sense of humour. By whatever name the government of Man may legitimately be described, it is not *Home Rule* in any sense which current *parlance* attaches to the words.

The island has a Governor, holding office during the pleasure of the Crown. It has also a Legislature of its own, consisting of two Chambers—the Council and the Keys. This Legislature can pass Bills, which, after the Royal assent, are as valid as Acts of Parliament. But its powers are limited by a number of effective restrictions. Not only are matters connected with the army and navy, the post-office and telegraph service, and even the mercantile marine, beyond its ken, but "the insular customs' duties are imposed by Imperial statutes; they are collected by officers of the Imperial Government; and, though Tynwald has the right of disposing of the surplus revenues, the normal expenditure of the island is controlled by the Treasury." No Bill of importance can be introduced into the Legislature without the previous consent of the Governor, who possesses also an absolute veto upon all Bills when passed. This veto he exercises, according to the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Walpole, under the direction of the Imperial Ministry for the time being. Nay more, before a Bill becomes an Act, it must be submitted, through the Home Office, to the Privy Council; it is examined minutely by the Attorney or the Solicitor-General, who can—and not seldom *does*—object to its provisions and its phraseology, and his objection is fatal to the Bill if Tynwald will not follow his advice. Worse remains behind. By the simple process of naming the Isle of Man in the extension clause, an Act of the Imperial Parliament runs in it.* Moreover the Governor has all the executive power in his own hands; he is his own Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, he is chief judge, he appoints all magistrates, all commissions are issued in his name. In

* Manx lawyers generally deny this. Mr. Walpole, with evident reluctance, admits it. Mr. Gladstone certainly held the threat *in terrorem* over the island with regard to the Burials Bill. And Mr. Walpole testifies that the Insular Legislature is careful to anticipate the wishes of the British Parliament.

some respects, therefore, the Isle of Man resembles rather a Crown colony than a self-governing kingdom; while in some other respects the authority of its Legislature scarcely exceeds that of a County Council. There is no analogy at all between the case of this little island and that of Ireland.

Rigidly restricted as is the authority of the Manx Parliament, it exercises as strong an influence now over the government of the island as it ever has done. The "Lord's Council," until recently, had only advisory functions; and the Keys, until recently, were not properly representative; they were chosen by the lord, often avowedly, nearly always in fact. Not unfrequently their principal business was to find means for carrying out their lord's behests and to punish those who had incurred his displeasure.

Governor, Council, Deemsters, Keys, form the Tynwald, or Tynwald Court. Undoubtedly we have here the oldest Legislature in Europe, probably in the world. It dates from the days of King Orry—*i.e.*, from the tenth century. Gorry, or Orry, was a Norse chieftain, who landed in the north-west of the island with a small force. The natives—so the tradition goes—looked with awe upon the stalwart warriors, and inquired whence they came. It was night-time, and Orry, lifting his hand towards the Milky Way, answered majestically, "That is the way to my country." His questioners believed him, and the whole island willingly submitted to his rule. The Manx name for the Milky Way is still "the great road of King Orry." The Vikings brought with them the institutions of their fatherland; among the rest, the Thing, the assembly of the freemen for legislative and judicial business. These gatherings were held in the open air, as a precaution against treacherous violence. *Tynwald* is Thing Völlr, Parliament-field. The Tynwald Court is the lineal successor of the old Scandinavian Völk-thing—is its sole representative now existent. The Icelandic Althing, which bid fair to rival the Manx Tynwald in longevity, expired in 1800, save for a mere scenic performance some eighteen years ago, when the King of Denmark visited his northern dominion. "It is, indeed, highly remarkable," says Professor Worsaæ, "that the last remains of the old Scandinavian Thing . . . . are to be met

with, not in the north itself, but in a little island far towards the west, and in the midst of the British kingdom."

The Thing had its field where the people stood; its hill whereon the King sat enthroned, and whence proclamations were made; its temple, where the sanctions of religion were given to its laws and judgments. The Tynwald has its open space into which several thousands of persons can be collected; its hill, cut into mystic steps and circles, where the Governor and Legislature take their places, and whence the laws or their titles are proclaimed; and its church of St. John, in which all laws must be signed after publication. Nowadays the whole procedure is a bit of mummery, neither beautiful nor impressive. It attracts crowds of sightseers from England; the "field" has all the appearance of a disorderly English pleasure-fair. But the the antiquarian interest cannot be altogether concealed. We do not wonder that Manxmen cling to their Tynwald Day.

The name Keys is sufficiently ancient for the memory of its derivation and meaning to be lost. In 1422 the Deemsters speak of "Keys . . . . that were called Taxiaxi." This last word presents an insoluable riddle to antiquarians. At least half-a-dozen plausible derivations have been suggested for Keys. The two most favoured by Celtic scholars are Kiare-as-Feed, the four-and-twenty (Professor Rhys), and Keise, chosen (M. Vigfusson). The verdict of philology appears to incline to the former, of history to the latter.

King Orry landed, as we have seen, in the last quarter of the tenth century. To read the legend, one would think that he was the first Norseman who had ever set foot on the Manx shores. But numerous descents had been made on the island, and some small settlements formed. The legend and the facts harmonise imperfectly. Yet King Orry was the greatest monarch that ever ruled the little kingdom. Go where you will in Man, you will find memorials of him. His figure attracts myth and legend as if by right. Certainly he governed with strength, and justice and benignity. Men who bear his name—Gorry—are still natives of his island.

The inhabitants whom Orry and his Vikings subdued so easily were Celts. At the dawn of the historic period, Celts,

probably of the Gaelic family, form the predominant population of the island. There is strong presumptive evidence, however, that before their arrival the island had been settled by that Iberian race which appears at one time to have spread over the whole of Western Europe. These were "a small, dark-haired, dolicocephalic people." Slowly and steadily the Goidelic Celts had covered Great Britain and Ireland, and, of course, Man. They had not, it would seem, driven out the the Iberians—in all likelihood a sparse and scattered population. If the two races had not amalgamated, they lived in amity side by side. Then came the sudden and overwhelming incursions of the Brythons or Britons. The earlier settlers—usually called Picts—were driven westward, a considerable overflow taking refuge in the Isle of Man. Hence arises the most satisfactory derivation of the name Man, the only derivation which accounts for both Anglesey and Man being called by the Romans *Mona*. Both islands were inhabited by the fugitive Picts. The isles of the Mannan were simply the isles of the Picts. Mona is merely the Welsh Monaw, and Ellan Vannin the Manx form of the original words.

The life of King Orry had scarcely ended before the conflicts began to which the island was subject, with little intermission, for about four hundred years. Now the Norse held the Lilliputian state either as a separate kingdom or in conjunction with the Hebrides; now the Scotch are the lords paramount, and now the English. Sometimes the tiny realm was divided between two monarchs, who, of course, were at bitter feud with each other. Before the close of the fourth century the island had become an appanage of England. Henry IV. granted the little kingdom to the Stanleys, and their rule and that of their heirs lasted, with a brief interregnum during the Commonwealth, for almost another four hundred years.

Of all the holders of the island the Scotch have left the slightest impression upon it. Under their rule, however, its ancient heraldic device, a ship in full sail, was superseded by the well-known three legs arranged as spokes of a wheel. The merest glance reveals its origin—it is an elaborate form of the Aryan sun-wheel. But how it came to Man there is no evidence to show. It is a tolerably sure conjecture that it was

brought from Sicily, of which island it was the coat-of-arms long before it was known in Man. Between the Norsemen and Sicily there was frequent and intimate intercourse. But why and precisely when the ship was exchanged for the triskele history cannot inform us.

No account of the Isle of Man, however short and sketchy, can pass in complete silence the execution of Iliam Dhone, William the Dark-haired, the William Christian of *Peveril of the Peak*. Every one knows that in 1662 he was shot as the penalty of his alleged treason to the Lord of Man in delivering the island to the Parliamentary forces some ten years before. Every one knows also that the eighth Earl of Derby was condemned by the Privy Council to pay a heavy fine in expiation of the alleged offence against English law. Scott makes the execution the act of the famous Charlotte de la Tremouille, but the order for the arrest and execution was issued by her son, seemingly *proprio motu*. Fierce controversy has raged, and indeed still rages, as to both the dessert of Christian and the legality of the sentence. The facts, however, are tolerably clear. William Christian owed no special obligation to the house of Stanley. The impassioned denunciation that Scott puts into the mouth of the Countess of Derby is altogether untrue to history. In so far as he was a traitor, his crime was purely political. On the other hand, that he *had* intrigued with the Parliamentary party, that the surrender of the island was mainly due to him, admits of no manner of doubt. Even if we allow that the court which condemned him was constituted unfairly, we cannot deny that the trial, sentence, execution were all legal. However unwise and revengeful the arrest may have been, the King of Man did not overstep his sovereign rights. The Privy Council relied upon the Act of Indemnity passed by the English Parliament. But that Act did not mention the kingdom of Man, neither had it authority therein. The pecuniary wants of Charles II. furnished the real reason of the enormous fine. Yet one can have little sympathy with the Earl of Derby, whose action was, at least, violent and high-handed in the extreme.

Another personage that looms large in the history of the island is Bishop Wilson. His episcopate lasted for fifty-eight years,

and during that time, let who would be governor, he was the most prominent person in the island. It is very difficult to pass judgment upon his influence, or even upon his character. Mr. Hall Caine says of him: "He was a strange and complex creature, half angel, only half man, the serenest of saints, and yet almost the bitterest of tyrants." In private a humble and earnest Christian, in public he showed the spirit of a grand inquisitor. Absolutely merciless to all offenders against ecclesiastical law, employing his strength against the poor and weak with supreme indifference to their sufferings, he was equally severe, so far as in him lay, upon the sins of the rich and strong; and he endured uncomplainingly imprisonment in a damp and unhealthy cell, though he permanently lost the use of his right hand from rheumatism. We do not care to soil our pages with the horrible episode of insane Katherine Kinrade, nor to tell stories of the Bishop's efforts to act as an infallible and irresponsible pontiff. Let us look at him rather in his *sacra privata;* let us remember his faithfulness to his diocese; let us think of his regal generosity in days of famine; and let us recognise his beneficent influence in procuring the Manx *Magna Charta.*

In Man, at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, as in Ireland now, *the* social question was that of the land-tenure. Some ten years after the Norman conquest of England, Goddard Crovan, a Norse chieftain, became undisputed sovereign of Man. He claimed the freehold of the entire island, and let the land to tenants-in-chief, who speedily acquired a customary right of sub-letting. The Stanleys, in their turn, became absolute owners of the soil. But, whatever may have been their technical rights, practically they held only a certain quit rent. The tenancy passed from heir to heir as simply as real property. The nominal tenants-at-will were practically tithe-payers and copy-holders. The sole restriction was that the tenantry-right could not legally be alienated. This difficulty was obviated by the curious "Tenure of the Straw"—a custom which the law courts always winked at, even whilst denying its theoretical validity. The conflict between law and custom produced so much uncertainty, so many disputes between the lord's agents and the tenants and sub-tenants, that the great Earl of Derby

made all farms leasehold, on principles which had worked well with his Lancashire estates. But now confusion grew more confounded. There was no security of tenure at the termination of the lease. The uncertainty resulted in poor farming, increasing misery, and perpetual disturbance. Bishop Wilson procured the consent of William, Earl of Derby, to the Act of Settlement, which, to all intents and purposes, restored Goddard Crovan's arrangement, with certain differences in the fines and quit-rents. Fixity of tenure brought back a fair measure of agricultural prosperity.

Mr. Walpole, *more suo*, tries to draw the moral that the conversion of tenants-at-will and leaseholders into payers of a fixed rent-charge is easily feasible, calms agrarian discontent, and effects a permanent settlement of the land. He must know better so far as his Manx illustration is concerned. Very few families retain at the present day the fields that were secured to them. They have sold or sub-let them—in other words, the Act transformed the original landlord into the owner of a rent-charge, and established a number of smaller landlords in his stead. Mr. Walpole speaks, too, of the ease and willingness with which the rent-charge is paid. But agricultural depression as yet has hardly touched the Manx farmer, on account of the high paying market the demands of summer population provide for him. Nevertheless the shadow of depression is even now producing demands that the burdens on the land, comparatively small as they are, should be lightened.

In 1736 the tenth Lord Derby died childless. The succession to the sovereignty of Man passed to the right heirs of the seventh Earl—that is, to the Duke of Athole. The rule of the Atholes began well. The first reigning Duke "celebrated his accession by signing an Act worthy to be bound in the same volume with the great charter of the last of the Derbys" —an Act which vested the power of taxation in the Insular Parliament. He limited also the inordinate authority of the ecclesiastical courts, and vastly improved the civil judicature. His successors of the Murray family cared mainly for their own material interests. The prosperity of the island, and even its amicable relations with Great Britain, were an altogether

secondary consideration. Strangely enough this disregard of everything but revenue promoted, for a time, the pecuniary wealth of the islanders, and led to the termination of the Athole lordship. The Manx customs duties were much lower than the English. Vessels from all parts of the world were chartered to the Isle of Man, and landed their cargoes in the face of day. Almost as openly the goods were transferred to small sailing ships. To run these vessels across to England, and to land their contents under the noses of vigilant preventive men was a more difficult undertaking. It was so often successful, however, that the Imperial revenue was defrauded of some £350,000 or £400,000 a year. Fearing that the persistent violation of the law would induce Great Britain to annex his kingdom, the Duke sold his sovereignty to the Imperial Government in 1765. By subsequent purchases—1805, 1829—the Crown obtained possession of all the lord's rights, governmental and manorial. The kingdom of Man ceased to exist.

The change was hugely unpopular. The masses cared little for the nominal independence of their island, and less for the Atholes. The real reason was given in the rough rhyme:

> "All the babes unborn will rue the day
> That the Isle of Man was sold away;
> For there's ne'er an old wife that loves a dram,
> But will lament for the Isle of Man."

An immediate increase of the customs-duties was anticipated, and the consequent destruction of smuggling. But, for some incomprehensible motive, the Imperial Government attempted to stop the illicit trade by force rather than by the simple expedient of raising the Manx duties nearly to the level of the English. Thus smuggling was rendered more hazardous, and, for a while, more profitable. Never was an island better situated and fashioned for smuggling than Man. The run to England, Scotland, or Ireland is long enough to afford endless opportunity for dodging the revenue cutters, and not too long for the best advantage to be taken of wind and tide and darkness. The coast, with its deep inlets, its multitudinous bays, its narrow-mouthed yet roomy caves, its low rocky reefs, and its perplexing currents, which only years of familiarity could understand, seems meant to delight the smuggler's

heart and to encourage his risky and secret business. And both the good and the bad qualities of the Manxman make him an ideal smuggler. He loves the water, and feels more at home with a heaving plank underneath him than the solid land. He is a daring and skilful sailor, yet cautious withal, instinctively preferring the safer to the more dangerous course; he is quick and cunning; and *pace* Mr. Caine, he is endowed with his full share of Celtic deceitfulness, and he has always a keen eye to the main chance. Stories of smugglers and smuggling abound. Mr. Caine revels in them with his usual appreciation of humour and adventure, and his usual inaccuracy.*

Thanks partly to the activity of the coastguard, partly to the influence of Methodism, but mainly to a sensible increase of the Manx customary duties, smuggling died out. The island had grown so dependent upon the unlawful traffic that its cessation plunged the people into poverty and distress. It was saved by a curious turn of fortune. Certain fraudulent debtors and bankrupts possessed of means discovered that the Isle of Man was a perfectly safe refuge for them and for the money rightly belonging to their creditors. Neither person nor property in the island could be attached for English debts. Man, and Douglas in particular, became a sort of Alsatia, though without its violence. The condition of affairs suggested the epigram:

> "When Satan tried his arts in vain,
> The worship of our Lord to gain,
> The earth (quoth he) and all is Thine,
> Except one spot which must be mine.
> 'Tis barren, bare, and scarce a span,
> By mortals called the Isle of Man.
> That is a place I cannot spare,
> For all my choicest friends are there."

The lines were only too amply justified, but, as ready cash was plentiful, the natives were more than content. An

* Mr. Caine shows a real respect and no little liking for Methodism, though he cannot understand it. He connects some of his more shady stories with Methodism on insufficient evidence, or no evidence at all. We are afraid that the old smuggler who hid his bales in his newly buried wife's grave and coffin was a Methodist, at any rate, in profession. But he was *not* a local preacher.

alteration in the law dispersed these dishonest refugees, and once more dire poverty threatened the island. For a while a partial remedy was applied by the residence of a number of half-pay officers and similar gentry, attracted by the cheapness and quiet comfort of living. But fiscal and other changes broke up the little colony. The prosperity of the island seemed to have passed away. In no quarter could any sign of hope be discerned.

Deliverance came from a source that could not have been dreamt of. The healthful fashion of spending a portion of the year at the seaside sprung up, and first Douglas, and then the rest of the island, became a popular holiday resort. Now the main business of Manxland is to provide for the huge hosts of summer visitors that swarm over from all parts of England, especially Lancashire and Yorkshire. Mining operations are still conducted at Laxey, Foxdale, and elsewhere, but they are rapidly growing less and less profitable. The fisheries employ a numerous fleet and a fine race of hardy, honest fishermen. These industries, however, support only a fraction of the population. Agriculture pays chiefly because of the ready market afforded by the holiday-makers. The country is one of England's playgrounds.

Mr. Hall Caine waxes eloquent over the lovely scenery. It is true that the rivers are little more than trout streams, that the country is by no means well wooded, that there is only one real mountain in the island, the other elevations reaching only the geographical level of hills. But these hills look grander than they actually are, because of the smallness of the valleys at their feet; nowhere is turf more springy; and even the Essex marshes must give way to the Manx curraghs for variety of bird life. Yet, after all, the charm of the island is found in its narrow, winding, sinuous, dark, and slumberous glens.

"Grander things of the same kind there are in many countries, grander things a thousand times, but nothing so sweet, so soft, so rich, so exquisitely beautiful. The thin thread of blue water, leaping and laughing and gliding and babbling and brawling and whooping and stealing its various ways, down from the mountain tops to the sea-beach; the great blue boulders of its tortuous course, worn smooth and ploughed hollow by the wash of ages; the wet moss and lichen of its channel walls; the deep, cool dubbs; the tiny reefs; the little

cascades of boiling white foam; the lines of trees on either hand that make the light of morning dim with overshadowing leafage; the golden fuschia here, and the green trammon there, and now and then a poor old tholthan, the roofless walls of an abandoned house, with grass growing on its kitchen floor; and then the eye of the sun peering down in places into the slumberous gloom, and the breeze singing somewhere above the tree tops to the voice of the river below."*

The enormous incursions of the "trippers" have not only enhanced the material prosperity of the island, and earned the taunt from its sailors and fishermen that the Isle of Man should be called the Isle of Manchester; they have brought the Manx Senate and people face to face with a most serious and perplexing problem. In Douglas, and, to a growing extent, in the other towns, hotels and public-houses spring up with alarming rapidity. It is practically impossible to refuse licences, because good cause can always be shown in the number of visitors actually staying within or around the doors. Roadside inns, which, a few years ago, were content with a little custom and a great deal of farming or fishing, now drive a big trade with the excursionists. Every facility, we had almost written every encouragement, is thus given to intemperance. And this is by no means the worst. There are gay dancing-saloons of various sizes and descriptions. In the largest of these several thousands of people gather of an evening, and can indulge themselves in wild merriment. Mr. Caine's guide-book draws an attractive picture of the scene. His latest and most realistic novel produces a very different impression. The gaiety often leads to sin. The evil is far more terrible and widely-spread than the closing of these saloons—even if such a course were held to be expedient—would remedy. There are depths of vice at which we may not even point with the finger. Several years ago the mischief was so flagrant that representatives of the various churches of

* It is remarkable how little the mass of the tourists see of the island. They seldom get off the main road and certain beaten tracks. In the height of the "season" the present writer has walked the seven or eight miles from the foot of Glen Auldyn to the top of Snaefel, through some of the most characteristic of Manx scenery, without seeing a single human being until within a stone's throw of the mountain top. The rock formations at certain places between Castletown and Langness Point are quite as wonderful as the celebrated Chasms, but these are scarcely known even to native Manxmen.

the island besought the Governor to take measures for repression and control, but Mr. Walpole adhered to his favourite policy of *laissez faire*. In his book he is quite silent on the subject—a discretion not altogether surprising. High hopes are entertained of the new Governor's energy and firmness.

Of religion on the island at the present day, Mr. Walpole writes with his usual impartial moderation: "It cannot be said that, as a people, they [the Manx] are warmly attached to the Establishment. The bulk of the population may perhaps be described paradoxically as Nonconformists who conform to the Church." This putting may be accepted as substantially correct, if by conformity no more is meant than that "most of them bring their children to church to be christened, and come to church themselves to be married;" and, we may add, avail themselves of the services of the Establishment for the burial of their dead. But even this describes a condition of affairs that is fast passing away. We could scarcely say that the differences between the Establishment and Nonconformity tend to become more and more accentuated; but Nonconformists incline more and more to avail themselves of the ministrations of their own churches. And such matters as the constitution of the Council, with its preponderance of Episcopalian dignitaries, and the exclusion of Nonconformists from the magistracy are beginning to attract serious attention.*

Till very recently, Manx Nonconformity was confined to Methodism. Now the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Salvation Army, the minor Methodist bodies, and other denominations are actively engaged in the island. But the Wesleyan Methodist is still the largest Nonconformist church, and, numerically, more than equals the Establishment. Methodism was introduced into the Isle of Man in 1775. Two years later Wesley visited the island himself, and he repeated his visit frequently. Everywhere he was received with respect and affection; everywhere his work prospered. His influence, of course, must not be reckoned merely by the multiplication of

* Almost the first act of the new Governor, Sir J. W. Ridgeway, was to appoint Nonconformist magistrates. Mr. Walpole turned a deaf ear to every representation on the subject. Generally, his dealings with Nonconformists were most courteous and considerate. But he could not resist the social influences that Mr. Caine has depicted so powerfully in *The Manxman*.

Methodist Societies and chapels. It quickened the life, it roused the ardour of the Church of England. The Manx clergy have shown no strong tendencies towards High Anglicanism. They have belonged mostly to the "moderate" school, or else have been of the simple, godly, diligent, Evangelical style of which the late "Parson" Drury was perhaps the latest survival. It cannot be denied, however, that for more than a century Methodism has been the main factor in the religion of the isle.

We might easily fill whole pages with tales of insular Methodist worthies. One of the most remarkable was John Cowle, parish clerk at St. George's, and local preacher all over the island. He made it a condition of undertaking the former office that he should be allowed to provide a substitute on the Sundays at St. George's, whenever he was required to preach in Methodist chapels. A bishop recently arrived in the island spoke strongly from St. George's pulpit against Dissenters and especially Methodists. No sooner had his Lordship finished than Mr. Cowle gave out the daringly appropriate hymn—

> "In vain, O man of lawless might,
> Thou boast'st thyself in ill,
> Since God, the God in Whom I trust
> Vouchsafes His favour still.
> The wicked tongue doth sland'rous tales
> Maliciously devise;
> And sharper than a razor whet
> It wounds with treacherous lies."

The next day the bishop sent for him, and rebuked him for preaching while he could not understand Greek or Hebrew. To which he retorted that he knew English tolerably well, and Manx better than most, and could call men to repentance so that they could understand him.*

Manx Methodism, and indeed Manx Christianity, cannot let the name of Nellie Brennan die. A woman in very humble life, she became the devoted nurse and teacher of those as poor as herself. Her heroism and utter self-sacrifice during the

* He bought the old episcopal throne, and presented it as a pulpit to Thomas Street Wesleyan Methodist chapel. This curious piece of furniture has mysteriously disappeared.

cholera visitation of 1832 are still remembered with admiration and affection.

John Cowle could both preach in Manx and find congregations who could not only understand him but preferred the Manx to the English tongue. Now-a-days the men who can preach in Manx are very few indeed, and the whole island could hardly furnish a congregation who would understand them. The dying out of the language excites little regret. Almost its only charm is some poetry of expression. Mr. Wilson Barrett was asked jokingly, "if in its fulness, its fine chest notes, its force and music, this old language did not sound like Italian." "Well, no," he answered, "it sounds more like hard swearing." John Wesley deliberately recorded an opinion curiously like this in both form and substance. There is no Manx literature to keep the tongue alive; "no fine Manx poems, no good novel in Manx, not even a Manx sermon of high mark." The language that has produced so little worth preserving may well be allowed to decay in peace.

At one time it was hoped that the Manx carols would prove a rich mine of Celtic literature, but all of them are translations or echoes of the English. The folk-lore certainly deserves all the attention it has received. Customs still flourish the origin and meaning of which are lost in the far-off past, and puzzle industrious and acute antiquaries. Who can explain, for example, the absurd and cruel usage of "hunting the wren," or carrying a dead bird about in a cage on the first of May, whilst rhythmical lines of many repetitions are sung? To this day fires flame on Hallow E'en and the gorse and coarse grass are burnt lest they should afford a hiding place for the fairies. The native Manxman yet fears to walk by certain paths at night lest he should meet "the little people;" * and on fit occasions he provides them with food and drink. Belief in *spooks* is all but universal. Manx maidens still practise prettily superstitious charms that are supposed to reveal the future. And this faith dies hard.

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* Mr. Walpole suggests that the persistent stories about a small dark, mischievous people, who milk cows, enter houses, &c., at night arose from stealthy visits of the Iberians who had taken refuge from the Celtic invaders in caves and mountains.

Very few men of mark have sprung from the little island. Mr. Caine calls his friend Mr. T. E. Brown, the author of *Fo'c'sle Yarns*, and *The Manx Witch*, "the greatest of Manxmen living or dead." Probably most people would give the title to Mr. Caine himself; at any rate he is by far the best known of Manxmen. The Methodist preacher Philip Garrett, the accomplished dialist and mathematician, has perhaps as good a right to the eminence as either of the others.* Anyhow, these three names exhaust the list of Manx "mighty men." Bishop Wilson and the great Stanley were of course, Englishmen.

Mr. Walpole's dispassionate, cultured, careful volume furnishes the most trustworthy and complete account of the Isle of Man to be found in any single book. Despite the evident weary indifference of his later years, no term of office has conferred greater benefits upon the tiny kingdom than has his. He showed himself a painstaking and capable administrator. As a historian his knowledge of his subject and his literary ability are unquestionable. Possibly defective sympathy and aristocratic *nonchalance* entitle him to be reckoned with "the Governors, the Bishops," who "have no idea beyond the general knowledge that the human being is about the same everywhere, and that, as long as he does nothing to bring him under the eye of the law, he can safely be neglected, and certainly does not deserve to be studied as an object lesson of anything." † But he has studied the history of his dominion and mastered it, even if the *spirit* of Manxland is not reproduced in his pages..

For that spirit we must go to Mr. Hall Caine. His London Institution Lectures are redolent of the brine, the breeze, and the heather, and none the less truly Manx because he perpetrates an inaccuracy on every other page. His *Little Man Island* could have been written only by a lover of the Manx fatherland. His three novels—*The Deemster*, *The Bondman*, *The Manxman*—the scenes of which are laid in the Isle of Man, have painted the Manx character as it never has been painted before. They should be read in the order of publication,

* See *The Less-known Methodist Writers. Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.* 1877.
† Mr. T. E. Brown in *Contemporary Review*, November, 1894.

which is also that of assumed date. *The Deemster* describes the condition of the island at the opening of the eighteenth century. Powerful in conception and execution, it displays the sterner elements of the Manx nature. The plot of *The Bondman* transports us a century in time. It is Manx chiefly in scenery and surroundings, though its peculiar pathos may perhaps be said to belong to the island. *The Manxman* is a "realistic" story of the present day with an occasional very pardonable anachronism. Often in its literal exactness it reminds us of a fine picture from the Dutch school. As Mr. T. E. Brown puts it: "Mr. Caine has omitted no trait, has spared no detail. There is not a Manx proverb, a Manx anecdote, a Manx jest, a Manx situation, which will not be found in *The Manxman*. All Manx men are in it; all Manx women. It sweeps like a trawl-net the whole bottom of the Manx waters and gathers within its meshes every living creature that inhabits the depths which are so fertile and so unexplored." And, to change the figure, all this miscellaneous mass of matter is disposed with the eye and hand of the genuine artist. Every bit of the mosaic is in its right place; every tiniest gem is set in the light that brings out its richness and its individuality. Moreover the book glows with life and force; in it Mr. Caine has reached his highest level.

Nevertheless the story is not a pleasant one. Heartily do we wish that its pictures of Manx life and character had been held together by another frame-work. To speak plainly, *The Manxman* is a novel of seduction and adultery; seduction, too, of a specially offensive nature. There are passages that even verge upon the nasty. Not that Mr. Caine ever intends to approach the perilous precipice. He treats his unsavoury subject with all the delicacy that it will allow. But nothing can annihilate the fatal facts themselves, and the interest of the story is inseparably bound up with them. The manner, too, in which the double crime and the meanest treachery, though by no means unpunished, are condoned offends the sense of purity and righteousness.*

* Various critics have compared *The Manxman* with Maxwell Gray's *Silence of Dean Maitland*, and have even hinted at plagiarism. The charge is obviously unjust. It would be about as reasonable to accuse every writer of

Religion, too, fares badly at Mr. Caine's hands. The colourless Parson Quiggin may be true to life, but he ought not to be the sole representative of respectable Christianity. Cæsar Cregeen, miller, publican, preacher, is an anachronism for more reasons than those suggested by his knee-breeches. A cunning hypocrite, he is the sole representative of religion other than Episcopalian. Mr. Brown* speaks of him as a Methodist. This he is not. Mr. Caine is quite incapable of so silly a blunder. Before his duplicity develops, Cregeen forsakes Methodism and sets up an altogether impossible and ridiculous denomination of his own. He himself intimates that "even the Primitives" would not allow his irregularities and absurdities, to say nothing of his character and conduct. This is a comparatively small matter, but let us do Mr. Caine full justice for *vraisemblance* and for his evident desire to do no dishonour to the Church to which he has paid more than one tribute of esteem.

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Caine, who loves his fellow-countrymen, should have drawn so sorry a picture of them. *The Manxman* gives a distinctly lower appreciation of Manxland and its inhabitants than did *The Deemster*, or *The Bondman*. No wonder that Manxmen themselves, proud as they are of Mr. Caine, complain indignantly of the coarseness of his latest novel, of its unfairness to the island. Surely Mr. Caine's strong sympathy, keen insight, minute observation, wondrous power of reproduction and expression, his tenderness and his force, need not be expended upon the humour, the weakness, the clannishness, the ignorance, the sin, or even upon the sternness, the daring, the self-sacrifice, and the impulsiveness of his countrymen. To paint a nobler, brighter, *truer* portrait is not beyond the scope of his hand and brush. No one ever reads Manxmen aright, no one can reveal them to themselves, to the world, no one can imbibe and exhibit the spirit of their romance, who is unable to perceive,

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a love-story of plagiarism from *Romeo and Juliet*. But there is more than a superficial resemblance between *The Manxman* and Maxwell Gray's *The Last Sentence*. In both novels the culminating scene is the sentence by the judge upon his own victim. But if Maxwell Gray's tale is inferior to Mr. Caine's in artistic treatment, it towers immeasurably above *The Manxman* in its morality. The retribution that overtakes the successful sinner satisfies justice, and powerfully enforces a terrible lesson.

* *Contemporary Review.*

to value, and to display their genuine piety, their fervent devotion, their faith in God. The writer who treats their religion as vanity, veneer, and hypocrisy manifests his own lack of discrimination, his blindness to that which is most worthy and most influential in the Manx people.

ART. VI.—THE UNIFICATION OF LONDON.

1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to Consider the Proper Conditions under which the Amalgamation of the City and County of London can be effected, and to make Specific and Practical Proposals for that purpose.* London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1894.
2. *A Bill for the Establishment of Municipal Corporations within the Metropolis*, 1867. *A Bill for the Better Municipal Government of the Metropolis*, 1867.
3. *Ten Years' Growth of the City of London: Report by the Local Government and Taxation Committee of the Corporation, with Results of the Day Census*, 1891. By JAMES SALMON, Esq., F.G.S., Chairman of the Committee. Published under the authority of the Corporation. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., Ld. 1891.
4. *London and the Kingdom.* By REGINALD R. SHARPE, Esq., D.C.L., Record Clerk in the Office of the Town Clerk of the City of London. Three vols. Printed by order of the Corporation. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.

THE Report of the Commission appointed to consider "the proper conditions under which the amalgamation of the City and County of London can be effected" has been received with a large measure of approval, and even those who differ most from its conclusions will hardly fail to admit that it is a very valuable contribution towards the solution of one of the most important and complex problems of our age.

During the half century that has elapsed since Parliament first began to turn its attention to this problem all its conditions have undergone a material change, and it is, therefore, not altogether surprising, much as it is to be regretted, that the Report cannot be taken as representing the unanimous conclusions of the Commissioners. The population of the Metropolis has increased from about 1,500,000 to 4,232,118; and since 1854 the local government of that portion of it which lies outside the City, which was then entirely parochial, has twice been remodelled and placed under the control of a central authority, while the body at present occupying this position possesses powers almost equal to those of the City itself. The parliamentary franchise and the local government franchise have both been very widely extended, and the popular movement for recasting all our institutions, which found its first expression in the Reform Bill of 1832, and of which the present local authority for the government of London without the City is the outcome, has been continuously developed in every direction.

The Commission of 1894, therefore, had to approach the question of the government of London in an entirely new form, and, in addition to this, its composition differed from that of preceding commissions and committees in the fact that it comprised, in addition to the three members appointed from without—Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., Mr. Durning Holt, Mayor of Liverpool, and Mr. Orford Smith, Town Clerk of Birmingham—the City Solicitor, Mr. Homewood Crawford, who represented the City of London, and Lord Farrer, who represented the County Council. Whether the inclusion of representatives of the two great governing authorities interested in the decision of the question which the Commission was appointed to decide among its members was altogether judicious seems open to doubt, but the result has certainly proved unfortunate. Mr. Homewood Crawford found himself unable to agree with his colleagues that it was assumed in the terms of the reference to the Commissioners that the amalgamation of the City and the County of London "is desirable if it is practicable." After some correspondence, he retired from the Commission, while the witnesses

who had attended on behalf of the City also withdrew, on the ground that the conditions attached to the receipt of evidence offered by the Corporation as to other local authorities, and the manner in which their own witnesses had been examined, led them to the conclusion that "due consideration had not been and was not being given to the important interests involved in the reference to the Commission."* How far this action of the representatives of the City—which appears to have been disapproved by some members of the Corporation—was justifiable, is a point which, as the remaining Commissioners, who deal with it very temperately, observe, can only be determined by the consideration of their proceedings. It cannot, indeed, be denied that it is calculated to impair the value of their Report by the apparent support it gives to the contention of the Corporation that this has been almost entirely based on the scheme submitted to them by the County Council, the main outlines of which—though they have rejected portions of it, such as those relating to the police and to finance—they certainly seem to have adopted. This scheme must, however, be judged on its own merits, and, setting aside the suggestion of any undue bias on their part, the review given by the Commissioners of the subject is so comprehensive, and its recommendations are so definite and so far-reaching, that their Report can hardly fail to exercise an important influence on any future legislation as to the government of the Metropolis. We therefore propose, after reviewing the development of that government into its present form, to consider the peculiar character of the great city over which it is exercised, and to examine how far the scheme suggested by the Commissioners for its alteration is calculated to conduce to its improvement.

1. The municipal history of London extends over eight centuries, and records an administration unstained even in the darkest days of municipal corruption, and embodying in their clearest, best recorded, and most active form the principles underlying the foundations of English corporations.† It is,

* *Report*, pp. 10, 11.

† *Cf.* Clifford's *History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. p. 358, and an address by Archbishop Benson, on *Municipalities*, at Birmingham, Nov. 30, 1885.

therefore, a curious instance of the "irony of fate" that the idea of modifying the municipal constitution of the Metropolis, which otherwise would probably never have been entertained, should have been first suggested by the revelation through the *Report of the Municipal Corporations Commission*, 1835, of abuses in other corporations to which it was shown to present the most striking contrast.

The tribute paid by the Commissioners of 1835 to its then unique system of popular elections, and to the efficient administration of the Common Council, which, "for a long series of years, has studied to improve the corporate institution with great earnestness, unremitting caution, and scrupulous justice,"* doubtless contributed, together with the recognition of its exceptional position, to its exclusion from the operation of the legislation based on their Report. The Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, besides reforming the constitution of other municipal corporations, provided for the extension of the areas of the towns dealt with which had outgrown the narrow space occupied since their first incorporation, and for the transfer of the powers and possessions of the governing body of the smaller area to the Corporation of the extended borough. The Commissioners of 1894 are of opinion that "much legislation might have been spared" by the application of these principles to the Metropolis, and point out, in support of this view, that the population of Liverpool was increased under the Act of 1865 from 165,000 to 206,000, is now 520,000, and will shortly be raised by further extension to 640,000.† As the population of the City was then 193,393, while that of the whole Metropolis was 1,474,069, this course—setting aside the difference in status between the two cities—would manifestly have been a much more portentous experiment than in the case of Liverpool, but its practicability was considered in a further Report made by the Municipal Corporations Commission in 1837. The Commissioners came to the conclusion that the arguments justifying the extension of other municipalities were equally applicable to the City, "unless the magnitude of change

* *Report Municipal Corporations Commission* 1838, pp. 28–30. *Cf. Report of Commission*, 1894, p. 8.

† *Report*, pp. 7, 12, 13.

in this case should be considered as converting what would otherwise be only a practical difficulty into an objection of principle," and that the only circumstance justifying its distinction from the rest of the Metropolis lay in the fact that "it was, and had long been, so distinguished." They, however, also pointed out that, while the Act of 1835 reserved to the Central Government the powers necessary for securing general uniformity of action among the local municipalities and for maintaining them in due subordination to the Executive Government, the position of the Metropolis, as the seat of that Government and of the Legislature, raised "a new and very important question" with respect to the proper division of municipal authority between the officers of the Government and a municipal body established in it for the same purposes as elsewhere.*

This consideration, which still remains the most important with regard to any change in the existing constitution of the government of London, prevented the Commissioners from formulating any definite proposals respecting it, and, though they suggested certain alterations in that of the City itself, which have been since carried out, their Report produced no general legislation on the subject. Within the next twenty years, however, the population of the Metropolis had increased by nearly a million, and the establishment of some general system for the government of the portion of it without the City had become an absolute necessity. Outside the City sanitary administration was in some respects inferior to that of many provincial towns, and in 1845 paving and cleansing were managed by no fewer than eighty-four separate bodies of Commissioners, at whose instance 129 Acts of Parliament had been passed since 1800. When the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission of 1847 inquired into the subject there were, for example, nearly twenty paving boards in St. Pancras, consisting of nearly 1000 Commissioners, while in the twenty parishes under the supervision of the Westminster Court of Sewers there were twenty-five separate boards charged with street paving and cleansing, and, as the boundaries of these parishes were in the middle of the streets, each was governed by different bodies. In one great thorough-

* *Report of Commission* of 1835, p. 4.

fare the paving was done by one authority, while the lighting and watering on either side rested with two other authorities, and, owing to the frequent differences between these three bodies, the street was watered on one side in the morning and on the other in the evening. As lately as 1855 the number of local Acts in force within the Metropolis was about 250, administered by 300 different bodies, consisting of more than 10,000 vestrymen, commissioners, trustees or other members, and, owing to divided jurisdiction, all public works were almost universally ill done.*

Though the general question of the government of the Metropolis was not referred to them the reform of these evils must be ascribed to the suggestions respecting it made by the Commissioners appointed in 1853, "to inquire into the existing state of the Corporation of London," who also made various recommendations as to the reform of the Corporation which have been effected either by it itself or by legislation.† They demonstrated very clearly the inapplicablity of the principle of "extension" laid down by the Act of 1835 to the case of the Metropolis, which had become "a province covered with houses," with a diameter so great that persons living at its furthest extremities have scarcely any interests in common, and in which, as each inhabitant has no knowledge of any quarter of the town save his own, "the first conditions for municipal government, minute local knowledge and community of interests would be wanting if the whole of London were by an extension of the boundaries of the City placed under a single municipal corporation." At the same time they pointed out that the City, despite the small size of its area and population, was the only municipal authority in it, and suggested that the seven parliamentary boroughs then existing in it‡ should be created municipal boroughs combined with a central Board of Works, the members of which should be elected for each municipality.§ Though this proposal, which appears to us one of the

* Clifford's *History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. pp. 316-319. *Cf. Report of Metropolitan Sanitary Commission*, 1847.

† As for instance by the City Elections Act, 1867, and the City Ballot Act, 1887.

‡ Westminster, Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Lambeth, and Greenwich.

§ *Report*, p. 13, *et seq.*

most practical on the subject, was not adopted, the Report of the Commission led to the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works, under the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855,* by which the vestries of existing parishes of London without the City were made—either separately or grouped in districts—at once the primary authorities for Metropolitan local government, and also the constituent electors of the Board. The Corporation of the City of London, though left to govern it as they had done for centuries, were, like other local authorities, subordinated to the Board, on which they were represented by three members; and a central body for the control of matters common to the whole of its area, was for the first time provided for the Metropolis.

During its thirty odd years of administration the Board carried out the main drainage system, erected the Thames embankments, opened up arterial communications, freed the bridges from tolls, built artisans' dwellings, provided for the management of open spaces, and rendered numerous services to the Metropolis, which, though forgotten, are none the less important.† In spite of the valuable nature of the bulk of its work, however, the limitation of its powers, and the fact that, instead of being, as proposed by the Commission of 1854, a semi-municipal, it still remained a semi-parochial, body foredoomed it to failure. Though one for the purposes of the Board itself, its area of administration was divided into thirty-nine districts for vestry action, and as many for poor law administration, and subdivided again without uniformity into different districts for purposes of police, county court jurisdiction, registration, postal arrangements, water and gas supply, and Parliamentary representation. In addition to this, it was subject to the administration, under various Acts, of the Commissioners of Police, the Corporations of the City and of the City of Westminster, the Poor Law Board, the Woods and Forests Department, the Thames Conservators, and the Lords Lieutenant of the Counties. Some 7000 persons in various honorary positions took part in its government, and about 1000 magistrates in the Metropolitan counties con-

* Introduced by Sir Benjamin Hall.

† *A History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. pp. 343-356.

trolled its bridges, asylums, and courts of law, levying an onerous taxation without representative authority. Lastly, its system of representation was extremely faulty, the single member for Kensington, for instance, representing a rateable value of £500,000, the one for Woolwich £83,000; the two for Lambeth £637,000, and the two for Shoreditch £360,000.* The defects of its constitution were successively considered by three Select Committees of the House of Commons in 1861, 1866 and 1867, the last of which recommended, *inter alia*, that the Metropolis should be considered a county of itself; that the Board should be called the Municipal Council of London, and the governing authorities for the different districts Common Councils, which should absorb the boards of guardians; and that a number of Metropolitan justices should be added to the Board as representatives of owners of property. Public opinion on the subject found expression in the formation of the Metropolitan Municipal Association, which included many leading men of the day,† and aimed at effecting the reform of the government of the Metropolis by the circulation of information and public meetings. In 1867 Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P., a member of the Association, submitted to Parliament two Bills for extending local municipal life through the Metropolis, which are cited at the head of this article. Though they rather curiously omit to notice them in their Report, these measures embodied a scheme which, in certain respects, anticipated that of the Commissioners of 1894, and proposed, while retaining the City as the centre of a group of distinct municipalities to be represented on its Common Council, to extend the sphere of its action over the whole metropolis by absorbing into it the Metropolitan Board of Works. Both, however, failed to become law, and when the question of the government of London was again revived in 1884, a similar fate attended a

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* An address by Mr. J. Beal at a Meeting of the Metropolitan Municipal Association at St. James's Vestry Hall, 4th November, 1867, on Mr. J. S. Mill's Bills for Municipal Reform. Published by the Association.

† Among others Lords Ebury and Grey, Mr. J. S. Mill, M.P., Mr. T. Hughes, M.P., Sir J. Fitzjames Stephen, Mr. Nassau Senior, Mr. Blanchard Jerrold, Mr. J. M. Ludlow (who drafted Mr. Mill's Bills) Mr. Charles Buxton, M.P., and Dr. Lankester. *Cf.* First Report of the Metropolitan Municipal Association, 1867.

measure introduced by Sir William Harcourt for creating a single municipality for the metropolis by an extension of the area and the reform of the constitution of the Corporation of the City, which was strongly opposed by the Corporation and by the vestries, whose powers it proposed to absorb. Four years later, however, on the establishment throughout England and Wales of the system of directly-elected County Councils, Parliament, adopting the suggestion of the Select Committee of 1867,* constituted the Metropolis a county in itself and treated it as such for the purposes of the Local Government Act, 1888.

Though simple in theory, this course was, owing to the peculiar nature of the new county, attended with inevitable complications. For non-administrative purposes this statute constituted London outside the city a county at large, with an organisation corresponding to that of other counties, but modified by the existence of the Central Criminal Court district, the Metropolitan Police, the Metropolitan Police Courts with their magistrates, and a paid chairman of Quarter Sessions; while for similar purposes it practically left the City of London, which is a county of a city, untouched. For administrative purposes it created the Administrative County of London, which includes the City, and for which the County Council is elected; while it treated the City as if it were a quarter sessions borough with a population of over 10,000 within this Administrative County, and reserved the powers of the council of a borough of that class to the Common Council of the City. As, however, this involved the transfer, not only of the extensive powers exercised by the Metropolitan Board of Works over local authorities without the City—the vestries and district boards—but also those, such as main drainage, also exercised by it within the City, to the London County Council, this body obtained powers and functions within the City which no other county council exercises in a borough lying in its administrative area. And, on the other hand, as the Act left untouched certain rights and powers possessed by the City, through ancient privilege or special legislation,

* This was also provided for in Mr. Mill's Bill for the Better Government of the Metropolis.

which apply to or affect the whole Administrative County of London—such as market rights, and powers as to foreign cattle, and as port sanitary authority—the City is connected with the Administrative County of London in a way in which no borough is connected with the administrative county in which it lies. London is, therefore, at present divided into three principal areas under the jurisdiction of two central authorities—the City of London governed by the Corporation, which is also a separate county for non-administrative purposes, such as quarter sessions, justices, militia, coroners, sheriff, &c.; the County of London governed by the County Council, which is London *minus* the City, but in which the City possesses certain powers; and the Administrative County of London, which is the whole district governed by the County Council and for certain purposes includes the City.* The amalgamation of these areas and jurisdictions is the problem with which the Commissioners of 1894 have had to deal, but before considering their proposals for its solution it will be advisable to examine the difficulties which, as they point out, must be overcome in carrying them into effect.

2. These difficulties, it need hardly be said, arise from the impossibility of treating the Metropolis as an ordinary municipal borough.

Owing to its unique position as the capital and seat of Government, it does not, like other cities, belong mainly to itself, but primarily to the empire at large—a fact which must affect all issues relating to its self-government. To take a single instance—one of the few points on which the Commission of 1894 have differed from the County Council—the seat of Imperial government would have to be shifted beyond the reach of a London *coup d'état* if the police of London were placed under the control of a central municipal authority, which would thus have placed at its disposal a *corps d'armée* of from one to twenty thousand men.†

Again, its enormous size, the complexity of its jurisdictions, and its want of homogenity render it hopeless to expect to create

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* *Report*, pp. 9, 10.

† See an interesting letter in the *Spectator* of October 6, 1894, p. 439, by Mr. J. M. Ludlow. *Cf. Report of Commission*, 1894, pp. 23, 24.

in it, as a whole, the municipal spirit which, in other cities, is a natural outcome of community of interests. In addition to the great areas with which the Report is concerned, the highly indefinite term "London" covers at least nine more—those, namely, under the jurisdictions of the police, the magistracy, the Poor Law Guardians and Asylum Board, the Central Criminal Court, the School Board, the Registrar-General, the Water Companies, the Gas Companies, and the Post Office. Though, too, the area outside the City has, by the Act of 1888, been treated as a county, it is, as the Commissioners point out, really a large town, requiring town rather than county government, but it differs from other towns in that it comprises several smaller towns distinguished from each other by many characteristics which necessitate large powers of self-government.* The inhabitants, for instance, of Plumstead and St. Pancras, St. George's, Hanover Square, and Whitechapel, Hammersmith and Bethnal Green have no community of interest, and, as has well been said, "might almost as well be associated with Liverpool or Bradford." Many of them, indeed, know far more of provincial towns than of their Metropolitan neighbours; and few, probably, have realised that no less than forty-one places, many of which might from their size be independent municipalities, were represented on the Metropolitan Board of Works, and are now controlled by the County Council.† The partition of powers between local bodies entrusted with the administration of these towns and a central body exercising functions common to London as a whole will obviously demand considerable care and consideration.

In connection with this aspect of the question there are, moreover, certain characteristics distinguishing the population of the Metropolis from that of other towns, which, though not

* *Report*, p. 12, and *cf. Report of Commission*, 1853, p. 14.

† *Cf. Clifford's History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. p. 357. The places represented on the Board were: The City; Marylebone; St. Pancras; Lambeth; St. George's, Hanover Square; Islington; Shoreditch; Paddington; Bethnal Green; Newington; Camberwell; St. James's, Westminster; Clerkenwell; Chelsea; Kensington; St. Luke, Middlesex; St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark; Bermondsey; St. George's-in-the-East; St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Mile End; Woolwich; Rotherhithe and St. Olave; Hampstead; Whitechapel; Westminster; Greenwich; Wandsworth; Hackney; St. Giles-in-the-Fields; Holborn; Strand; Fulham; Hammersmith; Limehouse; Poplar; St. Saviour, Southwark; Plumstead; and Lewisham.

noticed by the Commissioners, seem worthy of attention. It was pointed out by the compilers of the census of 1881 that the population of the group of districts in the centre of London has been decreasing owing to the substitution of business premises for dwelling-houses, and that that of the ring of districts round it constituting Registration or Inner London has been more or less rapidly increasing; while in the belt of suburban districts outside Registration London the population is increasing with extraordinary rapidity. The enumeration of 1891 showed a repetition of all these phenomena, and, while all the central districts showing decreases in 1871 and in 1881—with the exception of Whitechapel, where an influx of foreigners produced a slight increase — showed a further decrease, two of the districts in Registration London previously showing increases—St. Pancras and Stepney—were added to the list. While the population of eleven districts * has thus decreased 13.9 per cent. during the last 30 years, the rate of decrease growing higher at each successive decennium, that of all the other districts of Registration London has but very slightly increased at a steadily falling rate, and even the wide belt of suburbs beyond it exhibits a corresponding diminution of population, owing, apparently, to a migration to a ring of districts outside the Metropolitan Police area. For the first time since the inauguration of the census in 1801 the population of London has, during the decennium 1881-91, increased at a lower, instead of, as hitherto, at a higher rate than that of England and Wales as a whole, and it is apparently to be anticipated that as its area is gradually extended over the home counties its most populous districts will always be found at its outer circumference. The Day Census compiled by the Local Government and Taxation Committee of the Corporation shows, however, that the City, though included in the Imperial Census among districts with a decreasing population, must be taken as presenting a striking exception to this rule. The demand for business premises and the abnormally high value of property have combined with railway facilities and the mode

* St. George's, Hanover Square; Westminster; Marylebone; St. Pancras; St. Giles'; Holborn; Strand; the City; Shoreditch; St. George's-in-the-East; and Stepney.

in which inhabited house-duty is imposed to make the City of London a non-residential district, and the Imperial Census—which, as regards other incorporated cities, includes the central business population and the surrounding residential population under one enumeration—therefore takes no account of the 29,520 employers distributed into 118 classes of trades and professions, and the 264,864 employés who carry on their avocations there during the day. While, therefore, it discloses the fact that the *night* population of the City has decreased from 112,063 in 1861 to 37,694 in 1891, or by 74,369 in 30 years, it ignores the equally important one, revealed by the Day Census, that the mercantile and commercial population has increased from 170,133 to 301,384, or by 131,251 during the same period.* It seems probable that a day census—the desirability of which as regards the City has been recognised by the Imperial Registration Department itself †—might yield similar, though, of course, not equally striking, results in other central districts now largely given up to business purposes, such as the Strand, Holborn, and Westminster. In mapping out new municipal areas in the Metropolis it will, therefore, be necessary to bear in mind the rapid extension of its area, and the fact that the population of certain of the most important portions of it is non-residential, but comparatively permanent and steadily increasing; while that of others, used either by the rich or poor for purely residential purposes, such as St. George's, Hanover Square, or Stepney and Whitechapel, is a floating one, which is steadily diminishing.

The principal difficulty as respects unification, however, lies, as the Commissioners point out, in the existence of the City, and the importance of its position as compared with its area, which occupies barely one square mile (671 acres) of 118 square miles (75,442 acres) comprised in the Administrative County of London. The population of the County is 4,232,000, and that of the City by night is but $\frac{1}{114}$th of this number, but by day almost equals that of the three largest Metropolitan constituencies put together, and exceeds that of all the cities of England, except Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield, and also

* *Ten Years' Growth of the City of London*, pp. 13–17.
† *Ibid.* p. 17.

that of 26 of the counties of England and Wales. While the rateable value of the County, again, is £33,099,313, that of the City is no less than £4,100,798, or $\frac{1}{8}$th, instead of $\frac{1}{112}$th of the whole; and in this respect it stands at the head of all the cities of England and Wales at a figure which nearly equals the combined rateable value of Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Bolton, and Darlington, while Liverpool, which comes nearest to it, has an acreage of 5210, more than seven times as great as that of the City, and a rateable value of £3,259,360. It contributes over £70,000,000 of the £239,000,000 for which the whole of the counties of England and Wales are assessed to income tax (Schedule D) under the head of net profits; and within ten years the net amount of profits assessed under this head in the City has increased by more than £30,000,000, while the total amount assessed (over £70,000,000) is upwards of £28,000,000 more than the assessment of the whole of the rest of the county of Middlesex, and £37,000,000 more than that of the county of Lancaster.* Lastly, it has, to quote the Commissioners, "an historic reputation for splendour and wealth which are the pride rather than the envy of the rest of the Metropolis."† It can point to a history, far more ancient than that of English Parliaments, which is indissolubly bound up with that of the English people, and during the eight hundred years of which it has not only been the chief means of preserving our municipal institutions in strength and purity, but has also constantly played an important part in the making and shaping of the kingdom. Its charters are based on the laws of Alfred the Great and Edward the Confessor, and when the rest of the kingdom was enslaved in feudal bondage, its burgesses, who held their lands as tenants *in capite* by free service (burgage) tenure, were enabled to preserve nearly intact such good old customs as the free right of transmitting property to a successor. It held the balance of power between Stephen and Matilda during their reign, and between the rival houses of York and Lancaster, and,

* See *Rep. Comm.*, 1894, p. 13, and *Ten Years' Growth of the City of London*, pp. 24, 31, 52, 61–63. The Commissioners, whose figures are those given above, give both a larger acreage and a higher rateable value to the City than the Report of the Local Government and Taxation Committee of the Common Council, which gives the acreage as 650 and the rateable value as £3,872,080.

† *Report*, p. 13.

as Mr. Loftie in his *History of London* says, has often been the real kingmaker of England, and still powerfully influences the fate of Ministries.* Its signal services to the cause of liberty in the struggle waged by the barons against the rapacity and tyranny of John and Henry III. were recognised by the fresh provisions made for the preservation of its liberties in Magna Charta, and the coupling of the name of the Lord Mayor with that of Fitzwalter, the leader of the barons, among those specially appointed to ensure its strict enforcement. On the other hand, it generously supported, by grants of money, and by furnishing the best equipped troops in the kingdom, the sovereigns who have ruled their country best, and was the main stay of Henry V.† in his French campaigns, and of Elizabeth during her struggle against Spain and France, which culminated in the Armada. Its equally liberal support of the cause of education is evidenced, not only by the still existing schools within its limits originated by the great companies, but also by numerous grammar schools throughout the country, founded by City merchants, who, having grown rich in London, retained a kindly feeling for their provincial birthplace—such as that at Macclesfield, established about 1487 by Sir John Percival, of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and those of Wolverhampton, Bristol, Reading, Tonbridge, and Bedford, &c. &c. In 1886 its expenditure on this head within the half century had amounted to £474,000, and that on charities to £270,000, while in relieving distress abroad it has never failed to be an equally generous exponent of the national feeling. No public body has more completely identified itself with the loyalty and patriotism of the nation, and its patriotic grants supply almost an epitome of our great wars. In all these respects, as well as in its splendid hospitalities and its civic gifts to the most deserving servants of the State in peace and war, it has throughout its history worthily represented the nation; and, lastly, during the century-and-a-quarter between 1760 and 1885 it expended £10,000,000 on City

* *Report*, p. 90.

† The funeral of this king, perhaps the most popular in our history, in which the City took the leading part, must have been one of the most striking scenes of the kind ever witnessed in London. See *London and the Kingdom*, p. 293.

and Metropolitan improvements.* The Commissioners propose that it should henceforth share with the towns which have grown up around it, its wealth, its traditions, and its renown, and it is not surprising that the City should have received the proposal with strong disfavour. They have, however, apparently been led to make it by the conviction that it offers the only mode of providing a central administrative authority for the whole Metropolis, as to the necessity for which all the witnesses examined by them, including those most opposed to centralisation, have concurred.†

3. In drafting their scheme for the creation of this central body, the Commissioners have endeavoured, as far as possible, to apply to London the principles of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1865, so as to bring it "into harmony with the other municipal corporations of the country."‡ They propose that the whole area of the present Administrative County of London, including the present City, which is hereafter to be styled the Old City, should be constituted a county in itself and be styled the City of London. The local government of this area is to be administered by a body composed of a Lord Mayor, 118 councillors, and 19 aldermen, to be incorporated under the name of the "Mayor, Commonalty, and citizens of London." The whole body of councillors is to be elected every third year by the subordinate local areas under the electorate fixed by the Local Government Act, 1888; the aldermen, who are to hold office for six years, in the proportion of one alderman to six councillors, are to be co-opted by the elected councillors; and the Lord Mayor is to be elected by the Council from the citizens of London, to be admitted in the same manner as the present Lord Mayor, and, "except where otherwise provided," to enjoy all the rights, dignities, and privileges belonging by custom, charter, or law to the Lord Mayor of the Old City. The Council is to have power to appropriate such sums as it thinks fit for the remuneration of the Lord Mayor and to choose a Town Clerk—who, as under

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* See *The History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. p. 358 *et seq.*; and *London and the Kingdom*, vol. i. *passim*. The other two volumes of this interesting work are in course of publication.

† *Report of Commission*, 1894, pp. 13, 14. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 12.

the Municipal Corporations Act, is to be a permanent officer and head of the staff—and other officers, and to pay them such salaries as it sees good.

This new Corporation is to succeed to the present Corporation of the Old City and the London County Council, and to deal through its Council with all matters common to the whole of London, leaving everything which can be effectually managed by them to the subordinate local authorities. It will thus exercise all the powers transferred to the County Council from the Metropolitan Board of Works and the justices, by the Local Government Act, 1888, together with those vested in it, frequently without due consideration as to its fitness to administer them, by recent legislation;* as well as those exercised by the Corporation or the City Commissioners of Sewers in the City of London, or in the Metropolis as a whole. These powers are too numerous and varied to admit of exact classification, but the more important of the matters to which they relate may conveniently be grouped under three heads.

1. *Thoroughfares and Buildings*—viz., main roads with the tramways thereon; locomotive traffic on highways not being main roads; bridges and embankments; the formation, naming, and improvement of streets; new buildings and dangerous structures; the framing of by-laws as to overhead wires and sky signs, &c.; and the management of commons, parks, and open spaces. 2. *Sanitation*—viz., water supply; the prevention of floods; the pollution of rivers, except the Thames and the Lea; unhealthy areas; the notification of infectious diseases, &c.; the licensing of offensive trades and of slaughter-houses; storage of petroleum and explosives; fire brigade; provision of markets and supervision of homebred and imported animals; and provision of lodging-houses for the working classes. 3. *Magisterial*—viz., coroners; licensing of theatres, music-halls, and race-courses; infant life protection; shop hours; asylums and reformatory schools. Other duties of municipal administration, exercised in other municipalities by town councils, but in the City by the Corporation,

* *Report of Commission*, 1894, p. 18.

and outside it by the vestries and district boards, are to be transferred to the new local authorities.

With a few exceptions, the revennes and properties of the old Corporation appropriated to the powers and duties transferred from it to the new Corporation will be vested in the latter, which will thus acquire not only properties, such as the Bridge House and Blackfriars estates, devoted to special purposes, and the special trust and statutory funds controlled by the old Corporation for purposes common to the whole of London—viz., the Clerkenwell Improvement, the Holborn Valley Improvement, the Grain Duty, Parks and Open Spaces, the Gresham Estates, and the City of London Court, but also its general estates and revennes. The Guildhall with its library and museum, and such institutions as exist for the whole of London—viz., the City of London School, Ward's City of London School for Girls, and the Guildhall School of Music, will also vest in the new Corporation, together with the right of the City to representation in any matters over which the City has a controlling element, such as the United Westminster Schools, the Royal Hospitals, Epping Forest, and the Thames and Lea Conservancies. So, too, its ecclesiastical patronage and its control over the Irish Society would pass from the old Corporation to the new one until Parliament, which is at present directing its attention to both these questions, has come to a decision regarding them.

The Sheriffs of London are to be appointed by the new Corporation as provided in the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882; while the Old City is to cease to be a county in itself, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Quarter Sessions and of the Justices of the City of London is to be extended into its area. As regards the Mansion House and Guildhall Justice-rooms, the Commissioners, as we think wisely, suggest, that, though it may be convenient that the new should for the present succeed to the position of the old Corporation respecting them, it would be advantageous if they could ultimately be made Metropolitan Police Courts, and if the City of London Court, which is to all intents and purposes a county court, could in like manner be placed under the authority of the Imperial Government. On the same principle, too, they recommend that the City

Police, instead of being transferred, as proposed by the County Council, from the old to the new Corporation, should be fused with the Metropolitan Police and placed under Imperial control —an arrangement by which they estimate that the London ratepayers would benefit to the extent of over £50,000 per annum.

Following the analogy of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, the Commissioners recommend that the expenditure of the Corporation should be met by the establishment of a city or borough fund, and by the levy of a city or borough rate, any deficit arising in any year being made good by the levy of a rate for the purpose over the whole Metropolis; and, having regard to the importance of making the relation of the central to the local bodies uniform throughout London, they urge that separate funds and rates should exist only until the functions of the District Councils generally are assimilated to those assigned to that of the old City.

It will be evident that the City, under this scheme, will become one of a group of semi-municipalities, for which it is to form the model. Having regard to its high rateable value, however, it is proposed to allow it eight representatives on the new Corporation—an arrangement which would cause the addition of one more alderman to the Council. It is also to be allowed to retain the management, with the property belonging thereto, of certain charities and trusts;* and, as the functions connected with these involve an expenditure exceeding the income derivable from the estates applicable for the purpose, the new Corporation is to assign revenues or an annual payment sufficient to meet it to the local authority of the old City. This authority is to consist of a mayor and 72 councillors—the City being divided into 24 wards, each represented by 3 members—to be called the Mayor and Council of the Old City. The Mayor is to be *ex-officio* justice of the peace for the County of London, and the existing aldermen, who are now justices of the old City, are to become justices of the County;† but, as in the opinion of the Commissioners no

* The Freeman's Orphan School; London Almshouses; Gresham Almshouses; Wilson's Loan Charity; Emanuel Hospital; the Mitchell Charity; the City of London Parochial Charities; and Russell's Charity.

† Except within the jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain.

element analagous to that of alderman is to be found among the governing bodies of other parts of London, they consider that aldermen should not form part of that of the Old City. The functions of this authority will comprise the maintenance of highways other than main roads; the valuation, assessment, and registration of voters; the maintenance of small open spaces and mortuaries, baths and wash-houses, and public libraries; and the control of electric lighting and gas supply.

As regards the other areas of local administration to be created in the Metropolis, which are to perform the same functions, and to be governed in the same manner as the Old City, the Commissioners strongly urge the desirability of establishing some personal connection between these and the central authority. They consider that this can be best effected, where the areas are conterminous, by making the members of the central body elected for any district *ex-officio* members of the local governing body of the district—which, for instance, in the case of the Old City would make its eight representatives in the new Corporation also members of its Council—and point out that a large part of the Metropolitan area is ready for the immediate application of this proposal.* The administrative control which the central should exercise over the local authorities ought, in their opinion, to be enforced by empowering it to frame bye-laws, to act in default in sanitary and other matters, and to regulate rating and assessment; and by forbidding certain things, such as raising loans and closing streets, to be done without its sanction.

It will be evident from this summary of its main features that the scheme of the Commissioners embodies, in a more extended form, due to the development of public opinion, the conclusions of the Commission of 1854 and the Committee of 1867. That it will be adopted in its entirety by the Legislature may well be doubted. Putting aside the question of their expediency, its proposals as to the City have aroused the

* They cite the parishes of St. Marylebone; St. Pancras; Lambeth; St. George's, Hanover Square; Islington; Shoreditch; Kensington; Fulham; Hammersmith; Mile End Old Town; Paddington; Bethnal Green; Newington; Clerkenwell; Chelsea; Hampstead; Westminster; Poplar and Whitechapel. *Report*, p. 30. *Cf.* as to the population of these areas, vol. iv. *Census Report*, 1892, pp. 15, 16.

formidable hostility of the Corporation, and, in making them, the Commissioners appear to have hardly taken sufficiently into consideration the expenditure—£10,000,000 in 125 years—by the City on "institutions which exist for the whole of London," On its bridges, for instance—two of which, Blackfriars and London Bridge, have been rebuilt since 1824—it has, excluding the cost of the new Tower Bridge, spent £1,984,000 between 1760 and 1886. On its markets it expended, between 1825 and 1885, £2,543,000; and its expenditure on the Holborn Viaduct amounted in 1861 to £1,571,000, and that on the Clerkenwell Improvement in 1851 to £88,000.* As pointed out by the Commissioners, "its duties are mixed up with its property," and, though it might not prove unwilling to resign a large proportion of the former to a central authority, it will certainly stoutly resist the proposal to deprive it of the latter.

Again, the question of the area of local administration, into which the Commissioners have prudently forborne to enter in detail, is one which, having regard to the difference of opinion among the witnesses examined before them, as well as to considerations of local feeling and the features in connection with the distribution of Metropolitan population noticed above, will require long and careful consideration. While some witnesses advocated the creation of from six to fourteen municipalities, others advocated the retention of an area as small as the parish of St. James, Westminster, as the unit of local administration† If the central governing body of the Metropolis is to be a municipal one it would seem that the former has more force than the latter suggestion, and if this be so, the question suggests itself as to whether it might not be advantageous to adopt the policy of Mr. J. S. Mill, which provided for the establishment of separate municipalities in the Metropolis, prior to and independently of the creation of the Central Authority.

These are points, however, which cannot be satisfactorily discussed until the recommendations of the Commissioners are

* Cf. *History of Private Bill Legislation*, vol. ii. p. 397, notes, for a list of the most important works carried out by the Corporation.

† *Report of Commission*, 1894, p. 14.

embodied in the more definite form of a Bill submitted to Parliament. Whatever criticism their scheme may be open to in detail, it must, we think, be generally acknowledged that it indicates in clear broad outlines the only mode in which the present twofold administration of the Metropolis by the City and the London County Council can be vested in a Central Municipal Authority.

ART. VII.—CHINA, KOREA, AND JAPAN.

1. *Problems of the Far East.* By the Hon. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. Author of *Russia in Central Asia* and *Persia.* London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.
2. *Things Japanese.* By BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN, Professor of Japanese and Philology in the Imperial University of Japan. London: Kegan Paul. 1890.
3. *Japan.* By D. MURRAY. London: T. F. Unwin. 1894.
4. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
5. *The Times*, July to December. 1894.

THE war in the East has drawn to itself the wonder-struck attention of the whole civilised world. So far as this country is concerned, the lull in home politics which usually accompanies the autumn recess has perhaps allowed the far-away conflict to become more distinctly audible. But that conflict is too momentous in its bearings on the future of vast masses of men, and affects too deeply the interests of the world at large, to be regarded in the light of a relief from the tension of local excitements or a provocative to appetite for newspaper readers in the dulness of the holiday season.

Of the three parties to the strife, Japan has, of course, aroused the keenest interest, both as the main mover in the contest, and as the subject of political experiments which have for some years awakened the curiosity, not to say astonish-

ment, of Europe. But China, with her vast territory and hundreds of millions of inhabitants, with her strange mixture of autocracy and democracy, and her apparently inexhaustible resources, has claimed a place scarcely secondary to that of her brilliant antagonist in the thoughts and sympathies of the onlookers. If Korea, the prize of the contest, has attracted less attention, it has not been owing to its insignificance, but to the conviction that the issues involved are far wider than the actual occasion, and that, instead of merely determining the suzerainty of a province, the combatants are shaping the future of Asiatic dominion and the conditions of the policy that is to rule the world.

In these circumstances the appearance of a volume like Mr. Curzon's, dealing with the present status of the contending parties, and taking such a forecast of the future as is possible to a thoughtful observer amid the chances of an appeal to arms, will have been hailed by many as bridging the space between text-books on the East not brought down to the date of passing events, and newspaper reports requiring a background of supplementary information in order to an intelligent apprehension of their meaning.

Of the three countries Korea, relatively to its size, bulks largest in Mr. Curzon's pages, and with good reason. China and Japan have had their annals recounted and their scenes portrayed for the benefit of Western curiosity, so that a continuation of the story is, in their case, all that is necessary. Of Korea very little has been known, and that little has not been deemed of much importance. The four chapters devoted to it by Mr. Curzon take us into a *terra incognita*, not by any means devoid of interest, and occasionally presenting strange surprises.

If not boasting such a fabulous antiquity as the great nation which has claimed to be its over-lord, it is still a noteworthy feature that the settlement in Korea of a Chinese dynasty dates back as far as 1122 B.C., the period of the Judges in the history of Israel, and not much later than the generally received epoch of the Trojan War. Korea gave letters, science, art, and religion to Japan at a time when Europe was, for the most part, overrun by savage tribes;

and, what is more, this ancient civilisation has survived the vicissitudes of time, and, like that of its neighbours, has continued, with little change, down to the present day.

In this respect, indeed, the nations of the Far East stand in striking contrast to those of Western Asia, as well as of Europe and North Africa. In our reasonings about the duration of ancient empires, we seem curiously to have left out of account the oldest and remotest of all, as if the philosophy of history did not embrace communities established before the era of Herodotus, or those located beyond the sixtieth degree of east longitude. Speculations about the growth, maturity, and decay of kingdoms, founded on the life history of Assyria and Babylon, of Greece and Rome, or, to come down later, of Spain and the Venetian Republic, have too hastily assumed a necessary parallel between political organisms and the frail forms of animated nature. Confronted with the changelessness of old-world communities, from which the feverish Western life has been barred out so long, such speculations lose their point and power, and seem as if they should give place to consideration of the more stable elements of human nature, suggesting resemblance to the solid crust of the globe itself, rather than to the protean forms of life that come and go upon its surface. Our recent familiarity with the congeries of nations that compose our Indian Empire, and the influence of modern researches into antiquity, have made us understand better than we did that civilisations lacking the highest qualities of our own may, after all, escape some of its weaknesses; while experience is daily teaching us that our hard earned and justly prized liberty has its perils no less than its advantages, and that problems still agitating the Western mind have received from the Eastern a solution which, however unscientific, has enabled society to hold together for more than two millenniums. But now the spirit of change, or, as we delight to call it, the spirit of progress, has made capture of one of these distant nations, and we are called to watch with wonder and hope the leavening of the East with Western ideas on a scale and to a degree never known before in the history of mankind.

In this leavening Korea has had the least share. Its

isolation from the Western world has been almost complete. The reason is, not the absence of natural resources, but the character of the inhabitants. Korea has admirable harbours, and abundant mineral and other wealth. But the indolence of the people has made the country one of little interest to the trader. Yet it is not inferior in size to Great Britain, and its population numbers eleven millions; while its position, with China on the west, Japan on the east, Russia on the north, and the great Pacific Ocean on the south, gives it an importance far beyond its size.

Among the remarkable features of Korea is the possession of a capital that may fairly be counted one of the great cities of the East. Söul was first made the seat of government by Ni Taijo, the founder of the present dynasty, five centuries ago. It is practically a Chinese city, and sets the standard of majesty and fashion to the petty surrounding States. Ni Taijo built the stone wall, twenty feet high, by which the city is surrounded, and made the eight great gates by which access is gained to the interior. Like those of Pekin, these gates have names of swelling import, as the gate of Elevated Humanity, the gate of High Ceremony, and the gate of Bright Amiability. As at Pekin, also, the heavy wooden doors are shut soon after sunset, and the keys are taken and deposited in the King's palace, or with the Chinese Commissioners when they are in residence; a significant token of subjection. The population is variously estimated at from 150,000 to 300,000, the mean of 200,000 being probably near the mark. The three main streets are of a breadth and amplitude that would not disgrace a European capital, being at least fifty yards wide, and smoothly gravelled: but they are crossed by narrow and fetid lanes, into which the bulk of the population are crowded. Even the three great thoroughfares are occupied by rows of rude straw-thatched shanties, reducing the available space for locomotion to a narrow strip in the middle. A fire that broke out among these during Mr. Curzon's visit well illustrates Korean civilisation, and, indeed, certain features of human nature in general.

"Some sat on the neighbouring housetops, praying to the spirits to arrest the conflagration, which they made no effort to retard;

others adopted a remedy by one stage more practical, seeing that they ran about with small pots, bowls, and even teacups filled with water, which they dashed with sanguine futility upon the flames. But had it not been for the privately organised fire brigade, maintained by the Chinese Resident for the protection of the Chinese quarter, in or near to which the burning houses lay, there seemed no plausible reason why the conflagration should have stopped until it had reduced the entire city to ashes."

Söul does not, it seems, as most maps suggest, stand on the river Han, which is between three and four miles away; but a poor substitute for that river exists in the shape of a narrow canal, little better in the dry season than a filthy and shallow sewer. The general system of drainage is in keeping with this. Crude and foolish sumptuary laws prohibit the erection of houses of more than a certain size or beyond a fixed outlay, and the city has few attractions for the sight-seer. The street life is picturesque enough, through the uniform white dresses of the inhabitants, a peculiarity for which there is nothing to account in the climate or the history and tradition of the people. A still more curious feature is the astonishing variety of hats, every grade of life being distinguished by its appropriate head-gear, from governors of provinces and royal lackeys to soldiers, monks and bullock-drivers; and almost every event of life symbolised, from successful candidature at literary examinations to mourning of various degrees according to nearness of kin.

Following the ideas of sovereignty that prevail in the Far East, the Korean monarchy is "absolute, hereditary, and divine. The King is master of the lives and property of his subjects, and of the entire resources of his kingdom. All offices are held at his pleasure. His word is law. In his person is concentrated every attribute of government. If in relation to China he is a humble vassal, in his own dominions he is supreme. The opening of Korea to the world has, however, not been accomplished without dealing many and inevitable blows at the peculiarly sacro-sanct character of the royal authority, upon which stress has been laid by so many writers." Many statements about court ceremonial, still found in Western books, have long since ceased to be correct. As, for instance, that if a suitor wishes to obtain justice from the King, he

lights a great bonfire on a mountain facing the palace; and that if the King touches a subject, the spot touched becomes sacred, and the person thus honoured must wear a visible mark for the rest of his life. Even the *Encyclopædia Britannica* requires correction on some points, as that it is counted sacrilege to utter the King's name, and high treason to touch him with iron, and that every horseman must dismount when passing the palace. If, however, in some minor matters ceremonial be less exacting than of old, enough remains to preserve in the minds of the people a deep sense of the "divinity that doth hedge a king." Thus the foremost ministers of State, themselves so dignified as to be unable to walk the streets without support, fall prostrate on the ground when admitted to an audience with the King; while everything in the palace—dress, deportment, movement, gait—is regulated by a minute and uncompromising etiquette. Royal processions through the city are much like royal processions elsewhere, but it seems a curious patch upon the dignity of the function to be told of infantry carrying muskets without hammer, trigger, or plate, and of cavalry clad in uniform some three hundred years old. How much of this dignity may be retained by the King when he becomes the vassal of a less conservative power than China, of course, remains to be seen.

While such are the adjuncts of the King's retinue, it is hardly to be expected that the Korean army will count for much in a struggle like that now going on between China and Japan. We hear of risings in various parts of the peninsula, but can hardly think the Japanese will have much trouble in suppressing them, when we learn from Mr. Curzon's pages that the purely native regiments are "not a standing army, but a standing joke," and that, while some corps that have been trained by foreigners show capacity for drill and discipline, their instructors do not accompany them to the field, and their own native officers are beneath contempt.

The administration of the Government is also such as to betray the weakness of an unreformed despotism, and to invite the interference of any foreigners who, from whatever motive, wish to have dealings with Korea. The examinations for office are a farce, the posts being given to those who pay.

Office is valued as a source of personal enrichment, through more or less barefaced extortion. The Government itself—*i.e.*, the King—is always in debt, and the means adopted for extrication from embarrassment only mortgage still further the dwindling resources of national wealth. Offers of assistance from foreign advisers and non-official auxiliaries have not always been prompted by disinterested motives; and even where that has been the case, the obstacles thrown in the way have been such as to damp their hopes and paralyse their energies. Silk industries, farms, and modern schools have been tried with very little success, the capacities of native ignorance having proved more than a match for foreign enterprise. When that enterprise has taken the form of tampering with the mint in order to replenish an exhausted exchequer, the usual results have, of course, followed in a debased currency and diminished credit. Negotiations with the Japanese Government in 1893 to undertake the entire Korean currency seem to have presented the only way of escape from these ruinous experiments. They also suggest the direction in which alone a remedy is likely to be found for other evils. For the bootless foreign meddling we have adverted to has not been connected with the Japanese, or, indeed, any other Government, but with the action of unscrupulous individuals, belonging to various nations.

In the meantime, the natural resources of the country are considerable. An excellent climate, a fertile soil, vast tracts of land as yet untilled, and a robust if somewhat indolent population, offer advantages that only require to be supplemented by good road and river communication, and by the skill and energy of wise and far-seeing capitalists, to prove a source of great commercial prosperity. Even with the drawbacks that have been enumerated, Korean trade continues to grow in volume and value from year to year, and sixty per cent. of the whole, through Japanese or Chinese brokers, is dependent on Great Britain.

This brief sketch of the present condition of Korea will by most of our readers be considered altogether wanting without some reference to the position of Christian missions. That they have reached a less mature stage than in China or Japan

will be readily understood from the later opening of the country to foreigners. That the Roman Catholic Church should have gained the great advantage of a prior settlement will also be understood. Long before the establishment of treaties with European nations, intercourse with China had been the means of introducing the Catholic form of the Christian faith, which made its first Korean convert a little more than a hundred years ago. With whatever drawbacks on the score of purity of creed, the Church so founded has shown a constancy and heroism worthy of the palmiest days of Christianity. Bloody persecutions, so far from stamping out the "foreign heresy," have served only to foster its growth, the native Christians numbering in 1859 some 17,000, and the martyr roll alone by the year 1870 reaching a total of 8000 victims. Since the present sovereign ascended the throne, more liberal ideas have prevailed; and, although no article appears in any of the treaties expressly sanctioning missionary enterprise, the Government has now no longer either the will or the power to maintain a hostile attitude. Still less, we may add, is that likely to be the case in the future, owing to the events that are presently to be recorded. It was not till 1890 that an English bishop appeared upon the scene; but, before this, American, Canadian and Australian Churches or Societies had entered the field. There are now between thirty and forty Protestant ministers in Korea.

Such is the country upon which the eyes of the whole civilised world have been fixed for some months past, not so much for its own sake as because it has furnished the ground of contention between its more important neighbours. Upon the relation of these to it and to each other we must now spend a portion of the space at our disposal. It is little more than seven years ago that the public was surprised by an article in *The Asiatic Quarterly*, from the pen of Marquis Tseng, written in well-turned English (no translation, but his own composition, as we understand), and entitled, "China, the Sleep and the Awakening." The expectations aroused by the optimist tone of this article were somewhat chilled by the cautious criticisms of two well-informed Englishmen, Sir Rutherford Alcock and Dr. William Lockhart, who had had considerable experience of

the real state of things. Recent events have tended to justify the doubts of the foreign critics rather than the confidence of the native advocate. Many of the evils we have described as blocking the way to progress in one outlying dependency exist in full force, and on a much larger scale, in the assemblage of provinces that compose the Chinese Empire. It is true there are points of contrast, the most important of which is the character of the people. Among all the nations spread over the continent that gave birth to our race, and not excepting the busy hives that crowd our Indian possessions, the Chinese stand out conspicuous for indomitable industry. By no other means than the constant exercise of this fundamental virtue could the immense fabric of this Eastern colossus have been kept erect so long. False, cruel, licentious,* at home and abroad the Chinaman may be, but industrious he is always and everywhere. Yet, side by side with this individual activity there exists an amount of political stagnation hardly to be paralleled in any other country.

The causes of this stagnation are not far to seek. The most potent, perhaps—at all events, the most ancient and deep-seated—is the excessive veneration for the past engendered by the religion and philosophy that have long held undisputed ascendancy over the Chinese mind. In regard to this particular form of influence there is little to choose between Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism. They are all alike debasing, and all alike cramping in their effect upon the mental powers, as the bands applied to the feet of the female infant are to her powers of locomotion in after life. Ancestor-worship, with all its ridiculous customs and its superstitious reverence for the places where the bones of ancestors lie, is a practical incubus which, by its sheer weight, must stifle every aspiration after a better state of things. A natural outcome and support of this inertness is the overweening conceit of superiority to all other nations of the earth. The atmosphere of seclusion in which the most important personage in the empire is constrained to live is an aggravation of the evil. "What with the necessary but dolorous routine of his official

* For a more favourable estimate, see a review of Douglas's "Society in China," in the October number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

existence on the one hand, rigidly presented by an adamantine and punctilious etiquette, and with the temptations of the harem on the other, it is rarely that an Emperor of China—usually an infant, and selected because of his infancy in the first place, and exposed through the tender years of his youth to these twofold preoccupations—can develop any force of character, or learn the rudimentary lessons of statecraft."

The routine of absurd and circuitous punctilio by which intercourse is carried on between the Government and the representatives of other nations is like a quickset hedge around the imperturbable self-complacency of the Chinese mind. We do not speak of the humiliating ceremonies attending an audience with the Emperor. These have now, through the march of events, been very considerably relaxed, and the worst elements taken out of them. We refer rather to the constitution of the diplomatic body entrusted with the control of foreign affairs. Up to 1860, these had been transacted by the Colonial Office, a department of the Ministry of Rites, whose business it is to deal with dependent and tributary nations—among whom foreign States were significantly classed. One result of the war of 1860 was the establishment of a new Board, consisting at first of three, and now by successive additions of from eight to twelve, members. But these are selected mainly from other ministries, and not on the ground of any special aptitude for, or knowledge of, foreign affairs. And when it is remembered that no secrecy is possible in the communications between foreign representatives and this Board—conversation being carried on through interpreters, and in the presence of other officials, mere hangers-on—it will be seen how difficult it must be to convey to the official mind any adequate idea of the importance to China herself of friendly relations with the Powers she so contentedly keeps at arm's length. As Mr. Curzon says: "Whatever the knowledge or the ability of the President" (the Prince Kung, a man with a wide grasp of foreign questions), "business can with difficulty be conducted by a body so constituted. The lack of individual experience ensures irresolution; their freedom from all responsibility, ineptitude; and their excessive numbers, paralysis.

With whom the decision ultimately rests, no one appears to know. The Board is in reality a Board of delay."

Another cause of China's stagnation is to be found in the want of patriotism among her people. The attachment of the eighteen provinces (each large enough to be a kingdom in itself) to one another is as slight as their common attachment to the Imperial authority that should control them all. The awe and mystery which surround the person of the Sovereign may have a certain influence on the order of a peace-loving population, but cannot be expected to inspire the daring of warlike achievements. The *sang-froid* which replaces that in the minds of the fighting-men is connected rather with contempt of life than with any interests that tend to make life worth living. There is nothing that corresponds to the intense affection of the Russians for their Emperor—Siberia and the knout notwithstanding—and nothing like the national sentiment that has fused into one compact dominion the States of the German Fatherland. The weakness of the central authority has had no better illustration than in the fact that when, during the Taiping rebellion, Captain Sherard Osborn was offered the command of a fleet of English gunboats, serious disputes arose as to whether he was to receive his orders from Imperial headquarters, or from the provinces off whose coasts he might happen, from time to time, to be sailing. So protracted were the negotiations on this point that Sherard Osborn resigned, and the ships were never used at all, but sent back to Bombay and sold at a loss of half a million sterling.

Of the corruption and consequent inefficiency that pervade all departments of the administration we have been hearing much of late, and not now for the first time. An article in this REVIEW, not long ago * gave plentiful proof of an amount of corruption hardly to be paralleled outside the Ottoman empire and the United States of America, and much more systematic and penetrating in its influence than American or even Turkish corruption. We need not, therefore, dwell upon the unsavoury subject. This state of things exists, be it remembered, among a people not at all wanting in intellectual

* For January 1892, entitled, "The Making of a Mandarin."

culture. The educational system is not such a farce in China as in Korea. But neither is it such a revolutionary force as in Japan. The candidate for Government posts passes through the successive sifting of examinations in the Chinese classics, and developes by natural process into a staunch adherent of existing institutions. The democratic freedom of admission into the ranks of the literati does not hinder the mandarin so produced from becoming a pillar of imperial autocracy. Thus the intellectual cultivation which elsewhere counts as one of the strongest forces of liberalism, in China operates in the contrary direction. There are of course honourable exceptions to this rule, the most conspicuous being the viceroy Li Hung Chang, to whose enlightened policy and great ability we must not allow ourselves to be blinded by the misfortunes that have, through no fault of his, overtaken his country.* But the exception is only one of the kind that are said to prove the rule.

This subject is one that tempts Mr. Curzon to write somewhat satirically. As a representative of the aristocratic order, and naturally jealous of its prerogatives, he says, in reference to the examination system of China: "It is the apotheosis—or shall I not rather say, the *reductio ad absurdum?*—of the system from whose premonitory symptoms our own country, a tardy convert to Celestial ideas, is already beginning to suffer." He has in his mind, of course, the Indian Civil Service, and the abolition of purchase for the army, with all that has followed thereon. It will be long before any parallel can be seriously drawn between Chinese examinations in Confucian classics—at best mere memory tests—and the competitions that qualify aspiring youths in this country for Government posts or professional avocations. Yet, taken in conjunction with some other phenomena of recent English development, they do suggest a danger which thoughtful minds may profitably ponder. As we near the close of this eventful nineteenth century, the watchwords of two of our most momentous controversies are "Labour" and "Education." "Divide equitably among the

* Charges of treason and corrupt administration have recently been heaped upon Li Hung Chang. As yet, however, nothing has been proved. It will be well, therefore, that judgment should be suspended for the present.

workers the fruits of their joint industry," is the cry of the modern Socialist. "Give each child a chance of reaching the topmost round of the ladder," is the cry of the advanced educationist. Taken together, they seem to point to a levelling up rather than a levelling down. But a good deal depends on the interpretation of the terms employed, and on the means used to give effect to these recommendations. In China the fullest effect has been given to such counsels in their widest latitude of meaning, and that for hundreds of years. Upon these lines China has succeeded in making the most of every inch of her soil, and in giving a chance to every one of her sons, and there has been neither caste nor feudal system to hinder her. And what is the result? She is honeycombed at this moment by secret societies only waiting the opportunity to break out into another and more widespread rebellion. At the first clash of arms her generals fail and her troops desert; and all along the line of their victorious advance her foes are welcomed as deliverers from grinding tyranny and ruinous misrule. We do not profess to draw a parallel between China and England, other conditions being too varied to allow of it, conditions, however, which are not all to our advantage. But we do maintain that neither the glorification of labour (in the narrower sense of the term) as desired by Socialist agitators, nor the universal spread of education, whether avowedly secular or professedly religious, as desired by speculatists of another order, will of themselves bring about the commercial and social millennium they respectively promise. Strip life of its highest motives and aspirations, reduce it to the soulless and mechanical uniformity of one unvaried pattern, and it matters not whether the forms of that life be those of autocracy or democracy, or of the two combined; the result will be social stagnation, moral feebleness, and political death. The difference between China and England is that the latter has the remedy, and the former at present has it not. Everything depends, for ourselves and for those we would uplift, whether at home or abroad, on the way in which we apply and diffuse the remedy we possess—in the true application of Christian influence and principles.

Coming now to the third and principal party to the strife at present raging in the Far East, we may remind our readers

that the revolution in Japan, which is mainly responsible for what is going on, is the growth of less than half a century. Fifty years since, Japan was more withdrawn than China from the inquisitiveness of European research and the embarrassments of European diplomacy. Two centuries and a half ago efforts were made by various nations to obtain a footing in Japan—by our own countrymen and the Dutch among the number. But the Tokugawa shogunate, established by Ieyasu at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was not more favourable to foreign intercourse than the earlier forms of feudal government. For two hundred years the Dutch settlement at Nagasaki, on an artificial island of about three acres, together with a similar arrangement for the Chinese, formed the sole means of communication between Japan and the outer world. In the first half of the present century, however, the opening of China and the discovery of gold in California were instrumental, side by side with the development of steam communication and the growing dimensions of the whale fishery, in bringing about a change. The initiative was taken by the United States of America. The whole distance from San Francisco to the treaty ports of China could not be accomplished by steamers without carrying an enormous load of coal. The only remedy seemed to be a coaling station in Japan, and to this was opposed her age-long seclusion. A daring stroke of policy was resolved on by our acute transatlantic cousins. In 1852 an expedition was despatched in command of Commodore Perry, consisting of two large frigates and two sloops of war. The ostensible purpose was a declaration, not of war, but of overwhelming brotherly love. Yet the appearance of the array was one that must, to the crowds of startled gazers that lined the shores of Yedo Bay, have suggested other objects than the promotion of peaceful commerce. The display of force had its effect, however, in making more acceptable the suave letter of the President of the United States to his "great and good friend," the Emperor of Japan. After delivering the message, the Commodore sailed for China, promising to call again for a reply on his return home some months later. The demonstration was entirely successful. The obsolete weapons of two hundred years ago were felt

to be no match for such mighty armaments; and, as no demand was made beyond the establishment of friendly commercial relations, prudence was felt to be the better part of valour. The lesson thus learnt was not lost on a people so quickwitted as the Japanese. By a formal treaty in twelve articles, one or two ports were opened to American vessels, and further concessions promised, including the appointment of a consul. The example thus set was quickly followed. Great Britain in 1854, Russia in 1855, and the Netherlands in 1856, each secured treaties in their turn. Six years later, an embassy was sent from Japan to the United States, to England, and to the other Treaty Powers. What they saw opened the eyes of the envoys to the real greatness of the Western kingdoms, and to the genuine interest taken in their country's welfare by the nations they visited.

From this visit of the envoys, together with one of a more private nature by Count Ito and a friend, dates the important revolution that has wrought such changes in Japan. How important and wide-reaching there is little need for us to tell. Art, literature, science, religion, have all felt the vivifying breath, while commerce has made enormous strides. But it is in the political world that the most remarkable advances have been witnessed. From the stern rigour of a feudal system that had subsisted for centuries, five-and-twenty years bring us to a constitution modelled in part upon our own, with a Representative Assembly and a Second Chamber, in both which the utmost freedom of debate is allowed. To many this change has appeared too sweeping and sudden to give much hope of genuineness and stability. But there are several considerations that should not be overlooked. One is, that a feudal system, with its great territorial divisions and hereditary nobles, lends itself more readily than some forms of despotism to the creation of parliaments, as our own history abundantly testifies. Another is, that at such a crisis everything depends on the attitude of those in possession of the power to be distributed, an obstinate resistance on their part being almost as fatal as too great concession. In Japan the daimios, or great territorial lords, showed much wisdom, neither stamping out the movement nor holding aloof from

it, but entering into it and shaping it for the nation's good. They have their reward in the securer enjoyment of the prerogatives that remain to them after the surrender of their hereditary rights; and the country has the advantage of being guided by men of vigour and intelligence, bred of the same stock that has ruled from olden times. True, something of the spirit of caste and clique may adhere to the newly constructed departments, and there may be more than cynicism in the popular complaint that "to be a clansman is to hold the key of official promotion." But the evil of such exclusivism, great as it may be, is much less than that of a violent transfer of power to hands unprepared to receive and exercise it. One of the best omens for the stability of the work done in Japan is to be found in the intelligence brought to bear upon the execution of it. It has not been the case of a slavish adherence to old ideals exchanged for an equally slavish imitation of fresh ones. Just as the new Japanese art is the old transformed, so the new government is the old one remodelled and adapted to the new situation. Thus it is that the Mikado, from being a shadowy spiritual dignitary with scarcely a vestige of power, has become a constitutional monarch of the most modern type.

The origin of the quarrel between Japan and China need not detain us long. When once aroused from the slumber of ages, it was natural that Japan should wish to enjoy the full benefit of her emancipation. Commerce with other countries became now as desirable as before it had been distasteful; and commerce with Korea, as her nearest neighbour, the most desirable of all. A treaty was, therefore, to be formed with her as with other countries; and when difficulties arose in the working it was convenient to remember that Japan had had dealings with Korea long ages ago, which had given her some sort of claim to be the natural protector of that peninsula. Physically, indeed, Korea is a part of China; and a nominal suzerainty had been claimed by that Power. But its tenure had never been anything but formal and ceremonial: indeed, on one occasion, it had been practically repudiated. To Japan, therefore, it seemed to promise mutual benefit that she should press her claims to a benevolent intervention in the domestic

and other affairs of Korea. Two obstacles stood in the way of this particular form of nineteenth century chivalry. The one was that China was not prepared to surrender her suzerainty of Korea, however she might desire at times to waive inconvenient obligations. The other, that Korea herself preferred the old ways to the new. By way of compromise, a treaty was entered into with China, in 1885, giving each Power the right to operate in Korea for the suppression of anything of the nature of revolt against the King's authority. To operate, of course, meant in this case to co-operate, with each other and with the King—an arrangement that could hardly have been better planned if the object had been to ensure a speedy imbroglio. After this, it scarcely mattered at what point the actual friction began: it was certain to begin somewhere and to begin soon. A difficulty arose in connection with the commercial transactions of the two countries, Japan and Korea. The latter claimed a right to prohibit the export of cereals to the former when such export was becoming prejudicial to the interests of the country. Such an embargo was accordingly laid on the export of beans, at a time when orders had been given and money advanced upon the orders. This, of course, put the Japanese traders in Korea to great inconvenience. Remonstrances were made, and negotiations entered on, but the area of the strife gradually widened until China appeared upon the scene. From the flint and steel of Chinese and Japanese obstinacy, sparks fell upon the tinder of Korean incapacity, and soon set three kingdoms in a blaze. Whether it be true that the exigencies of Count Ito's Ministry had anything to do with the actual outbreak of hostilities we do not know, but it is certain that a more decidedly warlike attitude towards Korea was taken soon after the dissolution of the Japanese parliament in the early summer of 1894.

The course of the war has entirely justified the confidence of the Japanese in their own strength, and again proved the superiority of valour, discipline and skill over mere numbers. The following is a sketch of the principal events:

July 1.—The Japanese Government summoned the Korean King to repudiate the Chinese suzerainty, dismiss the Resident, and accept Japanese protection. At the same time, their

response to the pacific representations of Russia and England was the addition of 3000 to the Japanese force in Korea, bringing up the total to 9000 men.

July 3.—M. Olori, the Japanese Minister at Söul, presented the following demands: (1) Reform of civil government in the capital and provinces; (2) Development of the resources of the country, including railway concessions and the employment of Japanese capital in works of industry; (3) Reform of laws; (4) Reform of the military system, providing internal and external security; (5) The Educational Commissioners to discuss the details of a joint note from all the Treaty Powers presented on June 25 by the King's request, calling on China and Japan to withdraw their troops. A telegram of later date says these demands contained no stipulations for exclusive concessions to Japan.

July 13.—The King of Korea appointed three Commissioners to discuss the internal administration of Korea, and on July 19, he consented to reforms, conditionally on Japan withdrawing her troops. Twelve thousand Chinese troops left Taku for Korea under convoy of gunboats. July 20.—It began to be plain that the Japanese did not desire a pacific settlement: no sooner was one difficulty adjusted than another was raised. July 27.—War was said to be declared on the 26th, and the Korean King was made prisoner.

Prior to this occurred the Kowshing incident. On July 25, at a distance of forty miles from Chemulpo (the port of Söul), the Japanese admiral with three men-of-war sighted a British steamer carrying 1600 Chinese troops to Korea, and signalled, "Stop where you are." The *Kowshing* anchored, and the vessels steamed away. Shortly after, the Japanese cruiser, *Naniwa*, steamed up, and sent a boarding party with orders for the *Kowshing* to follow. The Chinese on board the *Kowshing* said to Captain Hanneken, "We will not be made prisoners; we had rather die here; if you move, except toward China, we will kill you." The *Kowshing* signalled for a second boarding party, and, after explaining the situation, asked for an escorting party to China. On receipt of this request the *Naniwa* signalled, "Quit the ship," to which the reply was given that it was impossible. The *Naniwa* then

steamed into position, and, at a distance of 200 mètres, discharged a torpedo, and fired two broadsides with all her guns, two of 25 tons and four of 10 tons. The torpedo struck the coal-bunk, and the boiler burst. The *Naniwa* continued to fire, discharging in all fifteen shots. The *Kowshing* gradually sank in eight fathoms of water, the troops on board firing to the last. She went down stern first, flying the red ensign. While the vessel was sinking, the Japanese lowered a heavily armed boat, which fired on the troops in the water. Captain Hanneken by a miracle escaped, and arrived at Chemulpo in a Korean fishing-boat on July 28.

This "incident" gave rise to abundance of newspaper criticisms, the *Times* stigmatising it as a "hideous massacre." Some declared it a violation of the first principles of international comity, and an outrage on the British flag. A little colour for this complaint was afforded by the fact that war was not declared at the time, and that the ostensible object of the transfer of troops was to "assist" Japan in reducing Korea to order. But over against this had to be set the obvious argument that the expedition was too large for purposes of order, and that, though war was not actually declared, acts of hostility were taking place which should have warned neutrals against hiring themselves and their services to either side. Letters from Professor Westlake and others soon made it clear to readers of the *Times* that no compensation could be claimed, although regret might be felt that greater humanity was not displayed by those in charge of the *Naniwa* than to fire on men struggling in the water.

July 30.—Asan, an intrenched position of the Chinese, about sixty-five miles south of Söul, was attacked and captured. This was the first regular engagement.

During the month of August preparations continued to be pushed on, and early in September Japan had in Korea an army of nearly 100,000 men. Rumours of impending battle reached this country from time to time, but nothing decisive was reported until Monday, September 17, when a telegram from Söul was published, bearing date the previous day. Its opening words were, "The great battle has been fought and won. The Chinese have been utterly routed." The battle

opened on Saturday morning at daybreak by a cannonade on the Chinese earthworks, hastily thrown up around their entrenchments at Ping Yang. The Chinese fought their guns well, and made good practice. At 2 P.M. a body of infantry were thrown forward, and these kept up a rifle fire until dusk. Firing continued at intervals during the night. Meanwhile, the two flanking columns drew a cordon round the Chinese forces. At three in the morning the attack was delivered simultaneously, and with admirable precision. The Chinese lines, so strong in front, were comparatively weak in the rear. The unsuspicious Chinamen, taken completely by surprise, fell into panic, and were cut down by hundreds. They were surrounded, and at every point where they sought safety in flight they met the foe. Some of Li Hung Chang's European-drilled troops stood their ground to the last. Half an hour after the night attack opened, the splendid position of Ping Yang was in the hands of the Japanese. The victory was brilliant and complete. The Japanese captured the whole of the immense quantities of stores, provisions, arms, and ammunition in the camp. The Chinese loss exceeded 16,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Several of the chief Chinese officers were taken, and among them the General Iso Fonk Wai, commander-in-chief of the Manchurian army, who fought desperately to the last, and only yielded when wounded. He has since been shot for cowardice in this battle, the quality of his valour being inferred from the issue. The Japanese loss amounted to 30 killed and 270 wounded, including eleven officers.

On Thursday, September 20, tidings reached Europe of a great naval battle, also fought on Sunday the 16th, at the mouth of the Yalu river in the Bay of Korea. The Chinese fleet was covering the landing of troops, when the Japanese squadron hove in sight, and immediately attacked the convoy. A desperate struggle ensued, in which two Chinese vessels were sank, the *Chih Yuen* and the *King Yuen*, while two steel cruisers were run ashore and set on fire. Captain Hanneken was in command of the Chinese fleet, and it is said that, in the course of the battle, he ordered the vessels to ram, and that the hostile squadron then drew off. The Japanese admit that one of their vessels was sunk, and that the squadron retreated owing to the crippled state of others.

These two engagements had a very decisive effect on the course of the campaign. Before the end of September the Chinese evacuated Korea, leaving the Japanese in possession. During October speculation was rife as to the next move in the Japanese strategy. Gradually, however, it became evident that Port Arthur, on the Kwang Tung peninsula, the greatest naval arsenal in North China, was their objective. A telegram from this place, dated November 22, announced that Marshal Oyama had achieved a great victory, and that Port Arthur had been carried by storm. After preliminary skirmishes on the 20th, the Japanese forces early on the following morning opened the main attack by a combined assault on the forts protecting the rear or land side of the port. The fighting was desperate, but the Chinese army was practically annihilated. Of the barbarity of the conquerors in their treatment of the Chinese whom they massacred, there can be no longer any doubt. The result of this victory is, of course, to open the way to Pekin, and the main question seems to be, the terms on which peace can be restored. The moderate demands at first put forth by Japan are now greatly exceeded. To the suzerainty of Korea, and a large war indemnity,* seems now to be added a claim for the cession of territory; but doubts have been freely expressed whether the Chinese Government is likely to retain sufficient authority to carry out any terms at all. The danger of internal revolt is by no means small, and with it comes a deeper need than ever for foreign intervention, similar to that which saved the empire once before, and possibly of a more enduring nature. The fact is noteworthy that, while in Korea Chinese rule is preferred to that which is being thrust upon the people, in China itself the Japanese have been welcomed by the populace all along the line of advance as their deliverers from the tyranny of the mandarins.

Meanwhile, as soon as peace is restored, Japan will herself be confronted by new difficulties, or by old ones which the war will have aggravated, not removed. With the collapse of feeling that inevitably follows a great national excitement, there

* This war indemnity, it is said, is to be secured by a levy on the Chinese Customs, over which Sir Robert Hart presides. Sir Robert Hart is often spoken of as an Englishman. He is, however, of Irish birth, though nearly fifty years ago he was a pupil at Queen's College, Taunton.

will return the desire for a larger infusion of the democratic element in the new constitution. And Korea, which is said to be promised a constitution in its turn, may bring its own crop of difficulties.

The relations of Russia to China, Korea, and Japan, cannot but be also profoundly affected by recent events. Whether the weakening of China will be a powerful stimulus to Russia's ambition, or whether the uprising of Japan will be a more effectual curb upon it, remains to be seen. One cannot but hope that the successor of the late Czar will be disposed to follow the pacific policy of his father, notwithstanding the war party in his immediate entourage. But if the policy of Russia should be shaped on more warlike models, the materials exist for a very Armageddon of conflict. It can scarcely be said that the understanding among the Powers is so perfect as to render such complications impossible. French jealousy, not yet allayed by our departure from Egypt, will hardly be diminished by her doings in Siam, while her difficulties in Madagascar will but increase her irritation.

Our own relations with both China and Japan are happily amicable. England, with her great Indian dependency at her back, seems the natural ally of China. And since the revision of treaties with Japan, announced in Parliament by Sir E. Grey on the 31st of July, that Power has no ground of complaint. By this revision, Japanese courts of justice will have jurisdiction over British subjects as over natives, even in the Treaty Ports, and all restrictions on intercourse will be formally done away.

But our trust for the future must not be in human arrangements, however benevolent and skilful: it must be in the Purpose that reigns supreme and subordinates to itself all statecraft. With this is intimately associated the extension of Christ's kingdom in the earth. At this point only we find ourselves out of harmony with Mr. Curzon, whose work we have so largely relied on in this article. For the manner in which he has set himself to study the problems of the East and to expound his views upon them, for his zeal as a traveller and his insight as an observer, and for his literary skill as a narrator of all he has seen and done, we have the highest

admiration. That the younger sons of our aristocracy should devote themselves to such work as he has been doing redounds to their credit, and is a good omen for the future of this country. The speeches of Mr. Curzon this summer in Parliament, and his letters to the *Times*, display a vigour and spirit, as well as a power to grasp the political bearings of national movements, which are only too welcome in these days of Little Englandism. But in his views of our modes of approach to the Eastern mind we think he is not as far advanced as he might be. His methods would be commercial, political, educational perhaps, but not missionary. The best security he knows for the future well-being of those vast Eastern populations is to be found in the enterprise, character, and statesmanship of the Power that has already under its control the second greatest Asiatic country. What England has done for India he would have her do for China—take her over and manage her for her own and this country's good. This in the mouth of a Russian patriot, by the way, would be a deep-laid plot: in the mouth of an English politician, it is only a prediction of manifest destiny. The difficulties in the way, he thinks, are not numerous, and ought not to be insuperable. Indeed, upon a review, they are so few as hardly to admit of being expressed in the plural form. So far as this country is concerned, there is only one difficulty. It is not trade: it is not opium. It is the influence of Christian missions. The proof of this is drawn out in several particulars—religious and doctrinal, political and practical. Mr. Curzon does not intend to be unfair. He gives credit to Christian missions for much good work, but he is not truly in sympathy with their spirit or aims, and does not appreciate or really understand the difficulties under which their work is carried on. We need not discuss the subject here: it is one that is receiving attention in a higher degree probably than has ever been possible before. There have, it need not be said, been defects in missionary methods, and sometimes it may be faults in tone or temper, but such defects and faults are being traced out and removed. Unity is being aimed at, and inevitable differences minimised, witness the Protestant missionary conferences recently held. Had Mr. Curzon added to his studies on this subject some consider-

ation of the benefits conferred by Christian missions in fields less recently entered, he might have reached less hasty conclusions. A more intimate acquaintance with the work being done in China and Japan than could be attained in two short visits was, we think, needful to enable him to judge of its magnitude and tendency. As it is, his sympathies seem to be so evenly balanced between the forces arrayed against each other in this most momentous of all conflicts, as to provoke the enquiry sometimes made by one Chinaman of another—"To what sublime religion does your Excellency belong?"

NOTE. As we go to press, the news comes of the appointment of Li Hung Chang as envoy to Japan in the interest of peace—which is not likely, however, to be concluded till after the completion of the victorious advance on Pekin. Meanwhile, the Japanese preparations are going on for a renewal of the campaign in the spring. As, however, the invaders have already captured Hai-tcheng, and are within a few days' march of Mukden, from which place in winter, Captain Younghusband says, the road is good and easy to Pekin, it appears by no means improbable that before the end of January the Japanese may have reached Pekin and be in a position to dictate terms of peace.

*** *Press of matter compels us to hold over many important "Short Reviews" till our next issue.*

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

Christian Doctrine. A Series of Discourses. By R. W. DALE, LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

WE welcome with no ordinary cordiality a new volume of sermons by Dr. Dale. It contains the ripe produce of a tree that has borne fruit of great and rare value to the Christian Church, now for nearly a generation past. We hope to see many another rich cluster from its boughs. Dr. Dale's earliest works were mature to a degree quite unusual for the productions of a young man; he seems never to have indulged in the "veal" which is characteristic of enthusiastic inexperience. But, if we mistake not, there is about his last volume a tone and character which belongs only to the veteran writer, while there is certainly no falling-off in the manifestation of that masculine strength of style and treatment which we have learned to associate with the name of Dr. Dale. The sermons before us are in nearly all respects models of doctrinal exposition. They are clear, definite, but not dogmatically hard, interesting, strong, and contain in small compass what most writers would have required twice or thrice the space to express. The subjects include the Existence of God, the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Trinity, the Atonement, and some other leading doctrines of Christianity. None of the interest of this book, which is great, is derived from what is to some the great charm of heterodoxy. Dr. Dale keeps to the high road, and shows travellers how much is to be seen from it, without diverging into the side-paths which tempt so many modern would-be guides. His treatment of these well-worn themes is fresh and interesting for two reasons: partly because the current difficulties and objections are fairly and fully met; partly because every doctrine is viewed in the light of actual Christian experience. Illustrations of this latter feature abound; the following single example will show how some current difficulties concerning the Divinity of Christ are treated from the point of view of Christian experience:

"It may be that some of you who have constructed for yourselves imposing conceptions of God as the Creator of all things, the Infinite, the Absolute, the Almighty, the Unchangeable, the Omnipresent, the Omniscient—a God of your own making—an hypothesis to render the universe comprehensible—may be perplexed and confounded when you attempt to find this God in Christ. But if you have found in

Christ the supreme and ultimate authority over your moral and religious life, you have found God in Him. If you have found in Christ the infinite mercy through which your sins are forgiven, you have found God in Him. If you have found in Christ the giver and the source and the perpetual support and defence of that divine life which renders righteousness and saintliness possible in this world, and is the beginning of immortal power, perfection, and blessedness, you have found God in Him. Even if your lips falter when you are asked to confess that He is God, He is indeed and of a truth God to *you*. Those realms of moral and spiritual life in which for you Christ is supreme, lie far above the realm of material things; He who is supreme in the spiritual order cannot hold any secondary place in the physical; you have already confessed, even if you meant it not, that Christ is eternally One with the Highest" (p. 120).

Very suggestive is the treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, including the instructive note on "The Holy Spirit in the Old Testament." We may say, in passing, that some of the notes to this volume are condensed theological treatises of no little value.

We find ourselves, for the most part, in full agreement with Dr. Dale's statement of Christian doctrine. Some points of doctrine we should have preferred to see differently expressed, and here and there we miss certain aspects of these central Christian truths which might have been more fully or explicitly recognised. On one point of considerable theological importance Dr. Dale departs from the standard of Evangelical orthodoxy, at least as represented by Presbyterians and Wesleyan Methodists. He admits the fact of racial, as well as individual sin, but holds that the doctrine of Paul in Rom. v. 12–21 on the relation between the sin of Adam and the sin and death of his descendants "was probably a doctrine of the Jewish schools." Since it is in the above passage only stated incidentally, and finds no other recognition in Scripture (except in passing in 1 Cor. xv. 22), Dr. Dale speaks of it as not possessing organic relation to the general body of Christian truth. "The New Testament assumes that all men are sinners, and that all men are mortal; as to how they become sinners, or how they become mortal, there is nothing said explicitly or implicitly, except in these two passages." We cannot at this moment discuss the question and indicate the grounds of our dissent from Dr. Dale. Suffice it to say that, apart from the authority of St. Paul and the arguments of Christian divines, there is enough in Dr. Dale's own pages on the subject of the solidarity of the race very strongly to confirm the teaching of evangelical orthodoxy on this particular head. Instead of emphasising, however, minor points of difference, we prefer to offer our hearty thanks to the respected author of this volume for his wise, weighty, and valuable contribution to the literature of Christian doctrine, and emphatically to commend it to our readers for their careful perusal and study.

St. Paul's Conception of Christianity. By A. B. Bruce, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow. Author of *Apologetics*, or *Christianity Defensively Stated*; *The Kingdom of God*, &c. &c. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894. Price 7*s.* 6*d.*

No living teacher has done more to liberalise North British theology than Dr. A. B. Bruce. In certain directions, he has perhaps even overshot the mark in this way. But his influence has proved itself for many years a healthy, broadening, and vivifying power in the Calvinistic churches; and his work, like most good things of Scottish birth, is appreciated and utilised across the border. He is a man steeped in foreign theology, but for all that a sharply independent and sturdily British thinker, and he combines with his warm Evangelical faith a lively sensitiveness to modern questionings and a sympathetic attitude toward the philosophical and historical criticism of the day. His latest volume, on the Pauline Theology, while not destined probably to rank with Dr. Bruce's most successful productions, will be eagerly welcomed, both on the author's account and from the perennial interest of the subject. It is a book that deserves to be read, and carefully weighed, by all who are interested in New Testament doctrine.

In method and handling, Dr. Bruce's treatise is in many respects a model of what theology for the times should be. We find in it the full and scientific learning, the breadth and sureness of grasp, the skill in construction, the aptitude and breezy freshness of style, the robust good sense and controversial keenness, and engaging candour, which the author has accustomed us to look for in his writings. His marked individuality and the distinctness of his subjective standpoint are fully apparent in his work; and if we designate this book as *Dr. Bruce's Conception of St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, this is by no means intended in dispraise. The title of this volume must be understood with a serious limitation. It is *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, as set forth in the first six of his letters, that Dr. Bruce here reproduces. The Pastoral Epistles are ignored; while the Epistle to the Ephesians is quoted very occasionally, and, as the note on p. 366 shows, with considerable misgiving. The reasons for this limitation are frankly stated at the outset: "It is due to the actual state of critical opinion that in a scientific attempt to ascertain the nature of St. Paul's Christian teaching, primary importance should be attached to the Epistles which command a general consensus of critical approval" [pp. 2, 3]. Certainly, and on every account, the four major Epistles claim the *primary* place in the representation of Pauline teaching; but surely a *secondary* and important place remains for the later documents, which, with Dr. Dale, we accept as certainly St. Paul's, notwithstanding the criticisms of men who approach the subject with deeply biassed minds. Dr. Bruce puts them out of court

altogether. His analysis of the epistles on which he builds is so excellent, that we greatly regret he does not think it worth while to digest for us the other seven, with whatever critical discount he may feel himself compelled to use them when addressing himself to critical readers of a certain class. For our own part, we are persuaded that a just analysis of the two later groups of letters (always excluding Hebrews) would go far to show them to be germane to the earlier Pauline books and to dispel the doubts entertained of their genuineness; doubts which Dr. Bruce's dismissal of them is calculated to aggravate. Touching this point he further states: "In reference to what is specific or peculiar in later Epistles, we may find a sufficient indication of St. Paul's view in the controversial group (Romans–Galatians). The Christological Epistles (Colossians, &c.) contain interesting and valuable statements concerning the Lord Jesus which repay earnest study, but the Christian idea of these Epistles embraces little, if anything, essential in advance of what can be gathered from the relative texts in the controversial Epistles" (p. 5). This may be a convenient, but it is not a sufficient account of connection between the later and the earlier letters. That they "contain interesting and valuable statements concerning the Lord Jesus, which repay earnest study" is, unquestionably true of the Prison Epistles—as it is true of Dr. Bruce's present essay, and of far inferior works! There is a critical coolness—not to say *patronage*—toward his subject, that makes itself felt in sentences like these, which we do not admire in this admirable scholar. It is due apparently to his defective sympathy with the Apostle's later, and in some ways riper-teaching, that Dr. Bruce's chapters on *Christ*, *The Christian Life*, and *The Church*, together occupying less than a seventh of the volume, are so much inferior in power and interest to the discussions on the soteriological doctrines preceding them. These pages appear to us to be hardly even a "sufficient indication" of the richness of this part of the Pauline territory. In general, we find the length and breadth of *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity* amply unfolded in this vigorous, clear-sighted, and thoroughly modern interpretation; though we miss something of its heights and depths, something of the subtlety, delicacy, and versatility, something, too, of the mystical glow and ardour, of the original Pauline spirit. The printing of the Greek words needs revising—we have noted more than twenty *corrigenda* of this nature; besides several other errors of the press.

Essential Christianity. A Series of Explanatory Sermons. By Rev. H. P. Hughes, M.A. London: Isbister & Co. 1894.

This volume is marked by all the characteristics which are associated with Mr. Hughes' name, and which have helped to place him in that prominent position amongst living preachers which he has won

for himself. Vivacity, energy, vigour of expression, the power clearly to define, variously to illustrate, and earnestly to drive home the points on which he is anxious to insist, are all present in these brief but powerful addresses. That Mr. Hughes should be found frequently using unmeasured and even extravagant language, that he should often repeat himself, and that his discrimination and judgment should not prove equal to his fervour, is, we suppose, inevitable. But those who know the value of his work and the characteristics of his impetuous and indefatigable spirit, will not be disposed to dwell upon the defects naturally accompanying qualities which are of the utmost service in Christian enterprise. The enthusiasm, readiness, and versatility of the *speaker* are manifest on every page of this volume; but in the *writer* we expect more accuracy, balance, judgment, and weight of utterance than are here exhibited. Probably, however, the discourses on "The All-Sufficiency of Christ," "The Unanswerable Argument for Christianity," and "The Pentecostal Blessing," produced in their delivery, and will produce when read, an immediate impression which all the moderation and judgment of the most judicious would fail to exercise. We have read many of these addresses—for such, rather than conventionally-constructed sermons, they are—with pleasure and profit. Some of these on the ethical teaching of the Prophets—in the preparation of which Mr. Hughes gracefully acknowledges himself to have been much indebted to Professor Kirkpatrick's *Doctrine of the Prophets*—are admirable, alike as expository studies and as practical appeals to the conscience.

We cannot profess to admire some of Mr. Hughes' utterances. It is hardly a happy way of describing the angels' song at Bethlehem to say "the carol of the Nativity was the birth-song of Democracy," and the crudity of the saying that "Christ is in every man as Christ is in me" is obvious. Very extreme also are some of the denunciations poured out in these addresses upon Christians as false to their creed and to their Saviour. Unfaithfulness, alas! abounds, and the Christian Church has made some great and serious mistakes; but we question whether the modern fashion of reviling the Christianity of our forefathers as so egregiously unchristian is either true or useful. Mr. Hughes' remarks on the preaching of Wesley illustrate his habit of speaking unguardedly. He says (p. 48) that Wesley's Gospel, "like Paul's, was largely abstract," that he "never dwelt at length on the details of the human life of Christ," never "set forth Christ as our concrete and constant example," or "preached definitely and fully the imitation of Christ." There is a measure of truth in this, which we should be prepared to recognise, but such unmodified language misrepresents the author of the sermons expounding the Sermon on the Mount and many others in Wesley's varied and very practical ministry. We have noticed a few awkward misprints (*e.g.*, Zenophon, p. 24) and some sentences which either contain misprints or are awkwardly expressed (*e.g.*, "I know nothing that has been done more to fill the minds of men," &c., p. 62).

But these are mere details. These sermons are so full of ardent evangelical zeal, and so powerfully set forth the Gospel of "Christianity in earnest," that we heartily wish them the large circulation they deserve and are likely to obtain, and are convinced they cannot but be productive of much good.

Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics, New Testament and Post-Apostolic. By the Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Oamaru; sometime Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

This is the third volume Dr. Macgregor has written on Apologetics. In his *Apology of the Christian Religion Historically Regarded* he discusses the use of miracle in work or word by Christ and the Apostles, and by Moses and the Prophets, together with the moral changes actually wrought by religion in the second century. A Prologue was subsequently published under the title of *The Revelation and the Record*, in which supernaturalism was vindicated, and investigation made into the canonical authority of the New Testament. In this third book, which like the others is complete in itself, the history of apologetics is traced from the ministry of Christ through that of the Apostles to the present day. The post-apostolic period is subdivided into two, defined respectively as primitive and modern, and separating from one another about the close of the sixteenth century. The earlier of these periods receives only from sixty to seventy pages, and the treatment is consequently of a most scant and compressed character, although the author succeeds in singling out many salient points, and in drawing a useful outline of the defensive methods that were followed. Half of the book deals with the modern period, in which apologetics is characterised as having been occasioned "by a negativism or scepticism, relatively to the Christian religion," or to its records, which has arisen within Christendom itself. The assaults upon the New Testament are dismissed in a few triumphant paragraphs, and then emerges the "latest phase of the recent movement," and the way is blocked by the Old Testament question with the plea of certainty on the one side and sense of serious peril on the other.

Dr. Macgregor's discussion of this question is sensible, effective, and fair. Occasionally he falls into a rollicking style which is apt to be as defiant of the rules of syntax as it is contemptuous of the theories he is opposing; and it is easy to understand that the advocates of those theories may become rather angry with him. No one likes to have his pet bubble pricked: and the man who poses as either himself the sum of all possible critical knowledge or the staunch believer in an alleged consensus of critics, lays himself open to a little Socratic treat-

ment, not altogether genial. But in his administration of this treatment, Dr. Macgregor carefully, though inadequately, discriminates. He classifies critics as conservative, as destructive, and as mediating: and the principal defect in his reasoning is due to the neglect to distinguish the infinite variety of shades of opinion represented amongst the last. To that class Dr. Macgregor himself apparently belongs, since he seems to believe in a rather extensive editing of the Pentateuch under the supervision of Ezra. But, in fact, it is a class that needs subdivision, for it contains men of the most divergent views, from those on the one hand who are clearly drifting towards the denial of the supernatural altogether, to those on the other who have not broken far away from a belief even in verbal inspiration. Few things would tend more to prevent ambiguity in discussion and misunderstanding of the nature and bearing of this Old Testament question, than the division of these moderates into sub-classes, the relation of each to one or two of the principal doctrines being clearly defined. There are, for instance, some who deny the historical accuracy of Scripture, whilst vigorously asserting their faith in its inspiration. It would be helpful to know what precisely they mean by inspiration in this connection, what sort of inspiration, that is, under whose influence a sacred writer narrates as history what is untrue. Such a cross-examination may possibly be resented, but it does not therefore follow that the public are passing beyond their natural rights in pressing it. For with the public, and not with the experts, rests the final settlement of the question. If the public are invited to believe on the authority of the experts, they must even then examine the claims of the latter to infallibility. But in reality the matter is one which the public is quite competent to settle upon its merits. Linguistic and technical considerations now enter into it but slightly. And the question has become simply, which of several accounts of Old Testament history is the most reasonable, the most congruous and harmonious in its parts, and the most in accordance with the actually known.

Of the adequacy of common reason to decide the dispute, Dr. Macgregor rightly makes much. He does not appear himself to have any doubt as to the issue. To him history seems to repeat itself, especially the history of assaults upon the historicity and authority of Scripture, and the Tübingen fiasco is too recent to be forgotten. He writes in a readable and popular way, although with too great an exuberance of figure and reminiscence, and sometimes with an unnecessary vigour. The part he took in the discussions when complaints were laid before the Free Church respecting Professor Robertson Smith's published opinions proved him to be thoroughly well-informed on the subject in debate, and a candid and tolerant adversary. And his book will help to reassure the perplexed by showing them, in something like its right proportions, the real character of the present controversy concerning the Old Testament, and the result which according to every precedent in Apologetics must in due time follow.

Hebrew Syntax. By the Rev. A. B. DAVIDSON, LL.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, New College, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

In this handbook, Dr. Davidson systematises and completes the notes on Hebrew Syntax which he has used for a number of years in his classes. It is intended to be regarded as a companion volume to his *Introductory Hebrew Grammar*, the excellence of which may be inferred from the number of editions through which it has passed. He does not follow recent writers on syntax, by commencing with the verb, but wisely postpones that until the less perplexing usages of the pronouns and nouns have been discussed. For a beginner in the study of the language, that is a distinct advantage. On several obscure points, such as the use of the imperfect in poetry, and that of the passive in the later periods of the language, he does not pronounce any very positive opinion, though he suggests that in the former case the vigour or rapidity of the speech must be considered, and in the latter that rhythm sometimes dictates the form. The student will, at least, become aware thereby of the state of opinion on such questions, and aware also of certain special directions in which original and patient research is needed. The least satisfactory part of the treatise is that which relates to the particular kinds of sentence. A classification of sentences into seventeen or eighteen co-ordinate varieties cannot easily be defended as logical. The fault is probably due in part to the practice, for which many precedents could be quoted, of naming a sentence according to the force of the particle which introduces it. And this, again, is due to the unsatisfactory treatment of the particle in lexicons, which has tempted or impelled writers on syntax to supply the defects. One of the best features of the new Oxford lexicon is the adequacy of Canon Driver's treatment of the particles; and when this work is completed, it may be possible, as it will certainly be desirable, to construct an exposition of syntax in accordance with the formal principles of analysis, and, perhaps, also to agree upon some general system of nomenclature. In this repect, however, Dr. Davidson's method is not worse than that of most of his predecessors, whilst in its favour may be pleaded practical utility, as shown in the great number of eminent scholars whom he has trained. His Syntax is, undoubtedly, the best of its size hitherto produced in this country, and in every way well adapted for students and for practical teaching. It is superior to Müller in its abundance of examples; and, whilst Ewald will still remain indispensable for reference, it is a book that may be put into the hands of beginners with the confidence that they will understand it and use it with ease. The type is clear, and so arranged as to size that principles and anomalous usages can be immediately distinguished. An ample index of subjects, and a very lengthy one of passages referred to, are appended. And if in subsequent editions the numbers of the sections could be printed in the head-line of the pages or at the foot, reference would be greatly facilitated, and the book become a model of what such an introductory manual should be.

Ten-Minute Sermons. By the Rev. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. London: Isbister & Co. 1894.

Ten-minute sermons are almost a novelty in literature, unless they are to be classed with Sturm's *Reflections* and similar homœopathic productions. But the merit of Dr. Nicoll's volume is that it contains actual sermons, not sermonettes, and not mere notes and outlines. Now and again, indeed, he is evidently incommoded by the time-limit he has chosen, but he is not without devices. It is possible to write two sermons on the same text, or even when the text assumes the proportion of an entire chapter, to take it as read. Generally, however, the few pages contain a substantially complete treatment, by way of suggestion rather than of elaboration, of some single aspect of truth or duty, of hope or comfort. And the treatment is fresh and stimulating, helpful alike to thought and to devotion. A wide range of subjects, compactness without ambiguity, originality without pretentiousness, are noteworthy features of the volume. It will profit busy men who have leisure enough to digest as well as to read. And it will set preachers thinking, and help to remove the reproach which Dr. Nicoll is not the first to make, that "many weary and starved congregations listen hopelessly" to phrases and thoughts which they have heard hundreds of times.

The Book of Numbers. By ROBERT A. WATSON, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

This is a well-digested and helpful volume. It does not, indeed, solve all the crucial difficulties of the subject, but it is the able work of a true-hearted Christian. Many hard places have welcome light thrown upon them. If the expositor now and again falters more or less inconsistently, no candid man who has studied the subject can greatly wonder. On the whole we are able to recommend the exposition as among the best, if not the best, of modern books on its difficult subject.

Introduction to the New Testament. By F. GODET, D.D. Particular Introduction. 1. The Epistles of St. Paul. Translated from the French by WILLIAM AFFLECK, B.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. Price 12*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Godet's merits are known to all students of the New Testament in the original. All those merits are found to the full in this excellent volume. We have the learning of a German Professor united to the delightful clearness of a French expositor, while the whole book is imbued with a devout and reverent spirit. The author, now advanced in years, "dreams," if his life should be spared, of adding to this volume another, on the Gospels and the Acts, "and even a third, on the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse." May his life

be spared to complete this project! To few living expositors are Christian students under deeper obligations already than to Professor Godet. Let us note, in passing, that one of the services rendered in this volume is the correction of several very grave errors in M. Sabatier's criticisms and speculations on St. Paul's history. That writer has been somewhat unguardedly commended in England. It should be understood that he is by no means to be trusted; his tendencies are dangerous, though his ingenuity and plausibility are considerable.

The Psalms. By A. MACLAREN, D.D. Vol. III. Ps. xc.—cl. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894.

The third and last volume nobly crowns this work of Dr. Maclaren's, perhaps his ripest and richest work. The grandeur of the great psalms included in this volume exceeds, perhaps, in total sum and effect that of those in either of the volumes preceding; and this necessarily gives character and quality to the book as a whole. It is impossible either to summarise or to criticise in detail. But as a sample we give a brief quotation from the opening words on Psalm cxix.: "One thought pervades it—the surpassing excellence of the Law. The beauty and power of the psalm lie in the unwearied reiteration of that single idea. There is music in its monotony which is subtilely varied. Its verses are like the ripples on a sunny sea, alike and impressive in their continued march, and yet each catching the light with a difference, and breaking on the shore with at one of its own. A few elements are combined into these hundred and seventy-six gnomic sentences. . . . There are but few pieces in the Psalmist's kaleidoscope, but they fall into many shapes of beauty; and, though all his sentences are moulded after the same general plan, the variety within such limits is equally a witness of poetic power which turns the fetters of the acrostic structure into helps, and of devout heartfelt love for the Law of Jehovah." To which let us add a few words from the opening of the exposition of Psalm xc.: "The sad and stately music of this great psalm befits the dirge of a world. How artificial and poor, beside its restrained emotion and majestic simplicity, do even the most deeply-felt strains of other poets on the same themes sound! It preaches man's mortality in immortal words." The noble rendering of the Psalms is one of the characteristics of this volume as of the two former.

Words to the Laity. Addresses and Papers on Subjects of Contemporary Ecclesiastical Controversy. By the Ven. WILLIAM MACDONALD SINCLAIR, D.D., Archdeacon of London and Canon of St. Paul's. London: Nisbet & Co. 1895. 6*s*.

Archdeacon Sinclair is one of the foremost representatives of Evangelical Protestantism in the Church of England, and it would not be

easy to find a more clear or cogent putting of the whole case against Ritualism and Sacerdotalism than this masterly set of papers and addresses. It will be well for any one who is disposed to speak lightly of the Reformation to read the first chapter. "It found darkness, corruption, and tyranny; it gave us light, morality, and liberty. It restored the Bible to its position as the rule of faith. It recovered for the laity the place which they had lost. It revived learning throughout Europe. It appealed to the Scriptures and to the witness of the Primitive Church. It re-united faith and holiness. It opened once more the freedom of access of the soul to Christ for pardon and peace." In dealing with the prospects of Reformation principles at the present day, Archdeacon Sinclair points out that their more conscious and strict adherents have been lacking in leadership. They have been abundant in good works, but have not known how to make their influence felt in the affairs of the Church and nation at large. He rejoices that the fatal policy of persecution or prosecution has been dropped, and says that all talk about obtaining legislative changes is futile. Legitimate missionary efforts at home, study of principles, training of young men for the ministry, are the lines along which they must act in future.

The chapter on the position of the laity in the Primitive Church is of great value as a succint statement of the rights of laymen. The chapters on the words Catholic and Protestant are followed by a manly plea for forbearance in disagreement, and a timely protest against the arrogance, coldness, disdain and presumption which members of the National Church sometimes show towards their Nonconformist brethren. There is much that is both wise and timely in the chapters on Schism, on Current Fallacies in the Church; on Fasting Communion and the Scriptural View of Holy Communion. The discussion of the principles of Church music ought to be studied by all who are responsible for Church-services. This is a book full of clear thinking and earnest advocacy of true Protestant principles. We hope that it may do a great work in counteracting the High Church leaven which has been spreading so rapidly through the Anglican Church. The calm, candid, and reasonable tone of the addresses ought to secure for them impartial study. If those who turn these pages will lay aside their prejudices, we have no doubt of the impression which the book will make upon its readers.

1. *Labour and Sorrow.* Sermons Preached on Various Occasions. By W. J. KNOX-LITTLE, M.A. London: Isbister & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*
2. *My Closing Ministry: The Man of Peace, and other Sermons.* By RICHARD ROBERTS. London: C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.*
3. *First Things First.* Addresses to Young Men. By GEORGE JACKSON, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*

4. *The Making of Manhood.* By W. J. DAWSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*
5. *Secrets of a Beautiful Life.* By J. R. MILLER, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*
6. *Among the Roses, and other Sermons to Children.* By the Rev. SAMUEL GREGORY. London: Wesleyan Sunday School Union. 2*s.* 6*d.*
7. *The Daisies of Nazareth.* By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D. London: Religious Tract Society. 3*s.* 6*d.*
8. *Moses: His Life and its Lessons.* By the Rev. MARK GUY PEARSE. London: C. H. Kelly. 3*s.* 6*d.*

1. Canon Knox-Little's sermons strike, as their title suggests, a minor note, but they are well adapted to cheer "souls on to bear bravely and act nobly in the trials of a life of labour and sorrow." Those who know the writer as a popular preacher will be surprised at the thoughtfulness of these sermons. There is sometimes a little of the redundancy of expression which assists to lodge a thought in the minds of a congregation; but the sermons are suggestive and helpful—the outcome of much study of human nature and God's ways of perfecting it. In the last sermon, on *Love and Death*, there is this sentence: "We may trust, if we are Catholics, and if it pleases God to permit that we should die within reach of the ministrations of the Church, that in our last hours we may be fortified by strong sacraments and powerful prayers." We have not caught any other glimpse of the preacher's High Churchism.

2. Mr. Roberts has collected into this volume some of the ripest fruits of his ministry. His special place as a preacher will be better understood by every one who ponders these discourses. They have a fine glow of Welsh fervour; they are truly and wholly Evangelical; they set great Bible questions in new lights. "The Golden Candlestick" and "The Priesthood of Christ" show how Mr. Roberts delights in the types of the Old Testament, and many a reader will recall the moment when he heard these sermons in all their freshness and force. The book is a worthy memorial of a powerful and popular ministry.

3. *First Things First* will explain to many readers the secret of Mr. Jackson's power. He is a great reader, a clear thinker, a close student of his Bible, and he has the happy art of stating old truths with much freshness and felicity of style. "The Unanswerable Argument for Christianity," based on the healing of the lame man at the Gate Beautiful, is a powerful appeal to the conscience. "How the Prize was Won at an Old Athletic Festival" is a notable sermon. The volume ought to be circulated widely among young men. Mr. Jackson is a guide that they will delight to follow, full of generous

enthusiasm and high purposes, and well at home in all the books that they themselves like best to read.

4. We should not like to bind ourselves to all Mr. Dawson's positions or statements, but his fourteen papers deal with subjects of vital interest to young men. They are the outcome of wide experience, so that they are always practical and helpful. The manly denunciation of gambling, and the forcible exposition of the dangers of an empty mind, ought not to be overlooked; and there is much stimulating counsel on reading. What grace and beauty of style marks the volume may be seen from one extract. "The man who sees the sculptor at work upon a block of marble sees what appears to be a purely mechanical performance. But out of sight in the sculptor's brain there is a quiet presence we do not perceive; and every movement of the hand is impelled by that shining thought within the brain. That presence is the ideal. Without it he would be a mason; by it, he becomes an artist. So we are fashioned by our visions, and obey the compulsion of our ideals. The power of the ideal shapes our life each instant; and only as our ideals are true and beautiful can our lives become virtuous and noble."

5. *Secrets of a Beautiful Life* is the fifth volume which Dr. Miller has furnished for the "Silent Times Series." It has all the brightness of style and helpfulness which have made his other books so useful, whilst its dainty covers and rough paper make it an attractive gift-book. A glance at the Contents shows how many subjects which are in everybody's mind are treated in this volume, and Dr. Miller always has something to say that is stimulating and suggestive.

6. Any one who gets *Among the Roses* into his hand will understand why Mr. Gregory has taken a first place among preachers for children. He chooses fresh themes, and treats them in a bright and attractive style, with a large and wide range of illustration, and a happy knack of condensing his moral into a striking sentence. This is one of the best books of homilies for young people that we know. Teachers will do well to have it near at hand when they want a good story or a telling illustration.

7. Dr. Macmillan may be congratulated both on his book and on its title. The addresses here gathered together were first given to the young people of his own church, and most of them have appeared in the *Sunday at Home*. They deal with subjects that are full of interest, and have a wealth of illustration drawn from nature, from fable, and from legend, which must catch and hold the attention of the young. There is no meretricious ornament, or straining after effect, but Dr. Macmillan shows himself a true and wise teacher, whose treasury is full of delights both new and old.

8. Mr. Pearse lights up the story of Moses in his own picturesque and graphic way. He has evidently studied the history of the times with care and makes each leading event in the career of the Jewish Lawgiver a pivot for fresh and fragrant teaching. The whole story seems alive with suggestions and lessons for to-day. The book is very neatly got up, and ought to be one of the most popular volumes Mr. Pearse has given us.

The Last of the Prophets. A Study of the Life, Teaching, and Character of John the Baptist. By Rev. J. FEATHER. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke. 1894. *2s.*

This new volume of the "Handbooks for Bible Classes," is a valuable study of John the Baptist's life and work. Its clearness, freshness and force of style are not its smallest merits, whilst the felicity of quotation deserves special note. Mr. Feather has a vigorous imagination which he uses with skill and discretion. His book seems to open new doors of suggestive thought even in a well-worn theme, and gives added impressiveness to one of the most touching of all Bible histories. Dr. Reynold's great work on "John the Baptist," holds the chief place in the library dealing with the life of our Lord's forerunner, but Mr. Feather's little volume is worthy to stand by its side, and its low price puts it well within reach of every Bible student.

The Influence of Jesus Christ on Young Men. By the Rev. WILLIAM UNSWORTH. London: C. H. Kelly. *2s. 6d.*

Mr. Unsworth is one of the truest friends and wisest counsellors of young men that Methodism has produced. His new book embodies the experience of a long life of study and practical work. It is judicious, candid, ready to acknowledge the good in an opponent. Some of the illustrations are gems, and the book is so studded with incident that, though it is always thoughtful, it is always interesting.

The Holy Spirit, the Paraclete. A Study of the Work of the Holy Spirit in Man. By Rev. JOHN ROBSON, D.D. London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1894. *5s.*

This book is well and clearly written, the treatment is fresh, and the whole tone distinctly helpful. The section on "The Eternal Sin," should not be overlooked. We are not prepared to endorse every point, but we believe the book will quicken thought and study on one of the cardinal subjects of Christian theology. Dr. Robson blunders over Acts xix. 2.

The Repose of Faith in View of Present Day Difficulties. By the Rev. ALEX. J. HARRISON, B.D., Master of Magdalen Hospital, Newcastle-on-Tyne. London: Longmans & Co. 1894. *7s. 6d.*

We have commended warmly Mr. Harrison's two preceding books, one on "The Problems of Christianity and Scepticism," the other on "The Church in Relation to Sceptics." In dealing with these subjects his many years' experience as a public lecturer and in public

discussion on the problems of faith has stood him in good stead, and taught him the value and need, not only of tact, but of candour in his work as an apologist. The present volume is a valuable sequel to the other two. The arrangement of chapters and sections—the sequence of thought throughout—is very happy. Some of his suggestions are very original and helpful—reassuring and comforting. His last chapter, however, is less valuable than the others. In particular, it makes too much of Mr. Gladstone's article on heresy and schism, and quotes it at needless length.

The Biblical Illustrator. By Rev. JOSEPH S. EXELL, M.A. Romans. Two Volumes. Nisbet & Co. 1894. *7s. 6d.* each.

The condensed little Introduction to these massive volumes reminds us of the unique place which the Epistle to the Romans occupies in the New Testament. Coleridge called it "the profoundest book in existence"; Chrysostom had it read to him twice a week; Melancthon twice copied it out with his own land; Luther described it as "the chief work of the New Testament, the purest Gospel." The value of illustration is nowhere felt more deeply by a teacher than in dealing with the profound subjects treated in this great letter. A good anecdote or simile is often like a flash of light thrown on some difficult passage. How full of material these volumes are may be understood from the fact that about 338 closely-packed pages are given to the eighth chapter of Romans. Such a treasure-house of illustration every preacher and Sunday-school worker will find of the greatest service. It is full of good things, new and old.

The Expository Times. Volume V. Edited by the Rev. JAMES HASTINGS, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. *7s. 6d.*

The Expository Times is the best Preacher's monthly that we have—most various and helpful for all Bible students. In the present volume of 576 pages there is a wealth of matter on books, texts, and all subjects that have special interest for theologians. The "Notes of Recent Exposition" and "the Great Text Commentary" will be of special value to students.

Prayers for Hearth and Home, being Morning and Evening Devotions for a Month. For Family and Private Use. By Rev. F. B. MEYER, B.A. London: Nisbet & Co. 1895. *3s. 6d.*

The American Ambassador has recently paid a great tribute to the family religion of this country, and every good book of prayers like

this of Mr. Meyer's supplies a real need in many a home where the gift of extempore prayer has not been cultivated. Mr. Meyer's volume is clear and simple in its arrangement; beside the prayers for each morning and evening there are special prayers for the chief Christian festivals. They are brief, and are boldly printed. It is scarcely necessary to add that they are richly Evangelical and have considerable freshness of thought and language. The only criticism we would make is that the language is a little too flowery here and there, such as more becomes an eloquent preacher in the pulpit than a simple paterfamilias in the bosom of his family.

The Comprehensive Concordance to the Holy Scriptures. By Rev. J. B. R. WALKER, based on the Authorised Version. Containing fifty thousand more references than *Cruden's Concordance.* With Introduction on "The Growth of the English Bible," by Dr. WILLIAM WRIGHT, and a "Bibliography of Concordances," by Dr. M. C. HAZARD. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1895. 5*s.*

This does not pretend to compete with Dr. Strong's *Exhaustive Concordance*, which we recently reviewed, but it is only second to that great work, and its low price puts it within reach of a multitude of Bible students who cannot hope to get Dr. Strong's massive volume on their shelves. Mr. Walker was a minister in Connecticut, who died in 1885. He devoted twelve years to this task, and the outcome is certainly worthy of such labour. The arrangement is rigidly alphabetical, and proper names and appellatives are found in their alphabetical place instead of being kept apart. The type is exceedingly legible, and the volume is a compact and handy octavo, which it is a pleasure to use. There is much interesting information in the valuable introductions, and the whole work is in small compass the best Concordance of the day. Every Bible student will find it a pleasure to use it.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Life and Letters of Erasmus. By J. A. FROUDE. London: Longmans. 1894. 15*s.*

BUT for some of his *Short Studies on Great Subjects* and some of the chapters of his *History of England*, we should have been disposed to call this Mr. Froude's masterpiece. In style and diction and

arrangement, in insight into motive and in philosophical analysis of character, in vivid portraiture, in picturesque description both of situations and events, in lively and artistic narrative, and in effective marshalling of facts and arguments, the latest is, at all events, among the ripest and the richest of his works. It is not flawless either in matter or in style, nor will the portrait of Erasmus please the partisans and extremists on either side of the perennial controversy which gathers round his name; but the light in which the singularly complex character of this many-sided man and his far-from-easily-intelligible conduct in his later years are placed by this selection from his correspondence will do much to help the student in his estimate both of the man and of the strange, eventful history through which he passed. Looked at through the keen and sparkling eyes of this great "prince of humanists" the age immediately before the Reformation becomes alive again to us, and these eyes are placed at our disposal in the matchless letters rendered into perfect English by the last but one of the great writers of our time. The delivery of the lectures contained in this volume from the Regius Professor's Chair of Modern History in Oxford and the preparation of them for the Press impaired the author's powers, and hastened, if it did not cause, his death. "Pen in hand" he passed away, as it was said of Cicero, and as a Man of Letters should; but not before he had again enlivened and enriched the history of the period he had made his own. If it does not add to Mr. Froude's established fame, the work will be a source of pleasure and instruction to the multitude of his admirers both in this and many other lands. A more delightful book to dip into, an easier book to read straight through, a book more worthy to be pondered by the student of the life and times therein portrayed could hardly be imagined. The cheap edition at 6*s.* issued since the above was written should command a circulation worthy of the author and the work.

Social England. Edited by H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L. Vols. I. & II. London: Cassell & Co. 1893–4.

The aim of this unique and opportune and, on the whole, well-planned and excellently executed work is to gather up and offer to the general reader the results of recent research in the various fields of English social history, with a view especially to tracing out and setting forth the progress of the people in "religion, laws, learning, arts, industry, commerce, science, literature, and manners from the earliest times to the present day."

In this stupendous undertaking, the Editor has associated with himself a score or two of experts to whom the various topics are assigned, and the matter is arranged in chronological chapters after the manner of a cyclopædia, except that, instead of the usual alphabetical order, the articles follow each other in the order of time and topic, and are meant to be read consecutively. The method has its drawbacks, as any other method would have had; but, although the reader may

experience some discomfort and perhaps some disappointment in being compelled so frequently to change his guide, the student, aided by the admirable indices and marginal analyses, will find the plan adopted serviceable in a high degree.

In a work so vast and varied it were vain to hope for uniformity of excellence in matter or in style; but, of the volumes now before us, reaching to the reign of Henry VIII., it may be said that they are full of sifted information, clearly and, with some exceptions, pleasingly conveyed. The sections devoted to economic history are exceedingly valuable, although they do not contain much information with which our readers have not been made familiar from time to time. The writers of these sections are well-informed, and their judgment on disputed questions is well balanced and entitled to considerable weight. We have also been impressed by the impartiality of the authors to whom the ecclesiastical and political sections have been entrusted, and can hardly speak too highly of the fresh and lively treatment of such uninviting topics as mediæval military organisation and mediæval law. Art and science have been placed in thoroughly competent hands, although of English art during the Middle Ages, except in the form of architecture, there is not much to be said; and of science, save in the form of magic and astrology, still less. Of the work, so far as it has gone, we cannot say what Albrecht Dürer said to some one who suggested an improvement in one of his pictures, "Sir, it could not be better." But if Mr. Traill, whose masterly Introduction would give distinction to a much inferior work, could bring himself to edit the forthcoming volumes more severely, rigidly excluding contradictions in matters of fact, and useless repetitions of things of quite secondary importance; if, in particular, he could either write them himself or allot the chapters on Literature and Social Life and Manners to authors who, without less learning than the experts already engaged on these sections, know both how to write and what to write, he would be doing not a little to ensure the success of the work, and to secure for it a permanent place among the many notable productions by which the publishers are seeking to promote the cause of popular culture throughout the English-speaking world. We hope to return to this book in our next number.

The Life of Daniel Defoe. By THOMAS WRIGHT. London: Cassell & Co. 1894.

The *raison d'être* of this new life of Defoe are (1) that a small amount of material previously inaccessible to biographers has come into Mr. Wright's hands; (2) that Mr. Wright believes that he has discovered the key to the allegorical interpretation of *Robinson Crusoe;* (3) that the earlier biographies are "valuable works, all of them, but dry as the very Sahara"; (4) that the author desired to bring out "more clearly than can be found elsewhere, that Defoe was, above all things—that it was his endeavour to be at all times—the man of God."

As to (1), the new material is extremely interesting, and, to the

student of Defoe, important. As to (2), the ordinary reader may be disposed to think that the structure is reared upon a very scanty foundation; but the student of Defoe will find in the very whimsicality of the arrangement strong presumption of the correctness of the conjecture. Anyhow, Mr. Wright's is the only key that has any pretensions to fitting the lock. And Defoe's twenty-eight years' resolute speechlessness in his own household coincides remarkably with the period of Crusoe's residence in the island. One confirmatory circumstance even Mr. Wright has not noticed—Crusoe's intense longing for some one with whom he could converse. As to (3), it is no disparagement of the present *Life* if we express a different opinion. Chalmers is as dry as need be; but Wilson would be readable enough were it not for his inordinate length; Chadwick's pugnacious Radicalism manifests itself in "remarks" which, albeit "digressive and discursive," as he himself advertises them, are sufficiently racy. But then they have scarcely anything to do with Defoe. Mr. Wright keeps strictly to his subject, and he writes easily and pleasantly. He has a wholesome fear of saying too much, and a discriminating sense of proportion. We could wish that he had not split up his book into so short sections, and the prefixed tables of "works" interrupt the reading, and might be relegated to foot-notes or margins. As to (4), the phraseology is too emphatic, but the substance cannot be gainsaid. We doubt whether Mr. Wright himself has done full justice to the depth of Defoe's religious convictions and the sincerity of his personal piety. Hitherto the aspect of his character has been too much neglected by all his biographers.

In the main Mr. Wright's conclusions run closely parallel with those of an article on *Daniel Defoe* which appeared some years ago in this REVIEW. We think that he scarcely makes enough of Defoe's relations with William III., or of his services in connection with the union of England and Scotland. We should have liked some more critical estimate of Defoe's genius and influence. And Mr. Wright's habit of quoting some previous biographer's opinion on disputed points without the slightest intimation as to his own agreement or disagreement with it is just a little provoking. But certainly he has given us the most satisfactory *Life* of his hero that has yet been published as regards both the matter itself and its literary form.

The volume is beautifully printed. It is remarkably free from typographical errors—the only one we have noticed is on page 391, where the date of the birth of Daniel Defoe *fils* is just one hundred years too late. The illustrations are good and useful.

The Pilgrims' Way from Winchester to Canterbury. By JULIA CARTWRIGHT (Mrs. Henry Ady). New Edition. With Forty-six Illustrations by A. QUINTON. London: Virtue & Co. 1895.

Those who know the lovely stretch of country from Winchester to

Canterbury will be most enthusiastic in their praise of this delightful return to the days of à Becket. Chaucer has so immortalised the route of the pilgrims from London by his *Canterbury Tales*, that many people have scarcely heard of the Pilgrims' Way through Farnham, Guildford, and Dorking; but that is the original route, along which Henry II. made his first pilgrimage to the tomb of the murdered Archbishop, in July 1174. The road was an old British track, in use even before the coming of the Romans, and formed a convenient approach to the shrine from Southampton, where many pilgrims from Normandy and Brittany landed, and from the West of England. Mrs. Ady gives a vivid sketch of the olden times, and shows how fairs and hostels sprang up in the track of the pilgrims. She is also keenly alive to the beauties of Surrey and Kent, which still endear the Pilgrims' Way to all lovers of scenery. Her volume is not only a history, but a pictorial guide, which every visitor or resident in Kent and Surrey should make haste to secure. It is beautifully illustrated.

Bygone Surrey. Edited by GEORGE CLINCH and S. W. KERSHAW, M.A., F.S.A. Hull: W. Andrews & Co. 1895. *7s. 6d.*

This is a welcome addition to the "Bygone Series." Mr. Leveson-Gower gives a really good and entertaining description of "The Dialect of Surrey." All his illustrations are taken from the mouths of the people, so that they form a valuable contribution to the subject. We do not notice any reference to somewhen, otherwhen, and anywhen, which are so oddly in use in the county. "It will do anywhen to-day," is quite a common saying. The article on "Lambeth Palace" is a capital epitome of all that is best worth knowing as to the Archbishop's seat. Mr. Clinch's "Folk-lore and Local Customs" is especially entertaining, and the description of "Ancient Roads and Ways" will be valuable for students. Lady West's "Wanborough," "Southwark in the Olden Time," "Mediæval Croydon," "Battersea and Clapham," "Nonsuch," "Notes on Guildford," give glimpses of other interesting parts of the county. Richmond, Barnes, Kingston, are scarcely, if at all, referred to, but the Thames valley is so rich in historic names and events that it would itself fill many a volume.

A History of English Literature for Secondary Schools. By J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A., First English Master, Edinburgh Ladies' College. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1894.

We have examined this volume carefully, and have found it throughout careful, exact, and thoroughly informed. Its plan is very comprehensive; every desirable point in such a history-manual seems to have been thought of. The history itself is sterling work and

excellently condensed. The lists of authors in successive periods seem to be very full and complete, and the brief notes on authors are good. The extracts from chief authors are of course, very short; but they are well chosen. There is a very good index.

From the Librairie Evangélique, Paris (4 Rue Roquépine), we have received a French translation of John Nelson's Autobiography—*Autobiographie de Jean Nelson. Traduite par J. W. Lelièvre.* Pastor Jean Lelièvre is not so well known in this country as his brother, Dr. Lelièvre, but he is an able and highly esteemed French Methodist pastor, and he has, in this translation, conferred a timely benefit on his Church and his country.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Life of Christ as represented in Art. By FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1894. 21*s.*

THIS beautiful volume, packed with illustrations, the mere list of which covers six pages, is a fitting sequel to Archdeacon Farrar's *Life of Christ.* There is a chastened restraint in the style, which makes it more becoming a literary work of art and more in keeping with the subject than the vigorous rhetoric of some of Dr. Farrar's earlier books. In one or two places, especially in dealing with representations of the Last Judgment, he launches out in the old style, but these are rare blemishes in a work of singular charm. The reverent self-restraint of early Christian art in excluding all representations of our Lord's sufferings stands out in marked contrast to the revolting vulgarity with which the Scourging of Christ was treated by some painters of later times. Luca Signorelli's handling of that terrible subject shows that he regarded it mainly as a study of the nude. Another *Christ at the Column*, by Borgognone, is in the same collection. The "cheeks, bedewed with tears, and sprinkled with drops of blood," recall some of the painful characteristics of early German art. Far different is the painting by Velasquez, presented by Sir John Saville to our National Gallery in 1883. The figure of our Lord is superbly painted, and brings His sorrows home to every heart. At the right an angel leads in a little child, who bends with clasped hands and tenderest pity before the Saviour. From the faint aureole which encircles Christ's head one ray of vivid light streams towards the clasped hands of the little worshipper. This is truly noble religious art. Dr. Farrar holds that the introduction of the crucifix into the ordinary emblems of Christianity involved a failure in all true apprehension of the aspect in which we should habitually

regard our risen, glorified, ascended Lord. He quotes some fine sentences of Dr. Dale's to the same effect. Paulius of Nola, who died A.D. 431, did more than any one else to break down "the instinctive and reverent dislike of Christians for sacred pictures in churches." His argument was that pictures are the books of the laity, and really, as Don Juan de Buloz said: "The ignorant may read their duty in a picture, though they cannot search for it in books." Yet no one can turn over these pages without feeling that art has often taken unbecoming licence with the most sacred subjects. The book is full of suggestions for artists and Christian teachers. It is enriched by quotations from Ruskin and the leading art students of many ages. It brings us into close touch with the greatest artists and the noblest works of art that the world has produced. Dr. Farrar is always bright and suggestive, and he is thoroughly at home in his subject. It is not easy to do justice to the illustrations. They form a gallery of sacred art in which the masterpieces of Fra Angelico, Corregio, Raphael, Holbein, Lippi, Leonardo da Vinci, Velasquez, Burne Jones, Holman Hunt and Sir J. E. Millais may be studied at leisure. They are, as a whole, worthily reproduced, so that the book is full of delights for every student of sacred art.

Perlycross: A Tale of the Western Hills. By R. D. BLACKMORE. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1894. 6*s*.

Perlycross is worthy even of the hand that gave us *Lorna Doone*. It will not rank so high in popular favour as that wonderful romance; for the interest is not focussed on one pair of lovers and a strange band of outlaws, but there is the same wealth of quaint touches and the same vivid insight into all nature's moods that enriched the book which made Mr. Blackmore's reputation. As a study of human nature in many forms we are inclined to think that *Perlycross* is the finest piece of work that its author has given us. Parson Penniloe, with his saintly simplicity and unselfishness, wins our hearts at once; whilst Jemmy Fox, the young doctor, and his lovely sister Christie; Harvey Tremlett, the giant who upholds the honour of Devonshire by his victory over the Cornish champion in the wrestling ring; Serjeant Jakes, the village schoolmaster, and even the parson's pupils frame themselves in our memory. The pivot of the story is the strange disappearance of Sir Thomas Waldron's body from the churchyard on the day after his funeral. The village blacksmith is roused from his bed at dead of night to attend to a horse, and fancies that he recognises Dr. Jemmy Fox and sees the squire's body on the cart. The poor young doctor is soon smarting under the unjust suspicion of the whole neighbourhood, and only after four months, crowded with adventure, is it discovered that no body-snatchers had been near the grave, but that the coffin had simply fallen down into a tunnel made in former days by the monks who passed through it to their church. The story, with its descriptions of smuggling and of the wild miners on the hills, its village fairs and wrestling bout, has no lack of movement. The

village school of fifty years ago is sketched with wonderful vigour. The apostle of moral force who takes the reins at Perlycross during Jakes' mission to Spain, comes to sad grief at the hands of the village urchins, and their old master's arrival on the scene in the hour of their triumph furnishes one of the most dramatic situations in the book. But, interesting as the story is, the sparkling sayings and lovely descriptions of Devonshire scenery with which it is garnished will be the chief charm of the book to many readers. Mr. Penniloe and Squire Waldron had been boys together at the best school in the West of England. In those days, "when the body rules the roast, and the mind is a little chick that can't say 'Cockadoodle'" the future parson had often helped his big friend with his verses. "For example, the big Tom Waldron supplied the little Phil Penniloe with dumps and penny puddings, and with fists ever ready for his defence; while the quicker mind sat upon the broad arch of chest sprawling along the old oak bench, and construed the lessons for it, or supplied the sad hexameter. When such a pair meet again in later life sweet memories arise and fine goodwill." The description of the lovely view which Mr. Penniloe saw through his long-sighted glasses may be quoted as a specimen of the nature-touches in the book: "No monarch of the world, let alone this little isle, could have gilded and silvered and pearled and jewelled his most sumptuous palace, and his chambers of delight, with a tithe of the beauty here set forth by Nature, whose adornments come and go at every breath."

Sorrow and Song. By COULSON KERNAHAN. London: Ward, Lock & Bowden. 1894. 3*s.* 6*d.*

One or two of Mr. Kernahan's papers will be familiar to readers of this Journal, in the pages of which they originally appeared. Each of the five essays is marked by subtle thinking, acute criticism, and a wonderful mastery of language. Mr. Kernahan's first sketch, "A Problem in Personality," which deals with Heine's sad and wayward life, is perhaps the most impressive. The scourge which the German poet prepared for his own back in renouncing his Judaism to gain a position which was afterwards denied him forms a striking study, and the sketch of his awful illness is indescribably pathetic. The gifts and limitations of our painter-poet are well brought out in "A Note on Rossetti." "He was a man of meditative rather than of speculative order of mind, somewhat narrow in tastes and sympathies, and far too absorbed in the contemplation of his own many-hued moods and emotions to trouble himself much about those of his fellow-creatures who had no part to play in the all-important *rôle* of ministering to his overmastering and exquisitely-developed sense of beauty." The tribute to Mrs. Chandler Moulton's gift of song is pleasant reading; the "Robertson of Brighton" and the paper on Philip Marston deal with the more complex and sombre sides of human life. There is not one of the essays which does not contain suggestion for the poet, the preacher, or the philosopher.

1. *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush.* By IAN MACLAREN.

2. *Kerrigan's Quality.* By JANE BARLOW. With Eight Illustrations.

London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1894. Price 6*s.* each.

1. Readers of the *British Weekly* have learned to look for a story from Ian Maclaren as one of the literary treats of the week. There is a tenderness and a glow about these sketches which we do not find even in Mr. Barrie's work, though in the grace of humour our old favourite keeps his pre-eminence. The four papers headed "Domsie" are an exquisite study of a village youth who wins the highest distinction at his University and comes home to die of consumption. The two sketches of "A Highland Mystic" are perhaps as fine as anything in the collection. They seem to imprint themselves ineffaceably upon the memory. "A Doctor of the Old School" makes us proud of human nature. "The Fight with Death" is a wonderful description of a critical operation. We seem to follow wherever Ian Maclaren leads us, and to enter into the spirit of each scene just as though we were ourselves present looking on every movement and turn of the history. The book is a notable literary success.

2. *Kerrigan's Quality* will distinctly add to Miss Barlow's reputation. It shows rare power in depicting the daily life of an Irish village, so that the reader seems to grow familiar with all the characters of the place and watches their pitiful struggle for existence. Kerrigan himself, with his fine gift of taciturnity, appreciated the more as we move in and out among his gossiping neighbours, is a most interesting figure, whilst the "quality" who come for a while to live in his big house furnish two of the most vivid portraits in the book—Sir Ben, the high-souled young master, who becomes Kerrigan's friend, and his cousin Merle, who had lost her heart to a young Greek who died in Australia. The story is sad enough, but its glimpses of Irish peasant life are racy, and there is much food for mirth as well as for tears. The illustrations are happy, and the get-up of the book is attractive.

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY'S BOOKS.

The Annual Volumes of the *Leisure Hour* and *Sunday at Home* will be a treasure in every household and in every Sunday-school library. No pains have been spared with the illustrations, which are well-executed and marked by a pleasing variety. "Sweet Violets" in the *Sunday at Home* is an exquisite picture of fair maidenhood, whilst the "Views of Berlin" given in the *Leisure Hour* almost make us feel as though we knew the German capital personally. The reading-matter is even more variously entertaining than the pictures. Stories, biography, poetry, descriptive papers, and all kinds of brief notes on matters of interest abound. "Second Thoughts," the bright paragraphs on books and other matters, have been so marked a success

that they are to be continued in the next volume. The *Sunday at Home* is already the most instructive and attractive of our magazines for the Sunday, and now that the weekly issue is discontinued it will be possible to improve it in various ways. Every one ought to get the first number of the new series. Its fresh type and new arrangements will make it one of the most popular magazines that can come into a Christian home.

The Society has also just published a lovely set of "Stories for Boys and Girls." They are got up in most tempting style, filled with good pictures and made so attractive that young people will delight to have such gift-books. Schoolboys are catered for by Mr. Talbot Baines Reed, whose *Master of the "Shell;" Tom, Dick and Harry;* and *A Dog with a Bad Name,* are full of the excitements and temptations of school-life. The books are manly in tone, and spiced with the talk that boys most affect. The Rev. T. S. Millington's *Through Fire and Water* is quite as attractive, with adventures on board a man-of-war and stories of slavery in Algiers. His *True as Steel* is a Greek story, both fresh and entertaining. Mr. Oxley's *Archie M'Kenzie* takes us among the fur-traders in the North-West. The boy is not born that would not like to find himself in a corner with these books. *Mentzikoff,* the story of the Moscow pastry-seller who became a prince, is a bracing tale of the days of Peter the Great. *Norman's Inheritance* is a good tale of boys who fought for the right in the spirit of true crusaders. *Two Bright Shillings* deals with two London boys and their fortunes. *Jim and Napoleon* is the story of a Cockney lad and his kitten.

Girls are specially cared for by Miss Everett-Green in *The Family,* a housekeeper's loving recollections of Warwick Hall and its inmates. It is a capital story. *A Commonplace Woman* will help many a girl to conquer selfishness, and its love-making is piquant. Those who have artistic tastes may be recommended to *Maud Marian,* by Eglanton Thorne. Historical leanings will be satisfied by *Margaret Somerset,* a bright story of Restoration times. The girl's diary is very lively.

When the Bour-Tree Blooms is one of the best books of this splendid set. Bour-tree is a Scotch name for the flowering elder. *Eighteen Stories for Girls,* by such hands as Mrs. Molesworth, Sarah Doudney, and others, ought to win a warm welcome. *Little Miss Muffet,* by Rosa N. Cary, deserves a special word of praise. It is a dainty tale. *The Adventures of Hans Müller* takes us to the Black Forest of Thuringia in the days of Luther. *The Old House by the Water* and *Harry's Trip to India* give some instructive glimpses of the East and the way there. *Josh Jobson* is a good story of homely life and ways. *A Strange Christmas Angel, Benedicta's Stranger,* and *Eric's Good News* have the same brightness of style as the other books, and all will teach many a helpful lesson to young readers. A Sunday-school library that could secure all these books would be one of the most popular and delightful places in any church. "The Penny Tales for the People" should not be forgotten. They are printed in good type

on good paper. These capital stories should be freely circulated by all who are anxious to get healthy literature read by poor people.

Mr. Gordon has made his reputation by half-a-dozen books of unusual interest and value, and his *Popular Natural History for Boys and Girls* will rank as one of the best. Mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, and fishes are all brightly described; facts are given in a way that awakes interest, and there is no lack of good stories. Boys and girls could not have a better introduction to one of the subjects which never fail to delight young and old. It is a book that ought to be in every house.

1. *Boris, the Bear Hunter.* A Tale of Peter the Great and his Times. By FRED WISHAW. 3*s.* 6*d.*
2. *My Strange Rescue, and other Stories of Sport and Adventure in Canada.* By J. MACDONALD OXLEY. 3*s.* 6*d.*
3. *The Secret Chamber at Chad.* By E. EVERETT-GREEN. 2*s.* 6*d.*
4. *Mark Marksen's Secret.* By JESSIE ARMSTRONG. 2*s.*
5. *The Young Woodsman;* or Life in the Forests of Canada. By J. MACDONALD OXLEY. 1*s.* 6*d.*
6. *Mopsie.* The Story of a London Waif. By DOROTHY WALFORD. 1*s.* 6*d.*

London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1894.

No one could wish for a brighter or more healthy set of stories than these. Messrs. Nelson have taken great pains with the binding, paper, printing, and illustrations, so that they are most attractive gift-books, and they are full of delights for young readers. *Boris, the Bear Hunter* introduces us to a Russian peasant, who wins the favour of Peter the Great. He is a veritable boys' hero, and his life is crowded with adventures in forest, barracks, and prison. A good idea of the great Czar's life and character will be pleasantly gleaned from the book. Mr. Oxley has given us a spirited set of Canadian stories in *My Strange Rescue.* There is much variety in the book, and all the tales are lively and well told. Mr. Everett-Green's *Secret Chamber of Chad* is a history of the days of Dean Colet with some bright boys and a "heretic monk," whom they managed to protect from his enemies. *Mark Marksen's Secret* is a happy story of a nurse and her lover. It will teach many a good lesson of care and tenderness for the suffering. *The Young Woodsman* deals with life in a Canadian forest and the exciting adventures of lumbermen in bringing down their logs. It is a story that ought to make every boy who reads it more manly and earnest. *Mopsie* is the most attractive bit of waifdom we have met, and the way that she wins a place in the old bachelor's home is very entertaining and tender reading. Her art in

the management of babies is wonderful. Young people will spend many delightful hours over these pleasant books.

MESSRS. BLACKIE'S GIFT-BOOKS.

Even Messrs. Blackie have never given us a better set of gift-books than these. The bindings, the paper, and the illustrations are everything that the most exacting taste could require, and the interest of the stories is such that we pity the boy or girl who finds it easy to stop after the first page. Mr. Henty is at his best in *Wulf the Saxon*, which deals with the period of the Norman Conquest, and in *When London Burned*, a tale of the Great Fire, the Plague, and the naval war with Holland. We scarcely know whether Wulf or Cyril Shenstone is the finest lad, and both books are packed with hair-breadth escapes and adventures. Any boy who reads either of them will have a good idea of the history of the period. Dr. Gordon Stables is much at home in *To Greenland and the Pole*, a story which ought to send boys to Nansen's book, and help them to understand the wonders of Arctic exploration. The descriptions are drawn largely from personal experience. *Banshee Castle*, by Rosa Mulholland, is one of the most charming books for girls we have met with this season. The three Irish beauties, their old guardian, and their friends form a delightful circle, and there is much pleasant fun in the book. *Things will take a Turn*, by Beatrice Harraden, was first published five years ago, and richly deserves the honour of a new edition. The small maid in the second-hand book-shop is a lovely little heroine. Mr. Callan's bicycle journey *From the Clyde to the Jordan*, with thirty illustrations and the map, is a singularly racy and instructive narrative, full of glimpses of out-of-the-way corners of Europe and Asia. It is so brightly written that it will be as popular as the story-books. *Things will take a Turn* is published for half-a-crown, the other books are 5*s.* or 6*s.* No one will think them dear who gets a peep at the lovely books themselves.

Blackie's School and Home Library continues to unfold its stores of attractive and instructive books for popular reading, and especially for the young. Their cheapness, combined with excellence in printing, binding, and paper, and with unpretending good taste, should ensure for them an unprecedented sale. We have on our table just now, *Plutarch's Lives*, that perennial favourite; Dickens's *Old Curiosity Shop* (in 2 vols.); *Parry's Third Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage, with an Account of the Esquimaux*, and Fenimore Cooper's *Deer-Slayer*, the price of each volume being 1*s.* 4*d.* It seems to us that this series is a miracle of cheapness, and on every ground to be commended.

WESLEYAN BOOK ROOM.

Mr. Kelly sends us some cheap and attractive books. *Guy and Gladys*, by M. Carrie Hyde, is the history of "two small Westerners" who had lost their mother and were sent to the home of two maiden

aunts whilst their father went to Brazil. It is a bright picture of child life. Mr. Parsons' *Ocean May* has a hearty Methodist ring about it, and will not disappoint those who have learned to expect something good and racy from his pen. *Mr. Sam and his Talkative Clock* by the Rev. W. W. Houghton, is a capital story on the blessedness of giving. Such a book will stir many a conscience. It is full of good things. *The Hero of the Bevans* is a boy who is stolen from his parents and spends his childhood in a London workhouse. He grows into a manly fellow, and is at last happily restored to home and friends. Mr. Emms' story will please both boys and girls, and teach many lessons of honesty, industry, and godliness, but it is amusing to read the conversations between the youth and the bright girl whose heart he has won. They are worthy of a sage of seventy. Mr. Emms will do well to cultivate ease of style and lightness of touch.

We have received fifteen gift-books from the Wesleyan Sunday School Union, which are very cheap and very attractive. The Rev. J. J. Ellis has written three of them. *Marked for Death* is a good tale of St. Bartholomew; *Unframed Pictures* deals brightly with trees, flowers, birds, bees, butterflies, ants and earthworms; *Take Fast Hold* is a little set of homely talks to children. *Kavanagh Major* and *Uncle Jock's Little Girl* are two bright stories for boys and girls, by Mrs. Robson; *Margaret Wattford*, by Alice Briggs, will give young people a capital notion of the Siege of Londonderry; *The Children's King*, by Edith Edwards, is a set of helpful papers, based on the life of Jesus. *Little Miss Pry*, by Annie Perram; *Bertram and Gerald*, by Kate McCullagh; *Mattie's Rescue*, by Annie Cragg; *Chappie's Charge Angel*, by Mrs. J. A. Smith; *Sunshine after Rain*, by Annie Spratling, are well adapted both to please and help young readers. Mr. Forster is responsible for three entertaining volumes of stories, natural history, and other papers, which will be welcomed in every children's circle. They are only eightpence each, and are brightly illustrated. The annual volume of *Our Boys and Girls* is full of bright little tales, fables and poems for the nursery. The late W. O. Simpson's Hindu Fables are an attractive feature of the volume.

The Humour of Ireland. Selected, with Introduction, Biographical Index, and Notes, by D. J. O'Donoghue. The Illustrations by Oliver Pague. London: Walter Scott. 1894. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the sixth volume in Mr. Scott's "Library of Humour." Each book deals with a separate nation, and the selections are chosen to represent as fully as possible the peculiar flavour of the national humour. Irish wit, as folk-lore, proverbs, and other traditional matter of the country prove, is one of the ancient characteristics of the country. Mr. O'Donoghue claims in his valuable Introduction that Irish humour is more imaginative and less ill-natured than that of any other nation.

It is "mainly a store of merriment pure and simple, without much personal taint, and does not profess to be philosophical. Human follies or deformities are rarely touched upon, and luckily Irish humorous writers do not attempt the didactic." Swift's cruel irony has little that is Irish about it. Real drollery seems to have begun with Steele, whose tenderness is akin to Goldsmith's. The Introduction is evidently the outcome of careful study of the whole subject, and it will greatly add to the interest of the reader. The selections cover a wide area both in prose and poetry. Samuel Lover, Charles Lever, Dr. William Maginn, and many less known names are represented.

MISCELLANEOUS.

From Spring to Fall; or, When Life Stirs. By "A Son of the Marshes." Edited by J. A. Owen. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 1894. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is one of the best volumes we have had, even from "A Son of the Marshes." There are a few pages here and there which are rather indefinite and thin, but the love of nature which breathes in every paper, and the delightful feeling that we are looking on common things through a pair of well-trained and truthful eyes, makes this book a treasure for every lover of the country side. We had sometimes wondered whether this loving student of bird and beast would not find his stores run dry. We were glad, therefore, to notice one passage in the paper on "Furred and Feathered Youngsters": "The life of a naturalist—even if it were prolonged for him well beyond the allotted time of threescore years and ten, and all his faculties preserved until at last the golden bowl is broken and the light dies out—is only long enough to learn a little of what we shall know hereafter; and, by the way, the life-odour of fresh earth and the aromatic scent from waving trees will keep a man young for a long time." The paragraphs about the lark, the vigorous description of the sparrow-hawk and its modes of securing a dinner, the explanation of the roach lying on the short grass of a bare hillside, where they had been dropped by the heron when the hawk rushed at him, are full of freshness and manifest truth to nature. No one should overlook the pages devoted to weasels and ferrets in "Friends or Foes." The rabbit and the merry-hearted brown hare are not forgotten, and the mole finds a sturdy champion. The account of the heron fishing for trout in the watercress beds is one of the brightest of the book. All English people owe a debt to the man who lights up for them these pages of nature.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October 1).—M. Charles Benoist's article on "Twenty Years of Modern Monarchy in Spain" opens with a comparison between the ancient and modern type of monarchy. Under the ancient *régime* power was regarded as coming from God and resident in the king, no liberties were allowed save those which the master suffered or was not able to take away. Legality was founded immediately and unceasingly on force. In the modern type liberties are fixed, defined, guaranteed by law. Authority has strictly-defined limits, powers are distinct from each other, and tend to maintain equilibrium between two sides. No country has suffered so many revolutions in the course of the century as Spain. It was without doubt a modern monarchy which the Restoration of 1875 introduced there. The country had just passed through six years of insurrection and unceasing struggle. Marshal Serrano, though a very brave man, was feeble and undecided as a statesman. He only seemed to find his energy and skill on great occasions. He did not know either how to make occasion, or to avail himself of it when it offered. From one end of Spain to the other there was anarchy; such moral disorder that the priests robbed and burned whilst loudly invoking the name of God. The army was without discipline, and there seemed to be neither a colonel nor a regiment to be trusted. The Republic fell like a withered fruit. It was virtually dead, and only waited the instant for dying in reality. People called it a transition, but it was an agony, for the old order was dying every day. There was no such thing as public order. All that grows out of order, or finds there its nourishment, was exiled or in ruins. There were no finances, for money was buried, or, as in the Basque provinces, was paid more freely to the agents of Don Carlos than to the public treasury. Communication between various places in Spain and with the outside world almost ceased. Spain was cut into twenty morsels and separated from Europe. The Pyrennees could not be crossed save by contraband of war. When Martinez Campos at Sagonta, on December 29, 1874, raised the cry "Long live Alfonso XII.!" Spain welcomed him and his allies as the liberators of the country. The twenty years that have followed have been like a renaissance or rejuvenescence for Spain. The country has become peaceable and proud of its Sovereign. The army has been re-made, both morally and materially. It has learned that armed force is essentially obedient. Commerce, no doubt, suffers from some sort of paralysis, but it is no longer caused by money being hidden. In Catalonia and in Biscay vast wealth is available for great enterprises, and in Madrid it is lavished upon all manner of luxuries. Spain is almost cured of political separatism, though the different interests of various regions which wish to reserve for themselves the right to the national markets need to be reconciled. High tribute is paid to the gifts of Emilio Castelar, who, next to Signor Canovas, has perhaps done more than anyone else for the restored monarchy in keeping it on the road of progress and holding before it the image of the modern world. Canovas has been the true King of Spain, and the monarchy has issued fully armed from his brain. In him the doctrinaire has always *proposed*, but the statesman has *disposed*. Spain has reached an eminence which she had lost for ages. The whole problem remaining for the monarchy is to keep itself modern and to follow the general movement of the world.

(November 1).—M. Leroy-Beaulieu deals with the thorny problem of "Luxury: its Economic Rôle" in a judicious and suggestive way. He attempts a definition, calls attention to the enemies of luxury, shows how

industrial progress and the development of general wealth bring things which were once regarded as luxuries into general use. He points out that among civilised, judicious, prosperous, and intelligent people luxury is more manifest in promoting comfort, elegance, and artistic delights than in mere magnificence and sumptuousness. But, though luxury, kept free from certain abuses, is easily justified or excused, that is not the true end of wealth. Fortune ought not to be mainly a source of pleasure, but a power of administration, which ought to be sought and gained because of special facilities which it gives for accomplishing great objects. Here it has a true social function, and it is for that reason attractive to many energetic natures. M. Leroy-Beaulieu promises to deal with this aspect of the subject in another paper.

(November 15).—M. De la Sizeranne continues his papers on "Contemporary English Painting." He gives bright sketches of such masters of the craft as Alma Tadema, who is really a Dutchman, who in his infancy saw the women of Leuwarden go to market in their brilliant robes. His youth was spent at Anvers, then at Brussels. He has only lived in London since 1870, but his art is thoroughly English, both in its aims and methods. His special gift is the most exact reconstruction of ancient life. He is at home with Tarquin the Proud and Agrippa. Nothing draws him from that contemplation of the past in which he has lived for the past thirty years. A lively account is given of the precocity of Sir John Millais, who at the age of five drew the officers of the garrison at Dinan with such mastery that they refused to believe that a child could have done the sketch. At eleven he entered the Academy Schools; at twenty-three he was famous. His three styles are the pre-Raphaelite style applied to historic scenes, the romantic applied to genre, and portrait painting. The work of Herkomer and Burne-Jones is also brightly described in this interesting paper.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (October).—M. Pillon, in some "Brief Reflections on the last Romance of M. Zola," considers that *Lourdes* is perhaps the novelist's best piece of work. The psychology of the pilgrims, of the maladies which are cured, and those which are not cured, of the medical men who examine the miracles, seems just and true. The writer shows, in a series of pictures, which one feels to be perfectly exact, the naïve manifestations and the clever and able organisation of Catholic piety in the nineteenth century, the ends which it pursues, the means which it employs, the results which it attains. M. Zola is an impartial witness who gives the result of personal observation, and observation made with great care. It is no reproach to him if the impression which one receives from the spectacle is not favourable to Catholicism. The piety whose works he describes is infantine, of an inferior type, a piety in its decadence. Interested motives play the chief part. The interest of the poor sufferers, the interest of the fathers of the grotto, the interest of the city, of the Church, and those who depend upon it. It is interest under all aspects: touching and moving, odious, and even comical.

(November).—Felix Kuhn deals with "The Socialism of Luther" in a good paper. He refers to the reformer's two great thoughts which were the inspiration of his life—"The Christian is a free man," and "The Christian is the servant of all." The first has become the common property of all Protestantism, and has wrought all the great deeds of which we are justly proud; the second, which deals with submission and suffering, is not yet understood, and has not borne its fruit. Another suggestive paper deals with "Lamennais as a Precursor of Catholic Socialism."

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 1).—Francesco Torraca writes upon "The Notary Giacomo da Lentini," of whom students of ancient literature knew very little till 1888. Dante cited without naming him in the "De Vulgari eloquentia." He has mentioned him, together with Guittone d'Arezzo and Bonagiunta da Lucca, in Canto xxiv. of the "Purgatorio." Giacomo has given us his name, his profession, and the name of his native country in his verse, but nothing more was known of him till the Professor Albino Zenatti discovered in the ponderous tomes of Böhmer and Huillard-Breholles, published respectively in 1870 and 1859, two documents written by Giacomo, as

Notary and Secretary of Frederic II. One was dated in March 1233, from the neighbourhood of Policoro, where Frederic, preparing himself to punish the rebels of Messina and other places in Sicily, had gathered together the prelates, counts, barons, knights of the realm, and the soldiers that each of them had to furnish. This document was the gift which the Emperor made to his son, Conrad, of the city of Gaeta and the feudal parishes of the Abruzzi. The second paper, dated from Catania in June of the same year, confirms to the Abbot and monks of S. Salvatore the privileges granted to their monastery by Henry VI. of Normandy and Costanza. Giacomo seems to have been one of the principal notaries of the Imperial Court, and therefore in strict official relations with the Capuan poet (P. della Vigna), hence he came to be described simply as the notary. Signor Torraca cleverly puts together all the fragments of information that can be gleaned from Giacomo's poems and from Dante. "Around a Throne" is an article dealing in a bright way with Catherine II. of Russia—the Semiramis and Star of the North. This notable princess ruled with a perfect knowledge of her mission and a force of will and an energy which find no parallel in the story of any other queen. Its contrasts of light and shadow, its superficiality of Western culture, and its deep foundation of Asiatic barbarism, its Sardanapalus-like refinement, and its repulsive coarseness, make the history of Catherine a fragmentary, yet faithful, image, instructive and romantically attractive of the immense labour of transformation by which, through the work of Peter the Great and Catherine, Russia has become a European power.

(October 15).—Fanny Z. Salazar gives a good account of "The City of Pullman." She says she has seen nothing more truly American in the United States than this industrial city, founded by a capitalist for his own workpeople. It represents in its inner development, as in its origin, the evolution of the idea of an American in a field of progress absolutely new. The writer traces the growth of the Pullman business, which now has a recognised value of sixty million dollars. When Mr. Pullman began to think of sleeping-cars is not quite clear, but the problem arose when the long railway lines of America were constructed. Young Pullman began to think of a sleeping car, and spoke about it to his friends, but his first serious plan arose during a night journey between Buffalo and Westfield. He made his early experiments in 1856. Four years later the first workshop was started, and from this tiny germ the work has grown to its present vast proportions. The Company uses 51,234,300 square feet of wood and 85,000 tons of iron in a year, and employs 15,441 men and women. Wages amount to 2,934,605 dollars. Of the 2500 cars 650 are provided with a buffet. In one twelve month the Pullman carriages were used by 5,279,320 passengers, served with 4,500,000 meals. Many details are given as to the workshops and Mr. Pullman's princely provision for the comfort and general well-being of his workpeople.

(November 1).—Adolfo Venturi deals with the large gallery in the Palace of Art at Modena. Its treasures have been for fourteen years heaped up at the Institute of Fine Arts among plaster casts in the gloom of a sepulchre. By the united help of town and Government a new home has been found for them, where they are arranged in simple order and shown in a good light. Medals and other valuable curios are also gathered together here. Some interesting details are given as to the history of the collection and its chief treasures.

(November 15).—Signor Lioy's article on "Animal Pantomimes" is a study in natural history which is both fresh and entertaining. As in all dramas between rivals, the amorous comedy finishes almost invariably in tragedy. Signor Bricchetti gives his personal observations of Harrar, its people, and the trade with their country. He says it is the greatest commercial centre in East Africa, where the richest products of the world are gathered for sale. The people seem to be a fusion of Amharis, Gallas, and Somalis, and their language reveals its remote descent from the Ethiopic stock. The inhabitants of Harrar are fanatic Muhsulmans imbued with the most rigid principles which they observe to the letter. The writer holds that if one-third of the Italian money spent at Massowa had been devoted to opening up Harrar the country

would have become a little India for Italy and the nucleus of a great India.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REGISTER (September, October).—These are the first two numbers of a "Monthly Gazette of the Patriotic-Hereditary Societies of the United States of America." It is the only monthly magazine in the United States devoted exclusively to American history, and to the curiosities, autographs, antiquities, rare portraits, and unprinted literature of the country. These two numbers are full of out-of-the-way matter. There is a very readable paper on "The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities," which is exquisitely illustrated. Some data of the Hillegas family, who gave the United States its first Treasurer, an interesting paper on "The Daughters of Liberty," "Some Stories of Colonial Families," and other bright articles are given in the September number. A letter of Washington's is reproduced in the autograph department. Accounts of celebrations and proceedings, and many interesting notes and queries are also given. The October number has some excellent papers of the same nature.

METHODIST REVIEW (September–October).—Dr. Kelley has given us a first rate number, which deals trenchantly with some of the chief problems of the time. Dr. Wilson's article on "The Methodist Episcopal Church in her relation to the negro in the South," shows how much his Church has done for the black man. In 1864 there were 18,139 negro members, now there are 247,439. The white membership on what used to be slave territory has grown from 87,804 in 1866, to 265,188 in 1892. A hundred thousand pupils have been trained in its schools for freedmen. Dr. Wilson does "not hesitate at all to say that the greatest question before this country to-day is the negro question—a question that is greater even than the temperance question, about which so much is said and so little done. We will probably survive as a nation even if we continue our present policy with reference to this latter question, though we will compromise every principle of Christian integrity and honour in so doing. But we affirm it to be as absolutely certain as any future event can be, if we accredit the alarming statistics we are about to submit, that unless the coloured people of this country are better qualified for citizenship than they are now we will be among the republics that were in less than two centuries to come." The black population increases much more rapidly than the white and bids fair actually to outnumber them in little more than a century. Dr. Hoss and Bishop Haygood are quoted to the effect that three hundred white women in the South were in three months brutally assaulted by coloured men. "The Southern people are taking the law in their own hand, much to the exasperation of even the more intelligent and better-thinking blacks. These, while they denounce the conduct of their race, claim that they are as much entitled to a fair and impartial trial, before a jury of their countrymen, as are the criminal classes among the whites."

(November–December).—Dr. Dorchester gives valuable statistics as to "The Religious Situation in New England." In forty years the Roman Catholics have an increase of 1,267,000, and in twenty years of 703,000. This is accounted for by the fact that five-eighths of all the immigrants into the New England States are Papists. The Roman Catholic Church has really lost heavily by the transfer of her people from the Old World to the New. During the last fifty or sixty years not far from a million persons have lapsed from her in New England, or at any rate ceased to be open adherents. There is a good note on "Denominational Comity in Foreign Mission Fields." Bishop Thoburn maintains that thousands have been gathered in who would have remained heathen if the agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church in India had not pursued their work among "depressed classes" with some freedom from mere territorial divisions.

THE METHODIST REVIEW (September–October).—This is the first number in the new series of the review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. It has an attractive cover, and is printed in specially good type. The editor has been fortunate enough to secure papers from such men as Dr. Gilder, of

the *Century*, Dr. Noah Davis, and Bishop Hendrix. Dr. Tigert indulges the hope that "the day is not far distant when the Review will make the literary reputation of its contributors; when the admission of any article to its pages will be a sufficient advance guarantee of its superlative excellence, both of matter and of form." The Review has had a chequered history. Its first number was published in January 1847 under the editorship of Dr. Bascom, President of Transylvania University. We learn in 1858 that there had been a loss of some eight thousand dollars during the previous four years. The publication was stopped in 1861, and was not resumed till January 1879, when Dr. Hinton was appointed managing editor. We hope that that this greatly improved series will secure wide support and will soon be established on a firm basis.

(November-December).—This number marks a distinct advance in the character of this Review. It articles are vigorous and well up to date. Mrs. Smith gives a pleasant sketch of "The Virginia Woman of To-day." We are glad to note that the editor secured more than three hundred new subscribers at the five Conferences which he has recently visited, and that two thousand copies of the present number have been printed.

CANADIAN METHODIST REVIEW (September-October) has some capital notices of books and periodicals. "The Itinerants' Round Table" is a valuable section; the little paper by G. C. Workman on "Errors of Pronunciation" is especially good. The main articles deal with some very important theological questions.

CENTURY MAGAZINE (October, November, December).—Mrs. Van Rensselaer's "Churches of Provence," in the November *Century*, introduces the reader to some marvels of art in the Old Roman Provincia. The tourist who steams down the Rhone from Lyons to Avignon finds the shores everywhere as beautiful as those of the Rhine and toward the South much more wildly picturesque: "And they bear no ugly modern towns, hotels, or villas, and no half-plausible restorations of ancient church or castle, but a various multitude of sunburned, crumbling churchee, ruined castles, and quaint and curious little yellow towns, stretched upon narrow ledges against the steep cliffs, or so compactly built on naked, spiky hilltops that one cannot tell what is native rock and what is mason's handiwork." The Christmas number is very attractive. Some of the illustrations of the "Life of Napoleon" stand out almost like sculptured figures. Mr. Palmer's "Old Maryland Homes and Ways" deserves special note.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (October, November, December).—Lord Weeks' papers in *Harper* for October and November help one to realise the actual conditions of life in India in a pleasant way. They are beautifully illustrated. The stories in the Christmas number are specially good, and Poulteney Biglow's papers in this and the previous number are of special interest.

ST. NICHOLAS (October, November, December).—The children's magazine grows more attractive. "Fighting a Fire" is a notable paper in the Christmas number from which all readers will understand the work of our Fire Brigades better. "A Boy of the First Empire" will teach little folk a good deal about France in the days of Napoleon.

Cornhill has had a good year. Mr. Norris has not done anything that we like better than "Matthew Austin." The "Character Notes" almost rank as fine art. "Bank of England Notes" is a good specimen of the short papers for which *Cornhill* has such a high reputation. Mr. Payn's "Gleams of Memory" have a healthy optimism and a pleasant humour which are very attractive.

The charm of *Household Words* lies in its short articles and its "Odds and Ends." There is fun enough here for a month, and much valuable information besides. Some of the stories are bright and lively; others are too sensational for our taste.

The Rev. Charles Bullock's Christmas numbers of *Fireside* and *Home Words* are very attractive—full of good reading.

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