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2. *The Partition of Africa.* By J. SCOTT KELTIE, Assistant Secretary to the Royal Geographical Society, Editor of "The Statesman's Year-Book," &c. With Twenty-four Maps. Second Edition. London: Edward Stanford, 26 and 27, Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, S.W. 1895.

3. *South Africa (the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, South African Republic, and all other Territories South of the Zambezi).* By GEORGE M. THEAL, of the Cape Colonial Civil Service. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square. 1894.

4. *Africa:* Vol. I., *North Africa.* Vol. II., *South Africa.* By A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S., Author of "Asia," "Eastern Geography," &c. Maps and Illustrations. London:

Edward Stanford. 1895. (Stanford's Compendium of Geography and Travel: New Issue).

5. *Rhodesia of To-day (Matabeleland and Mashonaland).* By E. F. KNIGHT. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.

6. *Africa Rediviva, or, The Occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries.* By R. N. CUST, LL.D. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

THE veil that has hung for so many ages over the Dark Continent is lifted at last. Fifty years ago cartographers still left nearly all but a narrow fringe of the African map a comparative blank. The sources of the Nile were as yet unknown; of the system of fresh-water lakes that feed it there was scarcely so much as the vaguest stream-trace; and of the other great rivers, the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambezi, only glimpses had been caught within a short distance of the sea. Now, the great waterways of the Continent, with their tributary streams, are laid bare; the orography of the regions drained by them is understood; the geological strata are duly tabulated, with the fauna and flora that subsist upon them. A vast congeries of nations has been discovered, some of them endowed with a virile energy that will make the problem of their civilization one of the most important questions of the future. And, what is better, the missionary has kept pace with the explorer and the merchant—often, indeed, preceding them—and has given a generally wise and always philanthropic direction to the dealings of the white man with his swarthy brethren. Last of all, the Powers of Europe have appeared upon the stage, and have mapped out among themselves vast spheres of influence, which they hope to occupy for the good of the native populations, as well as of their own people. The partition of Africa is now practically an accomplished fact. The completion of the task suggests a survey of the possessions, or, rather, appropriations, secured by each Power, and an estimate of the value of its

acquisitions, together with a consideration of the influence thus brought to bear upon the subject races, and on the European nationalities themselves.

In order to bring our task within reasonable compass, it will be needful to avail ourselves of a line of division between the northern and southern halves of Africa that is recognised by geographers.* From Old Calabar, in the Gulf of Guinea, it runs to Cape Guardafui, the furthest outwork of the Gulf of Aden. Physically and ethnologically, this line marks off, with some distinctness, two strongly contrasted portions of the Continent. The northern half runs longitudinally from east to west; the southern from north to south. The northern is of nearly uniform width; the southern tapers to a point. The area of the former is about six and a half millions of square miles, and that of the latter four millions; although the greater extent of the Sahara desert in the one, as compared with the Kalahari wilderness in the other, brings the habitable areas to about an equality. The mean altitudes of the two regions are different, 1,300 feet in the northern as against 3,000 feet in the southern, above the sea-level.

The hydrography of the two portions is equally distinct. All the great lakes are within the southern half, while the only corresponding feature in the north is the shallow depression of Lake Chad. Of the four great rivers, two are wholly within the southern area, the Zambezi and the Congo, the latter draining the largest basin in the world, except the Amazon. The Nile is divided between the two, while the Niger alone belongs wholly to the north. The contrast in ethnical relations is as great. Three distinct and often antagonistic racial elements are found in the north—the Hamitic Berbers, Egyptians, and Ethiopians; the Semitic Arabs and Abyssinians; and the pure and mixed Negro populations of the Soudan. Of these three, the last is divided into innumerable groups, speaking hundreds of

* The reader will be able to follow the course of this article with greater ease, if he has at hand a *recent* map, showing the political changes that have taken place.

languages, while the former two, with the exception of the Abyssinians, are fanatical Mohammedans. In the south, excluding the small Hottentot and Bushman groups, and the Asiatic elements introduced by Europeans, the population belongs entirely to the Bantu stock, of Negroid type, and speaking languages in origin and structure absolutely homogeneous.

Of the various divisions in the northern half of Africa, Morocco and Liberia are the only two that are independent. As an article on Morocco appeared in this REVIEW in October, 1894, there is no need to refer to it further than to say that its power is tottering, and the sooner it falls the better. Its government is a Moslem tyranny of the worst possible type. Liberia will be referred to a little later.

Within the same region of the Atlas Mountains as Morocco, and, like it, bordered on the south by the Sahara, and on the north by the Mediterranean, lies Algeria, the most important of the French possessions in North Africa. Its conquest occupied seventeen years (1830-1847). It was constituted a French colony in 1834, and has come to be regarded as an African France, being represented in the National Assembly by three senators and six deputies. It occupies an area of 185,000 square miles, and has a population of four millions, or double that of 1830. A great work has been done here by France. Marshes have been drained, malaria has been combated by extensive plantations, and arid plateaux have been irrigated or watered by artesian wells. The dark side of the picture is the financial one, a heavy military expenditure swallowing up surplus income. A peace footing of 70,000 men of all arms is required to overawe the Mohammedan population.

The connection of France with Tunis is more recent, its allegiance to Turkey having come to an end in 1881. The government is still in the form of a protectorate. The advantages of Tunis over Algeria are great. A more diversified seaboard makes communication easier, the soil is more fertile, and the population less fanatical.

The Sahara, also nominally French, divides these

territories with Tripoli and Egypt from the Soudan, that vast belt of territory extending from the Guinea Coast to Abyssinia, and from the dividing line above mentioned, to the parallel of Khartoum (*i.e.*, from 5 to 15 degrees north lat.). This immense region, 3,500 miles long by 600 broad, and containing a population, mostly black, of 80 millions, may now be politically divided into Western, Middle and Eastern; or French, English, and Egyptian Soudan. A line from Cape Blanco to Timbuctoo, and thence along the banks of the Upper Niger as far as Say, forms the northern limit of French Soudan, and an irregular line from thence southward to the Guinea Coast, marks it off from the British Soudan, nearly identical with the Niger Protectorate. The way in which the French territory dovetails with those of other Powers between these two extreme points is remarkable. Following the coast line from Cape Blanco, the order of the successive portions is Senegal (Fr.), Gambia (Br.), Senegal again (Fr.), Guinea (Port.), Guinea (Fr.), Sierra Leone (Br.), Liberia (Free), Ivory Coast (Fr.), Gold Coast* (Br.), Togo Land (German), Dahomey (Fr.), Lagos (Br.). It will be seen that the French territory abuts five times upon the coast, while our own abuts four times, and the other territories once each. The total length of the French coast-line does not greatly exceed our own. But there is this peculiarity about the French portions, that, with the exception of Dahomey, they are all connected inland with the French territory on the banks of the Gambia and the Upper Niger. They are, therefore, part and parcel of one great French dominion, which forms an effectual barrier against the expansion of all the other European settlements. The old British Crown colonies have thus become mere political enclaves within the French domain, and are confined chiefly to the malarious coast-lands. Mr. Chamberlain has recently announced his intention to do all

* Another Ashantee war appears to be impending; but here, as elsewhere of late, timely submission may avert it or speedily bring it to an end. It is to be hoped the obstinate King will not receive encouragement in rebellion from European sources.

in his power to develop trade in these colonies with their respective "hinterlands," to borrow the German term for inland districts lying at the back of appropriated coast-lands. But in the case of these colonies, the hinterlands will be restricted to their own inland districts. Trade with the French dominion will be subject to the same disadvantages as it is everywhere else, disadvantages which amount to practical exclusion.

The total area of French possessions in North Africa is 2½ millions of square miles, two-thirds of which belong to the Sahara. The estimated population is 16 millions. It is hard to see the value of this vast "cantle" to its proprietors. Colonists are few, and they do not come to stay. Of Senegal, for instance, the mineral resources are nil; and its exports, consisting of gum, ground-nuts, india-rubber, hides and wood, are not much more than half the value of its imports, in the shape of food, drink (including Hamburg gin), English calico, and American cotton. The cause of French ascendency in the Western Soudan is traceable, not to greater activity in exploration* or commerce, but to a more continuous policy on the part of the French Government than has obtained in connection with our own—a feature that will meet us again.

Of the smaller territories just referred to, Liberia and Sierra Leone are the most interesting, as settlements of freed negroes. Financially, both are paying their way; though the public debt of the former (only £100,000) has paid no interest since 1874. In Liberia, the population is mainly recruited by fresh arrivals (from America): left to themselves, the inhabitants would soon be absorbed by the surrounding natives. As an experiment in political independence, this state is disappointing, being not much more than a caricature of civilization. In Sierra Leone,

* André Brue (1697) set the example, but it was well followed a century later by Mungo Park and Major Laing. The travels of René Caillié, a little later, were succeeded by those of Clapperton, Laird, and the brothers Lander, and those of Dr. Barth, a German, but as an explorer working under British auspices.

where self-government has not been so absolute, greater success has been obtained. But its population is predominantly Christian and Protestant, whereas that of Liberia is largely Mohammedan.

The only enterprise that can compare with the French in North-West Africa, is that of the British Royal Niger Company, with its appendages of the Lagos Colony, having the Yoruba in the rear, of the Niger Coast Protectorate or Oil Rivers Settlement, and of the Bornu Negro Sultanate, bounded eastward by Lake Chad. The total of this vast territory amounts to 568,000 square miles, with a population of 17 millions. The waiting policy of the British Government nearly lost the advantages which private enterprise had here secured. Warned, however, by what was going on elsewhere, our authorities, early in the eighties, adopted a forward movement, and before the Berlin Conference sat in 1884, secured British ascendency over the whole of the region watered by the Lower Niger.

Some idea of the amount of activity that has been going on will be gathered from the fact that as many as three hundred treaties have been made with various kings and chiefs. The Royal Niger Company commands a force of a thousand natives, and administers its estate on strictly business principles. Starting with a capital of a million, its financial position is sound, while its commercial transactions tend to the material and moral improvement of the native populations. Trade is practically free, except for arms and spirits, while legitimate dealings, though not everywhere successful as yet in uprooting the slave-trade, are steadily making it unprofitable. The only other European possession in North-West Africa is the Spanish Protectorate, lying between Morocco and Senegambia. It covers 150,000 square miles, mostly sand.*

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* Ceuta and Tangier, on the Morocco coast, are Spain's only other mainland possessions. Mr. Laird Clowes has proposed (*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1895) our exchanging Gibraltar for them! The Canary Islands are probably Spain's most valuable dependencies. France is said to be intriguing for them, for obvious reasons.

The eastern half of North Africa takes in the remainder of the Great Desert, the Egyptian Soudan, Abyssinia and Nubia, Egypt, and part of the Italian Protectorate on the east coast, which territory our dividing line nearly bisects.

The Italian possessions are not much more valuable on the east coast than the Spanish on the west. They extend over a hot sandy region of some 355,000 square miles, occupied by about a million and a half of people. Even out of this territory France takes a slice at Tanjurrah, at the junction of the Red Sea with the Gulf of Aden, while Britain takes a much larger one in Somaliland on the southern shores of the latter. It is to her connection with Abyssinia that Italy must look to recoup herself for her outlay. Whether she will persuade the bold mountaineers of that country that her protection and her commercial undertakings will be of any value to them, remains to be seen. But as replacing the mixed mass of Arabs, Turks and Egyptians, who formerly pent up the Abyssinians in their mountain fastnesses, and prevented intercourse with the outer world, Italy is doing good service. The rivalry of France will be her most serious obstacle. A curious rumour, however, has gained currency, that Russia is interesting herself in Abyssinia, with what view it is hard to divine.

The relations of our own country with Egypt open up too wide a subject to be discussed here. It is enough to say that the marked progress made during the period of British occupation is absolutely dependent on its continuance. The warding-off of the perils arising from the Mahdist revolt in the Egyptian Soudan—a cloud always lowering on the horizon of Egypt—is contingent on the same thing. That guaranteed, there is reason to believe that this Mohammedan fanaticism will soon wear itself out. "The magic of the name is gone, and there are symptoms that the sham theocracy, raised on the wreck of the Egytian power in East Soudan, is already hastening to its dissolution."* Tripoli,

* Keane's *Africa*, vol. i., p. 419.

the only remaining Turkish possession in North Africa, is at present unaffected by recent changes : the greater part of it resembles the Sahara.

Returning now to the West Coast and proceeding southwards, we find that a line drawn from the mouth of the Old Calabar River in a north-easterly direction to the southernmost point of Lake Chad, divides the British Niger Co.'s possessions from those of the German Cameroon, a territory named from the Cameroon mountains (13,000 feet high). With this line as an hypotenuse, the last-named territory resembles a right-angled triangle, whose base and perpendicular divide it from the French Congo.

As the French Congo completes the list of the Gallic possessions on the African mainland, * we will speak of it at once, before treating of the Cameroons. France took possession of the estuary of the Gaboon in 1842, and, twenty years later, of the Ogové. Fifteen years after that, a young Italian in the French naval service, De Brazza by name, commenced a course of exploration which brought him into competition and contact with Stanley, then exploring the Congo. Both were intent on annexation, the one in the interest of France, and the other of the King of the Belgians. The result was the beginning of the great international scramble, of which we shall have to speak presently. So far as France was concerned, the Congo river thus became her chief southern limit. Including Bagirmi, a Mohammedan State which she has managed to appropriate south-west of Lake Chad,† France has acquired an area here of 560,000 square miles, occupied by a population of ten millions. The region is tropical, like that of all the surrounding territories, and lies entirely within the zone of the greatest rainfall.

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* Since the capture of its one important city, Antananarivo, on Sept. 30, 1895, Madagascar must be regarded as a French possession—one more likely to be profitable to her than any on the Continent itself. The Mozambique channel is declared neutral in time of war.

† By doing this, France has secured a footing on the shores of Lake Chad on both sides, so connecting her Congo possessions with those of the Soudan. Lake Chad will evidently play an important part in the future development both of the Soudan and of the regions north and south of it.

Owing to this, there is little immunity from sickness, either by reason of altitude or of apparently salubrious plains and uplands. The country is in a backward state. Nearly all the trade is with England and Germany, less than £50,000 representing the combined imports from and exports to France. The annual income is about £60,000, and the expenditure £212,000. There is neither postal nor telegraph service, nor any roads except native tracks. The white population is about 300, none of them settlers. The prospects of the colony are not bright. The want of a definite boundary toward the north-east is the occasion of some anxiety, owing to the desire of France to push forward to the banks of the Upper Nile. This project, if carried out, would impede the development of our own East African Protectorate, and tend to give France an influence on the course of the great river, to the prejudice of Egypt. This movement on her part will, therefore, have to be carefully watched.

De Brazza's activity upon the Congo (from 1879 to 1882) aroused the slumbering energies of Portugal, whose early connection with the African coast gave her some right to a share in the settlement that was taking place. Her claims were, however, greatly in excess of what was due to her from anything she had accomplished during four centuries of nominal occupation. Protracted negotiations led to the acknowledgment of Portugal's claim to a region in shape like an irregular parallelogram, and extending from the mouth of the Congo to that of the Great Fish River, and a small portion north of the Congo mouth.

While these negotiations were going on, another Power stepped to the front. The great Franco-German war had closed, and Germany began to turn her thoughts to colonization. The feeling was widespread, and soon showed itself in the quickened enterprise of German traders on the West African coast. The initiation of a new policy was at first, however, a secret locked up within Prince Bismarck's breast. No English statesman suspected his design when, early in 1884, he enquired whether England could

undertake to protect German settlers in Damaraland and Namaqualand, between the Portuguese Angola and the British Cape Colony. But before our representatives were fully alive to what was going on, on the 7th of August, 1884, the German flag was hoisted over Angra Pequeña in token of the annexation of the coast-line and 26 geographical miles inland, between the Orange River and 26° south latitude. A few days later, the line was extended to the Portuguese boundary.

Meanwhile, similar operations had been going on farther north. On the 5th of July, 1884, Dr. Nachtigal hoisted the German flag at Bagida, on the Gold Coast, and Togoland was declared a German Protectorate. This accomplished, he steamed to the Cameroon, where the ground had been prepared for him, and hoisted the flag there. On being reproached by Earl Granville with want of frankness, Bismarck replied that, had he informed the British Government of his designs, they would have done their best to forestall him.

The German Cameroon can hardly hope to develop a flourishing trade, except in the deadly article of ardent spirits, which have so far constituted two-thirds of the imports. For German immigration there is no field, the country being absolutely unsuited to Europeans. Indeed, there were only about 250 Germans in the colony in 1894. The area is nearly 200,000 square miles, and the native population 4½ millions. Of Damaraland and Namaqualand much the same must be said. In 1819, Moffat described it as "a country yielding much sand and stones, with a scattered population baked like toast in a broiling sun." A limited number of European stock-breeders might, however, be settled on the fine grazing grounds of the Damaraland plateau. An important circumstance connected with this annexation was the retention by the British of Walvisch Bay, the only natural outlet for a region 400,000 miles in extent, and a strategical point of vital importance to the whole of our future South African empire. The population of this vast area hardly exceeds 200,000.

The hoisting of the German flag at Angra Pequeña in 1884, was the signal for the great international scramble which immediately ensued. It was seen to be time to summon an International Conference, in order to consider the conditions to be observed by individual Powers in relation to the territories they were acquiring. Accordingly, on the 15th of November in the same year, the Berlin Conference met. Except Switzerland, every country in Europe sent representatives to it, and so did the United States. The principles laid down by the Conference included freedom of trade to all nations within the region watered by the Congo, from $2\frac{1}{2}°$ north lat. to 8° south lat. The northern line was prolonged eastward to the Indian Ocean, and the southern was carried down to the mouth of the Zambezi. Such duties only were to be levied as would compensate expenditure in the interests of trade; all rivers were to be free to all nations. Another principle was that the Powers were to combine to suppress slavery and the slave-trade. As to navigation, similar conditions were applied to the Niger and its tributaries as to the Congo, although the former lay outside the free-trade zone. The basins of both rivers were to be considered as neutral, under all circumstances, in time of war. Other rules were, that occupation on the coast of Africa, to be valid, must be effective; and that any new annexation must be formally notified to the Powers.

The creation of the Congo Free State belongs to the period now under review. It would be a mistake, however, to regard it as the direct work of the Berlin Conference. It was the result of private negotiations between the Powers, commenced before the Conference met, but for which the session of the Conference gave additional opportunity. What had previously been a private association thus developed into the Congo Free State, under the personal sovereignty of the King of the Belgians, who from the first had, of all crowned heads, taken the lead in encouraging African research.

The Congo Free State lies in the very heart of Southern

Africa, as we have defined it, or of Central Africa, as it is commonly called. All the Powers that have rule in South Africa are at one point or another conterminous with the Congo Free State, hemming it in on all sides, except at the mouth of the Congo, which forms its outlet to the Atlantic Ocean. Since its establishment its history has been one of great achievements.

"On few parts of the Congo is it any longer dangerous for a white man to travel alone. On stretches where ferocious cannibals tried to intercept Stanley's party for culinary purposes, thirty-five steamers puff so familiarly as scarcely to arouse the interest of the blasés barbarians. . . . The peace is kept—and sometimes broken—by a force of between three and four thousand native Africans, under eighty European officers. . . . The energy of the State officials has been mainly expended in exploration. In ten years almost every tributary of the river has been traced, and nearly 6,000 miles of waterway have been navigated."*

The business side of the enterprise is not so encouraging. The Congo officials have proved themselves sadly unfit as pioneers of civilization. There have been many abuses. On the Upper Congo the natives have been treated as no better than slaves, and the Arabs who have found their way into the State have not been conciliated. How some members of European nationalities have been handled will be familiar to the readers of daily newspapers in connection with the Stokes affair.† The commerce of the State is also as yet slender. The annual exchanges are less than a million sterling, the greater part of the imports coming, not from Belgium, but from Holland. At present the expenditure greatly exceeds the income, which is largely subsidised by King Leopold and the Belgian Government. Railways are essential to development. Two are already projected, one on each bank of the river, that on the left being already begun. These will connect the coast with the thousands of

* Brown's *Africa*, vol. iv., pp. 182, 183.

† Since the above was written, the Congo State has paid the British Government 150,000 dollars as compensation on this account. A graver question than compensation is also being dealt with.

miles of navigable river above the Livingstone Falls. The area of the Congo Free State is 900,000 square miles; and the population, mostly Bantus, far superior in physical and mental qualities to the negroes of Upper Guinea and the Soudan, numbers sixteen millions. The future of this interesting State will be watched with solicitude by all. After Belgium—in case a change of owners should become necessary—the right of pre-emption is claimed by France. Whether the claim would be recognised by the Powers is a matter for international jurists.

If we cross the Congo State through the chain of lakes that forms its eastern boundary, we enter German East Africa, whose delimitation went on *pari passu* with its neighbour's. The process described in connection with German West Africa was repeated here. In the autumn of 1884 an "assurance" was given by Prince Bismarck that "Germany was not endeavouring to obtain a protectorate over Zanzibar." A secret expedition was organised. Dr. Peters, Count Pfeil, and Dr. Jühlke made their way in disguise to Trieste and thence to Zanzibar, which they reached on the 4th of November. Leaving the coast a week later they made treaties with native chiefs, regardless of the rights, real or supposed, of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In February, 1885, about the time the Berlin Conference closed its sessions, the German Emperor issued a document extending his protection over 60,000 miles of newly acquired territory. In August an ultimatum was presented to the Sultan, in the shape of a German squadron, demanding recognition of the German claims, and these being conceded, annexation proceeded at a rapid rate. Great Britain, whose influence up to this time had been almost omnipotent at Zanzibar, seemed in danger of being shut out from East Africa altogether. An insurrection against the authority of the Germans, however, on the part of the Arabs and half-castes, made the assistance of the English desirable, and helped to bring about amicable arrangements between the two Powers. It was in connection with these that the restoration of Heligoland to Germany took place.

The total area of German East Africa is estimated at 350,000 square miles, but the population does not exceed three millions. Only a small part of this vast domain is actually administered by the Germans, but during the short period of its occupation their activity has been remarkable. All the leading coast towns have been fortified. Roads have been constructed and houses built. Large herds of cattle have been accumulated, plantations cultivated, buoys laid down, and lighthouses erected, and the streets of the towns are lit at nights. The trade of the country has steadily increased, the exchanges amounting in value to £665,000 in 1894. But the extent of land capable of tillage and pasturage is very small, not exceeding a fifth of the whole, and most of it is in a decidedly insalubrious climate. The hope that this region can ever become a home for German settlers must therefore be abandoned.

Between German East Africa and the British possessions in the south, lies Portuguese East Africa. The prospects of Portugal on either side of the Continent are not much better than in Europe.

"Her position," says Dr. Brown, "is peculiar, if not pathetic. In South-east Africa there is rottenness and decay, in Europe a bankrupt treasury. Yet she feeds an inflammable patriotism by telling over and over again, like so many beads, the names of the dim, illustrious past, Diaz, Da Gama, and the 'Empire of Monomotapa.' Her territorial claims baffle diplomacy, for they stand upon romance. 'Against an exploration they set an epic: they will quote Camoens to dispose of a concession from a native chief.'"*

"Even in Portugal, impartial observers are beginning to see that the Portuguese rule is a curse to the natives themselves as well as a burden to the mother-country."†

As a Portuguese colony, there is no better future for the Mozambique in the east than for Angola in the west. Yet the uplands are healthy and suitable for European settlements. In 1891 informal negotiations were opened by the Lisbon Government for the cession of Delagoa Bay to

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* Brown's *Africa*, vol. iv., p. 243.
† Keane's *Africa*, vol. ii., p. 448.

England, which country, according to a previous agreement, has the preferential right of purchase. The area of Portuguese East Africa is 620,000 square miles and its population one and a half million. The expenditure in 1894 was £520,000, just double the revenue; and the exports, chiefly to this country, barely reached £12,000.

We come now to the possessions of Great Britain in the southern half of the Dark Continent. The history of them is one of which Englishmen may well be proud, whether we regard the work of our explorers, scientists and missionaries, or that of our traders, soldiers, and statesmen. There have been blunders, no doubt; but they have been the blunders of a people generally intent on the benefit of those among whom they have come to dwell. One great difference between the British advance and that of other nations is, that with us private enterprise has taken the lead and Government activity has followed, while with others the process has generally been the reverse.

Of the British holdings in Africa we have already spoken of five, belonging to the north (not counting Egypt). In South Africa there are ten, eight of them contiguous to each other and occupying the larger part of South Africa proper, while the remaining two, the British East African Chartered Company and the British Protectorate of East Africa, are separated from the rest by the German holding. These ten possessions are as various in their political character as they are in the size, shape, soil and climate of the lands over which they extend, or as the populations inhabiting them. Their very outline on the map suggests reflection, here widening, there contracting, here stretching more than halfway across the continent, there narrowing to an isthmus between two rival States, and bearing witness everywhere to the fluctuating uncertainty of the advance.

In the southern part of South Africa we find European dominion established in circumstances very different from those which have obtained in other parts of the continent. Europe is represented, not by a handful of traders, travellers, and soldiers, exploring, exploiting, and conquering, with a

view to the honour and profit of the mother-country, but by settlers who have come to stay. These have brought the elements of their own civilization with them, and sought to reproduce it in another land. The changing of masters has been accompanied by the influx of men of different nationalities, while the necessities of climate have led to the introduction of foreign elements. Misunderstandings between Government and settlers have caused the latter to push their way into the interior, and then wars have arisen with native tribes. The discovery of the resources of the country has occasioned a still greater influx of population. The constitution of the Government, in forms accordant with the wishes of a people too numerous to be regarded as an outlying dependency of a distant nation, has been a necessary consequence.

The colonies of South Africa have, in short, a history in many chapters, teaching lessons in colonization hardly to be learned elsewhere. Into the details of this history we cannot enter. It would include that of the Dutch East Indian Company, which first commenced a regular settlement at the Cape, as a half-way house to the East; the arrival of Huguenot settlers, and the introduction of negroes; the conflict of French with English during the Napoleonic wars, and the final cession to Britain in 1815. It would include two Hottentot wars, nine Kaffir wars, five Basuto wars, several Zulu wars; the annexation of the Orange Free State and the acknowledgment of its independence; the same twofold process twice repeated in the case of the South African Republic; the absorption of Griqualand West, the creation of British Bechuanaland, the annexation of Zululand; the grant of a charter to the British South African Company; and the introduction of a responsible government, first into Cape Colony, and then into Natal. For the details of the wonderful story we must refer our readers to the list of works at the head of this article. It will suffice here to sketch very briefly the present condition of the various settlements.

And, first, as to Cape Colony, the mother of all the South

African States. Since the introduction of responsible government, its progress has been rapid. Roads, bridges, and railways have multiplied, the latter alone reaching in 1894 a total length of 2,260 miles. Scarcely a hamlet remains unconnected by post and telegraph with all parts of South Africa, and with the rest of the world. The run of 6,000 miles is accomplished in splendid steamships in less than fifteen days, and is one of the pleasantest of voyages. With these facilities for the exchange of produce, new villages have been built and old ones enlarged. Education has been subsidised, sheep farming has become an important industry, and vintages have been encouraged. Including British Kaffraria and Basutoland, now incorporated with it, Cape Colony has a population of 1,800,000; one-third European and two-thirds coloured people. Of the latter, half are of the Bantu stock and half of mixed breeds—Asiatics, descendants of freed slaves, and Hottentots. All are subject to the same laws.

The products of this colony cannot be given separately. But the exports from the whole of the South African colonies in 1893 were valued at £13,500,000, of which £12,000,000 passed through the Cape, and the rest through Natal. Gold was represented by four and a half millions, diamonds by four, and copper by a quarter of a million. Agriculture contributes little, all that is grown being required at home. The bulk of the trade is with Great Britain. Against these tokens of the material prosperity of the last forty years must be set a public debt of twenty-six millions. Basutoland is occupied chiefly by a native population of 225,000. The only white people allowed to reside in it are officials, traders, and missionaries.

The circumstances of Natal are very different. A belt of land with tropical vegetation, favourable to the production of coffee, sugar, ginger, arrowroot, cotton, and tea, seemed to offer facilities for development into a valuable dependency. But the Bantus of this region declined to be utilised for the purposes of regular labour, and, the whites not being sufficiently acclimatized, planters turned to

India. In the wake of the Hindoo coolies thus imported there came many of the trading class, with whose simple habits Europeans could not compete. Hence Natal is more like a miniature India than an ordinary English colony. The franchise differs in principle from that of Cape Colony, not being extended to Bantus who have not embraced Christianity or who do not live in a civilized manner. The three elements cannot be fused into a homogeneous nationality. The proportions in 1891 were 46,000 Europeans, 41,000 Indians, and 455,000 Kaffirs. The public debt is seven millions.

The attempts to incorporate the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, or South African Republic, proved failures. However much we may regret this issue, the qualities displayed by the Boers in the wars for independence were such as to command respect. Their exclusive contact with the Aborigines, and their purely pastoral life, had, however, tended for a long time to keep them in an almost barbarous condition; while their system of "apprenticeship" was hardly distinguishable from slavery. But through the influx of Englishmen, and the influence of English education, they are being rapidly transformed. The later history of the State has been one of continual progress. Besides the agricultural and pastoral industries, there are valuable coalfields, and one or two diamond mines. The bulk of the diamond fields are in West Griqualand, and went with it to Cape Colony at the time of its annexation. The population is 780,000 Europeans and 130,000 coloured people. The Free State is without a public debt.

Very similar has been the history of the South African Republic, between the Vaal and the Limpopo rivers. But here the discovery of gold, four years after its final establishment as a Republic in 1885, wrought almost magical effects. The history of California and Australia was repeated. Johannesburg, the centre of the activity, sprang up in a few years from a collection of shanties into a city of handsome streets and substantial buildings. The revenue has advanced by leaps and bounds. The white population

now numbers 170,000, and the Bantus 650,000. Three-fourths of the former are now either English or English-speaking. Yet they can have no voice in the government until after a tedious process of naturalisation. The time cannot be far distant when the Dutch will admit the English to equal rights with themselves. The independence of the Republic will then soon cease to be anything more than nominal. Federation, however desirable, is hardly yet within sight. Mr. Chamberlain admitted as much at the banquet recently given in honour of the completion of the railway from Durban to Johannesburg, connecting the Natal and the Cape systems. A curious confirmation of this occurred still more recently in the premature close of the South African Railway Conference, summoned to consider the railway interests of the various States. A request was put forward by the representatives of the Cape for one-half of the Transvaal traffic to be allotted to their lines, a considerable reduction on present proportions. The Natal representatives declined this overture, and they and the Transvaal delegates withdrew.*

The formation of Bechuanaland into a Crown colony was the first step Britain took towards extending her empire northward. It was rendered necessary by the activity of the Germans on the west and the Boers on the east. The northern part of this territory was converted into a protectorate the same year (1885). To this portion belongs the domain of Khama, whose visit to this country has been exciting so much interest. It is satisfactory to know, that though his wish to remain under the immediate protection of the British Crown could not be granted, yet the main objects of his visit have been secured in reference to the exclusion of the liquor traffic, &c.

North and east of Bechuanaland, between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, lies another most important region—the territory now so well known as Matabeleland and Mashona-

* See the leading daily newspapers for Saturday, November 9th, 1895.

land.* Besides the Germans and Boers, the Portuguese had their eye on this region ; and the chief of the bloodthirsty Matabele, Lobengula, was also an important factor in the problem. By a treaty with him, in February, 1888, the British supremacy was secured, but his raids against the inoffensive Mashonas, in 1893, compelled the English to take up arms against him, and, after several fierce battles, his power was broken. The heroic stand of Wilson and his company—who in the presence of overwhelming numbers, were cut down to the last man—was connected with this short campaign. The total area is 100,000 square miles, with a scanty population of 200,000, a mere remnant left from half a century of Matabele desolations. Consisting for the most part of a high table land, on the whole well watered, the country is adapted to agriculture and to colonization. The discovery of gold in this region also has awakened the most glowing expectations. The administration is in the hands of the Chartered Company, who are entirely unfettered in their action. Nothing is wanting to the development of the country but men and money, and both are pouring in. Two millions of acres have been already appropriated, and a capital of a million has been subscribed for working purposes. Some of the dangers incident to a rapid settlement like this have recently been pointed out by Olive Schreiner in a Capetown paper. She fears lest the finest region in South Africa should be exploited in the interest of a few, instead of administered for the benefit of the many. Her statements hardly corroborate that of Mr. Keltie, that "the man who can land at Salisbury or Buluwayo with a few pounds in his pocket has a field before him if he is willing to work." Mr. Knight† leans in the same direction, laying the blame, not on the Company, but on the middleman.

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* On this interesting region see also an article in this REVIEW for January, 1894.

† *Rhodesia*, p. 111. The name Rhodesia is given to the whole of Zambezia, or rather to all of it under the control of the Chartered Company, as a tribute to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Premier of Cape Colony, whose statesmanship and determination secured this territory to Great Britain.

Meanwhile, at home, the gold fever rages ; and no wonder, with such testimonies as these : "Over an area of several hundred square miles gold is to be found in every stream. Here is what will prove the largest and richest goldfield that the world has ever seen." The gold reefs of South Africa have been estimated to contain deposits worth three hundred millions of money.

Side by side with the annexation of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, stirring events were taking place in the region north of the Zambezi, like the former the theatre of Livingstone's travels and labours. The history of this occupation was closely parallel to that just described, with the substitution of the slave-raiding chief Makanjila for Lobengula. At present everything is in a transition state, but there can be no doubt that the British Central African Protectorate will develop into a land of peace and settled industry.

"The land at the north end of Lake Nyassa is a veritable African Arcadia. You may walk for miles through banana plantations ; then you may emerge upon wide-stretching fields of maize and millet and cassava. All the oozy water-meadows are planted with rice ; but, above all, the great wealth of the country is in cattle. . . . The ordinary route to Lake Tanganyika leads you up through the lovely gorge of Fwambo, an exquisite bit of scenery. A beautiful stream dashes down in many cataracts and rapids through a deep gorge, between precipitous mountain sides, filled with magnificent trees—an ideal tropical forest, with its graceful oil-palms, its parasitic orchids, and trailing creepers."*

The area is nearly 300,000 square miles, and the population four millions. The total area under British administration in South Africa is nearly a million square miles, with a population of six millions.

British East Africa—wedged in between German East Africa and the Congo Free State on the south, and the Italian Protectorate on the north—is the last of the British territories on the southern half of the Continent. As the story of its early occupation has been already told in an article in this REVIEW (Jan., 1894) entitled "Captain Lugard

* Consul Johnston, quoted in Keane's *Africa*, vol. ii., pp. 407, 408.

in East Africa," we will not repeat it here. In the succeeding months of the same year, the final acceptance of Uganda, the most interesting part of this Protectorate, was determined by the unanimous voice of the country, and it became in June, 1894, an integral part of the Queen's dominions. An immense work has already been accomplished under the most adverse conditions, and the prospects are full of promise. The railway, so long admitted to be essential, from the coast to the lakes, is now being undertaken : a preliminary survey has been made, and a few miles actually laid down ; along the very route by which Bishop Hannington travelled to meet his martyr's fate. German territory intervenes between Tanganyika and the Victoria Nyanza, but Great Britain enjoys a right of way between the two lakes, thus rendering inland communication feasible for British purposes—when once the Egyptian Soudan has returned to its loyalty—between Cape Town and Durban in the extreme south, and Cairo and Alexandria in the north of Africa. British East Africa, including the Upper Nile basin, covers 670,000 square miles, and has a population of 6½ millions.

Before concluding this rapid survey of European dealings with Africa, it will be our duty to refer briefly to the missionary operations that are being carried on. Here great diversities will appear. The States lining the northern shores present a problem widely different from that of other regions. The Mohammedan faith is everywhere in the ascendant. The circumstances resemble those of Asia, rather than of Africa proper. Yet the debt owed by Europe to North Africa in ancient times—at the dawn of civilization, and again at the dawn of Christianity—makes its reconversion, however difficult, a matter of the most sympathetic interest. Missions here are almost confined to the principal cities, such as Cairo, Tunis and Algiers.

Following the coast-line as before, we find all the maritime parts, from Senegambia to the Cameroons thickly dotted with mission stations—the American and the English Wesleyan apparently taking the lead, although the English Church Missionary Society is well represented. The heroism

displayed in some parts of this field has been of the highest order, particularly in Sierra Leone, "the white man's grave." To its malarious shores one important society sends none but volunteers, and yet has never lacked men ready, as their comrades fell, to take their places in the "imminent, deadly breach."

In the Cameroons, German missions prevail, those of other nationalities having been displaced in their favour. The French Gaboon is sparsely dotted, but along the banks of the Lower Congo the activity is remarkable, the Americans coming to the front, as they do also in the poorly represented region of the Portuguese Angola.

South Africa may be said to be ablaze with the light of missionary beacons, which indeed have in many parts passed far beyond the missionary stage. Here the interior has been penetrated, as well as the coast. All societies are represented, German, Dutch, American, Scotch and English.* Among the latter, the Wesleyans take a high position, ramifying widely, as their system enables them to do, through every colony and protectorate. A separate Conference was organised for South Africa a few years ago, which now counts a membership of nearly sixty thousand. Five thousand more church members are still connected with missions worked under the English Wesleyan Conference.

The eastern regions north of the Zambezi have only recently been opened up. No mission dates back beyond half a century, but the activity now displayed is considerable, and the greatest results may be expected. As on the western coast, the sacrifice of missionary life has been enormous. The London Missionary Society is well represented here, as well as the English Universities Mission, and the other Church Missions. The Primitive Methodists and the United Methodist Free Churches have also stations.

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* Also the French, one of whose representatives in Basutoland, according to Dr. Cust, having meddled with tribal politics in a sense hostile to British interests, was decorated with the Legion of Honour for the following reason:—"Il a contribué par ses missions au developpement de l'influence française. Titres exceptionelles."—*Cust*, page 39.

In the German portion of East Africa, German missions are present in some force.

The work done by the European States in arresting the southward advance of Mohammedanism and the slave-trade* has been well backed up by the evangelising efforts of the Christian Churches. As to the reality of the transformation effected by these means, let one example be quoted, that of King Khama, of whom mention has been made above. The account of his life given in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1895, is inspiring; a truly Christian character being unfolded at every turn of the romantic story, and a deep impression created as to the reality and value of Christian missionary work.

Casting our eyes back once more over the whole length and breadth of the appropriated Continent, one of the first reflections arising in our minds will probably be, that in all the central and northern parts the rôle of Europeans will be that of merchants, instructors, and overlords, but not of settlers. This opinion finds confirmation in the judgment recently expressed before the Royal Geographical Society by Mr. Stanley and other high authorities. "Africa for the Africans" is the law enforced by the climate throughout the torrid zone, with the exception of a few elevated districts that we have noted as we passed on. In this, our own Niger and East African Protectorates are on the same level with those of other Powers. The task which the nations have thus set themselves is one of no ordinary difficulty. The taming of the Arab is almost as perplexing a problem as the intellectualising of the negro. The question of methods cannot but suggest itself. If some esteem the missionary method too gentle, others will account the military too stern. Something more than the *mot d' ordre* of a French commandant, or the "*Wie viel?*" of the German trader, will be needed to

* How much remains to be done may be inferred from the fact that the very ships which patrol the Eastern seas are coaled by slave labour in Zanzibar. At Kano in the Niger Protectorate, and many other towns in that neighbourhood, tribute is largely paid in slaves. In 1892, a caravan of 4,000 slaves arrived in Morocco from Timbuctoo, mostly boys and girls.

lift these populations from the depths of superstition and savagery. The spirit of European dealings is more important than the method. Great sacrifices have been made by the chief European governments to secure an established position among these races—and they have been made, doubtless, in the hope of future remunerative returns. This is but natural, and even just. But let not the whole transaction be regarded as one of mercantile or even imperial profit and loss. Let the interests of the subject nations be regarded as of equal if not even superior moment to those of the governing one, and the partition of Africa will mean the betterment of the world.

Colonization proper will be confined almost exclusively to Southern Africa, and to the British possessions which form so large a part of it. The problem presented to us is, therefore, much more complicated. There are but three alternatives possible to a colonizing Power—extermination, which here is out of the question; isolation, which is very difficult; and fusion, or miscegenation, which means for the superior race deterioration, wherever tried. The Americans have a sufficiently hard problem with one race—the negroes—eight millions of whom they would be glad to deport from their shores and locate in their old African homes.* We have, not one race, but many to deal with, some of them—the Zulus for instance—as prolific as Israel in Egypt. Their migratory habits may serve us a goodturn by making possible a gradual removal to regions too hot for Europeans, and so making room for our own increase. But this is a question for the future. The immediate prospects are bright, the chief danger being lest by interested speculators they should be represented as brighter than they actually are, and so another South Sea bubble should be blown and burst.

On the whole, we should be abundantly content with the part Providence has assigned us, and study how to play it well. We have been elbowed out of provinces we too easily

* Keane's *Africa*, vol. ii., p. 276.

regarded as our own. But it is better for us that things should be as they are. Other Powers will have less time and less disposition to envy us, while they are trying each its own experiments in its own way. Let us take up our share of the burden, and in Africa, as in Asia and America and Australia, endeavour to quit ourselves like men.

In the compilation of this article large use has been made of the works named at the head of it. *The Partition of Africa*, by Mr. J. S. Keltie, is in the main historical, extending back far beyond the period to which the term "partition" belongs. The first seven chapters bring us down from the earliest times to 1815; two more are devoted to the years of preparation, 1815—1876. The remaining fourteen describe the changes of the last twenty years. This work is absolutely necessary to anyone who would understand the relations of Europe to Africa since the partition. A series of coloured maps makes the various stages of the process visible to the eye.

Mr. Keane's two volumes are in the main geographical. The successive chapters describe the various countries in their physical, ethnological, and political features, and that with a fulness of illustration and a painstaking accuracy* that leaves nothing to be desired. Such a mass of information is brought together nowhere else within the compass of two volumes; this work will be a standard text-book for students. The maps are remarkably clear, the colouring not being so deep as to obscure the letterpress beneath it.

Dr. Robert Brown's four handsome quarto volumes combine the features of the other two, and tell at length the story of African exploration. The resources of an inventive and highly imaginative mind are laid under contribution, to invest the subject with all the interest of a fascinating romance. The value of the work is much enhanced by a rich profusion of illustrations. The reading of this work

* In the chapter on Madagascar, however, the Methodist missionaries are mentioned as dominant there for a time (p. 602), by mistake for those of the London Missionary Society (p. 622).

is like walking through an African picture-gallery. The British public has recently been pained to hear of the decease of Dr. Brown, who has fallen a victim to overwork at the age of 54. In early life, Dr. Brown was a traveller himself on an extensive scale, and of late years has held an important post in connection with the London Press.

To any who think of emigrating to the regions described by the name, we commend Mr. Knight's *Rhodesia.* It may not deter them from the enterprise, but it will show them some of its dangers and difficulties, and point out to them the qualifications they require.

Mr. Theal's *South Africa* is limited to the region south of the Zambezi, but deals with its subject in a conscientious manner. It is worthy of its place in the series ("The Story of the Nations") to which it belongs. Dr. Cust's *Africa Rediviva* is a survey and summary of African Missions, also illustrated by maps. It is the work of an honest observer, and well worth perusal, though some of its criticisms may give offence to lovers of missions.

ART. II.—THE GURNEYS OF EARLHAM.

The Gurneys of Earlham. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE, Author of "Memorials of a Quiet Life," "The Story of Two Noble Lives," &c. Two Vols. London: George Allen. 1895.

THE Gurneys of Earlham are justly celebrated as the leading Quaker family of England. No group of brothers and sisters played such a conspicuous part as theirs in the memorable crusade against slavery and in the noble effort to reclaim and relieve the prisoner, which have given glory to the nineteenth century. Elizabeth Fry, Samuel Gurney, Joseph John Gurney, and their brother-in-law, Thomas Fowell Buxton, have written their names

broad and deep on the religious and philanthropic life of our country. Biographies of these most prominent members of the Earlham family have long since been published, but no record of the united household has yet appeared. Mr. Hare's book will be an inspiration to family affection and family piety. The wonderful harmony and unity which bound the Earlham household together remained undisturbed amid all later divergencies of opinion, and formed a tower of strength for the brothers and sisters amid their sorrows and labours. Much of the material found in these volumes may be familiar to those who have studied the philanthropic history of the first half of this century, but it is a rare delight to be ushered into this lovely circle—every member of which was baptised with the Spirit of Him who went about doing good, and where pure and undefiled religion was arrayed in every grace of gentleness and love.

The Norfolk Gurneys claim descent from the barons of Gournay in Normandy. Some members of that ancient house fought in the Conqueror's army at Hastings, and received lands in England as the reward of their valour. The family had, however, fallen in the seventeenth century to the rank of Norwich tradesmen and tavern keepers. It began to emerge again in the days of George Fox. In 1683, John Gurney, citizen and cordwainer at Norwich, openly joined the Society of Friends, and with fifteen other Quakers was committed to the city gaol. During his sorrows his wife proved herself so capable a manager that, when John Gurney died in 1721, he was able to leave a considerable fortune to his four sons. The eldest of them had, in the year before his father's death, gained considerable reputation as "The Weavers' Advocate" before the House of Lords. Walpole offered him a seat in Parliament, but this he declined as incompatible with his religious opinions. He became a prominent merchant at Norwich, where he frequently entertained Horace Walpole. His woollen manufacture was subsequently turned into a banking business, out of which sprang the present Norwich Bank.

His second brother, Joseph, was also a prosperous Norwich merchant, who married Hannah Middleton, of Darlington, known as the "The fair Quakeress." Their eldest son added greatly to the wealth of the family by introducing into Norwich the manufacture of hand-spun yarn from the South of Ireland. He left a fortune of £100,000. It was his second son, John, born in 1750, who became the father of the Gurneys of Earlham. He had bright red hair, and one day the Norwich lads followed him shouting. "Look at that boy; he's got a bonfire on the top of his head." Little John Gurney was so annoyed that he stepped into a barber's shop, where the obnoxious hair was shaved off and he was fitted with a wig. This is a rather quaint *début* for the founder of a great Quaker family! John Gurney grew up a remarkably attractive young man, with a wonderfully animated countenance. At the age of twenty-three he married Catherine Bell, of Stamford Hill, the great-granddaughter of Robert Barclay, who wrote the well-known "Apology for the Quakers." The new bride was a graceful and handsome brunette, highly educated, though she owed her training chiefly to her own private studies. The marriage had long been opposed by the Gurney family because of Miss Bell's lack of fortune, but she proved herself a noble wife and mother. During the first years of their married life John and Catherine Gurney lived at the old "Court House" in Magdalen Street, already inhabited by two generations of their family. It was a very humble dwelling, but was conveniently near to the woollen yarn factory; and in it the growing tribe of children enjoyed much quiet happiness. One wing of the house was occupied by their grandmother and her youngest son, Joseph—the favourite uncle of the Gurney children. The old lady was so lavish in her charities that she always exceeded her very large income, and her sons had to make up the deficit. The summer was spent in a cottage at Bramerton, which opened on a well-wooded common studded with oaks and walnut trees. Ferns and wild flowers abounded. The garden and orchard were a

delight to the children. Mrs. Fry used to say, in later life, that the idea of Paradise and the Bramerton garden were always one in her mind. Here the children soon learned to visit the cottagers. The village schoolmaster came to teach them writing and figures. Mrs Gurney enjoyed this secluded village life as much as her children. For her the ordinary society of a country town had no charm, though she always extended a cordial welcome to men of science or of letters. Her rule of life is given in a memorandum found after her death: "First, to promote my duty to my Maker; secondly, my duty to my husband and children, relations, servants, and poor neighbours." In her daily walks with her children she aimed to "enjoy each individually." She taught them to study the Bible, though without dwelling upon its Gospel doctrines. Mr. and Mrs. Gurney sat rather loose to the distinctive customs of their sect, and the Quaker ministers who came to Bramerton were somewhat feared and disliked by the household. Mrs. Gurney's chief friends were Unitarians, to whom at that time "all the culture of Norwich was confined." Her cousin, Margaret Lindoc, then a professed Unitarian, was her most intimate friend and was much beloved by her children, who were charmed with her overflowing humour and fun, though unhappily it was not restrained from serious subjects. John Gurney was a most indulgent father. He had received a very moderate education, but his natural brightness prevented this from being generally noticed, whilst his kindness and sociability made him extremely popular. How true he was to his principles, may be seen from the manner in which he dealt with a proposal to fit out privateers at Yarmouth during the war with France in 1778. The *Norfolk Chronicle* announced that the subscription papers were lying at Messrs. Gurney's bank. John Gurney's partner had consented somewhat hastily to this arrangement, but when he himself learned what was proposed, he at once gave notice that the scheme for fitting out privateers was inconsistent with his views, and that he could not consent to receive subscriptions.

From a letter of Mrs. Gurney's to her cousin, Priscilla Hannah Gurney, we gain our first glimpse of the children. She says:

"I am glad to find that thy thoughts are sometimes engaged in my affairs, and that my children are more particularly the object of them . . . I can scarcely resist now an inclination to introduce my little ones. Kitty's good propensities by no means fail her, and, I hope, increase. My lively Rachel has an ardent desire to do well, yet cannot always resist a powerful inclination to the contrary. But my dove-like Betsy (the future Elizabeth Fry) scarcely ever offends, and is, in every sense of the word, truly engaging. Our charming boy has a violent inclination to be master, but his extraordinary attachment to me gives me a tolerable share of power: which, be assured, I by no means mean to resign. If my sweet Richenda were not so much teased by her eyes, she would be, in my opinion, as lovely an infant as I have ever yet reared."

In 1786, Mr. Gurney secured the delightful old mansion at Earlham, which for centuries had belonged to the family of Bacon. The house stood three miles away from Norwich, on the road to Lynn, surrounded by a little park with fine groups of trees. In later years, Joseph John Gurney's second wife, with her Quaker hatred of colour, whitewashed the side of the dwelling next to the road, but the pink hues of the brick front, with its grey stone ornaments and the masses of vine and rose which festoon its two large projecting bow windows and white central porch, still makes a lovely picture.

"The wide lawn, to which the place owes its chief dignity, spreads away on either side to belts of pine trees, fringed by terraces, where masses of snowdrops and aconites gleam amongst its mossy grass in early spring. The west side of the house is perhaps the oldest part, and bears a date of James First's time on its two narrow gables. Hence the river is seen gleaming and glancing in the hollow, where it is crossed by the single arch of a bridge. From the low hall, with its old-fashioned furniture and pictures, a very short staircase leads to the anteroom opening upon the drawing-room, where Richmond's striking full-length portrait of Mrs. Fry now occupies a prominent place among the likenesses of her brothers and sisters. Another staircase leads to what was the sitting-room of the

seven Gurney sisters of the beginning of the nineteenth century, with an old Bacon portrait let into the panelling over the fireplace."

The handsome, long, and lofty dining-room was on the ground floor with Mr. Gurney's humble little study close by. The pleasantest bit of the house was "Mrs. Catherine's chamber," consecrated to the eldest daughter. Here in her old age Miss Gurney gathered the young Norwich clergy to teach them how the Scriptures should be read in church.

The removal to Earlham was a great event to the Gurney children, now eight in number. Catherine was only ten years old. Many charming people gathered round them in this pleasant home. Mrs. Gurney did not limit her circle of visitors to Friends, but gave an equally cordial welcome to cultivated or pleasant Unitarians, Roman Catholics or Churchmen. Many regarded these intimacies as full of danger for the younger members of the household, but their mother always left her children to judge for themselves as to the church to which they would belong. She taught them the opinions—

"Of no man or sect whatever, but simply the divine truths as set forth in the New Testament. She urged prayer upon them, but at the same time advised them never to attempt to pray unless they felt that they could give their undivided minds to Him who delighted to bless them, and she implored them never to dwell upon trifles in prayer, in which—being immediately before Him—she considered that they should be able to raise to Him their undivided heart and soul in loving adoration."

Mrs. Gurney did not put aside all worldly enjoyments, like the strict Quakers. She saw no harm in drawing, music, and dancing. This easy education seems, in the case of the most famous and philanthropic of her daughters, Mrs. Fry, to have produced a remarkable reaction. Mr. Fry's love of music was a great grief to his wife, who looked upon his occasional visits to a concert or an opera as a real affliction. "It was ever a terror to Mrs. Fry that, if her daughters married, they might possibly be taken to a ball, and when this actually happened in the case of one of them, her sorrow knew no bounds." In the rules which Mrs. Gurney

drew up for the education of her children, great stress was laid on a thorough knowledge of English. Latin and French were included in the scheme.

"The simple beauties of mathematics appear to be so excellent an exercise to the understanding, that they ought on no account to be omitted, and are, perhaps, scarcely less essential than a competent knowledge of ancient and modern history, geography, and chronology."

Knowledge of natural history, and skill in drawing from nature, are joined in this catholic list with capacity for household management in all its branches.

"As a great portion of a woman's life ought to be passed in at least regulating the subordinate affairs of a family, she should work plain work neatly herself, and understand the cutting-out of linen; also, she should not be ignorant of the common proprieties of a table, or deficient in the economy of any of the most minute affairs of a family. It should here be observed that gentleness of manner is indispensably necessary in women, to say nothing of that polished behaviour which adds a charm to every qualification; and to both of these it appears certain that children may be led, without vanity or affectation, by amiable and judicious instruction."

The "ministers" of the Friends often found their way to Earlham, where they gradually gained much influence over Mrs. Gurney, to the regret of her children, who did not relish the greater strictness introduced into the family life. But Mrs. Gurney was not long spared to her boys and girls. She died, in 1792, at the early age of thirty-eight. Daniel, the youngest of her family, was only eighteen months old. In her last days her mind was clouded by delirium, but the sick mother would insist on getting up and kneeling on the bed to pray for her children. Just as life was ebbing away, her mind cleared a little, so that she was able to speak some words of comfort to her heart-broken husband, and commit her troop of little ones to the care of her eldest daughter, Catherine. Then murmuring over and over again, "Peace, sweet is peace," she passed away from her loved ones.

Catherine Gurney was only sixteen and a half when she

thus found herself at the head of the Earlham household. One of her brothers had died in infancy, but there were ten young children who needed her constant care and love. She had no relative to guide her. The housekeeper and nurse proved valuable helpers, but Catherine was mistress. Her own picture of the situation is very touching.

"Here, then, we were left, I not seventeen, at the head, wholly ignorant of common life, from the retirement in which we had been educated, quite unprepared for filling an important station, and unaccustomed to act on independent principle. Still, my father placed me nominally at the head of the family—a continual weight and pain which wore my health and spirits. I never again had the joy and glee of youth."

The child-mother was nobly true to her trust. Great firmness was tempered by quick sympathy and entire disinterestedness. Her word was law. The younger boys and girls were never known to rebel against Kitty's advice, which, in important matters, was given after consultation with her father, and sometimes with her sisters Rachel and Elizabeth. She directed the education of her sisters, and as one after another passed from Earlham to homes of their own, rejoiced greatly in their growing happiness and prosperity. She was spared to reach the ripe age of seventy-four, "the axis round which the whole family revolved, the centre of the love, harmony, and unity which she never ceased to inculcate."

The eldest of the group over which "Mrs. Catherine" had to preside was Rachel, a lovely girl of fourteen, "full of native charm and attraction, very sweet in her person, fair and rosy, with beautiful dark blue eyes and curling flaxen hair." Playful, vigorous, and affectionate, Rachel Gurney was, perhaps, the most charming of the Earlham sisterhood. Betsy was a year younger. She had not Rachel's glowing beauty, yet some thought her quite as attractive. She had considerable natural talent, but disliked learning, and was somewhat obstinate in her temper. Enterprise and benevolence were already predominant in her character, and, under the influence of religion, in later years they

became the blessing and glory of the whole nation. Her eldest sister wrote long afterwards:

"In contemplating her remarkable and peculiar gifts, I am struck with the development of her character, and the manner in which the qualities, considered faults when she was a child, became virtues, and proved in her case of the most important efficacy in her career of active service. Her natural timidity was, I think, in itself the means of her acquiring the opposite virtue of courage, through the transforming power of Divine grace, which stamped this endowment in her with a holy moderation and nice discretion that never failed to direct it aright. Her natural obstinacy, the only failing in her temper as a child, became that finely tempered decision and firmness which enabled her to execute her projects for the good of others. What in childhood was something like cunning, ripened into the most uncommon penetration, long-sightedness, and skill in influencing the minds of others. Her disinclination to the common methods of learning appeared to be connected with much original thought and a mind acting on its own resources. There had always been much more of genius and ready, quick comprehension, than application or argument."

After this suggestive sketch of the growth of a noble character, Catherine adds that the process by which all her natural qualities became moulded into their later form was "a striking and instructive instance of the gradual but certain and efficacious progress of religion."

The large family circle at Earlham was knit together by affection for their father and for Kitty, their sister-mother. John Gurney tried to teach his children habits of self-reliance. When little Samuel set out for school, at the age of seven, his seven sisters accompanied him to the coach; then he was put into it, all alone, to find his way to Wandsworth. Samuel was a manly lad, who had a way of his own by which to mark his resentment against any injustice. When he was eleven or twelve his father took him to task rather too strongly for some matter, and gave orders that he should be sent to bed before his usual hour. Long before that time Samuel was missing. After much search he was found safe in bed. He had gone there, he said, from preference, as there was no place he liked so well. Catherine Gurney was never a strict Quaker, and no one

was happier than she when there was a chance to play hide-and-seek in the winding passages and the "eighty cupboards" of the old mansion at Earlham. She encouraged her sisters in glee singing, and gathered little parties of neighbours for a lively dance. The sisters, wearing scarlet riding habits, scoured the country on their ponies. Once they are said to have linked arms, and stopped the mail coach from ascending the neighbouring hill.

Catherine, and her sisters alike, dreaded the Quaker Sundays, with the long dreary silence and the more dreary sermons at the old Meeting-house in Norwich. It stood in Goat's Lane, a quaint Dutch-looking building with high roofs and a many-windowed front. Many a time the journals of the younger Gurneys note that "Goat's was dis"[gusting]. These entries remind one of Mary Howitt's painful record of her weary Sundays in the Meeting-house at Uttoxeter, where the reflection of the side-lights in the large window above the gallery, with all that it suggested about heaven to an imaginative child, was the nearest approach to good which she remembered in the seasons of silent worship.

Catherine Gurney taught her sisters to record their feelings and doings in their childish journals with absolute truthfulness. Louisa's artless record is full of quaint peeps into the mind of a bright and clever Quaker maiden of eleven. "I love my father," she says, "better than anybody except Kitty; she is everything to me. I cannot feel that she has a fault, and I am sure that I shall always continue to love her as I do now. . . . To Betsy I feel a particular sort of attachment; her ill-health and sweetness draw my heart to her entirely." She prattles freely about her loved ones, and tells us how happy she always is "to escape from the claws of Goat's"—the terrible Meeting-house. One June afternoon she had been allowed to walk about, instead of sitting to lessons. "I do so like my liberty. I think it most silly to bring children up to be always at work. I am sure I should be better and happier if I did not learn much; it does try my temper so much." She resented

Rachel's way of teaching, because "She treats me as other girls are treated, but Kitty treats us as though we were reasonable creatures. I hate the common way of teaching children; people treat them as if they were idiots, and never let them judge for themselves." More amusing still is her dissection of her moral self. "I have the greatest pleasure in doing things to please others; it is one of my best qualities. Another of my qualities which people call most bad, but which I think rather good, is that I cannot bear strict authority over me. I do, from the bottom of my heart, *hate* the preference shown in all things to my elders, merely because they have been in the world a little longer. I do love equality and true democracy." A little later Louisa expresses her indignation because of the way Rachel treated another sister who happened to be rather older than herself. "There is nothing on earth I detest so much as this. I think children ought to be treated according to their merit, not their age. I love democracy, whenever and in whatever form it appears." On December 31st, 1797, Louisa went to "Goat's," and "had a truly uncomfortable, cloudy sort of meeting. It was a real bliss to hear the clock strike twelve. What an impatient disposition is mine! I sometimes feel so extremely impatient for meeting to break up that I cannot, if you would give me the world, sit still. Oh! how I long to get a great broom and *bang* all the old Quakers, who do look so triumphant and disagreeable." A little later she is in one of her best moods. "I am sure nothing is so beneficial and good for the mind as being and feeling truly industrious, and having your mind and all your powers employed. Sometimes I am gifted, as it were, with one of these minds; I have been so this morning and afternoon, and it has made me feel quite happy."

The wave of infidelity which swept over England at the time of the French Revolution produced painful unrest at Norwich. The Gurneys' Unitarian cousin, Peggy Lindoc, felt the influence deeply. Catherine Gurney says: "We elder sisters were ourselves, in no small degree, carried off our centre; our sense of duty became gradually lowered,

especially towards my father. Of higher duties still, we became, indeed, careless and unmindful." Richenda, who afterwards became an exemplary clergyman's wife, wrote about this time: "Kitty read the New Testament to us, which I was unusually interested in, but at this time I do not believe in Christ. I mean I do not believe all that the New Testament says of Him. . . . though I have not yet brought the subject to any point in my own mind." The religion of the family seemed to be undermined. The children had formed an enthusiastic friendship with the family of Dr. Enfield, the well-known Norwich schoolmaster—a Unitarian. They were charming young people, highly cultivated, and very attractive. "They had," Catherine wrote in later years, "the religion of sentiment, but no knowledge of scriptural truth." The friends studied Rousseau together, to their great moral injury. "I need not say how undermining this was to truth, both in theory and practice. The foundations of truth and duty, such as had existed for us before, were shaken, and we were led astray in conduct." The father saw that things were going wrong, but had not the decision or force of character to put an end to this unhealthy friendship. A secret but intense affection sprang up between Rachel Gurney and Henry Enfield. When Mr. Gurney discovered this, he insisted that the friendship between the two families must cease, though he promised that the young people should be allowed to meet again at the end of two years if they continued in the same mind. The Enfields had never professed infidelity, but other friends of more advanced views remained, and the books of Godwin, Paine, and other sceptics had fallen into their hands, so that the young Gurneys were tossed about on a sea of doubt and error.

It was through a Roman Catholic neighbour that the Gurneys were first led back towards Christian truth. Mr. Pitchford was the son of a Norwich surgeon, whose reputation as a botanist had won him admission to the Gurney circle. John Pitchford soon became the fast friend of the family, and while joining heartily in their amusements, lost

no opportunity of urging upon them the truth of Christianity. He honourably and scrupulously avoided anything savouring of proselytism, but he was the first person, after their dreary days of doubt, who made the Earlham girls like religion and set up a high standard of principle. His influence also was a great blessing to their cousin Mary Anne Galton, afterwards so well known as Mrs. Schimmelpenninck. "She was one of the most interesting and bewitching people," another cousin writes, "I ever saw, and I never remember any person attracting me so strongly." One day when the Gurneys had gone to meeting, she remained at Earlham. As she walked in the gallery where hung the portraits of the Bacon family, she began to ask herself: "What was the purpose of the existence of these men? Where are they now that they have passed from earth?" When Catherine Gurney joined her in the gallery, Mary Galton said to her:

> "I am twenty, thou art twenty-five; and what is the end of our existence? I am resolved most thoroughly to examine and discover for myself if the Bible be true, and if it is (I added in the folly and ignorance of my heart), I shall instantly do all that is commanded in it; and if not, I shall think no more on the subject."

She at once began to pray that if there were a God to hearken, He would reveal Himself to her.

Meanwhile, Betsy Gurney was making the great decision. Hitherto she had been the gayest and brightest of the Earlham sisterhood. She had suffered sadly from the evil influence of the time, and had become almost a complete sceptic. On February 4th, 1798, the Gurneys went to "Goats." The seven sisters sat in a row in front of the gallery. Betsy wore a pair of purple boots, laced with scarlet. They were a perfect delight to her, and she intended to console herself with them from the oppressive dulness she expected. Her somewhat feeble health had freed her from many an unwelcome attendance at the Friends' Meeting-house, but her uncle Joseph urged that she should make an effort to attend. Betsy had thus gone most unwillingly with her sisters. A strange "minister,"

William Savery, who had come from America, preached that morning. Betsy's attention was soon fixed, her eyes filled with tears, and she became a good deal agitated. When the meeting was over she crossed to the men's side, and asked her father to let her dine at her uncle Joseph's, where Savery was staying. Mr. Gurney was surprised, but he gave his consent. The other sisters went home, and for a wonder, wished to go again to meeting in the afternoon.

"As we returned in the carriage, Betsy sat in the middle, and astonished us all by weeping most of the way home. The next morning, William Savery came to breakfast, and preached afterwards to our sister, prophesying a high and important calling into which she would be led.'"

From William Savery's journal we learn that two hundred people were present on the Sunday that he first appeared at Norwich. Very few of them were middle-aged. "I thought it," he says, "the gayest meeting of Friends I ever sat in, and was grieved at it. The marks of wealth and grandeur are too obvious in several families of Friends in this place." John Pitchford went to the Quakers' meeting three days later. There was a great crowd so that he sat on the staircase, but Mr. Joseph Gurney beckoned him forward, and put him amongst the preachers. After the sermon and prayer, one of them shook Pitchford's hand—the sign that the meeting was over. Savery's sermon was the best he had heard among the Quakers, so full of candour and liberality. There was only one drawback—it was two hours and a half long.

Betsy was now weaned from her love of the world. Savery had won her heart for Christ. Louisa also found him "a charming man, and a most liberal-minded Quaker. He appears to me a truly good man, and a most upright Christian, and such men are always loved. To me he is quite different from the common run of disagreeable Quaker preachers." The change in Betsy was not altogether pleasing to her sisters. She began to lead a life apart, gradually but firmly, withdrawing herself from the daily interests and occupations of the rest. Her sister Richenda told her one

night, after they had gone to bed, how she disliked the change that was coming over her. Betsy replied that she felt it her duty to be a Quaker, that she was acting from reason, and not from enthusiasm, and had been far happier since she had reached this conviction, than she ever was before. "To some," she said, "drawing and singing may be innocent and pure amusements; to me they are not, therefore I give them up."

Catherine Gurney gives a lovely description of her sister at this time. "Her fine flaxen hair was combed simply behind and parted in front. Her white gown plainly fitted her figure, which was beautifully proportioned." The change in her spirit became daily more manifest. Nothing shook her when she once saw her path of duty. The Bible was her chief study. She gave herself to visiting the poor, and especially the sick. Strangely enough, she determined, before she made her final choice, to go to London, and taste the pleasures of the world which she had made up her mind to renounce. One cannot help comparing her to some novice about to enter a convent, making her gay farewell to society. Her father allowed her to go to London. She had dancing lessons in the morning, concerts and parties in the afternoon, theatres in the evening, balls at night. Then she returned to Earlham, resolved to eschew the pleasures of the world, including literature, science, music, and cheerful companionship for ever. She gave herself up to Quaker peculiarities with an intensity which sorely disturbed her sisters. She even refused to look at the picture which Opie was painting of her father. It was many years before she was delivered from these shackles. Towards the end of 1798 she began a school for the children of the neighbouring villages. "Betsy's Imps," as they were called at Earlham, soon numbered more than seventy. Then a Sunday-school was formed, and afterwards a little day-school in Norwich, where some of the best servants in the neighbourhood were trained. Joseph Fry, who became a visitor at Earlham about this time, proposed to Betsy, who at first unhesitatingly refused him. His manners were not pleasing

and his appearance was against him, but he bore the highest character for probity, sagacity and benevolence. He was also a remarkably good linguist, and a splendid singer. He was supposed to be a rich man, and his family were "plain Quakers," which, in itself, was no small recommendation to Betsy. She had, however, a sharp struggle before she could make up her mind to accept her suitor. He brought a very handsome gold watch and chain, and laid them on a white seat in the Earlham garden. If Betsy took up the watch it was to be a sign that she accepted his suit. The tall and graceful girl shyly emerged from the house and walked towards the spot, but she could not pick up the watch, and fled swiftly back to the house. Her father urged her to return, and an hour later she stepped out again, took up the watch, and sealed her destiny. She never regretted her choice, though it was a sore wrench to leave home and friends. "I cried heartily on leaving Norwich; the very stones in the street were dear to me." She was married on August 12th, 1800, and took up her residence at St. Mildred's Court, in the heart of London. Her brother Samuel, who entered Mr. Fry's counting house, came to live with her. In 1801 she returned to Earlham with her little daughter. Her sister Hannah sprang out of the carriage with the baby to show it to the eager household. A tall boy was standing among the group who looked on Hannah Gurney for the first time, and said at once in his heart, "She shall be my wife." This was Thomas Fowell Buxton, who by and by won his bride, and by his crusade against slavery, earned distinction as a philanthropist scarcely inferior to that of Elizabeth Fry herself. Rachel Gurney was less happy. A great change had come over her views on religious matters since her last meeting with her lover, Henry Enfield. When their two years' separation came to an end, the young people had a long interview. Mr. Enfield scorned the change which had come over Rachel, and they parted without a word about the future. The loving girl was so deeply pained, that Mr. Gurney resolved to bring about the union which he had so long opposed. But at this juncture news reached Earlham

that Enfield was engaged to someone else. A faithful servant was sent to make enquiries at Nottingham, where the Enfields now lived. He brought back word that the young man was not only engaged, but was already married. Rachel Gurney never recovered from the stroke. By degrees, however, her mind and affections turned to other objects. John Pitchford, who had long loved her, ventured to offer her marriage but without success. For some years Rachel Gurney lived with her youngest brother, Daniel, at Lynn. She became a regular minister among the Friends, but afterwards joined the Church of England. She died in 1827. On the last day of her life, a letter arrived from her old lover, Henry Enfield, assuring her that during the twenty-eight years they had been parted, he had never passed a single day without thinking of her. Her sisters hesitated to show her the letter, but at last they read it aloud. Rachel listened with glistening eyes and intensest thankfulness. The letter was given into her hands, and she died holding it.

The Earlham sisters were still nominally Friends, but many changes were coming. The marriage of one of their cousins to a clergyman made them understand for the first time the principles of the English Church. Dr. Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, who had married a relative of the family, also visited Earlham, and greatly helped Catherine in her choice of books. She says "I did not then care about the Church, but only about getting hold of the truth that I wanted to make me happy, and for this I cared far more than for anything else in the world." She and her younger sisters, Richenda, Hannah and Louisa, finally joined the Church of England. Richenda married Francis Cunningham, afterwards Vicar of Lowestoft, and threw her rare energies into the work of her husband's parish.

Louisa Gurney married Sam Hoare in 1806. They were second cousins, and had shown a strong preference for each other from childhood. The Hoares were bankers of good repute, so that the young people started life under the most favourable auspices. A fortnight later John Gurney married his cousin Elizabeth. According to Quaker rules parents

were forbidden to countenance any marriage between first cousins, so that the bride's father had to walk ostentatiously in an opposite direction to his son-in-law at the time of the wedding. No one could say that he countenanced the marriage. Four months later Fowell Buxton won his bride. His intense love for Hannah Gurney had spurred him on to constant self-improvement. He was greatly beloved by all the Gurneys. Catherine says :

"He was indeed a most noble youth, full of well directed ambition, and gifted with uncommon energy and perseverance in the right use of his talents. Both nature and education formed him to be a great character, peculiarly fitted to move in public life, and accomplish the difficult and important objects to which he was afterwards called in a remarkable manner."

The worldly prospects of the young couple were not flattering. Young Buxton had been glad to accept a clerkship in the brewery of Truman and Hanbury, with a prospect of a partnership after three years. But by degrees fortune smiled upon them, and no marriage, even of the Gurney circle, was happier in all respects than theirs. Samuel Gurney married Elizabeth Shepherd in April, 1808, and began that career as a London banker which soon raised him to fortune. He was never spoiled by prosperity, but looked on his wealth as a trust, and trained his children in habits of earnestness and self-reliance.

Up to the year 1808 the Gurney family seemed to have enjoyed unclouded prosperity, but that spring John Gurney lost his lovely wife, who died of decline. He never recovered from this shock, though he found peace and help in his religion. He had received some strain in lifting his wife, which left him lame for life, and in 1813 his powers of mind and body failed. He died in 1814 at the age of thirty-three. On the last day of his life all his mental powers seemed to be restored. He said that morning, with his brothers and sisters around him, was the happiest of his life. "How delightful is our being together and loving one another as we do."

The father of the Gurneys had died in October, 1809, from

the effects of an operation. On the last day of his life he awoke from sleep, saying that he had been to heaven in a beautiful dream and had seen all his children there with him. He frequently expressed his confidence in the mercy of God in Christ and told his children how greatly their love of good had stimulated and helped him. The last scene in the Gildencroft, the old Quaker burial ground at Norwich, when Mrs. Fry broke into prayer for thankfulness under this great affliction would never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

The Frys had now moved to Plashet, to the great delight of mother and children. Here Mrs. Fry began to devote herself to the establishment of schools and the care of the poor. Her influence among the Irish was wonderful. The Roman Catholic priest heartily supported many of her plans. Bibles were circulated freely and a happy change began to be seen. When the gipsies came for Fairlop Oak Fair, Mrs. Fry visited them with gifts of clothing, medicine, tracts and Bibles. She was an ardent lover of nature and rejoiced to plant primroses and violets in the shrubberies and plantations. Her brother Samuel's home was at Upton, close to Plashet, so that there was constant and delightful intercourse between the families.

John Gurney was in the branch bank at Lynn; his younger brother, Joseph John, the scholar of the circle, entered the family bank at Norwich, living with his sisters at Earlham. His leisure was devoted to the study of Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee and the Greek Fathers. He was a minister among the Friends and threw all his strength and influence into Christian work, such as that of the Bible Society. Mrs. Fry also became a minister, though this was, she says, "awful to her nature, terrible to her as a timid and delicate woman." Priscilla Gurney, one of the loveliest of the sisters, was a "plain Quaker" and a minister. Fowell Buxton thought her as perfect a speaker as he had ever heard. He had seldom known "a person of such sterling ability." Priscilla Gurney died of consumption in 1821. The constant agitation of mind in which she lived wore out

her delicate frame. She was a woman of rare sympathy, who used to say that one of the things which had been most instructive to her was "the biography of the irreligious."

It was in 1813 that Mrs. Fry was first aroused to the miserable condition of the female prisoners in Newgate. A great disaster had befallen her husband through his brother's rash speculations, and Mrs. Fry had to struggle with straitened means and with the care of her large family. She sent frequent gifts of clothing to the women, but it was not till the winter of 1816 that she began her systematic course of visitation in Newgate. She soon won the hearts of the women, established a school for their children, of which Mary Connor, a young woman in prison for stealing a watch, was appointed mistress. Mrs. Fry's dignified and stately appearance, her exquisite voice, and her constant and unruffled sweetness of expression, gave her peculiar influence over the degraded women of Newgate. The scenes which she witnessed when she began her mission—the begging, swearing, gaming, fighting, singing, dancing, dressing up in men's clothes—almost baffled description. Gradually the little band of visitors began to cherish the hope not only of saving the children but of reclaiming the women. Mrs. Fry prepared some rules which they enthusiastically adopted. "Hell above ground" was literally transformed by the labours of herself and her band of workers. A minister who was present when Mrs. Fry read the fifty-third of Isaiah in Newgate said he had never heard any one read like her before, "the solemn reverence of her manner, the articulation so exquisitely modulated, so distinct that not a word of that sweet and touching voice could fail to be heard." Her whole mind and heart seemed absorbed in the words. The address which followed was short and simple, but its description of the wonderful love of Christ manifestly went home. Mr. Taylor says he never listened to a speaker who had so thoroughly imbibed the Master's spirit, or had been taught by Him the persuasive power of pleading with sinners for the life of their own souls. The record of Mrs. Fry's labours forms one of the

brightest pages in the history of philanthropic service. In spite of predictions of certain failure she nobly persevered in her crusade against vice and misery. She won the co-operation of luke-warm officials, provided the manual work for which the idle hands were eager, "and presently transformed a filthy den of corruption into clean, white-washed rooms, in which sat rows of women, recently so desperate and degraded, stitching aud sewing, orderly and silent."

The story of her success at Newgate brought letters of inquiry from all parts of the country, so that Mrs. Fry became the counsellor and guide of earnest men and women in every part of England. She was able to introduce happy reforms into the method of transporting female convicts. She visited many parts of England and the Continent to inspect the prisons, and became quite a private chaplain to the crowned heads of Europe. She was invited to meet Queen Charlotte at the Mansion House, where royalty paid its tribute "at the shrine of mercy and good works." In 1831 she visited Queen Adelaide and had also a pleasant interview with the Duchess of Kent and "her very pleasing daughter, the Princess Victoria." Amid all the love and applause which was showered upon her, Mrs. Fry's deep humility was peculiarly striking. As a Friends' minister she became strikingly useful. She had some strange experiences. Once she was summoned to the death-bed of a Norfolk squire, nearly related to her. "I am very glad," he said, "to see thee, Elizabeth, and shall be very glad to talk with thee, but thee must just wait till these have done." On the other side of the bed two cocks were fighting. Many a glimpse of by-gone England is gained as we turn over these pages.

The latter portion of Mr. Hare's book shows how death broke up the lovely circle. Mrs. Hoare, perhaps the most intellectual member of the sisterhood, died in 1836 at the age of fifty. Dr. Chalmers described her as "one of the finest specimens of feminine Christianity" he had ever met. The following spring Lady Harriet Gurney, the wife of

Daniel Gurney, was taken from her large family of eleven little children. Mr. Buxton said, "I could not but feel that her coffin contained all that remained of as much beauty and true loveliness of mind, body and spirit, as we ever saw removed from this world." In 1840 Fowell Buxton received a baronetcy in recognition of his noble work as a philanthropist. In a letter of congratulation to her sister, Mrs. Cunningham writes: "I have been laughing at the remembrance of those days when you lived in a cottage, and I used to save up all the sixpences and shillings I could scrape together for you." Fowell Buxton died in February, 1845, in perfect quietness and peace, and Mrs. Fry followed in October. Her health, as she used to say, had been "undermined by excessive love." In her last weeks of life she was all prayer. Even in sleep her heart seemed lifted up to God. She lived continually in the sense of His presence. "What should I be without this?" she said, "I could not live. I must die or go out of my mind." She told her daughter Rachel:

"I can say one thing. Since my heart was touched at seventeen years old, I believe I never have awakened from sleep, in sickness or in health, by day or by night, without my first waking thought being how I might best serve my Lord."

Her niece, Priscilla Johnston, pays this tribute to her memory—

"After seeing her in some difficult works, my feeling was, marvellous as were her gifts, the real wonder was in her *Grace*, her extraordinary power of loving and caring for others; the flow of the oil which in almost all others is by drops, in her is a rich ready stream, able to take in the meanest, the most unattractive, the most unrepaying; her power of condescending to the little interests of others, combined with her greatness, her high natural powers of mind, and her magnitude of action."

She sleeps in the quiet Friends' burial place at Barking. Joseph John Gurney died at Earlham in January, 1847. His loss was felt as a public bereavement at Norwich. Every one had some story to tell of his goodness and benevolence. Catherine Gurney, the sister and mother of the family, died at Lowestoft in 1850. A few hours before the end she

stretched herself forward, lifted her hands and clapped them together in an ecstacy. Her last words were, "I see Him *now!*" Samuel Gurney died in 1856, one of the merchant princes of England, beloved and honoured of all. Lady Buxton reached the ripe old age of eighty-eight, then she faded heavenwards. Daniel, the last survivor of the family, lived till June, 1880. He kept his youthful spirit almost to the end of his days. The bankruptcy in which he was involved by his partners scarcely caused him any personal suffering, as Lady Buxton allowed him £2,000 a year. When they were in extreme old age, she used laughingly to say, "The fact is, Dan, you're so young, you're no companion at all to me."

We have read these lovely volumes, and scanned the photographs scattered profusely through them, with continually deepening interest. John Ruskin says, in his *Art of England*, "that, whatever its errors, whatever its backslidings, this century of ours has in its heart understood and fostered, more than any former one, the joys of family affection and of household piety." There is scarcely a more beautiful illustration of those words than we find in the Gurneys of Earlham. After the dark days of doubt and unrest they all found safe anchorage. Their lives were consecrated to the service of God and their fellows. Differences of opinion on religious matters never disturbed the harmony amongst them for a moment. They recognised that the supreme law of life is fidelity to conviction, and that the Divine Spirit will surely guide all who are willing to be led. Fathers and mothers, Christian teachers, and all true philanthropists lie under a great debt to Mr. Hare for these artless volumes, which allow us to enter into the private history of one of the most charming families of Christians and philanthropists that even England has ever produced. The pathos of the story deepens as it closes. The Gurneys of Earlham lived noble lives, and even John Wesley, who gloried in the fact that his people died well, could scarcely have furnished such a series of death-bed triumphs in one family as we find in the closing pages of these exquisite records.

ART. III.—THE NEW RATIONALISM.

The Teaching of Jesus, in Eighteen Sections. By ROBERT F. HORTON, Author of "Revelation and the Bible," "Inspiration and the Bible," etc. London: Isbister & Co. 1895.

THIS volume contains the substance of eighteen sermons, in which Dr. Horton endeavoured to reproduce for his congregation the teaching of two recent notable works, Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus* (two vols.) and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*. Wendt is a prominent leader in the new Ritschlian school. He is its foremost exegete, and his mission is to make its teaching square, if possible, with Scripture. Beyschlag swears by no master, but takes an independent position. We need not stay to compare and contrast the two works. Wendt's is limited to the teaching of Jesus, and is, therefore, richer in detail, while Beyschlag's covers the entire New Testament. It is enough for our present purpose to note that on the essential question of the person and work of Christ they are, unhappily, in substantial agreement. Practically, Dr. Horton takes little account of Beyschlag. Wendt supplies most of the material of exposition and discussion. It is obvious that eighteen chapters of moderate length can only give an inadequate account of the contents of two volumes, and, in fact, only selected topics are dealt with.

In view of the negative position of both the German writers on the fundamental doctrine of Christ's person, the most satisfactory feature of their works is the decisive way in which they maintain the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. Beyschlag does this without reserve. Wendt, while claiming the right to criticise and reject portions of the Gospel, holds that the teaching of Christ found in it comes from an apostolic source, his main reasons being that it is in perfect harmony with the teaching in the Synoptics, and that if the

Gospel had been composed in the second century, the characteristic ideas of the century would have left their mark on it. One might think that, having accepted the Gospel, he would have no difficulty in accepting the old interpretation of its teaching about Christ; but it is not so. No sooner have Wendt and Beyschlag accepted the Gospel as genuine, than they go to work to minimise the meaning of all the passages which point to a higher being or nature in Christ. Let us say at once, that the most satisfactory feature of Dr. Horton's book is his decisive opposition to this minimising process. As to method, he follows his two guides in considering the teaching of the Synoptics and that of the Fourth Gospel separately.

There is no need to say that in anything which Dr. Horton writes on such a theme there is much to admire and praise, high literary grace and fervent spiritual feeling. Dr. Horton is essentially a preacher to the cultured. This is his calling. The volume is rich in literary allusion and illustration. The comparison of John's Gospel to Amiel's *Journal Intime* seems to us very just and fine. Dante is often drawn upon. Wordsworth, Sir Thomas More, Rousseau, Marie Bashkirtsheff, a sonnet by Cosmo Monkhouse, the old Stoics, are most happily introduced. And there are more solid merits. The situation in the early Church is happily touched in the following sentence: "The earliest struggles of the Church were not to assert Christ's divinity, which was never questioned, but to maintain His true humanity, which seemed to vanish in the effulgence of divine glory." This is true in the main; but Arianism and similar phenomena must be remembered. The harmony between the Synoptics and St. John is thus set forth:

> "The Synoptics present Jesus speaking about His Father in that more external way in which the world may know Him; St. John presents Jesus actually showing the Father to receptive hearts. All that the Fourth Gospel contains about the Father is an expansion from within of that central synoptic saying, Matt. xi. 27. But what an expansion it is!"

We could quote many happy flashes of thought and

feeling. "The sorrow of history is the comparative rareness of humanity in it." The idea is of slow growth. Babylon, Media, Persia, Macedon, are intrinsically inhuman; and the same is true of later mighty empires.

"Is the Turk human? Is the Chinese mandarin human? Was Lobengula human? These are men, but they are not human. The ape and the tiger are stronger in them than the man. Our own government is partially human, because it is partially Christian. Some faint aroma of mercy and justice and truth is in our throne-rooms and state-departments, because the Son of Man has passed through them."

The best and strongest part of the book is the vindication and exposition of the Fourth Gospel. We are inclined to say that the chapter which discusses the general character of this Gospel, and its relation to the other three, is worth all the rest. It is shown that, without John, the Synoptics would be as incomplete and unintelligible as the Old Testament without the New. The Synoptics demand the Fourth, the Fourth presupposes the Synoptics. Seven points are indicated, such as the nature of the Father and the Son, on which the first three had left our knowledge incomplete, and these points are taken up in the fourth, which is, indeed, "the crown of the teaching." Wendt has rendered admirable service

"in showing that the teaching of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is essentially identical with that in the other three. The vital and fundamental elements in St. John's version of the teaching display the most remarkable identity with those in the Synoptics, an identity which is even emphasised by the variation of form and terminology. The teaching in St. John is simply the teaching of the Synoptics clothed upon, and articulated, and so carried out to its completion."

Wendt's conclusion, considering what his standpoint is, ought to settle this vital question as against writers like Dr. Abbott and the author of *Supernatural Religion*. The difference in style is next discussed. This is held to be insufficiently explained by the difference of subject-matter. Dr. Horton follows Wendt in believing that the form is due to the evangelist. Christ's teaching was fused in the

evangelist's mind, and then given forth in his own words. Hence the difficulty, in some cases, of saying where one ends and the other begins, as in John iii. 16, etc. It is earnestly maintained, however, that the teaching is none the less Christ's own. Which is the truer portrait—a photograph, or a portrait by Millais or Watts—one reproducing merely the material form, the other mysteriously bringing out the inner spirit and genius of the subject?

"John is no doubt a striking personality; the Gospel and Epistles have a peculiar stamp; but his genius, and the unquestionable power of his writings, owe all their value, not to anything intrinsic in them, but to the remarkable manner in which they have conserved, fused, and interpreted the teaching of Jesus, and those more mystical parts of the teaching which the other records had lost or overlooked."

The actual sayings of Christ are given; they are too great to have been invented by John. "They are as high above him as the stars are above the lamp-lights of the city street." But the setting and the expression are often John's. We are aware of the difficulty which will be raised. How can we be be sure which part is Christ's? Much depends on the discretion used in dealing with the subject. Supposing such discretion, there is much to be said for Wendt's explanation, which is accepted also by Dr. Sanday and others. This chapter of Dr. Horton's book, entitled "The Crown of the Teaching," merits the attention of English students.

If we have to go on to express emphatic dissent, the challenge comes from the author. Dr. Horton tells us in his preface that a true title for his book would be "The Revolution of Theology:" and in many other passages it is hinted or asserted that the teaching of Wendt and Beyschlag, which is here reproduced, would lead to a complete reconstruction of theology. In what sense is this the fact? Let us frankly say that if the entire teaching of the two German writers in question is accepted, this result will undoubtedly follow. Beyschlag argues acutely and elaborately against the ordinary statement of the doctrines of the Trinity, and a propitiatory atonement. He describes

himself as a modallistic Trinitarian,or Sabellian. Wendt does not enter into adverse criticism of these doctrines; but his silence and the drift of his entire exposition, leave us in no doubt as to his position. The pre-existence of Christ, so plainly taught in John, supplies an effectual test of faith in the divinity of Christ. Wendt, like Beyschlag, most strenuously denies it, and bends all his strength to explain away the passages in John bearing on it. Indeed, in consistency with the general views of his school, he can do nothing else. In that palmary passage, John viii. 58, he will allow no other reference than to an eternal existence in the Divine forethought and plan as Messiah, just as Paul eternally existed in the Divine forethought and plan as apostle of the Gentiles, and every other great man, as well as little man, has so existed. The violence which so consummate an expositor as Wendt has to use in dealing with these passages is significant. No unbiassed reader can imagine that the passages mean what he says they mean. The old doctrine of the Church is impregnable, if it can only be overthrown by such explanations. What Dr. Wendt's view of Christ is, appears not only from his treatment of the idea of pre-existence, but from his exposition of the term Son of God, as used by and of Christ. It is nothing more than an ethical sonship like ours; the only difference between us and Him is one of degree. He is perfectly what we are imperfectly. Wendt can say that we become sons of God through Christ. But what does this mean? We became so through Christ, because Christ shows us the way, states the conditions, as any human teacher with a special commission from heaven might do. Wendt even admits and asserts the sinlessness of Christ. He was "the Son of God in a pre-eminent sense." He was "certain of *being* pre-eminently the Son of God, since He wholly fulfilled the conditions which were set before others in order to others *becoming* Sons of God." But as to all this implying or requiring sonship in a real or essential sense, not a word is said; indeed, it is implicitly denied. Our immediate purpose does not require us to discuss this at greater length. It is enough for us to quote

the judgment of Dr. Orr, a thoroughly competent and fair-minded critic: "One thing very clear is that Jesus, in Wendt's view, is not more than man." *

There can be no doubt then that if the teaching of writers like Wendt and Beyschlag is accepted in its entirety, there will be a revolution of theology, a reconstruction from base to topstone. Whether we like the word or not, we are back at Socinianism or Unitarianism. But we are happy to say that Dr. Horton, as everyone would expect, does not follow his guides to this length. Whether in recommending them he has sufficiently put his hearers and readers on their guard, is doubtful. He might at least have shown more unequivocally, that the unique ethical Sonship is incredible without a real, essential Sonship. Still, in the chapter on "The Nature of the Son," he does, very plainly, point the way in this direction, emphasising the uniqueness of the perfect moral relation between the Father and the Son. He thinks that Wendt's suggestion that this unique moral state is due to moral effort on Christ's part is more fruitful than "the perfectly abstract dogma, that He was sinless because He was God."

"But if we are determined to follow scrupulously the guidance of His own teaching, and of that insight which He himself affords with His own consciousness, we must here part company from Wendt as decidedly as from his opponents; for the wonderful prayer, John xvii., is unequivocal in showing that the Sonship was not achieved, but essential and eternal. His plea that, being sanctified and sent into the world by the Father, He might without blasphemy say *I am the Son of God*, is decisive of the question that the Sonship ante-dated the mission."

We are thankful for this disclaimer. But Wendt's own position is so veiled by reticence and an involved style, that the fullest exposition on this point is desirable and even demanded.

On another question Dr. Horton speaks more at length. In a special chapter on "The Pre-existence of Jesus," he very earnestly advocates the real pre-existence against Wendt

* *Expository Times*, 1893, p. 28; *Christian View of God and the World*, p. 297.

as well as against Beyschlag. It is needless to say that the entire Ritschlian school admit only an ideal pre-existence. Dr. Horton explains the silence of the Synoptics on this point by the principle of development in Christ's teaching. In accordance with this principle pre-existence only appears in the later stages of the teaching, but there it does appear with unmistakable clearness. But we would suggest that the idea appears also in the Baptist's testimony at the beginning (John i. 15). Dr. Horton quotes the passages in John which explicitly assert the fact (iii. 13, vi. 62, viii. 58, xvii. 5, 24), and adds in a note—

"Wendt would have us believe that John vi. 62 is merely an insertion of the redactor, saying that it breaks the course of argument. But no one ever felt this until the passage was studied with a view of explaining away inconvenient sayings."

Dr. Horton justly uses strong language in condemning the utter arbitrariness of critics of this school in first establishing the authenticity of St. John on independent grounds, and then rejecting every inconvenient verse or clause.

"We are disposed to say: Prove if you will that John is incorrect, or that the sayings do not come from Jesus at all; but in the name of simple straightforwardness do not attempt to maintain that these distinct statements are not intended to convey the truth that Jesus existed as a conscious person before He came into the world."

It is also well pointed out that actual pre-existence is no more incredible than sinlessness, which is admitted by both German writers. It also explains the unapproachable moral greatness ascribed to Christ in all four Gospels. Further, it exalts His love to transcendent heights.

"Were He only a man, doing his duty, loving others as a man does, dying for the truth, there would be a love attractive and dutiful enough no doubt in its way. But for proof of a love which can stir the world like a passion, subdue the sufferer and humble the proud, a love which touches the quick because it comes from the quick of the infinite heart, it is essential to recognise *who this was* that wore so lowly a mien."

"Who this was?" is just the question which the Ritschl

school one and all will neither ask nor let others ask about Jesus Christ.

If then Dr. Horton has not in view a revolution of theology in the full sense of his two eminent guides, in what sense is it meant? How is it to follow from the method of the present volume? Not simply from the separate consideration of the teaching of Christ. We heartily acknowledge the gain accruing from the modern fashion of treating each of the Biblical writers apart. We thus have a Pauline school of teaching, Johannine school, and so on. Thoroughness is thus secured. But if the mind of Scripture as a whole is to be learnt, the separate treatment must be followed by unifying study. And if this is done, we do not see how any revolution is to be brought about. Whether the teaching of Jesus and Paul and John has been considered separately or not in the past, no one can deny that each has been taken into account—whether adequately or not may be matter of debate. Dr. Horton tells us that, in recently reading through the six volumes of John Howe's works, he "found no allusion to the teaching of Jesus as such, the teaching as a whole, the teaching as the main authority in religion." But he will not say that our Lord's teaching is not taken into account by Howe and indeed by all the theology of the past. To say that would be a slander on great names. The difference is simply one of form. Even the separate treatment is not so novel as seems to be suggested. Dr. Horton apparently has never heard of Stier's *Words of the Lord Jesus*, published in English in 1855 and in German fifteen years before. Stier is before Wendt in time as well as in other respects.

The mere separate treatment of our Lord's teaching is immaterial, and it is ridiculous to represent it as a new departure. Dr. Horton has studied Howe. But surely he is not unacquainted with Neander, even if he has neglected Stier. All depends on the purpose for which this separate study is pursued. We know the purpose in the case of Wendt and the whole Ritschl school. It is in order to set up Christ's teaching as a standard by which to measure and judge the

other writers of Scripture, Paul and John included. This is plainly avowed by Wendt in a pamphlet of his published in 1893, *The Norm of Genuine Christianity*. In this pamphlet he elaborately argues the unsuitableness of the Bible, taken as a unity, to be the standard of Christian doctrine as laid down at the Reformation and maintained by Protestants. The complexity of Scripture, its difficulties of interpretation, are among the arguments used. On the other hand, the suitableness of Christ's teaching to form such a standard is argued from its simplicity, unity and intrinsic superiority in all respects. On this view the unity of Scripture is broken up; indeed, authoritative Scripture is practically reduced to the teaching of Christ. Other Scripture writers are to be followed or not as they agree with this. Here we have a pretty complete revolution. Paul and John and Peter are summarily deposed from their thrones as inspired teachers of the Church. We may accept or reject their teaching, wherever it goes beyond Christ's, accordingly as it commends itself to our minds. They have no more authority than Augustine or Luther or Calvin or Wesley, than Aquinas or Bellarmine. We have ample evidence that all these consequences follow in an essay by Dr. Wendt, published in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (an organ of the Ritschlian school) for 1894 (*Erstes Heft*). The title is "The Teaching of Paul compared with the Teaching of Jesus." In this essay Jesus and Paul are repeatedly spoken of as "these two men." The comparison is worked out under different heads with the same minute care and great ability, and, we must perforce add, under the same doctrinal prepossessions that are evident in the two volumes on *The Teaching of Jesus*. We will quote the last sentences. After acknowledging Paul's great services to Christian theology and the Christian Church, Wendt proceeds :—

"This acknowledgment must not prevent our seeing that the teaching of Jesus is superior to that of Paul in simple majesty, clearness and truth. It possesses an intrinsic consistency which is absent from Paul's. The latter is more interesting to us because of the diverse elements it includes. But what makes

it interesting is its weakness. We may be sure that the teaching of Jesus, if it is only understood and preached in its original substance and meaning, can and will exercise in a far higher degree vivifying and purifying influences on the further course of Christianity than have ever proceeded from the teaching of Paul."

The purpose of Dr. Wendt is clear enough. The unity of the New Testament has been taken for granted in the Church from the beginning. This fact gives a tolerably strong prescriptive right. It may be said that great errors, such as prevailed in the mediæval Church, have been able to plead prescription. But none of the errors renounced at the Reformation could plead tradition coming down from the beginning. At least no Protestant believes that they could. But there are better reasons than prescription. The Gospels and Epistles taken together form a self-explaining unity. The two parts are mutually complementary. What was the meaning of our Lord's promise to His disciples of the Spirit who should guide them into all the truth and bring all His words to their remembrance, and of His statement that He had many other things to say which they were not able to receive? Was that promise never fulfilled and were those other things never revealed? On the other hand, the Epistles just as evidently look back to and support the Gospels. There is the best reason therefore for believing that the Church in assuming from the first the entire New Testament as its one standard has done right.

The distinction that would make Christ's teaching the one supreme standard is quite novel and arbitrary. It reminds us of the conduct of the Gnostic Marcion in the second century, who made the Gospel of Luke and Paul's Epistles, in a mutilated form—the genuine New Testament. We need not go into the arguments used by Dr. Wendt in his pamphlet to support the position. We should find in the end that even the teaching of Jesus to which we were reduced is an uncertain quantity, that we should have to deduct all kinds of alleged interpolations by redactors and others. But, apart from such points of detail, we are at a loss to know what is the necessity for this new position save the exigencies

of a theory. All the reasons given for it are abstract ones, and remind us forcibly of the arguments used by the Roman Church to prove the necessity of an infallible teaching authority. There is not the least attempt to show that Christ intended His personal teaching exclusively to be regarded in this light, or that the Apostolic Church or subsequent Church so regarded it. The facts are all the other way.

We are left in no doubt as to the application made of the new principle. It is turned chiefly against the Pauline theology, which it is held has unduly dominated the faith of the Church, just as Augustine unduly dominated the later Church and Protestantism in particular. The doctrines of forensic propitiation and justification depend largely on Paul's Epistles. These indeed have points of attachment in the Gospels; but, when we get rid of Paul as an authority, it is much easier to explain away the incidental statements of Christ. And this is the course taken. Paul's peculiar doctrines are dismissed as relics of his Pharisaic training and modes of reasoning. Christianity as expounded in the authentic words of Jesus is reduced to a lofty ethical and religious system, with the universal divine Fatherhood as its central idea. Sin and redemption are scarcely mentioned. All the Divine attributes are merged in love. Sacrifice for sin is utterly repudiated. Christ saves and redeems by word and example only. We become sons of God in the same sense and in the same way that He did.

We thus see that the distinction set up by Dr. Wendt and his school is intended to effect a very complete revolution in theology. Has Dr. Horton the same consequences in mind? He does not refer to them. But we are at a loss to understand how the distinction which he parades as a great discovery is to work the change predicted in any other way. And there is much in the volume before us which points very plainly in this direction. What is meant by the teaching of Jesus "as the main authority in religion?" What is the meaning of the running fire of disparagement directed against the theology of the Church and even the

teaching of Paul? Dr. Horton says: "It is not the individual that has buried the teaching of the Gospels under the metaphysics of the Epistles. That is the work of the Fathers, the authoritative Teachers of the Church, the Church itself." Mark, "the metaphysics" not of the theologians, but "of the Epistles," of Paul, of the Hebrews and John.

"We have repeated the offence which Judah committed when the Book of the Law was lost in some dusty and cobwebbed chamber of the Temple. We need a new Josiah who will bring out from its hiding the first grand Law of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Law of the Sermon on the Mount, which lies covered and practically lost under the piles of ecclesiastical decisions and under the burden of a traditional exegesis."

Even if it is true that in some theological systems and at some periods Paul has been put before Christ, it is utterly wrong to charge this fault upon all schools and systems of theology. "The burden of a traditional exegesis!" The burden of tradition sits very lightly upon the exegesis of the present day. Dr. Horton says: "Personally I am persuaded that St. Paul, rightly understood, and put in his due subordination to the teaching of his Lord Jesus, does not contradict Jesus." But if there is "any apparent collision," we should "give the preference to our Lord." Does not this language suggest that Dr. Horton's wonderful discovery points to the more developed and logical scheme of Dr. Wendt, and that it is only justifiable on that scheme? It is very remarkable that on the same page on which he complains of the neglect of Christ's teaching by theological writers, he makes another discovery, namely, that Paul was guilty of the same fault. He writes: "The strangest fact of all is that when we go back to the New Testament itself we find that the most voluminous of the apostolic writers, St. Paul, does not allude to the teaching (of Christ), except in the most casual way." Is not all the teaching of the Epistles built on, pervaded by, the teaching of the Gospels? 1 Cor. xv. 1-7 is enough to show that Paul's gospel and Christ's are one. Dr. Horton also goes on to say that, "though the real tradition which is

embodied in our Gospels must have been current in the apostolic circles, and familiar to those first witnesses as the alphabet of religion, it does not appear to have formed the subject of their preaching." Then what did form the subject of their preaching? But does not all this show the little foundation there is for his charge against the Church since? If theologians and the Church have only neglected Christ's own teaching in the same sense in which Paul and the apostolic Church did so, surely they are on safe ground. No: what Paul and the first Christian preachers knew nothing of was the isolation of Christ's teaching "as the main authority in religion." Dr. Horton finds an explanation of the conduct of Paul and the other Apostles in the fact that they were so dazzled with the wonders of Christ's death and resurrection and ascension that the words of Christ were lost sight of. We neither believe in the explanation nor in the thing explained.

A good example of the way in which the Gospels are supplemented by the Epistles is furnished in the doctrine of atonement. In his chapter on "The Means of Salvation," Dr. Horton frankly acknowledges that, according to Christ's teaching in the Synoptics, His death was "the supreme means by which men could be saved;" and this is abundantly confirmed in John. In the chapter on "The Death of Jesus," he attempts an explanation of the dependence of salvation on the death of Jesus. Dr. Wendt does his best to get rid of the connection between the two. When in presence of Christ's words at the Last Supper he is unable to do this, how does he explain the connection? We will quote his explanation and leave others to explain it:—

"He declared His death to be such a sacrifice as would form a sure seal, of blissful import for His disciples, on the new covenant of the kingdom of God—not in the idea that God needed this sacrifice in order that His saving grace might have existence—but yet in the assurance that His obedience, ratified by His death, because of the actual value which it has in God's eyes, would also become an actually operative motive for God to ratify His gracious will in the case of His disciples." *

* ii. p. 245.

Dr. Horton's explanation is not a whit more intelligible. Confining himself to the Fourth Gospel and refusing to admit the idea of propitiatory sacrifice, he sees in Christ's death only a great victory over Satan, who held the world in thrall. Satan's power is broken by the "sharp death-conflict in which Jesus engages." "The self-offering, which is so profoundly gratifying to the Father, is a blow to the Prince of this World, which breaks his spell over men." We should think that the conflict with Satan centred rather in the Temptation than the Cross. What was there in the nature of Christ's death which made it in a special sense a victory over the "Prince of this World?"

"He saw that, if He exposed His innocent life to the unchecked onslaught of this malevolent power; if without taking refuge in any divine prerogatives, or screening body or soul against the subtle and exasperated attacks, He would resolutely face the consequences; though He would die apparently under the execration of the world, numbered among its transgressors, indistinguishable from the criminals on whom falls the vengeance of men and God, a supremely redemptive result would follow."

This is the nearest approach to an explanation we can find, and it explains nothing. The teaching of the Epistles supplies the needed comment.

Why is Dr. Horton so hard upon theology and theologians? He says: "We have constantly to choose between Christ and Theology." "If Jesus had taught the total depravity of human nature, we should have lost confidence in Him, just as the world has lost confidence in the theology which taught it." Was it Jesus or theology that said, "Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries?" Or again, "If ye, being evil?" "The Church," we are told, "to which theology has sometimes been dearer than religion has preferred the words of Paul to those of Jesus." These are only a few specimens of the scorn poured on everything in the form of theological creed and dogma. We might reply that Dr. Horton is fighting against ghosts of the past. Where is there any sign in our day of such slavish submission to creeds and dogmas? Religion has too many

real enemies to allow preachers to waste their breath on imaginary ones. Besides, what is the aim of theology after all? What, but to put into the language of reason the beliefs of the Christian soul, to piece together and bring into unity the different parts of revelation, to see as far as we can into the grounds of Divine redemption, and so to make our faith as Christians a "reasonable service?" Is not this what men are trying to do in every field of knowledge? We may fail and make mistakes, our conclusions need constantly to be revised and perfected; but the attempt is not an unworthy one. Dr. Horton himself cannot refrain from the same work. What is the attempted explanation, just referred to, of the redeeming virtue of Christ's death but theology, of a sort? There is much more of the same kind in the volume. Many of the chapters do not merely recite the substance of Christ's teaching. They enter into its *rationale;* and what is this but theology? Such sweeping condemnation of systems which represent the most strenuous thought of great intellects and great souls is not in the best taste.

This feature of the volume is the more irritating, as abundant evidence is given that theology is not the author's strong point. The judge who condemns should at least know thoroughly what he is condemning. We cannot discover any evidence that the author is familiar with the field of which he has so poor an opinion. We cannot imagine anyone with even a passable knowledge of theology speaking of sin as "entering essentially into the very definition of man" (p. 53). That much-despised study would have preserved the excellent author from so unscriptural a statement. We have seen the horror he has of the doctrine of total depravity, which forms a corner-stone of Calvinism, yet he speaks of the eternal Father as "ordaining conflict as the means of victory, and sin as the pre-condition of salvation" (p. 185). Only an extreme Calvinist would make such a statement. Again, he speaks of Christ as "born into this world truly and absolutely man" (p. 199). How could one born truly and absolutely

man ever become Divine? Would not a little theology be of service here? There are also intimations of belief in annihilationism. "Only the Christ-like will survive; every human element which is un-Christ-like must perish everlastingly. It is not the design of God that out of the human race anything should effect a lodgment in eternity which is not of Christ" (p. 149). As to the future judgment, we are glad to see that Dr. Horton holds to the fact. Dr. Wendt and his school resolve this into the idea that Christ is simply the ideal law or standard which of itself tests and condemns men. Dr. Horton, while reproducing this thought, maintains judgment as a definite event of the future. He accuses St. John of "careless compilation." On what ground? Because in viii. 30 he says that "many believed on Him," and then makes Christ say to these, in ver. 44, "Ye are of your father the devil." But ver. 30 refers to those who "believed on Him," ver. 31 and the following verses to those who "believed Him," two different classes of persons. The carelessness is not in the evangelist, but in his censor. The Synoptical Gospels are said to have fallen into confusion in the account of Christ's sayings about the last things. Dr. Horton will not hear of different natures in Christ's one person. We are warned on this subject against "those incongruous combinations which a scrupulous theology, tenacious of orthodoxy, has discerned." "In examining the human soul (of Christ) and becoming convinced of its humanity, we are led to the equal conviction that it is Divine. There is a smooth, unbroken continuity in it. One passes, without seam or juncture, from man to God in it, from earth to heaven" (p. 189). Have we here gained in clearness by casting theology overboard? A little metaphysics might possibly be useful. We are told of two other passages in which St. John "essays interpretations of the Master's words, which are more than doubtful" (ii. 19-22, xii. 32, 33). Dr. Horton is here, of course, repeating and endorsing the opinion of his guide.

We have tried to do justice both to the merits and faults of Dr. Horton's work. Further illustrations would only add

to the totals on both sides. The field is evidently uncongenial to him, and we can only wonder that he ventures into it. We fear that he leaves it with lessened reputation and influence. In speaking at the outset of a revolution in theology, he has raised expectations which are not fulfilled, and which can only be fulfilled by going much farther in the path of negation than he has done. To carry out the distinction in Scripture which he sets up to its logical consequences, as is done in the new Rationalism of Germany, would be fatal not merely to the theology and creeds of the past, but to all certainty and intelligent conviction respecting the great doctrines which are dear to all evangelical Christians, Dr. Horton himself included. The mischief of such unsettling teaching falls on those who, without the balancing power of experimental faith in Christ, desire above all things to be logical in faith, and who will go farther than their teachers. *Facilis descensus Averni.* We want to see the last step before we take the first, to know where the current will take us before committing ourselves to it. The new Rationalism is perhaps more specious than any of its predecessors, retaining the old forms and phrases, professing to honour Christ even at the expense of the Bible and the Apostles; it is as like the genuine Christianity of the New Testament as a counterfeit is like a genuine bank-note. The old names are retained, the old meanings are gone. We are told to believe that a Christ who is not divine, can do for us what only a Divine Christ can do. Sin and atonement, forgiveness and faith, mean something different from what they used to do. The possibility of inward personal fellowship with God is denied. Paul we know; we know Strauss and Baur and Hegel; but what doctrine is this and from what fountain does it come?

ART. IV.—A NEW COMMENTARY ON THE "ROMANS."

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By Rev. W. SANDAY, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Rev. A. C. HEADLAM, B.D., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. T. & T. Clark. 1895.

WE join very heartily in the general welcome which has been accorded to the new series of exegetical volumes to be published under the title of "The International and Critical Commentary." Messrs. T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh, have already rendered eminent service to the theologians of this country, by various Biblical and theological publications, extending over more than a quarter of a century. Their latest experiment promises to be one of the most successful of all; for the new Commentary is, as its name imports, both international and critical in its character. Several eminent American scholars have been engaged to co-operate with some of the foremost men of this country, in order that the English-speaking world may be provided with a commentary on the whole Bible equal to anything "made in Germany." It is intended that the series shall be "critical" in the best sense of the word. It is to be abreast of the latest researches and the results of the best modern scholarship, while the exegesis is to be independent and original in character, not a mere *réchauffé* of the opinions of others. The commentaries are to be based upon "a thorough critical study of the original texts of the Bible, and upon critical methods of interpretation." It is promised also that they shall be "free from polemical and ecclesiastical bias." The editors are Profs. Driver and Plummer, in this country, for the Old and New Testaments respectively, and Prof. Briggs in America. That such a commentary is greatly needed, all Biblical students are aware; that the want is likely to be well supplied is now, happily, almost assured by

the names of editors and publishers, and by the earliest volumes of the series already in the hands of the public.

Three volumes have thus far appeared. The earliest, published last summer, was Canon Driver's *Deuteronomy*, and the next two, published simultaneously in the autumn, were the volume on *Judges*, by Prof. Moore, of Andover, and that on *Romans*, by Prof. Sanday and Mr. Headlam, the book which forms the occasion of the present article. The volumes on Old Testament subjects occupy highly debatable ground. The book of Deuteronomy forms confessedly the *crux* of Old Testament criticism. According to the judgment pronounced upon its date and authorship, may be estimated the attitude of any writer in relation to the many vexed questions concerning the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament. We are quite aware that in the opinion of the great majority of scholars these questions are no longer in debate. The fundamental lines of cleavage in the analysis of Old Testament documents have now, we are assured, been definitely and finally fixed; and, although innumerable questions of detail remain to be settled, the main points—such as the contents and date of the leading documents, JE, D, P, and the rest—have been determined by general agreement of those best qualified to judge, and criticism has now simply to work on from the basal line thus incontrovertibly fixed. Our readers will be aware, however, that we have not been able to give in our adherence wholly to the prevailing fashion. Some of the results of criticism we welcome as assured and likely to be of great service in Bible study; on other points it seems to us wise still to hold the judgment in suspense, till some cardinal objections to the prevailing theories concerning the composition of these books—*e.g.*, the date of Deuteronomy—have been fairly met and faced. But we shall meet with no opposition when we say that all that can be done for prevalent critical theories by moderation of statement, sobriety of judgment, and a truly devout spirit is likely to be accomplished by Prof. Driver. If he cannot commend the "critical" view of Deuteronomy to English

students, it is not likely that anyone else can. Prof. Moore follows in his wake, and the two books form a thesaurus of critical and general information on two important books of the Old Testament, such as the English reader has never had placed within his reach before. Both deserve most careful study; a large part of the exegetical material presented by the respective authors will be received with gratitude, and without hesitation, while those more doubtful views which orthodox opinion in this country is not fully prepared to accept, are so supported by reasoning more or lesss sound or plausible, that they can only be set aside by equal scholarship and more cogent arguments. Whether these are likely to be forthcoming, we will not undertake to say; but the guns which are to silence the battery of Canon Driver and his coadjutors must be of heavier calibre than those furnished in *Lex Mosaica*, or any others that have yet appeared upon the field.

At present, however, we are not concerned with these "doubtful disputations." It is pleasant to turn to a field in which criticism has been, indeed, very active, but, on unquestionable lines, leading to generally accepted conclusions. It is impossible to resist wishing that in Old Testament study some external and objective evidence were accessible, similar to that which in New Testament studies so wholesomely restrains the roving tendency to multiply subjective hypotheses which marks critics of all kinds. Where testimony is scanty, conjecture is sure to be rampant, and we shudder to think what might become of the Epistle to the Romans if erudite theorists were at liberty to speculate concerning its origin and composition, as they are concerning Deuteronomy. Happily, in dealing with this New Testament classic, we are on firm ground. Even now, some questions concerning the integrity of the Epistle, as it has come down to us, arise; but, in arguing them out, hypothesis has but a limited field in which to work, being on every side checked and restrained by demonstrable facts. Some lessons, showing the need of caution in framing hypotheses, and the dangerous license claimed by critics

when unbridled and unchecked, might surely be learned from the history of New Testament criticism during the last thirty years, lessons which some Old Testament critics seem very slow to lay to heart—but of that subject no more at this time.

Prof. Sanday and Mr. Headlam have given us a commentary upon one of the most important books of the New Testament, which will take its place at once as a standard exegetical work of the most complete and comprehensive kind. Commentaries upon this Epistle abound, and excellent commentaries upon it are not rare. But henceforth, it may safely be said, whenever two commentaries on this particular book are recommended, one—and probably the first—will be "Sanday and Headlam." The reason is not far to seek. This work is not superior to every other in every conceivable respect, but it is more complete than any other in its handling of the various classes of questions which call for treatment, while almost alone among English commentaries it brings the discussion of each fully up to date. All this is done within the compass of a moderate octavo volume, and so that the book, whilst satisfying the requirements of scholars, is not too abstruse or technical for the ordinary educated reader, presumably a clergyman or minister who has mastered at least the elements of Greek Testament study. Some of the subjects with which a first-class commentary may be expected to deal are textual criticism, questions of "Introduction" concerning integrity, date, occasion, and purpose of the Epistle, careful discussion of grammatical difficulties, full explanation of all cardinal words, and, in addition to the exegetical work which forms the body of the commentary, detached notes or dissertations on important topics arising out of the Epistle. It is not too much to say that the commentary before us deals with all these matters, in such a way that no reasonable enquirer who comes to it for information upon any of them will go away unsatisfied. One of the chief excellences of the book is that of condensation and clear arrangement, so that the maximum of information is packed away in the minimum

of space, in such a fashion that a reader may easily find what he wants, and pass over what does not immediately concern his purpose.

It would be an impertinence to praise Prof. Sanday's scholarship, whilst in him the rare quality of sound judgment is combined with learning, and each of these characteristics lends weight and value to the other. Mr. Headlam proves himself no unworthy coadjutor of such a colleague. The joint authors hold themselves equally responsible for the whole volume, to which each has contributed a fair moiety. The results of this mode of working —as in the case of Drs. Milligan and Moulton upon the Gospel of St. John—would seem to be decidedly in its favour. Hardly any sign of unevenness can, so far as our observation goes, be detected; while, in the judgment of difficult questions, weight and impartiality may well have been gained by collaboration. Perhaps something is lost in individuality, character, point, and force; but a writer in whom these qualities were very highly marked would probably have chosen to work alone. The book, as it stands, forms a compact, solid, symmetrical structure, which may not captivate the eye at the first glance, but which is likely to stand as a permanent monument of exegetical power and skill, when much more showy and pretentious attempts have perished and been forgotten.

Having thus generally characterised this latest addition to the voluminous literature which has gathered round the Epistle to the Romans, we do not propose to review it in detail. The number of questions which claim examination is so great, that it is necessary to make a selection amongst them. The best way of doing this will probably be to draw attention, very briefly, to the authors' *method*, by describing their treatment of two or three crucial topics, and then to dwell with some minuteness upon one topic of cardinal importance. We select then the following:—For brief treatment: (1) The integrity of the Epistle; (2) The textual question in ch. v. 1; (3) The interpretation of the Conflict, described in ch. vii.; (4) The question of punctuation in

ch. ix. 5. It will then be possible to devote a few pages to the important subject of the Argument of the whole Epistle, with special reference to the much debated chs. ix.—xi.

It is well known to students of the Epistle that while the arguments for its genuineness are overwhelmingly strong, some doubt has arisen concerning the last two chapters. The facts are these. There is some (very slight) evidence for the omission of the words ἐν Ρώμῃ in ch. i. 7. There is considerable variation in existing MSS. concerning the place of the final doxology, ch. xvi. 25-27. In several MSS. it is found at the end of ch. xiv., in some codices it occurs in both places, while in others it is omitted altogether. There is strong evidence that Marcion omitted the whole of the last two chapters, and further evidence, not so strong, that an edition of the Epistle was early in circulation which ended with ch. xiv. It is thought that the prayer at the end of ch. xv. represents one conclusion of the Epistle, and that the two concluding passages xvi. 20, and xvi. 24 represent endings to two different recensions of the Epistle. These, with a few other similar facts and hypotheses, have led to much speculation concerning the original form of the letter and several theories have been propounded to account for the phenomena. Baur pronounced the last two chapters to be spurious. Renan supposed that the so-called Epistle to the Romans was a circular letter, existing in several different forms, which have become merged in the text as it now exists. Many German critics—with whom Dean Farrar ranks himself—hold a portion of Renan's theory, viz., that the list of names in ch. xvi. belongs to a letter addressed to Ephesus, not to one addressed to Rome. Dr. Lightfoot put forward a theory that the original Epistle to the Romans contained all our present Epistle, except xvi. 25-27, that at a later period St. Paul turned this into a circular letter, cutting off the last two chapters, which contained personal matter, omitting "in Rome" from i. 7 and i. 15, and adding the closing doxology. This view was closely criticised by Dr. Hort, who gave his own

account of the phenomena, one somewhat too complex for us to describe in detail.

Such are the facts, briefly rehearsed. There is evidently no sufficient ground for rejecting chs. xv. and xvi. as spurious. But there are textual and other phenomena which point strongly to the supposition that the Epistle has not always appeared in its present form. Can any satisfactory explanation be given of these facts? It may be that their complete solution is beyond us, but a judgment upon this point is expected from every intelligent editor of the Epistle. What say Professor Sanday and Mr. Headlam? They rightly point out that the weak place in Lightfoot's theory is that xiv. 23 does not make an appropriate place for a break, if a portion of the Epistle were to be sent as a circular letter. The doxology occurs there in several MSS., but if St. Paul himself had abbreviated the letter to serve another purpose, he would not have broken off in the middle of his argument concerning the "strong" and "weak" brethren. Our authors incline to a theory suggested by Dr. Gifford, that the whole trouble is due to Marcion. That able heresiarch, who, like some others, "wrested" St. Paul's writings to suit his own views, did, as we know, excise chs. xv. and xvi. from his edition of the Epistle. The early part of ch. xv. —see especially ver. 8—was fatally opposed to his view of the relation of the two covenants, and he ruthlessly cut away this, as well as other portions of the Scriptures which did not suit his purpose. Dr. Sanday holds that Marcion's *Apostolicon* had considerable circulation in the West, and that when the Epistle to the Romans was being adapted for Church use by the omission of the personal portion, it was natural to break off at the place where in a current and well-known edition a break had already been made. The "double ending" is naturally compared with a similar phenomenon in the Philippians. St. Paul, after appearing to conclude in Phil. iii. 1, breaks out into a denunciation of the Judaising teachers, and prolongs his remarks to considerable length. Similarly, when just about to close in Rom. xvi. 16, the apostle is impressed by the need of plain speaking

regarding those who cause divisions and teach false doctrine, and appends a warning against such. In xvi. 20 we have a closing benediction, followed by salutations from the apostle's companions. Last of all is appended a long and elaborate doxology, summing up the whole argument of the Epistle, and bringing it to a fitting and dignified close. We are not quite persuaded that the theory thus inadequately sketched covers the whole of the facts. The evidence in favour of a portion of the Epistle having been used as a circular letter is stronger than Dr. Sanday seems disposed to admit, and we should be disposed to favour another form of Lightfoot's theory, as amended by Dr. Hort's criticisms. But we have said enough to shew the line taken by our authors, and may add that the discussion of the subject in pp. lxxxv.–xcviii. of this volume is the most complete and masterly account of the facts and current hypotheses in small compass that we have anywhere seen.

A question of another character is raised by an examination of ch. v. 1. Here, as R.V. indicates, there are two readings. The one ἔχομεν, adopted in A.V. and mentioned in R.V. margin, yields the meaning "we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ;" the other, ἔχωμεν, adopted in the text of R.V. implies "let us have peace." The former reading rests upon decidedly inferior evidence, including F, G, P, and some cursive MSS., the correctors of ℵ and B, and a few Fathers. The latter reading is supported by an overwhelming proportion of authorities, including ℵ, A, B, C, D, E, K, L, the Vulgate, Peshito Syriac and other versions, Origen, Chrysostom and other Fathers. External evidence is thus decisive. But the subjunctive mood (used imperatively) certainly does not yield as good sense as the indicative, and this appears to be a case in which external and internal evidence are opposed to one another. What then is to be said? Meyer, in his unsatisfactory way where textual questions are concerned, cuts the knot by saying that ἔχωμεν "yields a sense that is here utterly unsuitable" and it must be therefore rejected. Godet, who is equally unsatisfactory as a textual critic, comes

to the same conclusion, though in a less summary and dogmatic way. He adopts ἔχομεν without hesitation and says that the alternative reading "certainly arises from a mistaken correction," and that it is "perhaps due to the fact that a liturgical reading began with this verse." This mode of arguing would put an end to all sound textual criticism. Where authorities so many and so varied concur to support a reading which is superficially difficult to understand, it is almost certainly the right one, and it is the business of the exegete to explain a surface difficulty. Several such explanations have been suggested. Dr. Beet would read, "Let us, being justified by faith, have peace," the participial clause denoting not so much the reason for entering upon the state of peace, as the means of obtaining it. There is something to be said for this view. It is, however, preferable to understand the clause as suggested by Dr. Sanday in the following note, which will serve as a specimen of the commentary.

"As to the meaning of ἔχωμεν it should be observed that it does not = '*make* peace.' 'get' or 'obtain peace' (which would be σχῶμεν), but rather 'keep' or 'enjoy peace' [A passage in support of this is here quoted from Chrysostom] cf. Acts ix. 31 'continued in a state of peace.' The aor. part δικαιωθέντες marks the initial moment of the state εἰρήνην ἔχωμεν. The declaration of 'not guilty,' which the sinner comes under by a heartfelt embracing of Christianity, at once does away with the state of hostility in which he had stood to God, and substitutes for it a state of peace which he has only to realise. This declaration of 'not guilty' and the peace which follows upon it are not due to himself, but are διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; *how* is explained more fully in iii. 25; also in ver. 9, 10 below." (p. 120).

One of the great questions of this Epistle turns on the interpretation given to ch. vii. 7-25. We may ask, "Of whom speaks the Apostle this, of himself, or of some other man"? Whether Paul himself be intended or not, the more important question is, Does the conflict here so graphically described belong to the state of the regenerate or the unregenerate man? Volumes have been written on the question. Augustine, followed by the Latin Fathers, and Calvinistic theologians generally, laid great

stress on the teaching of the passage as describing the regenerate man. On the other hand, Origen and most of the Greek Fathers may be quoted as authorities by Methodist theologians who naturally understand the phraseology of man in his unregenerate state. The point is a crucial one. The character of a man's theology, and what is at least as important, his practical experience, may depend on the decision. If it is true concerning the man who is born again of the Spirit that "the good which I would I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I practise," what becomes of the meaning of regeneration? On the other hand, is not the language concerning the "delight in the law after the inward man" too lofty for man in his natural and unregenerate state? An answer cannot be given in a breath. The subject has been well and ably handled by Principal Moule in his excellent commentary on the Romans in the *Expositor's Bible*. He holds that the personal note in the passage is too deep and strong for it to be understood of any one but St. Paul. He refuses to interpret it of a mere typical contest in the breast of a man whose conscience is troubled and who is compelled to say with Ovid, *video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*. He argues that no unregenerate man could be allowed to say, "It is not I, but sin that dwelleth in me," while to suppose that the paragraph describes a never-ending conflict in the life of a true Christian, is to leave him in perpetual bondage, not in the enjoyment of Gospel liberty. Mr. Moule's way out of these difficulties is ingenious, but we cannot profess ourselves to be altogether satisfied with it. Instead of quoting it at length, we will turn to Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam. They devote to the subject one of many excellent detached notes which form a salient feature of their Commentary. These notes are somewhat briefer and more condensed than those with which readers of Lightfoot and Westcott are happily familiar, but they contain a quantity of valuable information pithily given and a judgment of the writers' own which is usually a model of good sense and sound exegesis. In the present instance we heartily agree with the line of

interpretation adopted. A few extracts will indicate it to our readers.

"Clearly there is a double strain of language. The state of things described is certainly a conflict in which opposing forces are struggling for the mastery. Whether such a state belongs to the regenerate or the unregenerate man, seems to push us back upon the further question, What we mean by regenerate? The word is used in a higher and a lower sense. In the lower sense it is applied to all baptised Christians. In that sense there can be little doubt that the experience described may fairly come within it."

We interrupt the quotation here, to say that this reference to baptism does not help the matter in an exposition of St. Paul's meaning, nor does it shed any light whatever on the spiritual experience in question. Anglican readers may find it of service, but Evangelical Nonconformists hold it to be a perversion of words to describe the baptised infant as "henceforth regenerate." What follows is much more to the point.

"On the other hand, the higher stages of the spiritual life seem to be really excluded. The sigh of relief in verse 25, marks a dividing line between a period of conflict, and a period where conflict is practically ended. This shows that the present tenses are in any case not to be taken too literally. Three steps appear to be distinguished, (i.) the life of unconscious morality, (ver. 9), happy, but only from ignorance and thoughtlessness; (ii.) then the sharp collision between law and the sinful appetites waking to activity; (iii.) the end which is at last put to the stress and strain of this collision by the intervention of Christ, and of the Spirit of Christ, of which more will be said in the next chapter. The state there described is that of the truly and fully regenerate; the prolonged struggle which precedes seems to be more rightly defined as *inter regenerandum.**

"Or perhaps we should do better still to refuse to introduce so technical a term as 'regeneration,' into a contest from which it is wholly absent. St. Paul, it is true, regarded Christianity as operating a change in man. But here, whether the moment described is before or after the embracing of Christianity, in any case, abstraction is made of all that is Christian. Law and the soul are brought face to face with each other, and there is nothing between them. Not till we come to ver. 25 is there a single expression used which belongs to Christianity; and the use of it marks that the conflict is ended."†

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* Gifford, after Dean Jackson.

† Pp. 185, 186.

On the question whether St. Paul was describing his own case by the "I" of this passage, Dr. Sanday very well says, "It is not so much imaginary as imaginative. It is not a literal photograph of any one stage in the Apostle's career, but it is a constructive picture drawn by him in bold lines, from elements supplied to him by self-introspection." We cannot wholly agree with the author's way of speaking about regeneration; and the use of the word "Christianity," in the paragraph quoted above, is unfortunate. Chapter viii. does distinctly describe the joy and freedom of the regenerate life; ch. vii. 7-25 does in our view as distinctly describe the conflict which usually precedes the "entering into liberty," when a man has been convinced of sin, and before he enjoys the sense of forgiveness, and the dawning consciousness of power over temptation and evil. But in the main, we hold that Prof. Sanday is right, and though more disposed than he is to find in the passage a description of a typical entrance through spiritual struggle into the "glorious liberty of the children of God," we are quite prepared to say with him, "It would be a mistake to apply a generalised experience like this too rigidly. The process described comes to different men at different times, and in different degrees. In any case it is the mark of a genuine faith to be able to say with the Apostle, Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

We have not space to do more than touch upon the problem of punctuation raised in ch. ix. 5, whether the doxology refers to Christ or God. It is said that the interpretation of this verse has been discussed at greater length than that of any other verse of the New Testament. We can commend the five closely printed pages devoted to the subject by Prof. Sanday and Mr. Headlam, as giving a masterly survey of the whole controversy, which will save a reader the weary task of mastering articles and discussions innumerable. The bibliography of the subject is well presented, authorities being quoted which range from Irenæus and Tertullian to pamphlets by Kennedy and Gifford, and an article by Dr. Ezra Abbott, published very

recently. The *method* pursued in this admirable note is worth careful mastery by young students; it is a model of expository work. We content ourselves by quoting the carefully balanced conclusion.

"Throughout there has been no argument which we have felt to be quite conclusive, but the result of our investigations into the grammar of the sentence and the drift of the argument, is to incline us to the belief that the words would naturally refer to Christ, unless θεός is so definitely a proper name, that it would imply a contrast in itself. We have seen that it is not so. Even if St. Paul did not elsewhere use the word of the Christ, yet it certainly was so used at a not much later period. St. Paul's phraseology is never fixed; he had no dogmatic reason against so using it. In these circumstances, with some slight, but only slight, hesitation, we adopt the first alternative, and translate 'Of whom is the Christ as concerning the flesh, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.'" *

* Leaving questions of detail, however, we propose to deal somewhat more fully with *the* question of the Epistle, and ask what its latest interpreters have to say concerning its purpose, and the scope of its argument; and especially concerning the important chapters ix.-xi. It is well known that Baur considered these three chapters to contain the essential part of the Epistle, and that to these the first eight chapters form only an introduction. This theory has recently been revived by Dr. Hort, and has received a certain measure of support from modern scholars. It represents, however, in all probability, only a reaction against a mode of regarding the Epistle current previously, in which stress was unduly laid upon chs. i.-viii., the next three chapters being thrown into a parenthesis, or in danger of being ignored altogether. A sound interpretation of the Epistle will give to each part its due, and no more than its due, weight, and we are glad to find that Prof. Sanday in this, as in other matters, is not afraid of that *via media* along which the true road of the interpreter so constantly lies. The temptation in commenting upon any great classic is to strike out some new path, and in pointing out what no one has seen before,

* P. 238.

to distort the new truth into an error, by giving to it undue emphasis, and presenting it out of focus. The Epistle to the Romans is neither a doctrinal treatise on the one hand, nor a casual friendly letter on the other. It is a real epistle to an actual Church, and is what it is, *partly*—not wholly, as Baur would have it—because the Church at Rome in A.D. 58, was what it was. On the other hand, it differs from the Epistles to the Thessalonians and some others of St. Paul's Epistles, in that it is not a mere message to an individual Church, but a full, and in some sense, formal manifesto or declaration of principles. St. Paul had not founded the Church in Rome, had not even seen it, and could not address it as he did his fickle converts in Galatia, or his loyal and cordially loved followers in Philippi. He did not, therefore, indite to them an abstract theological treatise. But as a statesman takes a current opportunity to deliver a speech or write a letter to a friend which shall be more than an ordinary speech or letter, one which shall rally a whole party, or stir a nation, or arrest the attention of a listening world, so St. Paul uses this opportunity to do more than address the Church in Rome. Through this letter he intended to speak and has spoken to all Christendom, and his message has been unspeakably valuable and fruitful through all time.

This is a view which, when once fully apprehended, is seen to be the only possible account of the facts. The "Romans" is not an elaborate tractate, still less a controversial missile. It is the living utterance of an Apostle whose heart was never far from his lips when he spoke, addressed to a living Church with living needs. But the time for sharp controversy was over and a declaration of the living principles which animated what he called "my Gospel" was just then an urgent necessity. St. Paul met this demand by the letter, which is one chief monument to the greatness of the Apostle of the Gentiles; a greatness which he would be the first to acknowledge was not his own, but the gift of the Spirit of God. "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to account anything as from our-

selves; but our sufficiency is from God, who also made us sufficient as ministers of a new covenant." The following sentences will serve to show how Professor Sanday and Mr. Headlam regard this matter :—

"The Epistle is the ripened fruit of the thought and struggles of the eventful years by which it had been preceded. It is no merely abstract disquisition, but a letter full of direct human interest in the persons to whom it was written. It is a letter which contains here and there side-glances at particular local circumstances, and at least one emphatic warning (ch. xvi. 17-20) against a danger which had not reached the Church as yet, but any day might reach it and the full urgency of which the Apostle knew only too well; but the main theme of the letter is the gathering in of the harvest, at once of the Church's history since the departure of its Master, and of the individual history of a single soul, that one soul which under God had had the most active share in making the course of external events what it was. St. Paul set himself to give the Roman Church of his best; he has given it what was perhaps in some ways too good for it—more we may be sure than it would be able to digest and assimilate at the moment, but just for that very reason a body of teaching which eighteen centuries of Christian interpreters have failed to exhaust. Its richness in this respect is due to the incomparable hold which it shows on the essential principles of Christ's religion, and the way in which, like the Bible in general, it pierces through the conditions of a particular time and place to the roots of things which are permanent and universal."*

In what sense, however, does the Epistle do this? Is it a Gospel of the individual or of a community? If a Gospel of the Gentiles, how does it stand related to Jews? Is it, as has been said, St. Paul's "philosophy of history," dealing with world-problems in the light of that Gospel, which alone can explain the world's history and solve its perpetually recurring problems? The answer to these questions can only be found in a proper understanding of the whole Epistle viewed as one great argument, "the purpose of which is," says Professor Sanday, "to explain the Gospel of God in Jesus the Messiah, and to show its effects on human life and in the history of the race, and thus to vindicate for it the right to be considered the ultimate and final revelation of God's purpose for mankind."

* Pp. xliii., xliv.

An admirable analysis of the argument is to be found in the introduction to this volume. Probably the best help of this kind to an understanding of the Epistle which is to be found anywhere is a volume by Dr. Liddon,* which is too little known. But Liddon's work is often too minute and elaborate, the reader may "fail to see the wood for the trees." It reveals a world of patient thought and study in the author and furnishes a valuable "one-twenty-fifth objective" glass through which microscopically to study the intimate structure of this cardinal Epistle. In the work of Professor Sanday and Mr. Headlam will be found all the guidance for the study of the argument which most students need. In addition to the preliminary analysis, there is given a running paraphrase, after the fashion of Stanley in his "Corinthians" or Lightfoot in his commentaries. This will be found most helpful in tracing the detailed sequence of thought. We select from the analysis a few sentences only, that our readers may judge of its character for themselves. The whole covers three full pages of closely printed small type.

i. *Introduction*—i. 1-15.
   - α. The Apostolic Salutation, i. 1-7.
   - β. St. Paul and the Roman Church, i. 8-15.

ii. *Doctrinal.*

   The Great Thesis.—Problem: How is Righteousness to be attained? Answer—Not by man's work, but by God's gift, through Faith, or loyal attachment to Christ.

   - A. Righteousness as a state or condition in the sight of God (Justification) i. 18; v. 21.
   - B. Progressive Righteousness in the Christian (Sanctification), vi.-viii.
   - C. Problem of Israel's Unbelief. The Gospel in History, ix.-xi. A sad contrast to Israel's high destiny and privileges, ix. 1-5.
     1. Justice of the Rejection, ix. 6-29.
     2. Cause of the Rejection, ix. 30; x. 21.
     3. Mitigating considerations. The purpose of God, xi.

* *An Explanatory Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans.* By H. P. Liddon, D.D. Longmans. 1893.

iii. *Practical and Hortatory*, xii.-xv. 13.

iv. *Epilogue*, xv. 14; xvi. 27.

α. Personal explanations, xv. 14-33.

β. Greetings to various persons, xvi. 1-16.
A warning, 17-20; Postscript by the Apostle's companions, 21-23; Benediction and Doxology, 24-27.

It will be seen that our extracts from the analysis are not symmetrically made, the sections marked A and B being in the original unfolded with great care and minuteness. The object has been to give a bird's eye view of the whole Epistle as taken by our authors, some special prominence being given to the section C, for reasons which will shortly appear. The first eight chapters constitute the great body of the Epistle, but they are more frequently studied and are easier to understand than the section chs. ix.-xi., and it is with reference to the place of these latter chapters in the argument that questions chiefly arise.

Let it be supposed, therefore, that chs. i.-viii. have been carefully mastered. The Apostle has "concluded all under sin;" he has shown the failure of the Gentile to attain righteousness (i. 18-32), as well as that of the Jew (ii. 17-29). He has expounded the "new system" (iii. 21-31), shown its relation to the Old Testament (iv. 1-25), and described the "blissful effects of righteousness by faith" (v. 1-21). He has met the objection, If more sin means more grace, why not go on sinning? (ch. vi.); he has shown the triumph of grace where law was impotent, and sketched out in glorious perspective the Christian's new career and the "liberty of the glory of the sons of God" (chs. vii. and viii.). What occasions the outburst of ix. 1-5, and how is the section which it introduces related to the argument? There is no introductory particle to indicate the logical or grammatical connection of ix. 1. A new subject is introduced with very deep feeling, as if its very mention justified itself, and the sequence of thought is left to unfold itself as the Apostle proceeds. As a specimen of our authors' method of para-

phrasing, take the following exposition of the transition of thought here effected.

"How glorious the prospect of the life in Christ! How mournful the thought of those who are cut off from it! There is no shadow of falsehood in the statement I am about to make. As one who has his life in Christ, I affirm a solemn truth; and my conscience, speaking under the direct influence of God's Holy Spirit, bears witness to my sincerity. There is one grief that I cannot shake off, one distressing weight that lies for ever at my heart. Like Moses when he came down from the mount, the prayer has been in my mind; could I by the personal sacrifice of my own salvation for them, even by being cut off from all communion with Christ, save my own countrymen? Are they not my own brethren, my kinsmen as far as earthly relationship is concerned? Are they not God's own privileged people? They bear the sacred name of Israel with all that it implies; it is they whom He declared to be His son, His firstborn, Ex. iv. 22; their temple has been illuminated by the glory of the Divine presence; they are bound to Him by a series of covenants repeatedly received; to them He gave a system of law on Mount Sinai; year after year they have offered up the solemn worship of the temple; they have been the depositories of the Divine promises; their ancestors are the patriarchs, who were accounted righteous before God; from them, in these last days, has come the Messiah as regards His natural descent—that Messiah who, although sprung from a human parent, is supreme over all things, none other than God, the eternal object of human praise!"

We have indulged in a somewhat long extract, partly because it was difficult to divide it, partly because this amplification of St. Paul's words impresses upon the modern reader the sore and weighty character of the problem which was crushing on the Apostle's very heart. How was this new and glorious Gospel consistent with the privileged position of the Jews? If they did not accept the Gospel, it appeared they would be rejected; they, the very chosen and peculiar people: how was this consistent with the justice of God? The answer to these momentous questions is given in the three following chapters; and Dr. Sanday's account of them is as follows:—"In ix. 6-29, the faithfulness and justice of God are vindicated; in ix. 30—x. 21, the guilt of Israel is proved; in ch. xi. St. Paul shows the Divine purpose which is being fulfilled and looks forward

prophetically to a future time when Israel will be restored, concluding the section with a description of the Wisdom of God as far exceeding all human speculation."

The chief difficulties of the expositor in dealing with this section are found in ch. ix. An excellent summary of the history of interpretation of ix. 6-29 is given in pp. 269-275 of the present volume. The views of Origen, Chrysostom and Augustine are given at length, whilst the moderns are represented by Fritzsche, Meyer and Beyschlag. This history possesses much more than historical interest. The opinions here described have been potent in shaping Christian thought, and their practical effect has been neither slight nor unimportant. But one main mistake has misled the greater proportion of commentators. They have persisted in taking it for granted that St. Paul was answering their questions, instead of his own. Grave problems have pressed upon the minds of generations concerning grace and free-will, Divine sovereignty and human free agency, and upon the borderland of these problems St. Paul does indeed move in this difficult chapter. But his primary and immediate purpose is not to grapple with these problems at all. His point of view is different, and in a picture of a temple or a palace, everything depends upon the angle from which it is viewed. St. Paul is not dealing with individuals, but with nations; or rather, one nation, the Jews. Even with this point he does not deal fully in ch. ix., another side of the truth is dwelt on in ch. x., which must be taken fully into account by the interpreter of the ninth chapter. But both chs. ix. and x. are incomplete without a glimpse down the glorious vista of ch. xi., and there is a sense in which it may be said that the only view-point from which to discern the scope of the whole section is xi. 32. As, so frequently, the part is the enemy of the whole, and partial views of this great argument have proved almost worse than no view at all.

In the first sub-division of this section ix. 6-29, Paul proves that in rejecting Israel God had been neither untrue to His promise, nor unjust. The promises were conditional,

and the children of Ishmael and the children of Esau, alike descendants of Abraham, had been rejected. Further, a sovereign Being cannot be called unjust for withholding favours granted to some according to His own good pleasure. God's mercy is greater than even Israel could have expected, and the calling of the Gentiles had been as clearly prophesied as the rejection of all but a remnant of Israel had been foretold. Still, a bare insistence upon the sovereignty of God would be one-sided, and St. Paul in ix. 30—x. 13 shews that Israel was itself to blame in rejecting the Messiah, although they had full knowledge and full warning. How dare they cavil against a punishment which they had brought upon themselves, yet which was being over-ruled by God for the blessing of others? Even yet, a loophole for complaint is left. It must be hard for any Jew to acquiesce in such a destiny for his nation, however just and deserved: in a prospect so opposed to the long-cherished hopes of the chosen people, and apparently, to some of the promises of God. Let Jew and Gentile alike wait. The end is not yet. The branches of the wild olive grafted to the fruitful stock must not boast themselves against the natural branches, but see that they fulfil their function of richer fruit-bearing. And in the long last it shall be seen how much higher God's ways are than our ways, His thoughts than our thoughts. "For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all." Well may St. Paul, as Sir Thomas Browne said long afterwards, love to lose himself in an *O altitudo!* "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!"

The scope of this section, then, is clearly not what it has often been taken to be. It is "not a discussion of the principles on which grace is given to mankind, but a philosophy of history." There lies, however, in the vindication of God's Providence and the explanation of history here given, an unsolved and apparently insoluble antinomy. It is undeniable that in ch. ix. St. Paul asserts the divine sovereignty in the strongest and most unmitigated terms.

In ch. x. he as clearly insists upon man's power of choice, and ascribes Israel's rejection to his own wilful disregard of opportunity and abuse of privilege. It is useless to try to explain away St. Paul's language in either case, or to make either chapter paramount by subordinating the other to it. Fritzsche ascribes this unresolved difficulty to unconsciousness or ignorance in the Apostle—surely an impossible hypothesis. Meyer, with much more probability, attributes the antinomy to St. Paul's habit of insisting upon one truth at a time, to the exclusion of side-lights shed upon the subject from various points of view. Sanday and Headlam follow Meyer, travelling further than he does in the same direction. Whether this is a "habit" of St. Paul, or in any sense a peculiar characteristic of his, may be questioned. He knows how to unite truths which appear paradoxically opposed to one another. It is he who, in the Philippians, gives the exhortation, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work, for his good pleasure." St. Paul is quite capable of occupying the point of view from which, apparently, parallel lines are seen to meet in practice. But in this case the surd is irreducible. God's complete sovereignty and man's unfettered power of choice are both axioms necessary to religion. Destroy either, and the true connotation is gone from the word "God" or the word "man." A God who does not control all, a man who is not more than a machine—these are contradictions in terms. A religious teacher finds it necessary, for practical purposes, now to insist upon the Divine sovereignty as absolute, now to press home the fact of human responsibility as unquestionable. He cannot do both together, for obvious reasons. There is no ultimate inconsistency, but the antinomy appears to be insoluble. Hence all that a teacher can do is to keep both truths in mind and ply, now the one, now the other, as occasion demands. This is precisely what St. Paul does. Nor is this a mark of feebleness on his part, nor of ignorance, nor of confusion of mind. The true solution lies beyond. As our authors express it—

Mr. Headlam has written to a similar effect in a recent number of the *Expository Times*—

"We can but state the two sides; we cannot solve the problem. But yet there is one conception in which the solution lies. It is in a complete realisation of what we mean by asserting that God is Almighty. The two ideas of Free-will and the Divine Sovereignty cannot be reconciled in our own mind, but that does not prevent them from being reconciled in God's mind. We are really measuring Him by our own intellectual standard if we think otherwise. And so our solution of the problem of free-will, and of the problems of history and of individual salvation, must finally lie in the full acceptance and realisation of what is implied by the infinity and the omniscience of God" (p. 350).

Here we are obliged to leave the ultimate solution of all the greatest earthly problems. What answer does St. Paul give to the perpetually reiterated "Why?" of the human mind? Why does sin exist? Why hardening of the heart? Why election? Why failure, or apparent failure, of Divine purpose? To answer that the abuse of free-will in man is the blameworthy element is no more a complete explanation than to say that the almightiness of God is the only ultimate cause or explanation of all. St. Paul has been unfolding a philosophy of history. There have been many such. Professor Flint not long ago found a goodly octavo volume hardly large enough to contain a history of the philosophies of history put forth during a limited period in one country of Europe. Is St. Paul's better than these? Can he give any better foundation for the theories of the origin and course of human affairs, hold out any more stable and abiding hope concerning the end beyond the end? Doubtless to some extent St. Paul could point to experience and show how the purpose of God had been traceable in the history of the chosen people and the coming of that Promised One, who came to His own home and His own people received him not. But the slender, taper-light of experience cannot light up the darkness of the great abyss, the chaos "without form and void" which unbelief sees as it looks out upon "the ever-breaking shore that tumbles in the godless deep." Whence comes the triumphant con-

clusion of the doctrinal portion of this Epistle, the assurance that "all Israel shall be saved," that "God hath shut up all unto disobedience that He might have mercy upon all"? Surely in the fine, spiritual axiom which precedes—The "gifts and the calling of God are without repentance." It is in the character of God, the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God and Father of the Lord Jesus Christ, that St. Paul ultimately rests. For the solution of all problems concerning the chosen nation, all the Apostle's "great sorrow and unceasing pain of heart" concerning his countrymen, all the *Welt-schmerz* which troubled him and many a noble soul of old time, though the modern name for it had not been invented, St. Paul had but one unfailing anodyne. He, like many another, had to cry—

> "Oh, life! as futile then as frail!
> Oh, for a voice to soothe and bless!
> What hope of answer or redress?
> Behind the veil, behind the veil."

And he rested, where the storm-tossed and weary heart of man alone can find repose, in the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the love of God in Jesus Christ our Lord. "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, how shall He not with Him also freely give us all things?" Whatever fails, that love abides. "For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things. To Him be the glory for ever. Amen."

ART. V.—THE STATE PAPERS RELATING TO THE ARMADA.

"*State Papers relating to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada.*' Anno 1588. Edited by JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, R.N. Professor of Modern History in King's College, London. Two Vols. Second Edition. Printed for the Navy Records Society. 1895.

IT is a proof of the strong and increasing interest which the story of the Spanish Armada continues to inspire that a second edition of the State Papers relating to it should be called for within a very few months of the issuing of the first. Proud have Englishmen ever been of that splendid achievement which established their country's sovereignty at sea, and made her name glorious throughout the Christian world; but it has needed three intervening centuries to show us the real significance of the event which at last is given to us, set forth from first to last in the *ipsissima verba* of the valiant, astute, and audacious Englishmen who took part in it; and whose ability, valour, and audacity, reinforced by the strongest religious and patriotic enthusiasm, did so much to determine that "little England," as they proudly styled her, and not mighty Spain, should win the great wager of the nine days' battle in 1588.

That they themselves did not guess how great was the work they were doing is clear enough as we read the Papers before us. The writers—Burghley and Walsyngham, Howard and Seymour, Hawkyns and Drake, and their less famous fellows—being eminently practical persons, looked not too far ahead. An overweening haughty enemy was to be humbled, an imminent danger to Queen, country and religion was to be averted, and the right of English mariners and merchants to sail and trade where and how they would was to be vindicated once again—more grandly, but not more triumphantly than it had already been

vindicated by the hardy sea-captains of Elizabeth in many a well-fought fray. To this business statesman, soldier, and sailor bent their best energies, confident of Heaven's favour, but looking warily to their ways so as to be found worthy of it. When they saw such overwhelming disaster overtake their foe as they had scarce deemed possible, they said, "This is the finger of God," and gloried no less devoutly than did their Dutch allies in the overthrow of the Spanish "Pharaoh"; but betook themselves straightway to the task of providing against new attempts at invasion, as to which they by no means felt secure. Months and years elapsed before they thoroughly knew how tremendous was the blow they had struck against the overshadowing supremacy of Spain; much less did they dream—how should they?—of the mighty issues that had hung on their vigorous resistance to Spanish ambition and fanaticism. They had no prophetic vision of that expansion of England which should keep even pace with the growth of her maritime power, free through their efforts to develop as it ought; they saw not what vast tracts of the habitable earth should be peopled or administered by men of English race, and secured as such in the enjoyment of a larger measure of civil and religious liberty than any subject or statesman in Europe could in the sixteenth century conceive of as the inheritance of any people or as the ideal franchise of any national constitution. But our knowledge of these indirect results from their valour and energy lends an extraordinary interest to their frank utterances, written without heed of the judgment of posterity. From these we may learn what manner of men they were to whom we owe so much; and, comparing their powers and their temper of mind with that of our English to-day, we may judge whether these are or are not worthy successors of the old Elizabethans, and whether it can in truth be said that we stand to-day on a higher plane morally than that which they had reached.

The direct historical value of these two volumes also can hardly be overstated; and great indeed is our debt to those who have patiently deciphered and transcribed for us the

original documents; for the task has been one of considerable difficulty.

"I once did hold it, as our statists do, a baseness to write fair," says Hamlet; evidently not only Elizabeth's "statists," but her great soldiers and seamen, inclined to that unsound opinion. "Howard's writing is singularly perplexing; Seymour's is very bad; Drake's is a scrawl; Walsyngham's is atrocious." The spelling, carefully modernised for us, is curiously lawless in the originals, as certain samples printed as footnotes witness. The Lord Admiral Howard himself spells on genuine phonetic principles, showing us that he and his fellow-courtiers were wont to pronounce "service" as "sarvis," and to give to "victuals" and "Greenwich," and such-like traps for the unwary foreign reader, their modern London pronunciation. Howard's spelling, though decidedly curious, is however outrivalled for originality by that of Thomas Cely, the valiant Bristol trader and ci-devant prisoner of the Inquisition, whose quaint and characteristic letters contribute a distinctly humorous element to the story; and other correspondents show themselves abundantly in error as to the orthography, though excellently shrewd and sensible as to the matter, of their communications. Eccentric spelling and bad penmanship are, however, familiar difficulties to the students of historical documents; but these State Papers were in such a condition as furnished a more grievous obstacle to the right understanding of them.

"Many, especially the most interesting and important, have been very badly treated, carried about in pockets, opened and folded, read and re-read, till the edges and the folds were much frayed and torn. More than two centuries of damp afterwards tried to wash away what remained, and have too often nearly succeeded."

Transcripts made a hundred years ago by authority, and supposed to be trustworthy, are now proved to be almost worthless, owing to the ignorance and carelessness of the transcriber; and they cannot be relied on in the cases of

difficulty often presented by the disappearance of words and parts of words from the ill-used manuscripts. With infinite care and patience, however, the task has been finished, and this long series of English State Papers set before us with the completeness and accuracy essential to prevent their becoming false witnesses. Here are not only those vigorously worded letters, from the great commanders and State officials, with which we have been made acquainted by extracts, divorced from their natural place in a voluminous correspondence, and not rarely made to bear a sense which their writers did not intend; here are the navy accounts; the applications by mariners and captains for payment, the complaints of men aggrieved, the orders given for redress, the survey of the state of the Queen's fleet before and after the coming of the Armada. The curious may find here the exact number, names, value, and owners of the eight English vessels set on fire at Calais in order to drive the Armada from its position, those interested having to be compensated for the loss incurred; may study the inventory of the treasure, ammunition, and goods found in that unlucky vessel named Nuestra Señora del Rosario, the first "feather" plucked from the wings of Spain; may look with John Hawkyns and Thomas Howard at the "pitiful sight" presented by the "great Biscayan" vessel blown up and burnt the same night that Pedro de Valdes with his disabled ship was left behind by Medina Sidonia; or may by help of the "upholster's" accounts see with what bravery of green chintz, lace, green and yellow fringe, and copper nails and rings belonging thereto, the cabin of England's great High Admiral was garnished. There are not lacking too, among the more vital items relating to spars, timbers, sails, and running rigging, divers particulars as to the silken and woollen ensigns, streamers, and pennants which flew bravely on the favouring wind as "her Highness's ships" went nimbly to and fro on their death-dealing work—the red and white flag of St. George, the more sumptuous "flags of the Queen's arms," or of the arms of the nobly-born commanders, the plain red flag

without blazon, which long continued to be a signal to engage the enemy. The mass of material thus brought together, conveying first-hand information on matters great and small, does more than furnish a vivid picture of the time and the men; it supplies the means for correcting mistakes into which even "our best and most popular historians" have been betrayed on some important points. In this respect the two volumes before us are comparable only to Captain Duro's remarkable work, *La Armada Invencible*, introduced to English readers by Mr. Froude in his "Spanish story of the Armada."

Under this strong white historic search-light a few figures lose something of their rich picturesqueness. The Captain Thomas Flemyng, who, in his bark the *Golden Hind*, sailed into Plymouth on July 29th, 1588, bringing word how "the fleet of Spain was seen near the Lizard," has long been reputed "a pirate who had been at sea a-pilfering," as Monson has it; and thus he has been painted, very strikingly, in *Westward Ho!*—the rough old sea-dog, a pirate it may be, but an Englishman first, cheerfully risking his neck that he may serve his country, by giving timely notice of her enemy's approach. But the *Papers* reveal Flemyng as being no more of a pirate than Vice-Admiral Drake himself. A near kinsman of Hawkyns, he in his bark had been left by Howard in the Channel, with several others, to watch for the long-delayed Armada. Flemyng had the luck to espy it first, and to him alone Howard avows himself indebted for the vitally needful intelligence. We may discern Flemyng in the fleet thereafter, employed in matters of trust.

While Flemyng is cleared of the blot on his fame, it is otherwise with the galley-slave David Gwynn, whom Motley, following the Dutch chronicler Bor, has celebrated for the fierce heroism which enabled Gwynn and his fellows to make prize of two out of the four great Spanish galleys, the third having been wrecked; and so to free England from some of her foes. But the State Papers reveal Gwynn as a most unheroic rascal. His claim to

have mastered even one Spanish galley, by the simple expedient of killing every Spaniard on board, is disproved by Duro; three out of the four galleys made good their return to Spain; the fourth, the *Diana*, was cast away near Bayonne, and Gwynn, with one or two other English slaves, managed to escape during the confusion. Thereafter David Gwynn becomes visible to us in letters from the Lord Deputy Fytzwylliam and the Council in Ireland—not favourably. For his knowledge of Spanish he was employed in examining the wretched Spaniards captured in that country, and, his morals being none the better for his sojourn in the galleys, he "embezzled, impaired, and concealed chains, gold, and money," which he took from the prisoners, to the amount of £160; and being convicted of grievous slanders spoken against Walsyngham, to whom he had imputed nothing less than treason, he was "ignominiously sent out of Ireland, as a liar, a thief, and a lewd person." It is highly probable that he sought refuge in Holland, and found profit there in bragging of his imaginary exploits to the Spaniard-hating Hollanders, who had no means of checking his account. Its transfer to the pages of Bor, as first-hand evidence, would naturally follow.

The brave, free-spoken, self-opinionated Thomas Cely, trader of Bristol, who appears in these pages commanding a ship (the *Elizabeth Drake*) against the Armada, plundering Spanish prisoners of their silken and golden bravery, and urging on Burghley some mysterious enterprise of great import—presumably the capture of the Spanish treasure-fleet—has figured differently in the splendid pages of Mr. Froude, where it is suggested that his fate was to perish by inches in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or to be burnt to please the rabble of Valladolid—a fate divined from the statements in the petition of Cely's wife, Dorothy, to the Council in 1575, she pleading that reprisals should be made for the cruel wrongs her husband had endured, the imprisonings and torments he had incurred, by resenting with a blow the slanders spoken against his Sovereign Lady by "a certain subject of the King of Spain." But Cely's own

vigorous pen gives assurance of his safe return from the durance vile—"three years in close prison, four in the galleys"—which he had brought on himself by the loyal rage that made him "strike their secretary as I was before the Inquisidores, they sitting in judgment;" a sort of rashness that might have had very unpleasant consequences in an English Court of Law of the period. Cely's deliverance from "the King of Spain's most filthy galleys," his subsequent exploits, and the solace given to him in 1590 in the shape of a pension of £30, do something to lighten the gloom of Froude's sombre picture of "many hundreds" of our adventurous countrymen rotting away in Spanish dungeons, or blazing at Spanish *autos-da-fé*. Others, like Cely, may also have escaped, and avenged their wrongs as amply as he did; as he contrived to communicate with home, so might they.

More welcome than such disproof of romantic myths clustering round the true story, is the evidence adduced by Professor Laughton in refutation of the charges freely made against Elizabeth of a peculiarly shameful niggardliness, perilous to the lives of her subjects and the success of her arms, at this great crisis of the nation's existence. The Editor of these *Papers* succeeds in showing that a good defence can be made for the Queen on all the points wherein she has been held especially guilty. Without trying to clear her of the general imputation of penuriousness; without denying that she loved money far too well—"to return money which she had once clutched," says he, in reference to the rich Spanish plunder that Drake had laid at her feet, "was to her a constitutional impossibility"—he does acquit her of personal blame in respect to the suffering and danger in which her gallant subjects were involved, through lack of proper provision and ammunition, or by detention of their wages, during that fateful summer and autumn.

"The full evidence," says he, "is before us, and permits us to say positively that, from first to last, the Queen had nothing to do with the victualling of the fleet." To

Burghley, Walsyngham, and Howard, her thrifty disposition was only too well known; and Howard, writing to and of her with the freedom of the near kinsman that he was, is not chary of very plain speech respecting it. The Admiral, the Treasurer, the Secretary, looked doubtless for "a strict, probably an unsympathetic, scrutiny of their accounts;" but "the management of the business was left entirely in their hands," and they spared neither money nor care. These records make it clear that "the victualling was conducted on a fairly liberal scale, as far as the money was concerned." But there were great difficulties, such as do not exist to-day, connected with the providing and the transporting of the victuals.

In 1588 "there was no commissariat at all," nor had there ever been any. The victualling of the Royal Navy was carried out on a sort of hand-to-mouth system, ill-fitted to meet the demands of a time of great emergency; "the beef had to be salted, the biscuit baked, to meet the requirements of the day," such victualling yards or stores as existed being yet in their infancy; and the whole burden of purveying for the ships that overcame the Armada rested on the shoulders of one man, Marmaduke Darell, agent-victualler of the navy—an honest gentleman, zealous, able, and devoted, Howard being witness—who in his single person had to do the work of a whole Department.

Elizabeth's great commanders were by no means blind to the risks such a system must entail, when a fleet of unheard-of magnitude, gathered to meet an unexampled danger, was to be supplied. Hence those many letters of Howard, deprecating a possible shortness of provisions, in strains of vehement urgency, which have been cited as though their every passionate word were a proof of short-sighted slackness on the part of the Queen. They really witness against a system whose defects Howard himself did not fully know. King Henry VIII. said he, "never made a less supply than six weeks"—but in that monarch's reign another Howard had bitterly complained of ships only provisioned for a fortnight. The vicious system could not be changed at a

moment's notice. When all that men could do had been done, the provisions were not there ready to meet the unexampled needs of the service. There were no Government stores to fall back upon. So Darell may be seen "scouring the country round, buying up what he could, more like a mess-steward with a market-basket than the agent-victualler of a great fleet;" while at Plymouth, Howard, wind-bound in the harbour, or wearying for the coming of the tardy foe, does what he can, laying strong hands on a Hamburg trading ship, staying her from her voyage to London, and buying up her cargo of rice for the use of his men, whose necessity must plead his excuse to Burghley for the detention of the ship, which has been complained of. He tries also what he calls "scantyings"—putting his men at five and six in a mess instead of four—a desperate expedient, but no new one; unjustly credited to the penurious inventiveness of the Queen, it was really "the established custom of the navy, and continued to be so for the next 250 years."

A little time, and the chase has followed the Spaniards into the Straits of Dover and past them; and we hear much of slackness on the part of victuallers, of delays on the part of the merchant-ships that should bring provision, and suggestions that it were well if the fleet were provisioned from Dover rather than London, proof and to spare of ill-management, or rather of an impossible system, but of little besides. Then Howard's letters tell of a fearful mortality among the crews of his victorious ships off Margate; he is trying the best methods he knows to cleanse them of infection, which the men think "abideth in the pitch," and he is in sore straits to find lodging on shore for his disembarked sick, who are dying about the streets; the best he can get is but "barns and such outhouses. . . . It would grieve any man's heart to see them that have served so valiantly to die so miserably."

Words of passionate pity, worthy of the true man who wrote them, but not aimed at the Royal niggardliness, which here was not in fault; though they have been so construed.

A high modern authority has said, "The disorder was traceable definitely to the poisonous beer" furnished to the fleet, which, we are further told, was still served out, from motives of economy, when its ill effects were obvious; "nothing better was allowed till it was consumed." Now it is too certain that our valiant seamen were drinking very sour beer in that eventful August—no doubt with hearty execrations of the "nasty unwholesome stuff," which both the brewer and Darell affirmed was good and sound when it was shipped. Such complaints and such rejoinders adorn many following years of our navy records, and only cease when beer ceases to be the staple drink of the navy. It is true, also, that Howard tells how "the mariners have a conceit that sour drink has been a great cause of this infection amongst us." He was not, however, nor was Darell, endeavouring to please the Queen by compelling the men to go on consuming "poisonous beer."

"Mr. Darell makes trial to brew the sour beer again, and so to mix it with other new beer, which I hope will do well," writes Howard; we do not know how it succeeded. Nor was there much truth in the "mariner's conceit" as to the cause of the fearful mortality among them. The disorder was not dysentery, as has been imputed; it is now clearly recognised for "ship-fever," a sort of typhus; it had been busy in some ships before ever a Spanish sail was seen in the Channel. Though possibly aggravated by poor unwholesome fare, it was due originally to infection from the shore, and to ignorance or neglect of sanitary laws on board the vessels infected. "The ships commanded by the experienced old salts escaped comparatively lightly;" not so those of Howard and his valiant kinsfolk, "men, splendid in the day of battle, but without experience in the very necessary art of keeping a ship clean and sweet." So the strong healthy men whom the Admiral impressed in place of his fever-smitten crews were cut down almost as fast as he embarked them in the tainted ships; "they sicken one day, and die the next;" a thing hard to explain were the malady solely due to the indifferent food of the men. This pestilent

fever continued its periodical ravages in the fleets of England, France, and Spain, down to the close of the last century; in our service it is now almost forgotten, thanks to better knowledge and better observance of the laws of health.

In like fashion is met the reproach cast on the Queen for the English shortness of ammunition. This, too, was "a detail with which she had nothing to do;" and what was lacking was powder itself, not the funds needful to buy it. "There was no available store in the kingdom." Walsyngham, foreseeing a possible lack, had tried with indifferent success to obtain a supply from the Low Countries. Yet the English fleet put to sea with "the usual quantity of ammunition on board," much better supplied, indeed, than the Spaniard; but the expenditure was "more, very many times more," than anyone could have dreamed of, unless it were some experienced sea-rover of the Drake and Hawkyns type. The secret of the deficiency lay in the unexampled rapidity of the English fire. Avoiding the hand-to-hand fighting desired by the enemy, keeping adroitly to their own new and baffling system of off-fighting, firing three shots to the Spaniards' one, the English expended an unheard-of quantity of powder and shot in that hot and furious fire, which hulled the towering Spaniards through and through, and sent them, "leaking like sieves, their masts and rigging shattered, their water-casks smashed," and their crews fearfully diminished, to encounter the terrible seas and bristling rocks of the inhospitable Irish shores.

One more stock complaint against Elizabeth may be briefly referred to. She has been accused of shamefully withholding the wages due to the men. But neither in this matter did she intermeddle personally. The money, sanctioned by the Council and ordered by the Treasurer, was presumably paid over to the Treasurer of the Navy, Hawkyns, who seems to have dispensed it honestly, though his enemies reproached him with the contrary, and though he did find this dealing with "such intricate matters" as

the navy accounts insupportable without skilled assistance, which was granted at his petition. It is quite possible that the queer arithmetic of Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, who did his reckoning in the Roman notation, may have added to the "intricacy" which vexed the soul of John Hawkyns. There was a delay, which bred violent discontents, in paying the victorious crews—who after their eight months' sea-service, were in very evil case—for the month ending August 25th, "but as the Treasurer of the Navy had been busy fighting and attending to the welfare of his own men," the delay may be accounted for without imputing dishonesty to him, or heartless parsimony to those under whom he served. Particulars adduced by Professor Laughton do much to support his contention that Queen Elizabeth's mariners, though not paid with the exemplary promptitude of our own day, were "very much better off than their successors under the Commonwealth, or the Restoration, or even George III.," in whose times the men would have been glad indeed of the cash payments, occurring at intervals of not more than three months, which are plainly shown by navy records under Elizabeth.

In view of the evidence supplied by these volumes, future historians, emulous of the rank held by Froude and Motley in our own day, will probably be charier of charging the great Queen with larcenous and homicidal parsimony towards the men, who, in her ships, went forth to shatter the strength of Spain.

Apart from their strong negative testimony in her favour, these new-published State Papers add not much to our knowledge of Elizabeth herself; an august veiled figure, she moves in the background. Once we may discern her, granting a personal interview to Thomas Cely, reading a paper in which his great secret design is set forth, "looking very sadly on him," and saying, "It cannot be done in time."

"I am assured her Majesty doth love me, and would not have me come to any foil," says Cely, keeping in his mind what he has suffered "for her Majesty's sake and her subjects." We are not brought so near to the Queen as was

the importunate Bristol trader, so keen for revenge upon the Spaniard; but we do come face to face with the men who served her so ably and spoke so plainly to her and her great officers of State. Charles Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, the Queen's splendid kinsman, stands out in high and brilliant relief; we may almost hear "the snatches in his voice and burst of speaking,"—while he urges on the Queen the vanity of those hopes of a true peace with double-dealing Spain, which are leading her to neglect her land's defences. "For the love of Jesus Christ, madam!" cries Howard, "awake thoroughly and see the villainous treasons round about you. . . . I would to God nobody had been more deceived in this than I!" while he denounces "the French King, the Scottish King, and the King of Spain" as a "Trinity he will never trust to be saved by," or sends word of defiance to Mendoza, Philip's ambassador at Paris, who had falsely reported the destruction of the English fleet—

"Let him know that her Majesty's rotten ships dare meet with his master's sound ships; and in buffeting with them, though they were three great ships to one of us, yet we have shortened them 16 or 17; whereof there is three of them a-fishing in the bottom of the seas. God be thanked for all!"—

or glories in the sound Protestantism of my Lord Sheffield, his nephew, who "was most vehement against Papists, so be-traitoring them, saying he that was in his ship that would not be sworn against the Pope, he would take him for a traitor, and so use him,"—a style of speaking that will surprise the many good people who still hold the curious opinion that Howard of Effingham must be ranked among *Catholics* loyal to Elizabeth.

Always it is the same man, wrathful and tender-hearted, open-handed and free spoken, prompt to devise and to execute, and wonderfully impatient of indirectness and procrastination; but generous in his appreciation of men bold, shrewd, and loyal like himself. Francis Drake has a firm friend in him, and he is not slow to write in praise of him to Walsyngham, telling how Drake "beareth himself lovingly and kindly to me and dutifully to her Majesty's service."

One may find an oddly suggestive companion figure to the magnificent Howard in Henry Whyte, honest grumbling Englishman, who has given up his ship, the bark *Talbot*, to make one of the eight set on fire at Calais to scare the Spaniards from their anchorage, and who writes a very intelligible letter to Walsyngham, telling of his loss and obviously inviting compensation—

"I rest as one that had his house burnt, and one of these days I must come to your Honour for a commission to go a begging. . . . . I assure your Honour her Majesty's service hath utterly beggared me. But this comfort I have; her Highness, with your Honour's furtherance, may easily remedy my grief."

And Whyte's name stands accordingly in the list of those to be compensated.

Nothing has been done quite to the liking of sturdy Henry Whyte.

"The majesty of the enemy's fleet, the good order they held, and the private consideration of our own wants, did cause, in mine opinion, our first onset to be more coldly done than became the value of our nation and the credit of the English navy."

The clever stratagem of the fire-ships "took good effect, but not so good as was expected"; even the tremendous action off Gravelines was not what it might have been; a little more powder and shot and "we had utterly distressed them," Whyte not guessing what was really the disastrous state of the Spanish fleet; and even when he has seen it vanish into the Scottish seas on its fatal return journey, he does but murmur how there remain fourscore Spanish sail

"At liberty, if wind and weather hinder not" (a tremendous *if*, as the event proved) "to practise in Scotland and attempt Ireland. . . . . By this, my simple relation, your Honour may see how our parsimony at home hath bereaved us of the famousest victory that ever our navy might have had at sea."

So far the patriotic grumbler, unable to see that there had indeed been won "the famousest victory" that England had ever gained by sea or shore. But he stood not alone in his discontents and apprehensions; the most sagacious and sanguine of the commanders who had worked the overthrow of the Spaniard remained long dubious as to what the dimi-

nished Armada, in conjunction with the Duke of Parma, might not yet effect, as the letters of Drake and others show.

A critic as unfavourable as Henry Whyte is found in William Thomas, master-gunner at Flushing; but it is not his cue to deplore our "parsimony at home." No, he writes to Burleigh, giving God "most hearty thanks" that Queen and Council maintain "so royal a navy" and "spare no charges" in providing plentifully "great and forcible ordnance." What Thomas finds really amiss in their doings is that they have slighted the Corporation of Gunners to which he belongs, founded by "that famous prince of memory, Henry the Eighth." Gunners unskilful as well as too few in number had been employed, and so it had fallen out that much powder and shot had been spent to little purpose.

Let this be remedied, urges Thomas; grant our suit for the renewing and confirming of our charter; then her Highness's service will no more be endamaged by "blind exercise and unskilful teaching" of "our science."

The English practice, however, had not been inferior to any of that period; and the proportion of gunners employed—5 to every 100 tons burden—had been much what Thomas had himself recommended in his former petition of 1585.

Too much stress has been laid on the representations of men such as these, hurt in their patriotic or their professional pride—for lack of comparing their words with the facts of the case. Our historians have not made the kindred blunder of judging Drake by the railing accusations of men whom he had crossed—of Borough, skilled navigator and hydrographer but rather ineffective fighter, who cries out to Burleigh against the "injurious, ungodly, and extreme dealings, which are insupportable," with which Drake had visited his insubordination: or of Frobiser, the keen Yorkshireman, who, for all his sea-craft and soldier-craft, can little more than sign his name, so that we have no letter of his, but whose rough voice we may hear, by help of "Matthew Starke, mariner," and letter bearer of Howard, raging against Drake as "a cowardly knave," or traitor, a cozener, a braggart.

"He was the cause of all these troubles, and in this action he showed himself the most coward—he reporteth that no man hath done so good service as he: but he lieth in his teeth; for there are others that have done as well as he, and better too."

Frobiser rails thus unreproved, in the presence of Hawkyns; the two great captains have the same grudge against Drake—the fear that he may deny them their share in the spoil of Don Pedro de Valdes, whose ship they both had pounded effectually before Valdes in his distress surrendered to Drake. But the essential greatness of Francis Drake has never suffered eclipse through these transient bursts of ill-will from men who were his true comrades in the day of danger, however they might growl, after the surly English way, when each man was at his leisure to recall his pet grievance. That immemorial custom of Englishmen, who talk openly and extravagantly of every blemish in the national doings or character, and lay open every sore in the body politic to the world, has actually misled historians dealing with the Elizabethan achievements, as it misleads intelligent foreign observers of our own time in their judgment of contemporary politics. Nothing is more striking in these blunt and business-like utterances of our forefathers than the essential identity of the traits with those of our countrymen of to-day. Three intervening centuries have wrought little change. How essentially English a type is presented in Francis Drake it were almost superfluous to mention—the cheerful courage, the superb self-confidence, the wary business-like circumspection and forethought, the magnificent audacity, and the total lack of boastfulness or exaggeration, make up an ensemble not easy to parallel from the annals of any other country. As characteristic in its way is the figure of his kinsman, comrade and rival, Hawkyns, blameworthy and illustrious hero, endowed with "the cunning as well as the courage of the fox," and beating King Philip at his own game of dissimulation. The shifty and unscrupulous "sea-robber, corsair, slave-hunter," is revealed to us in these pages under an aspect that commands our respect and sympathy; doing excellent work for Queen

and country, while reviled and thwarted at every turn, and doggedly going on in his own way because he knows it is the best way; like many another dour, unpopular, and sterling Englishman.

We hear the envenomed complaints and slanders of the master shipwrights against him who knew the shipbuilding craft better than any man living, who sent forth the Queen's great ships in perfect condition, and to whom it was owing that they came back from their hard sea-service no more impaired than "if they had been riding at Chatham"; we catch the "hard speeches" that hinted at foul practices on the part of the Treasurer of the Navy who at the very time was impairing his own wealth by large disbursements to creditors of the Government, and straining brain and nerves over the "great and intricate" navy accounts, in the ceaseless effort to deal justly, and yet to content the scores of greedy or unreasonable claimants; and we are moved to pity and admiration for the hard sea-farer, who kept his Ulyssean craft for his country's enemies, but used only the directest and plainest dealing, where by dishonesty he might have grown rich at his country's cost. His urgent pleadings for "open and lawful war" as the only way to attain a settled peace have the right ring about them, and show such an apprehension of the value of truth and straightforwardness in State affairs as was rare in the diplomats of that time, but has since approved itself to the judgment of many a great Englishman. In this point, and in some others, one may esteem John Hawkyns as of kindred spirit to Arthur Wellesley.

"In open and lawful war God will help us, for we defend the chief cause, our religion, God's own cause; open war God doth best allow. . . . The Lord shall bring us a most honourable and quiet peace." Hawkyns could give such expression to the deep-rooted English conviction that England's cause was the cause of Heaven, and incur no suspicion of cant or insincerity. Hard-headed fighters, veteran statesmen, courtiers who were "the glass of fashion and the mould of form," all spoke the same language, and none

sneered at them. Seymour, Howard's highborn kinsman, Drake, the unequalled sea-captain, mingle the same pious phrases quite naturally with their boyish jests over the discomfiture of Spain.

"It seemeth," writes Seymour, "the Duke of Parma is in a great chafe . . . to find such discomfiture of the Spanish fleet hard by his nose. I can say no more, but God doth show His mighty hand for protecting this little island, for His glory and the honour of our country"; and it is "by the grace of God" that Drake trusts "to wrestle a pull" with the flying Spaniard, "by the grace of God" that he looks to make Medina Sidonia wish himself at St. Mary Port, among his orange trees—"God give us grace to depend upon him; so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good," is Drake's proudest word in the flush of victory. One may not doubt the sincerity of the utterance on such lips, however we may be sceptical as to Leicester's more perfunctory and conventional piety. *His* use of high-flown religious talk is but an evidence that religion was in vogue with every class, and that men of every class were not in the least ashamed of their religion. There has come a marked change among us in this respect. How came it; and is it a change for the good?

It would be easy enough to point out the gravest defects in the Elizabethan reading of Christian obligations. The matter-of-fact references to the ruthless usage of ship-wrecked or captured Spaniards in Ireland and in England show us clearly that the sentiment we call Humanity had as yet no well-defined place in the list of virtues. Sir Richard Bingham writes quite complacently from Ireland of the 1,100 helpless, defenceless Spaniards "whom we put to the sword," appends a list of some fifty officers and gentlemen whom he spared (since *they* might be worth ransoming), till word came from the Lord-Deputy that they must be slain, which was duly performed; two only of highest rank being reserved till the Queen's pleasure be known; and winds up his gruesome record with the strange words 'Thus, God be praised, was the province quickly rid of

those distressed enemies, and the service done and ended without any other forces than the garrison bands, or yet any extraordinary charge to your Majesty."

Is this the exceptional callous ferocity of a man dehumanised by living amidst Irish savagery and violence? No. George Cary, sheriff of Devon, shows the same spirit, when complaining of the difficult task of catering for the captive sailors from the *Rosario*, surrendered on condition that life shall be spared. Here are the men alive and hungry; their own provision is scanty and bad; the Devon folk are very cold in charity to them; yet fed they must be, and good English money must be spent in keeping mischievous enemies alive. "I wish they had been made water spaniels when they were first taken," says Cary; and neither he nor his correspondent sees any harm in the grim jest, with its play on *Spaniard* and *spaniel*, and its suggestion that it were better mercy to drown captured enemies out of the way at once. As the English dealt with the Spaniards, so dealt the Spaniards with them when they had the chance. It was the common course of war, that, when prisoners were a source of danger, they should be slain promptly; nor was it rare for them to be put to death because not judged worthy of ransom. No one took shame to himself for inhumanity, in such a case. The feeling which is shocked by Cromwell's stern work after Drogheda, or by the wholesale butcheries of Bingham, had not then come into existence; but the peculiar fiendishness of Spanish doings at Antwerp, of French doings at the Saint Bartholomew, did excite horror in the English breasts which were thrilled by no remorse for the "fury and heat of justice" dealing out swift, sure death to sworn enemies, without any delay of needless torments.

We, who live to-day, have drunk more deeply into the spirit of Christ, and understand our duty towards an enemy somewhat better than—let us say—John Hawkyns, who never seems to have thought that he needed to repent for his slave-hunting, though we may not therefore condemn his outspoken piety as being more hollow than that of John

Newton while engaged in the slave-trade. Newton, however, living under a purer light, became acquainted with his own offences; he did not therefore cease from speaking freely of his true Christian belief; but there are many who believe like him, and yet think it unfit to own it with the openness and boldness of their daily speech. For religious talk has now for generations been out of fashion as thoroughly as ever it was in fashion under Elizabeth; and we may credit all our modern shyness and reticence, and unwise shame of betraying our religious faith in our common speech, to those days of dominant Puritanism, when the display of a special piety was needful to worldly success, when promotion waited on the affectation of superior zeal, and when, consequently, hypocrisy was at a premium. Then men learnt to distrust and avoid the outward show that often veiled inward rottenness; and then the simple natural effusiveness of devout feeling, so universal in the days of the Armada, became all but impossible; it hardly needed the violent reaction of the Restoration, and the advent of a well-mannered vicious despot who approved of Anglicanism and Popery as "gentlemanlike religions," to banish from Society—in its narrow sense—those habitual recognitions of the Divine Sovereignty and the Divine Goodness which came easily to the lips of the courtliest, the most accomplished, the bravest and the best in the "times of great Elizabeth."

Herein we are less natural and less noble than our ancestors, though we may have learnt more than they of the Gospel of Mercy. If we would have their better fashions of speech and thought to rule again, we must take heed that those among us who believed as they believed, and who are not afraid to speak as they spoke, shame not that faith and those professions with deeds ill according therewith: or the doom of the Puritans may come upon us again, our good be evil spoken of, and the religion we would die for come again to be a thing that men are afraid to acknowledge, lest they should be greeted with the easy taunt of "Hypocrisy!"

ART. VI.—THE COMMAND OF THE SEA.

1. *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, 1660-1783. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, U.S. Navy. Fifth Edition. London, 1895.
2. *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, 1793-1812. By Captain A. T. MAHAN, U.S. Navy. Two Volumes. Fifth Edition. London, 1895.
3. *The Command of the Sea.* By SPENSER WILKINSON. London, 1895.
4. *Naval Warfare.* By Rear-Admiral P. H. COLOMB. London, 1891.

IN one of his most pregnant essays, Bacon touches on the relation of sea-power to "The True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates."

"We see," says he, "the great effects of battles by sea: the battle of Actium decided the empire of the world; the battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. . . . He that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much or as little of the war as he will; whereas those that be strongest by land are many times, nevertheless, in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us in Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas."

But even Bacon could not then perceive how absolute and how unique is the necessity of maritime supremacy to an empire such as Britain has become, a world-wide empire scattered over all the seas. To other nations the command of the sea would be a luxury of power; to Great Britain it is a primordial necessity. To them, it would be a means to

an end: to us it is an end in itself; for in our case it is synonymous with the preservation of our empire. Were we to lose it, the girdle of empire, *ipso facto*, would be broken in pieces. At present the secret of our power is latent. If we were challenged to exert it, we should have to fight for it. If we were beaten, three things would follow; these islands would be liable to invasion or starvation, our colonies and dependencies would be open to assault or annexation, and our merchant shipping, with its merchandise, be captured or destroyed. By the Navy, therefore, it is evident we stand or fall. The Fleet is not merely our first line of defence; it is our only line. If every man in Britain were a soldier we should perish if we lost control of those great ocean highways which bear up the very means of our existence. Up to the close of the last century the population of these islands might, perhaps, have subsisted in a fashion on their native products. The present population could not so live a year. To bring us to our knees it would not be necessary to invade us. The enemy has only to stop supplies. But first he must destroy our fleets, and that, please God, must be prevented at whatever cost. The only way to prevent it is to cripple or destroy our enemy's fleets. Without the power to do this we cannot be said to have command of the sea. The term is now restricted to

"the state of things existing during the continuance of a war, after naval victory has been fully asserted; the possession of an invincible fleet which has gained so decisive a victory, or series of victories, as to render hopeless any renewal of the struggle against it."

By "the command of the sea" is meant something widely different from "the sovereignty of the seas"—something larger in its scope, and altogether different in its nature and effects. The sovereignty of the seas has never been asserted by this country since the battle of Trafalgar. It was a claim to certain civil rights within "the narrow seas," rights of anchorage, of fishery, of trade. It was not, as is commonly supposed, a claim to naval supremacy, although the English kings from the time of King John, and probably still earlier,

always required their naval officers to demand of foreign ships within those waters an acknowledgment of their sovereignty, by lowering the topsail and striking the flag. The title "King of the Sea" was conferred on Edward III., after a splendid victory over the Spanish fleet in 1350. When Henry V. embarked for France in 1417, two of his ships had purple sails embroidered with the arms of France and England. One of them was called the "King's Chamber," the other the "King's Saloon," an intimation that the king kept Court at sea, which he regarded as a part of his dominions. In Mary's reign, when Philip II. of Spain was actually on his way to marry the Queen, her Lord High Admiral, by firing a shot at the reluctant Spanish Admiral, compelled him to strike his flag. When Sully, the great minister of *Henri Quatre*, was crossing from Calais to the Court of James I., the despatch boat that met him as an escort ordered the French ship to lower her flag. On Sully's refusal, the English captain fired three cannon shots into the French vessel, and all that the Duke could get for answer to his remonstrance was that "just as his duty obliged him to honour the ambassador's rank, it also obliged him to exact the honour due to the flag of his master as sovereign of the sea." For more than a century after this every foreign vessel in the seas around our shores was made to "veil her bonnet" in the presence of a British man-of-war. Not till Nelson won his final victory was this Admiralty regulation cancelled. It signified the national feeling that supremacy at sea is indispensable to the security and expansion of a nation situated like our own. Gradually, however, the older and more conventional idea of the sovereignty has passed into the more scientific idea of the command of the sea.

How to obtain this command in case of need is the question of the hour. For the British Empire it is a question of paramount importance, a question of life or death. For four decades our naval supremacy has never been seriously questioned. So complete was the command of the sea secured for us by Nelson's victories, so prodigious and far-

reaching was the battle of Trafalgar, in particular, in its moral and material effects, that

"for more than half a century England was the world's carrier and the policeman of all seas. Without a dream of interference, she was able to send her troops where she would; to move whole nations of colonists to the United States, Australia, Canada, the Cape. She had the command of all markets, first by her monopoly of the sea, and secondly by the fact that all the Continental countries came out of the war devastated and ruined, while English trade and manufacture had continually flourished. Thus she had a great start in the race for wealth; she could best and soonest take advantage of the inventions of the steam engine, the locomotive, and the steamer. She was enabled undisturbed to extend and consolidate her already extensive acquisitions in India. Her spindles and looms spun and wove, and the world bought her yarns and cloth, for there was no other seller."*

But England does not now enjoy this vast monoply.

While we have been thus reaping the fruits of former victories, and dreaming in the midst of our prosperity, the whole conditions of the world have changed. The nations that were ruined in 1815 have recovered and grown prosperous. Other nations have sprung into existence and are competing keenly with us in the markets of the world. Many of them have built fighting fleets and carrying fleets, and some of them are formidable rivals to us in commercial and colonial enterprise. In a war with any of these Powers, England could not now begin in command of the sea. She would have to fight for it. Would she be able to secure it? Fully to answer this vital question (a question to which, of course, only a probable answer could be given), it would be necessary to enquire what are the elements of sea power, and whether England possesses these elements in excess of any hostile combination that is likely to be formed against her. It would also be necessary to be sure that she is quite determined and prepared to wield her overwhelming forces to this end. These things being ascertained, we might with confidence exclaim—

"Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them: nought shall make us rue,
If England to itself do rest but true."

* Spenser Wilkinson *The Command of the Sea*, p. 18.

In furnishing a few materials for such an enquiry, we shall avail ourselves of the magnificent works by Captain Mahan, the accomplished and distinguished President of the United States Naval War College, which, as they have issued from the press, have come to even professional historians with the force and freshness of a revelation. In them, the author, who is at once a philosophical historian and a naval expert, traces the influence of sea power on the fortunes of the European nations in the fateful period (from 1660 to 1815) during which the leading peoples of the old world were engaged in striving for the mastery in the new. With careful and impartial hand he has described the naval struggle which began at Bantry Bay and Beachy Head and ended at Trafalgar. Beneath his graphic pen the great drama unfolds itself in a manner that is at once novel and absorbing. Most historians of the period are mere annalists compared with him. Never for a moment does he lose sight of the connection of events and of the underlying causes which produced them. His discussion of the various battles and campaigns by land and sea is full and clear, and deeply interesting, and his critical descriptions of the tactics and the strategy adopted, are acute and full of scientific knowledge and of common sense. But even these are not his greatest merits. He is careful always to trace out the interdependence of the naval and military operations and never describes an engagement on the sea without showing its political and commercial effects, and giving to it its place in the general sequence of events. When it is added that, with a few unimportant exceptions, the information contained in them is accurate and exhaustive, and that the style is limpid, strong, and full of life, it is not surprising that these admirable volumes should so soon have been assigned a foremost place among the standards of historical literature. They are indeed a splendid contribution to the philosophy of history. They are not in themselves a history, for the period is considered from a single point of view; nor does the author make any pretence to original research. He takes the facts as he finds them in the recognised

authorities, and uses them to illustrate and to establish his main thesis, namely, that being founded in the nature of things, the principles of the science of war are immutable; that they are to be learned from history; and that, therefore, what history teaches with respect to them is applicable now as it has always been throughout the centuries. It is often said that the changes of recent years, the advent of steam, of steel ships, armour plates, breech-loading guns, and torpedoes, have entirely altered the laws of naval warfare; and this is true to some extent, of tactics, as distinguished from strategy. The history of tactics on the sea is mainly the history of the weapons successively employed, and of the means of defence. The history of naval strategy is the history of the application of the general principles of naval warfare; and these general principles are the same to-day as they were two thousand years ago. They find their amplest and most interesting and instructive illustration, not in mimic warfare like the annual manœuvres of our fleets, instructive and admonitory as they often are, but in the actual failures and successes of historical campaigns. The essential problem of strategy upon the sea—how to concentrate a preponderant force at given points so as to overcome the enemy—is the same now as when Greece defeated the great King at Salamis; when Rome benumbed and broke the naval power of Carthage in the second Punic War; when England vanquished her great rivals Holland, Spain, and France, in many a famous fight upon the sea. And the problem in the future will be solved as in the past. The elements of sea power are the same from age to age. The nation that possesses most of them, and wields them most effectively, will command the sea. What are those elements? And how stands England in respect to them?

In answering these questions we shall only need to summarise the luminous analysis of sea power in Captain Mahan's earliest volume, and intersperse some casual side lights and considerations from the other books upon our list. The sea power of a nation may be said to depend upon two series of conditions, the first being physical,

and the second racial and political. Among the physical conditions affecting the growth of sea power, our author gives the chief place to geographical position. "If," he says, "a nation be so situated that it is neither forced to defend itself by land nor induced to seek extension of territory by way of the land, it has, by the very unity of its aim directed upon the sea, an advantage as compared with a people one of whose boundaries is continental." In this respect, especially after her union with Scotland, England possessed a marked advantage over her two great rivals in commercial enterprise and colonial extension, France and Holland being hampered by the necessity of constant vigilance and preparation on their land frontiers. The geographical position of a country may also be such as of itself to promote a concentration or to necessitate a dispersion of its naval forces; and in this matter it is obvious how enormous an advantage England has compared with France and Spain whose position, "touching the Mediterranean as well as the Atlantic Ocean, while it has its advantages, is on the whole a source of military weakness at sea." The eastern and western French fleets being separated by the Straits of Gibraltar cannot combine without considerable risk. Without gross negligence on the part of our Government they have never been able to unite in time of war, and this failure on their part accounts almost entirely for such crushing defeats as those which they experienced off La Hogue, Lagos, Quiberon Bay, and Trafalgar.

Closely connected with this advantage of concentration of forces is the advantage enjoyed by England by reason of her central and commanding position, facing Holland and the northern powers in one direction, France and the Atlantic on the other. In a very curious poem*

* "The Processe of the Libelle of English Policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrow sea: showing what profit commeth thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England and to all Englishmen."—Preserved in Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. i., pp. 207-230.

written in the early part of the reign of Henry VI. (between 1426 and 1438), we are informed that the Emperor Sigismund when on a visit to England in 1416, referring to Calais and Dover, said to the King (Henry V.):

> "Keepe these two townes sure, and your Maiestee
> As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrow see.
> For if this see bee kept in time of werre
> Who can heere passe without danger and woe:
> Who may escape, who may mischiefe differe:
> What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:
> For needs hem must take trewes every foe:
> Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee:
> Or ellis hindrid all for this Narrow see."

Subsequent history has proved the soundness of this sage advice. By her position on the Channel, with safe harbours and good roadsteads as a basis of naval operations, England has been able to command one of the great thoroughfares of the world's traffic and has often warded off a threatened coalition against her by preventing the junction of the northern and the southern fleets of her adversaries or by cutting off supplies of ammunition and of naval stores. Before the loss of Gibraltar the position of Spain was analagous to that of England, the Levant trade passing under her hands, and that round the Cape not far from her doors; but the loss of Gibraltar deprived her of the command of the Straits and cut her fleet in two. France is admirably situated for the kind of naval warfare that she has so frequently adopted in the past, and which in spite of its futility she threatens to adopt again —*la guerre de course.* Having ports on the North Sea, on the Channel, and on the Atlantic, her cruisers started from points near the focus of English trade, both coming and going. The distance of the ports from each other, disadvantageous for regular military combinations, is an advantage to this irregular secondary operation; for the essence of the one is concentration, whereas for commerce-destroying diffusion of effort is the rule.

Another geographical, or, more strictly, topographical condition of sea power, is the physical conformation of

the land. The seaboard of a country is one of its frontiers, and the more easily it is crossed the greater will be the inducement to intercourse with the world beyond. A country without harbours would be without shipping and without a navy. Numerous and deep harbours are a source of strength and wealth if properly defended, but they are a source of weakness if of easy access and too much exposed.

"In 1667 the Dutch had little difficulty in ascending the Thames as far as Gravesend and burning a large fraction of the English navy within sight of London; whereas a few years later the combined fleets of England and France, when attempting a landing in Holland, were foiled by the difficulties of the coast as well as by the valour of the Dutch."

Throughout the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, France was hampered by the lack of harbours east of Brest. Cherbourg has been opened since, and redressed, to some extent, the balance of advantage given to England by such splendid naval bases as were found in Portsmouth, Plymouth, and the other ports and arsenals upon our southern coasts.

In treating of some other physical conditions of sea power such as climate, fertility of soil, and mineral resources, Captain Mahan is not at his best. The principle laid down is sound, but some of his examples are at fault. The principle is that when a country is naturally rich, and when the people are able easily to live upon their home products, they are not so eager for maritime adventure and for foreign trade. This may be true of the United States, which, according to our author, has lost its shipping, not, as is commonly supposed, because of the havoc wrought by the Confederate cruisers in the Civil War and the consequent loss of confidence in the American flag, but because the centre of power and wealth is no longer on the seaboard of the country. The early colonists lived near the coasts, and the abundance of materials for ship building, together with the fewness of other investments made shipping a profitable business; but all eyes are now directed towards the interior with its undeveloped riches. "Capital finds there its best investments, labour its largest oppor-

tunities." But the principle is not so applicable to France and England in the last three centuries as Captain Mahan seems to think. "France," he says, "was a pleasant land, with a delightful climate, producing within itself more than the people needed," therefore, "Frenchmen did not take to the sea with the eagerness and success of the English and the Dutch." But the fearful and recurring famines in France during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries tell a different tale. Moreover, in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries the French developed a remarkable maritime energy. Nor was this a very powerful cause in the case of England. For, though it is true that "England received from Nature but little," and that "until her manufactures were developed she had little to export," it is not altogether accurate to suggest either that the first English colonists emigrated because of the poverty of English soil, or that thev "found lands more pleasant and much richer than their own." Many of them were driven away by ecclesiastical intolerance, and most of them began their life again amid physical surroundings compared with which their native country was a Paradise. The case of Holland, is, however, to the point, and exactly illustrates the general truth.

"If England was drawn to the sea, Holland was driven to it. Without the sea England languished, but Holland died. In the height of her greatness, when she was one of the chief factors in European politics . . . . the soil of Holland could not support more than one-eighth of her inhabitants. Their food, their clothing, the raw material for their manufactures, were imported. Their whole prosperity, arising from their commerce and their carrying trade, which then embraced the world, was built upon the sea power to which their poverty gave birth; so that after a disastrous war with England, in 1653-4, when their shipping business had been stopped, 'the sources of revenue, such as fisheries and commerce, were almost dry. Workshops were closed, work was suspended; the Zuyder Zee became a forest of masts; the country was full of beggars; grass grew in the streets, and in Amsterdam fifteen hundred houses were untenanted. A humiliating peace alone saved them from ruin.'"

With large deductions, Captain Mahan thinks, the case of

Holland then is similar to that of England now, and "they are true prophets who warn her that the continuance of her prosperity at home depends primarily upon maintaining her power abroad." England, it is true, is larger and immensely richer than Holland ever was, but then our population is much greater, and we are more dependent on external sources for our livelihood. Within the limits of a single lifetime almost all the circumstances of our national existence have been revolutionised. When the Queen came to the throne, one-third of our working population were agricultural labourers and one-third artisans; now, only an eighth of all the working classes are agricultural labourers, while three-fourths are artisans. Two-thirds of our food is imported, and nearly all the materials of our manufacture and our trade. If we were cut off from the outer world we should feel the pressure of want in less than six weeks; in six months the bulk of the people would be on the verge of starvation. With respect to our manufactures, the case is still more serious. For our staple trades to be cut off for only a few weeks from their sources of supply would mean the closing of a thousand factories, and a general paralysis of industry. When sea transport was dependent upon wind and weather, it used to be necessary to lay in heavy stocks to provide against contingencies, but so punctual are our ocean steamships, and so regular and constant the supply, that it is possible to live from hand to mouth, and most of our great manufacturers only buy for their immediate wants. And what is said of food and raw material might be said of all our manufactured goods. They are dependent on our power at sea. Unless they can be safely sent abroad (and no other Power is able or would be permitted to convey them if we were at war with a nation that had gained command of the sea) they might as well have never been produced. For a nation existing under such conditions there is, there can be, only one sane policy—supremacy at sea. At any given moment there is upwards of £200,000,000 worth of British merchandise on the seas. Our foreign trade amounts to nearly nine hundred millions annually,

and our merchant shipping to almost eleven million tons, or more than half the total tonnage of the European mercantile marine. "Who," exclaimed Sir Graham Berry, in a famous speech at the Colonial Institute in 1886, "can estimate the loss involved in even a brief period of disaster to the Imperial Navy? Any amount of money expended in preparation would be insignificant compared with such a possible calamity." The lines of Tennyson were called forth by this speech:

"You, you, if you shall fail to understand
What England is, and what her all-in-all,
On you will come the curse of all the land,
Should this old England fall
Which Nelson left so great.

Her isle, the mightiest Ocean-power on earth,
Our own fair isle, the lord of every sea—
Her fuller franchise—what would that be worth—
Her ancient fame of Free—
Were she a fallen State?"

* * * * * *

Every object that the English people, or that any section of them, can desire, depends upon our sea power. Our social progress, our international influence, our power "to help the right and heal the wild world's wrong," our mission as the leaders and the organisers of the backward and chaotic races that have come beneath our rule, and, what is dearest to the hearts of Christian Englishmen, the opportunity to give to all the world the Gospel that has made us free; all these, and every other good we can desire ourselves or wish to share with men, depend upon our maritime supremacy. By all means let the English people be refined and sympathetic and humanitarian, but let them not forget that their paramount political duty is, at any cost, to make and keep themselves invincible upon the sea. Unless "Britannia rules the waves" she cannot rule herself, nor will her culture and philanthropy do much to help mankind.

The author of the curious "Libelle," from which we

have already quoted, strikes the true key-note of "English Policie:"

> "Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
> And then is England kept by Goddes hande:
> That as for anything that is without,
> England were at ease withouten doubt,
> And thus should every lond one with another
> Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
> And live together werrelesse in unitie,
> Without rancour in very charitie,
> In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,
> Withouten strife, debate, and variance.
> Which peace men should enserche with businesse,
> And knit it saddely holding in holinesse."

That this has been the traditional policy of England is shown by Captain Mahan not only in the chapter we are following, but in almost every chapter of his great and comprehensive work. The English Government, whether directed by the personal will of the Sovereign or by the influence of a governing aristocracy or democracy, has steadily aimed for several centuries at the command of the sea. Cromwell's naval insight was as remarkable as his military capacity. The exploits of his chosen captains on the sea have never wanted praise. The credit due to Charles I. for his great efforts to improve the fleet, has never yet been given.* Even Charles II., false as he was to the English people, was true to England's naval interests. In the course of his treacherous intrigues with Louis XIV., he wrote:

> "There are two impediments to a perfect union. The first is the great care France is now taking to create a commerce and to be an imposing maritime power. This is so great a cause of suspicion with us, who can possess importance only by our commerce and our naval force, that every step which France takes in this direction will perpetuate the jealousy between the two nations."

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* "Little has yet been done towards elucidating the share which Charles's understanding of the naval conditions of the kingdom, and the want of understanding on the part of his opposing subjects, may have had in producing the Civil War, but it seems to be certain that the chief part of the money question was a naval one, and that the superior classes of ships which Charles prepared and built, had a most material effect on the course of the Dutch wars."—Colomb's *Naval Warfare*, p. 31.

James II. was a seaman and commanded in at least two great naval engagements. Under William III. the sea power of England was enormously extended. The peace of Utrecht (1713) brought to her Gibraltar and Port Mahon in the Mediterranean, besides Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay. The naval power of France and Spain had disappeared, that of Holland steadily declined. The English Government, thus favourably posted in the old world and the new, moved firmly forward in the path of empire which, since then, with the exception of the colossal blunder which deprived her of her American Colonies, she has consistently pursued. This consistent and successful policy, so widely different from the fluctuating and conflicting aims and plans of France, to some extent imposed upon the English nation by its insular position, was more largely owing, Captain Mahan thinks, to the fact that, through the period traced by him, the government was practically in the hands of a landed aristocracy "proud of the country's glory, jealous of its honour, imbued with a military spirit, rich, unaffected by the proverbial timidity of capital," comparatively indifferent to the sufferings by which naval victory is achieved, sheltered from the risks to which sea commerce is exposed, and yet watchful over its extension and protection. Be that as it may, the words which follow from this democratic seaman should be pondered by all public men:

"Since 1815, and especially in our own day, the government of England has passed very much into the hands of the people at large. Whether her sea power will suffer thereupon remains to be seen. Its broad basis still remains in a great trade, large mechanical industries, and an extensive colonial system. Whether a democratic government will have the foresight, the keen sensitiveness to national position and credit, the willingness to ensure its prosperity by adequate outpouring of money in times of peace, all which are necessary for military preparation, is yet an open question. Popular governments are not generally favourable to military expenditure, however necessary, and there are signs that Englands tends to drop behind."

Whole volumes might be written in examination of this highly questionable judgment, and it would be easy to show

from an analysis of that character of the people which is the element of sea power, presently to be described, that our author has been reckoning hastily and with imperfect knowledge. The verdict at the end would be "It remains to be seen."

Of more general interest is his dissertation on the influence of Government upon sea power :

"That influence can work in two distinct but closely related ways. First, in peace: The Government by its policy can favour the natural growth of a people's industries, and its tendencies to seek adventure and gain by way of the sea; or it can try to develop such industries, and such sea-going bent, when they do not naturally exist; or, on the other hand, the Government may by mistaken action check and fetter the progress which the people, left to themselves, would make. In any one of these ways the influence of the government will be felt, making or marring the sea power of the country in the matter of peaceful commerce; upon which alone, it cannot be too often insisted, a thoroughly strong navy can be based.

"Secondly, for war: The influence of the Government will be felt in its most legitimate manner in maintaining an armed navy, of a size commensurate with the growth of its shipping and the importance of the interests connected with it. More important even than the size of the navy is the question of its institutions, favouring a healthful spirit and activity, and providing for rapid development in time of war, by an adequate reserve of men and of ships, and by measures for drawing out that general reserve power which has before been pointed to, when considering the character and pursuits of the people. Undoubtedly, under this second head of war-like preparation, must come the maintenance of suitable naval stations, in those distant parts of the world to which the armed shipping must follow the peaceful vessels of commerce. The protection of such stations must depend either upon direct military force, as do Gibraltar and Malta, or upon a surrounding friendly population, such as the American colonists once were to England, and, it may be presumed, the Australian colonists now are. Such friendly surroundings and backing, joined to a reasonable military provision, are the best of defences, and, when combined with decided preponderance at sea, make a scattered and extensive empire, like that of England, secure."

Whether our author would accept the Robinson Crusoe theory of the expansion of England, so ingeniously expounded by Count Melchior de Vogüé, in a recent number of the *Revue de deux Mondes* (October 1st, 1895),

is not quite clear. According to that theory, we are the wandering, working, colonising race descended from the Vikings and sea-rovers to whom the sea belongs by a decree of Nature, and for whom it serves as a highway on which we imagine we are doomed to travel to subdue the earth and people it. He would probably prefer to follow Sir John Seeley in his contention that the English people are not naturally a maritime, or even a trading people; that their genius is industrial; that agriculture was their almost exclusive occupation for many centuries; that even as late as the Plantagenets the English people were dependent in the main upon their intercourse with Flanders, to which country she stood in the same relation as that in which Australia stands to England now, producing nearly all the wool that was manufactured in her looms; that England's maritime greatness dawned in the Elizabethan age, and dates from the career of Drake and Frobisher, and more especially of Robert Blake, about the middle of the seventeenth century. As a matter of fact, the trade of England, and her sea power as a serious factor in her national expansion, is the child of the Reformation. At all events, as Mr. Froude has shown, the beginning of our naval greatness must be sought in Reformation times.* It grew directly out of that great protest, which is now too often undervalued or despised.

"Matthew Parker and Bishop Jewell, the judicious Hooker himself, would have preached to small purpose without Sir Francis Drake's cannon to play an accompaniment to their teaching. And again, Drake's cannon would not have roared so loudly and so widely without seamen trained in heart and hand to work his ships and level his artillery."

The healthy individualism, the sense of duty, the self-respect, the enterprise, the energy, the love of hard and honest work, the domestic virtues and the public spirit, which were the offspring of the Protestant faith, turned the English people, much to their advantage and their credit,

* *English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century.*

into a nation of shop-keepers. And the tendency to trade, involving of necessity the production of something to trade with, is the national characteristic most conducive to the development of sea power. Wealth may be sought by other means, but it will not necessarily lead to sea power. Spain and Portugal sought it in the mines of Central and of South America, but the gold and silver that they found were not true wealth. France has a fertile soil, an industrious people, a seaboard of considerable convenience and extent. The French navy has had periods of great glory. And yet, compared with other sea powers in the course of history, France has not always excelled. The main reason for this is to be found in the way her people have sought wealth. They have sought it not by enterprise so much as by economy. Thrift and prudence tend to the stability of a man's personal fortune, and even to a general diffusion of wealth on a small scale, but not, if they stand alone, to the development of a large external trade and an extensive shipping. Excessive prudence and timidity hamper commerce, and check those expansive impulses which are not the least effective of the numerous elements in maritime and naval power. It is the same excess of caution which has checked the growth of French population, and still keeps it nearly stationary. The English, and to some extent the Dutch, whether at home or abroad, have always sought to draw out all the resources of the country. The business instinct sought new articles of barter; the industrious character, evolved through generations of hard labour, made them great producers. "At home they became great as manufacturers; abroad, the land grew richer, products multiplied, and the exchange between the settlements necessitated more ships."

Other nations with less aptitude and enterprise have been obliged to avail themselves of British trade and shipping, and in this and many other ways British sea power has increased. England's great success in colonising also has been due to two main features in the national character: the English colonist, unlike the Frenchman,

settles down and makes himself at home; and, unlike the Spaniard, he develops all the resources of the colony. The Dutch are better colonists than either Spaniards or Frenchmen, but even they cannot compare with the Briton in whom the power to open up new countries amounts to genius and has been the wonder and the envy of the world.

The number of the population as well as their character and aptitudes has an important bearing on sea power. The number of men accustomed to the sea or readily available for service on board ship is an item which on no account must be omitted in the estimate of a nation's strength. This "reserve force" constitutes a large part of its staying power. Where the combatants are pretty equal in a naval war, as, at the outset, Captain Mahan thinks that France and England would now be, the final victory depends on the reserve. After the first campaign the reserve of strength begins to tell; first the organised reserve, then the reserve of seafaring population, of mechanical skill, of wealth. It was beside the author's purpose to enter into a comparative estimate, but of England he observes acutely that her

"Leadership in mechanical arts gives her a reserve of mechanics, who can easily familiarise themselves with the appliances of modern iron-clads; and as her commerce and industries feel the burden of the war, the surplus of seamen and mechanics will go to the armed shipping."

He also calls attention to the fact that time is necessary to develop this reserve, and that time can only be gained by a force strong enough to hold out until these ulterior resources can be brought into play, winding up with an impressive warning against that parsimony, falsely called economy, by which more than one great nation has been ruined and from which the British nation, none too soon, is being saved.

"If time be a supreme factor in war, it behoves countries whose genius is essentially not military, whose people, like all free peoples, object to pay for large military establishments, to see to it that they are at least strong enough to gain the time neces-

sary to turn the spirit and capacity of their subjects into the new activities which war calls for. If the existing force by land or sea is strong enough so to hold out, even though at a disadvantage, the country may rely upon its natural resources and strength coming into play for whatever they are worth—its numbers, its wealth, its capacities of every kind. If, on the other hand, what force it has can be overthrown and crushed quickly, the most magnificent possibilities of natural power will not save it from humilating conditions, nor, if its foe be wise, from guarantees which will postpone revenge to a distant future. . . . England to some extent is now such a country. Holland was such a country; she would not pay, and if she escaped, it was but by the skin of her teeth. 'Never in time of peace and from fear of a rupture,' wrote their great statesman, De Witt, 'will they take resolutions strong enough to lead them to pecuniary sacrifices beforehand.' The character of the Dutch is such that, unless danger stares them in the face, they are indisposed to lay out money for their own defence. I have to do with a people who, liberal to profusion where they ought to economise, are often sparing to avarice where they ought to spend."

Into the question of alliances as an element in sea power, we must not enter. The best ally is that Almighty arm that broke the Armada on our shores. And, after that, the British Navy, much enlarged, and fully manned, and always ready, is our chief, if not our only hope.

> "Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas,
> Which He hath given for fence impregnable,
> And with their helps only defend ourselves;
> In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies."
>
> (3 *Henry VI. A.* 4. *Sc. i.*)

ART. VII.—THE ALPS FROM END TO END.

1. *The Alps from End to End.* By SIR WILLIAM MARTIN, CONWAY. With 100 full page Illustrations, by A. D. McCormick. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. 1895.
2. *My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus.* By A. F. MUMMERY. Illustrated. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.
3. *Rambles in Alpine Valleys.* By J. W. TUTT, F.E.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1895.
4. *Unknown Switzerland.* By VICTOR TISSOT. Translated, by Mrs. Watson. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

THE uses of mountains are not only to feed the rivers, purify the winds, and renew and enrich the soils of the earth, but, as Ruskin has said, "to fill the thirst of the human heart for the beauty of God's working." This is their "higher mission" on behalf of the Creator, and it would seem to remain to a large extent unfulfilled. Certain it is that there are many climbers whom the glory of Alpine altitudes eludes. The object of these persons is to reach the summit as quickly as possible. They display for mutual admiration some astonishing feats of agility on the way up—feats that the arboreal inhabitants of the mountains of tropical South America would find it difficult to surpass. Gaining the top, they shout hurrah! drink champagne, rest for a quarter of an hour, and then, scenting dinner from afar, they race down the slopes to their hotel. The remainder of the day is spent in relating to the fashionable tourist, who is content with such heights as may be attained by the use of the railway, the exploits of the morning. No word is spoken which shows any true appreciation of the grandeur through which their path led them. In vain for them is the enthronement of strength on the hills; in vain the majesty of soaring shaft and pinnacle; in vain the mystery and terror of sheer, stony abysses and glacial seas,

and the caprice of vapours swooping now on wide wings like some gigantic bird on the crest of the mountain, now wrapping in fleecy mantle of fantastic shape ice-clad minarets, and now creeping serpent-like through narrow gorges; in vain, too, the wild music of the cataract that "blows its trumpet on the steep," and lovely veils and ribbons of silver, extracted from the snow by the sun, that stream down over dark rock-faces, softening their hard features. All these and many other wonders of the mountains are unseen or neglected by the climbers to whom we refer. For them Nature has no higher ministry. Wasted on them are the endless expanses of ranges and valleys; the slender peaks rising bare and black, or snow-clad and roseate, over pine-forest and pasture; the saw-edged and scarred ridges, the crevassed snow-plains where the light breaks on huge prisms of ice into sheets of irridescent colouring, as if the very floor of heaven were here with gardens of snow-flowers and grottos of glittering diamond. Wasted is all this splendour on those who, as Mr. Mummery remarks, leave early in the day "the most beautiful and inmost recesses of the Alps to hurry back to the brass bands and nigger minstrels" of Zermatt.

It cannot be said that in the sumptuous, finely illustrated volumes of Sir W. M. Conway and Mr. Mummery there is any very distinct perception of "the higher mission" of the mountains. At the same time, let it be emphatically said that these famous mountaineers are not in the category of aimless climbers, "the tribe of brag and bounce." They are enthusiastic lovers of the upper snows, and, in the following passage, one of them marks the difference between themselves and the men to whom we have referred:

> "It must not be assumed that the love of the mountains is to be regarded as the first of human duties, or that a man's moral worth can be determined by the usual time of his arrival at a mountain inn; but merely that the mountaineer, the man who can sympathise with every change of light and shadow and who worships the true spirit of the upper world, is distinguished from unregenerate imitators"

by his delight in lingering on the mountains to watch

the ever-changing shadows, or to peer down enormous depths till the last glow has faded from the western sky. He would fain live in these solitudes. Yet we have asked ourselves, whilst reading these volumes, if the perilous daring that almost takes away our breath at times is warranted. We see men in situations that tempt death for apparently small odds. And as we think of Mr. Mummery's sad and untimely end in the Himalayas, so soon after finishing his book, lines which appeared in Macmillan's Magazine at the time of the great "Matterhorn sacrifice" come to mind :

"We mourn the waste of their rich past,
Love, talents, learning, power and worth,
The ruin mourn of hopes uptorn,
And plighted service on God's earth.

Yon granite dome all time to come
A grief-stained monument shall tower,
Where Nature stern bids man discern
His feebleness before her power.

Why may we not keep one bright spot
Pure from man's tread in desert snows?
Where peace may dwell in light and tell
The world's tired heart of heaven's repose.

The butterfly might mount as high—
To man what can such goal avail?
Oh labour vain! Oh fearful pain!
A ghastly grave; a country's wail!"

The atmosphere that pervades all the volumes named at the head of this article is the bracing air of lofty places. We have many a brilliant word-painting, and many an entrancing story of victories legitimately won over lonely, stern, repellent Nature by patience and courage and trained skill. We are charmed by instances of great heroism, and of the fidelity of comrade to comrade, the strong mutual faith, that binds man to man more securely than the climber's rope. We have accurate delineation of mountain scenery and the poet's insight into beauty, many passages rising into great sublimity, and turning the reverent reader

into a worshipper ; and especially is this so in *The Alps from End to End.*

These are not scientific volumes. Mr. Mummery frankly discards the idea of at all enlarging our knowledge. "I fear no contributions to science, or topography, or learning of any sort are to be found sandwiched in between the story of crags and *séracs*, of driving storm and perfect weather." He simply wishes to "reflect the joy and frolic of sunshine holidays." Sir W. M. Conway, while he does not deal formally with any aspect of science, shows us that everywhere he is an exact observer of natural phenomena. The mountains are to him more than a playground—"a casual assemblage of crags affording gymnastic problems." He notes the geological features, the build and trend of this region of peaks and parallel ridges and elevated rock-strewn plains, and the network of valleys. For the flora of the Alps he has the eye and the heart of the lover of these frail children of the sun and the snow. At the close of his advice to beginners in mountaineering, he writes :

> "If as he (the beginner) goes along he pays attention to geological phenomena, and keeps his eyes open to all matters of natural beauty and interest, he will derive not only health, but education of a high order, from each successive summer holiday."

Mr. Tutt's modest volume is for the most part not the book of a climber, but, as the title indicates, of a rambler. He is content with moderate elevations. He leads us through lovely valleys, pointing out, with the skill of a trained naturalist, rare sylvan beauties ; interesting us in the botany and entomology of the pastures and woods. His book is as replete with instruction as it is gay with the colours of gorgeous butterflies, and fragrant with the scent of flowers.

To return to Sir W. M. Conway's volume, it is an important contribution to the literature of the Alps. The writer projected "a combination of climbs over the whole range of the Alps," beginning at one extremity of the vast conclave of mountains, and walking up and down and

through the midst of them to the other extremity, "over a continuous series of peaks and passes."

Selecting his route and getting together his equipment, he made a start on June 1st. "We carried with us a Mummery tent, and two eider-down sleeping bags;" two small quarter-plate cameras, supplied with Eastman films; for a head covering he used a turban, "a long strip of soft woollen stuff wound about the head." This served as a protection against both heat and cold. "The whole strip can be used as an extra garment, and is invaluable in case of being benighted." The turban could also be used as a rug; and on one occasion one of the guides used his as a tent, under which four men took shelter during a storm. In the valleys the strip was wound up and put in a knapsack.

The point from which the party started was Turin for the Colle di Tenda, the southern limit of the Alps. Crossing Mont Blanc, they chose the Oberland ridge, thus trending north toward the eastern extremity of Switzerland. They then traversed the Tirol, the final goal being the Ankolg, the last snowy peak in the direction of Vienna. We shall see more of this route later on. The journey was to be done in three months, and in all kinds of weather. Sir W. M. Conway was accompanied by Mr. E. A. FitzGerald, an expert climber like himself, and two well-known guides, Aymonod and Louis Carrell. He had with him, also, during the first part of the tour, his old Himalayan guide, and two Goorkhas who had climbed with him in the East. At the very outset they were suspected to be a company of spies, and the peaks and passes which they wished to climb were closed against them, notwithstanding the fact that they were armed with letters from the presidents of Alpine clubs, passports, and other documents. They had to change their plans to avoid "fortresses and like futilities." To add to their difficulties, the inns in the upper valleys were still closed, the huts of the high mountain passes deserted, and they were frequently compelled to sleep out of doors. The fatigue usually attending mountaineering was increased by their having to go down to the low valleys to get a supply

of food. The spring was late, and the mountains, in regard to their snow-covering, were two months behind time. The white drapery of March was not doffed in June. Avalanches made climbing very dangerous ; and Nature was never propitious at this stage of the journey. Many a day was spent in fierce battle with windy storm and tempest. They traversed on foot one thousand miles in sixty-five days. Twenty-one days were occupied in writing up journals, and in waiting for weather. The number of peaks climbed was twenty-one, and of passes crossed twenty-nine. This feat was not accomplished without attacks of "mountain sickness"—the discomfort produced by diminished atmospheric pressure.

The author of *The Alps from End to End* is eloquent on the superiority of this method of mountaineering, as compared with the climbing of a peak here and there without any sort of plan, and it is the only method by which the traveller can understand the whole Alpine region.

"An obvious advantage possessed by the wanderer from end to end of the Alpine region is his power of observing and comparing the qualities of the scenery in different parts, and gaining a clearer idea of the larger natural features. He learns to think of the Maritime Alps as a ridge lying between the sea and plain, and commanding views of both. The Cottians he remembers for their wave-like sequence washing south ; the Graians for the seeming irregularity of their arrangement, and the loveliness of their valleys and hill-side tarns. Mont Blanc enthrones itself once for all in his mind as the monarch of the whole range. The limestone wall-peaks, that fringe the northern range from the Buet to the Glärnisch and yet further east, come to be thought of as a single feature characteristic of the region as a whole. All the great groups, Pennines, Oberland, and so forth, come to be known not by the individual peaks they bear—mere trifling Matterhorns, Finisteraarhorns, and the like—but as huge masses of the folded earth-crust, compared with which peaks are details of small account."

The climbers sturdily face their self-imposed task, following paths of loose limestone fragments. Their way is flanked at times by vertical rock-walls. They ascend steep grass slopes, cross many a difficult *col*, traverse wide stretches of treacherous snow. A chamois leaps across their

track, or there is a more serious diversion in the masses of falling ice which sweep past them at lightning velocity. They halt by the way to rest where the air is bright, and flowers salute them from every chink of rock; "the tempered sun" shines "abroad over everything, and everywhere water was spurting and hurrying crystal clear over grass and rocks." The tent is pitched for the night on a patch of green, variegated with gentians and mountain violets. "Falling waters sang to us their eternal mountain song, how that all winter long frost had bound them in prison, but now the sun had come to set them free, and they were off to the sweet fields, to Venice and the sea." The guides soon light a fire and prepare the evening meal. They unpack what the whole company need. They turn in for the night, but sleep is often disturbed by the booming of avalanches, that hurl themselves down sheer declivities, and break the indescribable stillness of these awful solitudes. They rise, ere the day dawns, to pursue their way beneath the stars. With sunrise, new beauties charm the eye. Here is a picture:

"The sun rising over Sassière's crest, smote on our little tent, and roused us up to the clear morning. The mountain before us was a gray silhouette against the bright eastern sky, with a soft band of mist drawn all across it, whose top edge turned to molten silver in the glance of the sun. Flashing points of light shot from the rippled lake, and dew-diamonds sparkled on the grass. As the sun ascended, mists rose from the valley and dissolved away. Cow-bells were ringing all around, and the cowherd sang some melody of Oriental weirdness. Touches of light caught the edges of the rock-face, which looked like tarnished silver in the shadows."

Another day, savage, remote, repellent Mount Viso, is scaled in very tempestuous weather. The bitter wind howls amongst jagged rocks, and almost sweeps the climbers from the face of the mountain. The moment they gain the top, the snow falls so heavily that they are at once compelled to beat a hasty retreat. No view of the surrounding country is afforded them. The first part of the descent is over fresh snow, and is very trying; but as they

descend the storm drops behind. "The Italian plain emerges, a faint vision, through a veil of falling snow." Then it stands out clear in the sunlight, dotted with trees, and intersected by many a glittering river; while away on the far horizon, clouds mass themselves and seem a part of the mountains, along whose flanks creep purple shadows.

As a rule, the travellers prefer to sleep in the tent, but sometimes it is convenient to sleep in the huts and hotels which are found high up among the Alps. Some of the inns are clean and fairly well-kept; others are notoriously dirty. Cows are sometimes stalled in the kitchen and in the common dining-room. Sir W. M. Conway's party halted at an inn where there were no chairs, and not a clean inch of floor, a loathsome den. The provisions were vile-smelling meat, sour bread, rancid butter, and a chicken, which, "being cooked, turned out a semi-transparent mass of muscle from which even an ice-axe would rebound in dismay." And this, too, in the midst of scenery which made every rock an altar, and every flying vapour as the smoke of holy sacrifice.

The Alps from End to End is a grand picture gallery, in which are displayed many a wide canvas, and many a sweet vignette. Our space would fail us if we attempted to reproduce one fiftieth part of them. We must content ourselves with a cursory glance at a very few. Here is a sunset on the Western Graians:

"As the sun went down behind a hill, shadows crossed the turquoise lake, and lifted the emerald mantle from one low headland after another. Ample grass slopes descended on one side. On the other stood a bolder mountain front whose silver-gray substance was riven into countless gullies, sharp cut in light and shadow. Right in front rose the white peak of Grand Sassière from a bed of cloud. Island cloud-shadows drifted over the broad hill-side. The water became calm towards sunset, and the snow mountain cleared as its crest turned to gold. A soft air bore towards us the lowing of the kine, the clang of their bells, and the ceaseless song of water falling away."

The ascent of Mont Blanc has been so often described

that it is needless to linger over this climb. It was the first ascent of 1894, and was by no means an easy one. They were fortunate enough to obtain some very fine views. From the hut on the Dome a magnificent prospect presented itself to the south-east. We cannot refrain from quoting a fragment of Sir W. M. Conway's description of it:

"On the one side, the crags of the Rocher du Mont Blanc were bathed in warm light; on the other, the riven wall of Trélatête was merged in shadow, and only the snow crest above flashed back the radiance of the lowering sun. The stone-covered floor of the glacier lay dark in gloom, but a band of light still touched the Combal Lake. Presently, mountains and clouds were alike bathed in pink which in its turn faded away."

The party proceed from Chamounix to St. Maurice, over the eastern face of the Buet. They follow paths through dense pine forests, soothing to the spirit; or face slopes where the air is so full of electricity that it "tickles the face like a cobweb." They spend a night at the Floriaz hut, a comfortless place. Fire is lighted and a frugal supper, soup thickened with bread crumbs and fragments of cheese, is prepared and eaten. Two benches constitute the beds. Leaving the hut at 3 a.m., they make for the top of Buet. Mont Blanc is visible and splendid as ever, the glacier foam sweeping down its flanks. One hour they are climbing, the next compelled to descend a stone-swept *couloir*. After crossing ice-worn rocks, they reach a spot where there is water. Here they breakfast, surrounded by bold precipices that rise in long walls above débris slopes. Proceeding, they traverse more than one steep *arête* of rotten rock, and arrive at the cow-village on the Emosson Alp to find it uninhabited. They shelter and dine and shiver in a crazy structure of three walls and a half, damp and dirty. The tempest rages, and they are grateful even for the small mercies of this place. In a pause between storm and storm, they find a somewhat better shelter, and seek the repose of sleep, and find it on a dry bed of shavings and straw. This is a country of sudden changes, and next morning dawns in loveliness. Around was

a fair level Alp, rich with pastures and flowers. The great mountains stood out in unclouded perfection. "Faint and sky-like the Oberland peaks rose against the sunny horizon, with the blue mass of Le Luisin a rich contrast beside them."

The first part of the day's journey was through the sunshine over charming slopes, flower-bestrewn, and surmounted by crags; while ahead of the travellers were grand snow-ranges, over which the Matterhorn showed now and then his loftier forehead. Later in the day, a panorama of great glory burst on their sight. It was a view of green hills and rolling slopes, buried in blue air, with a glimpse of a corner of Lake Leman, guarded on the one side with vertical crags, and on the other with a snowy range. Five thousand feet below was the floor of the Rhône Valley. The descent was wearisome, and the mountaineers were glad to fling themselves down on a carpet of soft grass hard by the Jorat milk-châlet, and refresh themselves. Milk is the elixir of life in these regions, and loud is its praise. "We drank," say they, "immense quantities, twenty litres in all, amongst us, before we left the place." It was here that a curious old dame discoursed eloquently on the productive virtues of milk. "Milk," said she, "is good. It has four children—cream, cheese, sérac, and pigs." Two hours along a shady path brings them to St. Maurice on Lake Leman.

The journey was continued from St. Maurice to the Gemmi. We cannot linger amid the sublimities of the Bernese Oberland; where great giants stand around the Matterhorn as knights around their king; where broad snow-fields stretch with their soft shadings and majestic curves, and suggestions of purity; where frowning cliffs, and calm, deep skies, and glaciers with their changing colours, are reflected in the mountain lakes. No part of Switzerland can surpass this district, at once so wild and so beautiful.

Sir W. M. Conway is struck with the engineering skill displayed in the construction of the irrigating canals which are found in this part of the Alps. The need for these canals arises from the fact that, as the snows melt, the water runs

swiftly down the precipitous glens and gullies, and effects little or no natural irrigation. There is no want of water, but the problem has been how to collect and distribute it. And without irrigation the sides of the mountains become arid wastes. In order to make the water of service to the pastures and vineyards, the Swiss have from ancient times carried canals, or *bisses*, through commune after commune, to give drink to thirsty hill flanks, like the lands above Visp. Some of the canals have been in use for six centuries. They run across the face of sheer precipices, supported by logs of timber the ends of which are inserted horizontally into the solid rock. The weight of accumulated snow and falling avalanches make havoc with portions of the canals every winter; but these enterprising people, not to be conquered by brute nature, make the necessary repairs year by year, and thus maintain in order these valuable arteries, which convey the living, glacial water, to many a village. The water is the common property of the burghers, and its supply is controlled by public officers appointed for the purpose.

The Gemmi is reached in due course. The foulness of the dwellings of the peasantry is noticed. We have been impressed with the same fact. Indeed, the wretched conditions of these châlets is a perpetual reproach on the lips of all Alpine travellers. The disgusting odour that greets you a hundred yards away; the hills of cow-ordure heaped at the doors; the festering pools of filth; the hovels roofed, for the convenience of the rain, with loose stones, as if the rubbish from some quarry had been shot on to them; the unwashed condition of men and women; the mean dress, and the general squalor—all this makes us enquire if this can be the people whose fame for thrift and intellectual alertness is trumpeted through all Europe. And, receiving answer in the affirmative, we are led to ask the reason of the extreme poverty and misery of these mountain villages of Switzerland as contrasted with many of the towns, which are characterised by well-constructed dwellings, good sanitation, a high average of comfort among the people, and unusual public

spiritedness. Surely it is time that the Government of some of the cantons, notably those on the Italian frontier, should turn their attention to the physical and social conditions of the country folk, and seek to better them. Any one who has visited Leukerbad, at the foot of the Gemmi, will call to mind the character of the village, where, amidst magnificent scenery, and in the neighbourhood of great hotels, the houses of the people are unclean, dilapidated hovels unfit for human occupation. We question if ever a Labrador Indian, or an Australian savage, inhabited a more comfortless lair than some of the châlets here.

The travellers go on to Zermatt. The Matterhorn is still closed, but Mont Rosa is open and is at once attacked. Every step of the way is familiar to the leader, for this is the eighth time he has climbed the mountain. A gale of wind is blowing, and it tosses the masses of vapour which sail on high into forms of wild grandeur. After much step-cutting in hard ice covered with frozen snow, they gain the top, but could not remain long enough to take in the wide-spread prospect as the storm had now become furious. Descending the ice-stairway of 1,000 steps which they had cut, threading their path through a maze of crevasses, creeping over treacherous snow-bridges, slipping down avalanche-troughs, they at length regain their old track, and hurry on to a spot where there was a sufficient shelter to snatch an uncomfortable meal. After an absence of eighteen hours they reach the old Riffelhaus greatly fatigued physically, but morally invigorated.

They cross the Bernese Oberland from Ried to the Grimsel through a region of stupendous mountains and equally stupendous glaciers. Finisteraarhorn, the mightiest of all the giants of the Oberland, is conspicuous in the middle distance, while out of the solid wall of mountains on the right rises Aletschhorn "gloriously white." The plains of snow here are unique. At the Place de la Concorde broad glaciers come peacefully together, and, melting into one another, form a magnificent snow-reservoir, which "impresses the mind with the feeling of eternal repose."

Jungfrau is sighted in the dawn on a background of orange sky. The rocky face of the mountain was suddenly suffused in faint pink, which soon faded to the pallor of a spectre, then crimsoned, and then flashed a golden splendour—soon to die away into the light of common day. The travellers are here in the midst of a multitude of peaks, grouped in the most striking manner. Here are Mont Blanc, the Silberhorn, a singularly graceful mountain robed in snow to the edge of its pine forests, the Wetterhorn, where tempests are cradled, the huge Schreckhorn, and many another peak "rising out of a corolla of shining mist." The climbers attempt Finisteraarhorn, but are driven back by bad weather. They halt at the Grimsel, ascend the Galenstock and the Gletschjock, and then saunter through green meadows and rich woods to Goschenen.

The next part of their programme is Uri and Glarus. They visit the scene of the great landslip at Elm in 1881. It is computed that 10,000,000 cubic metres of rock fell out of the face of the Plattenbergkoft, destroying forests and pastures, and overwhelming the village with its inhabitants.

The Rhätikon and Silvretta groups are traversed, as well as the Oetz and Stubia mountains. The cloud effects on these mountains were particularly grand. "The peaks with their sweeping white drapery were in a flood of light, brilliant as angelic thrones." Sir W. M. Conway and his two Goorkhas visited the Zillerthal and Venediger groups. The scenery was alternately beautiful and awful. They were successful in their attempt to climb Gross Glockner, and were rewarded with a dawn so superb that it seemed "a new and sudden wonder." There was darkness below in the valleys and on the glaciers. The ranges of hills assumed a rich, dark tone in a soft mysterious twilight. Above the broken line of ridge, flamed a narrow strait of crimson fire, which, lying between the sky and the mountains, and broadening into an aerial sea, revealed outstanding floating islands of deeper blood-colour. Pink streamers heralded the sun. The snow was pink, while the

shadows of the climbers were green, on this background. When the sun rose the glow of colour disappeared, and "the prism of mountain shadow stretched like a long tent to the western horizon." The ascent of the Ankolg, the most eastern of the snowy Alps, was the last of the expedition.

We have little space left for Mr. Mummery's volume, which is quite as brilliantly written as Sir W. M. Conway's. Mr. Mummery was, perhaps, the most accomplished as well as the most daring of climbers. We had a conversation, during a railway journey from Zermatt to Visp in June last, with one of the most experienced and ablest of Alpine guides, who was loud in his praise of Mr. Mummery as the most expert and capable of all who faced the perils of climbing in the high Alps. It is sad to remember that his old comrade guides, who loved him so much, will see his face no more. Among the last words he wrote are these: "It is true the great ridges sometimes demand their sacrifice, but the mountaineer would hardly forego his worship though he knew himself to be the destined victim."

The Matterhorn was his favourite mountain, and he never ceased to love it from the day when, as a boy, he caught his first view of it "shining in all the calm majesty of a September moon, the very embodiment of mystery." Seven times he reached its crown.

"I have sat," he says, "on the summit with my wife when a lighted match would not flicker in the windless air, and I have been chased from its shattered crest and down the Italian ridge by the mad fury of thunder and lightning and whirling snow. Yet each memory has its own peculiar charm, and the wild music of the hurricane is hardly a less delight than the glories of a perfect day."

No one, he thinks, can at all know the mountains who has not ascended them in every change of summer-storm and sunshine; and who has not brought every mood of his own mind to their contemplation.

"One day he is dominated by the tingling horror of the precipice, the gaunt bareness of the stupendous cliffs, or the deadly rush of the rocks when some huge block breaks away from its moorings and hurtles through the air—a fit emblem of resistless

wrath. On yet another day he notices none of these things. Lulled by the delicate tints of opal and azure, he revels in the vaporous softness of the Italian valleys, in the graceful sweep of the wind-drifted snow, or even in the tiny flowers wedged in the joints of the granite."

He relates his conquest of the Matterhorn in 1879 by the Zmutt Ridge in company with the guides Burgener and Petrus. This is an excessively dangerous route, and was not attempted again by any climber until fifteen years later. The way lay over long precipitous slopes and stone-swept *couloirs*, and the grandest wall of rock the Alps can boast of. A year later he attacked the same mountain by way of Furggen Ridge. Innumerable will-o'-the-wisps flickered around them as they trod the boggy stretch under the Schwarzer See, to the horror of the guides, who believed that the party had provoked the vengeance of heaven and that the "Geisten," the ministers of woe, were here. The climb was a desperate one. At one point the upper lip of a great crevasse projected forty feet or more above them, and it was only by the most brilliant skill that they were able to force their way up a small intersecting crevasse. Steep sentinel cliffs, which guarded the upper heights, were overcome by creeping up the deep grooves cut in the face of the mountain by stony avalanches, grooves down which might play at any moment the artillery of broken rocks that would sweep all before it. The climbers were sometimes right in the line of fire, and were compelled to expose themselves to the missiles which the gale was stripping from the crags above. Huge slabs flew past them. Fortunately they were able to dodge them. At length they reached the top.

The Col du Lion, which Whymper had spoken of as "a sheer wall," Mr. Mummery ascended in July, 1880, with his favourite guide, Burgener. Their exertions were almost superhuman. The scenery by the way was weird and awful beyond description. They were forced by the ceaseless hail of fragments of rock and icicles that came down the *couloir* they were striving to climb to take a more sheltered, narrow ice-glazed gully. The grim cliffs shut them in. "Far above,

black, overhanging rocks broke through the snow and seemed to bar further progress." Burgener was leading. The ice was solid as stone, and every step of the way had to be hewn out of it. Suddenly the step-cutting ceased. Burgener had broken his axe. "Midway in the ice *couloir*, two thousand feet high, a single axe alone stood between them and helplessness." Mr. Mummery, who was following, lashed his axe to the rope and sent it up to Burgener. Having done this, he was unable to get hold again of the rope, and was compelled to climb the next eighty feet without its support and without an axe. They succeeded in reaching a place which, if they were to proceed, involved the passage of an almost perpendicular wall glazed with ice. To go on seemed impossible, and for once in his life Burgener suggested retreat. But the Englishman, seeing that attempted retreat meant certain destruction, shouted "*vorwärts*." Cutting, with most exhausting labour, a continuous shallow ledge in the ice, which was too thin to admit of steps, and by the aid of hand-holds which they were obliged to cut in the ice above, they advanced to a snow ribbon. This afforded no support, and the weary cutting of the ledge and the hand-holds had to go on. And the difficulty was the greater from the fact that the hewing had to be done with one hand, and that hand badly swollen and sprained. With the other hand the foremost man had to cling to the ice-wall, like a bird that grips with its claws some sheer cliff. They reach snow, treacherous-looking, but to their joy the core of it stood their weight as they cautiously leaped upon it. Up the knife-edge of the drift they force their way, astride. A wall, surmounted by a cornice of ice, is next climbed, "the grimmest wall it has ever been my luck to scale," declares Mr. Mummery. In time they gain the summit. This is a sample of the kind of mountaineering which he describes with his graphic pen. He depicts not so much the scenery as the incidents of these awfully perilous climbs.

We had hoped to deal with Mr. Mummery's exhilarating and yet solemn chapter on "The Pleasures and Penalties of

Mountaineering," but our space is exhausted. He thinks that the overcoming of obstacles is the "main factor" in the pleasure derived. Then there is the joy of re-invigorated mental and physical health and the development of muscular power and skill. He thinks that only those who are so completely masters of the mountains "that they can laugh and rollick on the ridges free from all constraint of ropes or fear of danger" can really appreciate the glories of the "eternal hills"; and this is so in the highest degree when with this love of frolic is combined that "indefinable delight which is induced by the lovely form, tone and colouring of great ranges." And the educational value is great. Independence, self-reliance, faith in comrades, resource, quicknes of decision, accuracy of judgment, courage, calmness under difficulty, and all kindred virtues are brought into play and cultivated by Alpine climbing—"gains for which no price is perhaps too high."

As to the penalties, he says, "our sport demands a fearful price." And fearful it is, as we realise, when we ponder the facts which Mr. Mummery briefly recalls, and remember that so many of the most accomplished climbers, including himself, have at last fallen victims and swollen the gloomy death-roll.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges. By the Rev. GEORGE F. MOORE, D.D., Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

THIS is the third issue of the new International Critical Commentary. Its writer is comparatively unknown in this country, but is not likely long to remain so; for his commentary, as a piece of scholarly work, will bear comparison with either of its predecessors, surpassing the one in originality and freshness, and rivalling the other in the thoroughness of its command of the minutest details. If the remaining volumes of the series are done on the same scale of carefulness, and with a similar power to enter into the spirit of a narrative, and to give reality and life to its scenes, the series will rank at once not only as the best in English, but as the best in any language.

In regard to scope and arrangement, it is hardly possible to speak too highly of this commentary. Not only does it cover the whole ground, with the exception of practical or homiletical exegesis, but reference to each variety of discussion is rendered easy by the adoption of different sizes of type. The exception is to be commended: for when a commentator proceeds to apply a passage to the exigencies of the pulpit, especially if he suggest divisions and sub-divisions, he becomes a producer of crutches for cripples, and undertakes to do for the preacher what every preacher ought to do for himself. Nothing of the sort will be found in this volume. It grapples honestly with the difficulties of the text, and of its interpretation; philology, archæology, history, biblical theology, are all put under contribution with a view to illuminate a passage, to make its meaning clear and unmistakable, to invest it with vividness and force; and the reader is left to deduce whatever practical lessons his reason allows or his devotion compels. Three principal varieties of type are employed. One marks the paraphrase or summary of con-

tents, by which each section of the text is introduced. A second is reserved for the exegetical notes proper, in the preparation of which our author is at his best; never diffuse, never satisfied with partial or halting explanations, constantly lighting up a passage by a few compact phrases, or exhibiting its naturalness by parallels from other times. Technical matters of textual and philological criticism are kept to separate paragraphs, for which a third type is used. In the study of these alone is it necessary that the reader should have some acquaintance with other languages than English. And thus, while the commentary is designed especially for students, and furnishes them with the latest conclusions of scholarship on all the matters that are related to the investigation of the Book of Judges, its most valuable sections present no difficulty to the reader of English. He will of necessity have to take some things on trust, but he will meet with very few pages on which he will not find something serviceable.

The apparatus of the commentary is full and adequate. In addition to a long index of names and subjects, there are indices of Hebrew words and forms, of grammatical observations, and of passages incidentally discussed. The Introduction deals at sufficient length with the chronology of Judges, with its position in the Canon, with the criticism of the text, and with the work of previous interpreters. In regard to the authorship and date of composition, Dr. Moore does not speak with much certainty. He is disposed to attribute the greater part to a writer of the sixth or seventh century, who used as his principal materials two written histories, of which the older dated from the ninth century, whilst the other existed in an original and also in a revised form, both belonging to the eighth century. The whole is supposed to have undergone revisions subsequently, with additions and interpolations by various hands. But Dr. Moore does not claim anything like complete proof for this theory. He regards it as the best co-ordination of such facts as there are, but he does not formulate it into an assured and dogmatic statement. He knows, as does every accurate scholar, that the time has not yet come for the final settlement of such questions as these. And though his own leanings are evident, they are not so pronounced as seriously to detract from the value of the volume. It is unquestionably the best commentary that has hitherto been published on the Book of Judges.

The Epistle of James and other Discourses. By R. W. DALE, LL.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.

To those who know Dr. Dale this basket of fragments will be precious; for to know him truly was to love and admire him, and in nothing was he more admirable than in the fine and high tone,

the practical wisdom, the winsomeness of his pulpit teaching. The sermons, or fragments of sermons, relating to James and his Epistle are not complete in form. They were not prepared for the press, and are some of them only fragments of sermons. But they are golden fragments. The other half of the volume consists mainly of short sermons published in the *British Weekly*. It is well known with what increasing intensity of feeling and conviction towards the close of his life Dr. Dale was impressed with the separateness and sanctity of the ministerial vocation and its claim to absolute devotion on the part of all who profess to give themselves to its work and duties. Our readers will read with interest the passage we are about to quote:—

"John Wesley cared a great deal for the miseries of the poor and longed to relieve them. He also had a deep conviction that the laws of eternal righteousness should govern the actions of nations as well as of individual men. Suppose that when the evangelistic passion took possession of him he had said, 'A man may do the will of Christ, and do it faithfully in the House of Commons as well as in the pulpit.' Suppose he had been returned for some constituency which would have given him a fair measure of independence in his political action; had joined in the assault on Walpole and helped to expel him from power; had become, as he was certain to have become, a great member of Parliament; had held office under one Minister after another who succeeded Walpole; had been a keen supporter of the war with France; had taken part in settling the terms of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle; had become in his later years a powerful member of the opposition which compelled the king to dismiss Lord Bute; had endeavoured to do what he believed to be the will of Christ by opposing the Stamp Act and all the subsequent policy which led to the Declaration of Independence by the American colonies; had sacrificed office and sacrificed popularity for many years by his resolute determination to deal with America according to his own convictions of what was just and expedient. Wesley would then have taken a splendid position among the statesmen of his generation, with different, though perhaps equal, powers; would have ranked with Chatham and Fox and Burke and Pitt; and his policy would have been as truly controlled by his loyalty to Christ as was his actual work in the foundation of Methodism. But would it have been well for England, for the world, for Wesley himself, for the honour of Christ, that he should have descended from his position as a great preacher to the position of a great Member of the House of Commons or a great Minister of State? In the case of Paul, in the case of Wesley, how immense would have been the loss to mankind and to themselves if they had served Christ—no matter how faithfully—in any other way than as preachers of the Christian Gospel!"

St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen, &c., &c. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Ramsay has brought more fresh light to the study of the Acts than any living scholar, at least in England. There is a wonderful freshness, a business reality, a frank manliness of unprofessional "lay" interest, in his treatment of St. Paul's history and St. Luke's annals, such as are not elsewhere to be found. He has himself walked over much of the ground of which he writes, and he has made new and fruitful discoveries. His original research, both into the geography of St. Paul's missionary travels, and into the contemporaneous history and condition of the Roman Empire, so far as that is connected with the record in the Acts, have enabled him to make discoveries that throw a fresh illumination on the story, and wonderfully confirm the record. On his own mind the effects of his sifting examination of the whole subject have been decisive. They have resolved his natural, we might almost say inevitable, preliminary doubts—his rationalistic doubts—and led him to accept the history as it stands—supernatural and natural incidents as they stand in mutual linking.

"The marvels described in Acts," he says, "concern my present purpose only in so far as they bear upon the historical effect of the narrative. They are difficulties; but my hope is to show, first, that the narrative apart from them is stamped as authentic; second, that they are an integral part of it. Twenty years ago I found it easy to dispose of them; but now-a-days, probably, not even the youngest among us finds himself able to maintain that we have mastered the secrets of Nature and determined the limits which divide the unknown from the impossible. That Paul believed himself to be the recipient of direct revelations from God, to be guided and controlled in his plans by direct interposition of the Holy Spirit, to be enabled by the Divine Power to move the forces of Nature in a way that ordinary men cannot, is involved in this narrative. You must make up your own minds to accept or to reject it; but you cannot cut out the marvellous from the rest, nor can you believe that either Paul or this writer was a mere victim of hallucinations. To the men of that age, only what was guaranteed by marvellous accompaniment was true; to us, unusual accompaniments tend to disprove (discredit?) truth. The contrast between the ages is *himmelweit*."

Professor Ramsay's conclusions will not all be accepted at once. His view, indeed, as to Galatia and the Churches of Galatia, may perhaps be taken as established, though probably some students will still demur to this. But his view as to the relations between the history in the Acts and the narrative in the first

chapter of Galatians, will not at once be universally, or perhaps generally, accepted; and it is not unlikely that the date he would assign for the composition of St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts will be questioned by some able scholars. But the light and energy of the book, as a whole, cannot fail to make a deep and permanent impression; and the volume has the merit that there is not a wasted sentence in it. It is a volume without padding, and in which the contents of many lectures are closely condensed. The substance is here of three sets of lectures delivered in America.

Saint Paul: His Life and Epistles. By CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D.D., LL.D., late Vicar of St. Martin at Palace, Norwich. 2 Vols. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1896. 12*s*.

Dr. Geikie's *Life and Works of Christ*, and his *Hours with the Bible*, have given him a reputation that is almost world-wide. The title of the present work is somewhat misleading, for it is really "The Apostles: their Lives and Letters," but that only makes this record more complete. Dr. Geikie's aim has been to gather up everything that is "left us respecting the Church before St. Paul's conversion," and he intends to continue his narrative to the close of the Canonical Books. He has sought to set St. Paul and his Epistles before his readers as they would appear to a contemporary. "To transfer our modern developments of ecclesiastical affairs to his age, distorts his whole story and robs it of its most valuable lessons. In theology I have simply stood behind the Apostle, and given his words and arguments without the colour of any school." All the masters of New Testament exegesis have been laid under contribution, and Dr. Geikie's travels in Palestine and the East have helped him to add much local colour to his work. Every light which history lends has been borrowed in order to set the Apostolic age before the eyes of present day readers. When we trace St. Paul to Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus, this method gives new interest to the old story. We find some of Dr. Geikie's sentences burdened with so many clauses that they remind us now and again of an old maze; we are also sorely puzzled to know why St. Mark is referred to as nephew of St. Paul. We know nothing to account for such a statement, and can only regard it as a slip for Barnabas. If Dr. Geikie intends to uphold the relationship, he ought to have stated his case. But these volumes will take their place by the side of the precious volumes which we owe to Conybeare and Howson, Lewin, and Farrar, and will furnish constant instruction and delight to all students of the New Testament. Dr. Geikie has caught an enthusiasm for St. Paul. He says: "The whole man was an Apostle. His perfect faith in his convictions opened the way for their undoubting acceptance by others; for

the influence on the multitude, of a strong mind, possessed by an over-mastering idea, is always great. But he had besides, a restless hunger for new conquests, an instinctive knowledge of men, and a capacity of adapting himself to all, which made him at home, as a Jew, in a Jewish home, and as a Greek, in the household of a Greek; dexterous to avoid wounding the prejudices of the weak-minded, and liberal, where breadth of view was possible; qualities needed, before all others, in laying the 'foundations' of a new faith." We hope that Dr. Geikie's exquisite rendering of this story of St. Paul will prove as widely useful as his *Life of Christ*.

The Two St. Johns of the New Testament. By JAMES STALKER, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. 1895. 6*s*.

Dr. Stalker has found a fine field for his powers as a suggestive and practical expositor. Every stage in the history of the two St. Johns affords him scope for impressive comment. The training of the evangelist, the moulding of his character under the influence of Christ, the secret of the special love which bound him to his Lord, and all the happy service which he rendered to Christ and His Church after the resurrection, are brought out in a way that throws welcome light on the old story. Dr. Stalker is equally happy in his handling of the Baptist's life and work, but we feel that he has made a serious error in putting the chapters on the Apostle before those on the Forerunner. It is true that his study of the Baptist is a minor one compared with the fuller treatment accorded to the evangelist, but it might have led up most impressively to the more important theme, and furnished a valuable introduction to the whole Gospel history. That blemish mars the value of what is otherwise a fruitful, suggestive and most instructive book.

The Acts of the Apostles. With Introduction and Notes. By T. E. PAGE, M.A., and A. S. WALPOLE, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1895. 2*s*. 6*d*.

The notes on the Greek text of the Acts, which Mr. Page published in 1886, have been reprinted four times, and now, with the help of Mr. Walpole, have been made available for English readers. We do not know such a handy and reliable little commentary on the Acts as this. The Introduction is packed with matter which will quicken a student's interest in the book; the Glossary of obsolete English words is very helpful. The notes deal thoroughly with every difficulty of text and interpretation, whilst in printing and arrangement this delightful little volume leaves nothing to be desired.

The Epistles to Timothy and Titus. With Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. A. E. HUMPHREYS, M.A., Rector of Fakenham, Norfolk, late Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1895. 3*s.*

This new volume of the Cambridge Bible for Schools scarcely leaves anything to be desired. It is equipped with all the apparatus for an exhaustive study of the pastoral epistles, and the matter is arranged so neatly, and put so clearly, that it will be readily understood and much enjoyed. The view of the external and internal evidence; the treatment of St. Paul's latest style and characteristics; the admirable little chapter on the Apostle's last journeys; and the lives of Timothy and Titus, are admirable both for style and contents. The notes on the text are both clear and full. No difficulties are evaded, and Mr. Humphrey is not afraid to give a definite opinion on the problems of interpretation which are found in the Epistles. Altogether this is an admirable little commentary, which preachers and teachers will find a real help at every point.

Union with God. A Series of Addresses by J. RENDEL HARRIS. Hodder & Stoughton. 4*s.* 6*d.*

The gifts which have won for Mr. Rendel Harris so wide and deep an influence are well exhibited in this volume. The twelve addresses which it contains are deeply spiritual, and have a tincture of mysticism which lends them much charm and suggestiveness. The passage which jars upon us most is a description of St. John. "By and by, after having played with the flowered hem of God's vesture in the world, he pricked the perfections of Jesus into paper with a pin, and we have the Fourth Gospel." But if this illustration is unworthy, the address from which we take it is full of interest. The idea of "Glory to the Son" taking shape at the marriage feast in Cana is happily conceived, and still more happy is the thought that every true disciple is all disciples in one. "He has left nets with the Zebedees, and custom-houses with St. Matthew; his tears have flowed into the channel of the Magdalenes, and so have reached the sacred feet of our Lord; and his head is with St. John's on the bosom of everlasting love; he is in all crosses and pains of saints that suffer, and partakes of all glories, and wears all crowns; for the life of Christ makes him One with all manifestations of Christ's life, both suffering and triumphant, that ever have been or ever will be." The thought of the way in which "an anonymous stranger, one of the Nazareth party," becomes the central figure of the Feast at Cana, is also well

brought out. Christ's illustrations are suggestively dealt with in the address on "A corn of wheat." The whole book will be found fresh and helpful.

I go a Fishing: With other Sermons on Subjects relating to Christian Faith and Practice. By Rev. T. WOOLMER. London: Chas. H. Kelly. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

We are glad to have this volume of simple and practical Sermons from Mr. Woolmer. They are, in the best sense of the word, "Village Sermons," expressed in such clear and homely language, and filled with such every-day incident and illustration, that they will catch the ear of humble folk, and bring home many a happy lesson. We have been much interested in some of the little stories scattered through the volume, such as that of the agricultural labourer, who was happy and contented with eight shillings a week, though he had a wife and eight children to keep. Mr. Woolmer puts in some naïve little bits, like his word about tea meetings on p. 9; but there are some capital hints for "Christian faith and practice," which make us hope that these discourses may be used when village congregations are disappointed of their preacher. Not a few of the Sermons are divided into two, with the old man's *peccavi*, "I have sometimes committed the mistake of preaching too long—greatly, I fear, to the discomfort and disadvantage of hearers, who are often too much wearied, both in mind and body, by long discourses, to remember what they hear."

Dr. Miller's *Message for the Day* (Hodder & Stoughton, 3*s.* 6*d.*) gives a verse of Scripture for each day of the year, with some helpful comment, and many apt quotations of sacred song. Dr. Miller has shown good taste and true spiritual insight in his work, and his little volume cannot fail to carry a blessing into many homes.

Jesus Christ and the Present Age. Being the Twenty-fifth Fernley Lecture. By JAMES CHAPMAN, Principal of Southlands College. London: Chas. H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This is a valuable addition to the growing library of "Fernley Lectures." The style is exquisitely simple; the reasoning is both luminous and convincing; the thought is profound; the illustration natural and suggestive; the spirit catholic; the whole conception and working out of the theme admirable. From the "Synopsis of Contents" the reader will soon gain a firm grasp of the argument of the lecture. Mr. Chapman shows that each age seems specially interesting and important to those who live in it. "Compared with its vivid experiences, its absorbing interests, its anxious questions, its conflicting passions, its im-

pending dangers, the ages behind with their issues all determined, as reflected in the calm pages of history, have appeared tame and ordinary." If these estimates need to be received with some reserve, no one can doubt that the age in which the Roman Empire was consolidated, and the age of the Reformation, tower high above other generations. Our own century, with its great advance in knowledge, its wonderful social readjustments, and that widening of the world which it has witnessed, takes rank as among the most important in human history. The Church is adapting itself to its changing environment. We make less of dogma, and dwell more upon the facts of our religion; Christ is more and more regarded as the living centre of Christian thought, and His humanity is made more prominent. Mr. Chapman does not speak lightly of dogma, but he shows that truth is greater than the forms of expression in which it is clothed. In them there is much that is local, temporary, and perishable. "To break the husk, to come at the living germ, the truth itself, and plant it in the living soil, the minds and hearts of men, is the aspiration of modern theology, which is becoming increasingly biblical and historical." The return to Jesus Christ is justified by a study of other religions and a careful unfolding of His own teaching as to the fatherhood of God, and other great subjects. In describing Christian life and morality, Mr. Chapman has to deal with some tangled themes, but his wisdom and judgment are never at fault. The way in which chastity is dealt with deserves a special word of recognition. The whole discussion will be reassuring to minds that have been exercised with the problems of the day. Here is the conclusion of the argument: "As the doctrine of Jesus Christ, then, is in conflict with no established truth; as it is in complete accord with the best elements of human nature, supplying to them a nourishment and support without which they would wither and die; and as it has received the abundant confirmation of an almost boundless experience, we may rest on it with untroubled confidence, apply it fearlessly to the social conditions of our own land, and send it forth to bless the whole earth." A lecture with such an aim carries its own commendation to thoughtful people. Mr. Chapman has shown that the old truth is adapted to all the new conditions of the nineteenth century, and his book will do no small service in building up a manly and intelligent faith in Christ and Christianity.

The Ecclesiastical Expansion of England in the Growth of the Anglican Commission. The Hulsean Lectures for 1894-5. By ALFRED BARRY, D.D., D.C.L. Macmillan. 1895. 6*s*.

This is eminently a present-day book. The ex-Bishop of Sydney was in every way qualified to deal with the subject of

the volume, and that subject is one of surpassing interest and importance. The book is thoroughly well-informed, and though, of course, Bishop Barry writes as an English Churchman, there is happily no tincture of narrowness in his writing. He does not overlook the work done for the world, especially the barbarian races, by other missionary agencies besides those of the Anglican Church. His Appendices are very valuable, because of the comprehensive and recent statistics they contain. Seldom, unhappily, does an Anglican writer do justice to the superior position of other churches in America in their hold on the population generally. Bishop Barry states the facts as they are, and explains justly how it came to pass that a hundred years ago the Methodists in America stepped into the vacancy left by the departure from the field of the Episcopalian loyalists. Similarly frank and fair he is as to the other fields of Christian labour and missionary enterprise.

Historical Essays. By the late Dr. LIGHTFOOT, Lord Bishop of Durham. Macmillan. 1895. 5*s*.

This is a very valuable small volume, gathered from the Bishop's remains by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund, and published in accordance with his will, under the general care and direction of the present Bishop of Durham. The papers on the "Comparative Progress of Ancient and Modern Missions" and on "Christian Life in the Second and Third Centuries" are of peculiar value at the present time, though written some years ago. "England during the Latter Half of the Thirteenth Century" is a very picturesque and interesting paper. The volume is good throughout and is one to get.

The Book of Deuteronomy. By Prof. ANDREW HARPER, B.D. of Melbourne. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895. 10*s*. 6*d*.

This volume closely follows Driver. That in so doing the author unsettles the foundations of old-fashioned faith in the Bible Revelation he hardly denies. Certainly, his attempts to show how that faith may, notwithstanding, be in the main retained and sustained (pp. 35-6) are far from satisfactory. Professor Harper is a clear, frank, and reverent writer, notwithstanding the unsettling concessions which he makes to the new criticism. We cannot, in this notice, re-argue the question, or explain in detail where we stand apart from the author of this volume.

Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels. By PATON J. GLOAG, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895. 7*s.* 6*d.*

This is a volume of sterling value; learned, clear, candid, cautious, thoroughly well considered; it should be a welcome addition to the library of the biblical student. We do not agree with every position taken up; but Dr. Gloag is so learned, careful, and judicious, that where we fail to agree with him, we cannot well help doubting our own conclusions. It includes not only a general introduction, but a separate introduction to each Gospel.

Pascal and Other Sermons. By the late R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St. Pauls. Macmillan. 6*s.*

Of the posthumous volumes of Dean Church's writing this is, perhaps, the most valuable yet published. Excellent and exemplary as models are the two volumes of *Village Sermons;* the two volumes of *Occasional Sermons*, also, are both intellectually and spiritually of a high class; but we are inclined to give to such sermons as those in this volume on "The Incarnation of God" and "Adam the Type of Christ," and to the sermons on Bishop Butler, Bishop Andrewes, and Pascal's "Pensées" a still higher place. That on Bishop Andrewes contains the finest, the best balanced, and, from the point of view of a follower of the "Oxford Movement," the most moderate and persuasive statement of the Anglican position in regard to the Reformation which we remember to have met with. Here, for a member of the Newman circle, we see Church at his best. But, indeed, the sermon is one which shows a wisdom learned after Newman's secession, and such as Pusey never attained to, though the fallacies of ecclesiastical externalism stilll underlie some of its positions and its teaching.

Lancelot Andrewes and His Private Devotions. A Biography, a Transcript, and an Interpretation. By ALEXANDER WHYTE. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1896. 3*s.* 6*d.*

In the volume of Dean Church's noticed above, Bishop Andrewes is the subject of an eulogistic lecture. The Dean not only speaks in high praise of the *Private Devotions*, but of the Bishop's sermons, though he admits the shapelessness of the style and the extreme ruggedness and jerkiness of the English. Dr. Whyte, on the other hand, after trying his best to find something to admire in the sermons, gives them up as incurably tedious, though he admits their learning and orthodoxy. The Dean, again, admits the culpable servility of the Bishop in his relations with James I., and especially in con-

nection with the disgraceful Essex divorce case, but pleads for gentle judgment on a prelate in a very difficult position. Dr. Whyte, on the other hand, denounces the criminality of the Bishop's conduct, contrasts his disgraceful servility with Archbishop Abbot's noble fidelity, and finds in the Bishop's great and grievous sin and shame in this matter, just and apt reason for the largeness, the depth, the humiliation of his private confessions, especially certain parts of them. The *Devotions* were written in Greek and Latin, of which languages Bishop Andrewes was an admirable master, though he could not write English. They were intended for no eyes but his own, and are wonderful for depth of feeling, for comprehensiveness, for passion, and tenderness. They are singularly beautiful. Newman translated the Greek, Neale the Latin, *Devotions*. Dr. Whyte finds a congenial subject in his treatment of these "Devotions," and his numerous admirers will find in this volume instructive and profitable reading. Bishop Andrewes, it need hardly be added, is as much a High Church saint and worthy as John Howe is a saintly hero of our English Independents.

The Songs of the Holy Nativity. By THOMAS DEHANY BERNARD, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of Wells. Macmillan. 1895. 5*s*.

Canon Bernard is one of the clearest, truest, deepest, and most devout and spiritual expositors of our time—a master equally of exposition and theology. His *Bampton Lecture* is a fine, suggestive, timely volume; his *Central Teaching of Jesus Christ* is in every way a masterpiece—pure gold throughout and clear as crystal, a profound, and, on its subject (John xiii.—xvii.), a matchless exposition. We heartily commend to the attention of our readers this work on *The Songs of the Holy Nativity* "as recorded in Scripture" and "as in use in the Church." There is, we believe, no other book on the subject. This fact, in connection with the excellence of the workmanship, should command a wide acceptance for the volume.

Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers. By F. J. A. HORT, D.D. Macmillan. 1895. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Dr. Hort's Lectures on Church History are now in course of publication. But these are published as of a more popular character and likely to have a wider circulation. The Fathers spoken of, and from whom extracts are given, are Clement of Rome and Hermas, Ignatius and Polycarp, Justin and Irenæus, Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Cyprian,

and Origen. The chief feature of the book is the translated extracts. These are partly taken from good published translations and partly of Dr. Hort's own making. Such a collection of translations is not easily accessible elsewhere. The volume is edited by Dr. Hort's son, Mr. A. F. Hort. There is no need to insist on its interest and value.

Some Thoughts on Christian Re-union. By the Right Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon. Macmillan. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This kindly and gracious book brings no fresh light to the subject. The Bishop distinguishes schisms into two classes. In the one case the schismatic Church has "added to the essentials of faith." In the other the schismatic secession "has broken away from the Church" for the sake of "a pet doctrine." The case of the Wesleyan Methodist secession is not covered by either of these distinctions; nor do we think that either the Lutheran or the Calvinistic secession answers to the second category of schism. The volume contains many vaguely true and good observations, but also many vague and useless platitudes. Its spirit, of course, is excellent, and it contains much incidental timely instruction.

The Great Charter of Christ. Being Studies in the Sermon on the Mount. By the Right Rev. W. BOYD CARPENTER, Lord Bishop of Ripon. Isbister. 6*s.*

The main features of the Sermon on the Mount are well grasped in these twelve Studies. They bear trace of much careful thinking, and often throw new light on the subject. They are practical and experimental, so that every devout reader will find the book a real help in the cultivation of the Christian life. "Every several gate was one of one pearl" is the suggestive title given to the section on the beatitudes, and though all the book is full of rich food, no study will be found more precious than this. "The Tests of Life" is a happy description of the last paragraph of our Lord's Sermon, and the chapter is very powerful and impressive.

The Truth and the Witness. By M. B. WILLIAMSON, M.A., Curate-in-charge of Rockbeare, Exeter. Macmillan. 4*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Williamson's book was suggested by some words of Bishop Westcott's in his work on St. John's Gospel. He sets himself to show that Christ's claim to be the Truth, is commended to men by various forms of witness, so that the true exercise of the mind and judgment, as well as the heart and

soul, "cannot fail to lead to a fuller apprehension of the Truth, and the further confirmation of the Faith." After showing what Christ's claims are, Mr. Williamson deals with "The Witness of the Father and the Son," the witness of Christ's works and of the moral miracles of the Church. Other chapters open up the witness of the Prophets, the Scriptures, the Disciples, and the Holy Spirit. The book is clear in style and arrangement. It keeps very close to the Scripture, and will be found both suggestive and instructive, though it seems rather to lack fire and passion. It is, perhaps, scarcely fair to make such a critique of a book that aims at being judicial, but still, we miss the glow that we almost expect from anyone who handles such a subject.

The Beatitudes. By ROBERT EYTON, Rector of Upper Chelsea, Prebendary of St. Paul's. Kegan Paul & Co.

Mr. Eyton has put a great deal of clear and deep thinking into this little book. He has strong opinions, as his wise and timely protest against the recent "Laud celebration" and his words about vivisection will prove. We are afraid that in dealing with the latter subject, he does not sufficiently consider the hardness which creeps over some scientists, and we should have preferred to have seen that topic reserved for another place; but the sermons are full of food for thinkers, models of sober discussion and lucid arrangement.

The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians. With Introduction and Notes. By JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D. T. & T. Clark.

This is a very fine commentary, bearing trace of much sound exegesis, ripe experience, and critical skill. We have tested it at several crucial points, and have found it a wise and safe guide. The introduction brings out clearly the details as to the authorship, date and contents of the Epistle, the Churches to which it was addressed, and other important matters. The notes are very full, and the price is only eighteenpence. There is nothing to match it.

For the Work of the Ministry. A Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology. By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. Sixth and Revised Edition. With New Appendices and Enlarged Bibliography. Nisbet & Co. 1896.

It is encouraging to see this excellent manual in its sixth edition. Sound, succinct, comprehensive, thorough, and very plain and practical, all through, we are inclined to rate this volume as the best treatise on its subject—the very book for a young minister.

Essentials of New Testament Greek. By JOHN R. HUDDILSTON, A.B. (Harv.), Instructor in Greek in North-Western University. Macmillan & Co. 3*s*.

Mr. Huddilston's book is the outcome of much class-room experience. He thinks that it is possible to supply a guide through the maze of grammatical difficulties which surround New Testament Greek, and to set forth in small space the absolutely essential parts of the language. Thirty-two brief lessons prepare for the reading of certain select passages, then the essentials of the grammar are given in compact form. Tables of irregular verbs, vocabularies and hints as to syntax, are furnished in a way that will prove very helpful to a beginner. We are by no means clear that this method of introducing a beginner to the subject is either the easiest or the best, but Mr. Huddilston's plan is well worked out and his scholarly little volume will be found very useful, not only for beginners but also for teachers.

We have received from the Oxford University Press two of their exquisite new editions of the Bible, giving bold and clear type in volumes so light and compact that it is a pleasure to handle them. The references are placed in one central column so that there is more room for the text, and in the binding and general get-up the Oxford Press has almost surpassed itself. The long primer type is wonderfully clear, the emerald 16mo. is very restful for the eye, whilst those whose chief aim is to get a compact pocket Bible will find the ruby 24mo. just the book they need. It is a great thing to have a Bible that may be a life-long treasure, and in this, as in all other respects, there is nothing to equal the Oxford Bibles.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Oxford High Anglicanism and its Chief Leaders. By the Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. Charles H. Kelly. 1895.

The importance of the subject and the attention which has been excited by the publication of this volume, would have made it a proper book for extended criticism in our pages but for the personal connection which has so long existed between its author and this REVIEW. It is proper, however, that we should give an account of the plan and scope of the volume for the information of our readers.

Dr. Rigg explains in his preface that the book is the result of many years' study. "It is," he says, "nearly forty years since I wrote the volume entitled *Modern Anglican Theology*, which dealt specially with the views of the 'Broad Church'

and, particularly, of the Coleridgean section of the clergy, at that time apparently on the ascendant scale in England. That volume contains evidence that I had already begun the serious study of Oxford Anglicanism. During the years that have followed I have often been asked to write what my friends spoke of as a companion book to that volume, dealing dispassionately and thoroughly with the modern Anglicanism of the Oxford School. Till lately, however, the materials for the thorough treatment of the subject historically did not exist. . . . Within the last few years, however, the needful materials for a history of Oxford Anglicanism have rapidly accumulated and have made it possible to gain a historical view which should not only be authentic and true, but living and complete, of the development of the Oxford High Anglican movement from its earliest stirrings down to the present time." "This volume," he further explains, "is the only attempt to write anything like a history of Oxford High Anglicanism which, as yet, has been made by a Nonconformist. It is also the only book written by anyone which attempts to trace the history from its early origins, more than sixty years ago, through its successive developments and phases, down to the present time."

The table of contents indicates very clearly the line of historical survey which the author has followed. The first chapter, which is entitled "The First Leaven of the Oxford Movement" shows distinctly that Newman derived his special inspiration for the work he undertook from Keble and Hurrell Froude, but especially from Keble, and that Keble's views came to him from the Non-Jurors of the early part of the eighteenth century. The mutual relations of Keble, Hurrell Froude, and Newman are explained, Keble's life and character are clearly and fully sketched, and an appropriate criticism of the *Christian Year* closes the chapter. In the second chapter we are brought in view of the crisis of distress in the Church of England during the Reform agitation of 1832-3, and it is shown how the movement within the Church to meet that crisis found, of necessity, its seat and strength not at Cambridge but at Oxford, with Newman as its chief leader. We are introduced in the second chapter to the *Tracts for the Times* and especially the first *Tract*, as written by Newman, which, by settling the basis of his movement on the false dogma of the Apostolic Succession, determined its Romanising character and its Romeward trend. The third chapter pursues the subject of the *Tracts*, and makes us acquainted with Ward, the *enfant terrible* of the movement, who became first the abject disciple and afterwards the master of Newman, driving him ever farther and faster towards Rome, the history of Ward's degradation by the University authorities and his secession closing the chapter. The fourth chapter shows us the Tractarian movement as viewed from its Oxford interior, furnishing, with the help

of Dean Church's history of the movement, an interesting picture of the Oxford of 1840, and of Newman personally as the central force of the new movement at that period. This chapter is followed by a long and closely reasoned discussion of Newman's personal character and influence, in which the eulogistic memoir of him, by Mr. Hutton of the *Spectator*, is respectfully but severely dealt with. The section of the history relating to Tractarianism, properly so-called, closes with a view in the sixth chapter of "Ward's Later Years, as Roman Catholic Theologian and Philosopher." As Newman's later years had been dealt with in the chapter preceding, Ward's are dealt with in this chapter. Both these histories are used to show the character and effects of the Popish principles and influences which enthralled Ward and Newman, and compelled them to sever themselves from the English Church. The first six chapters are thus concerned, mainly, with the Tractarian movement and with the history of Newman and his immediate circle of supporters. In the seventh, the author brings us to "The Transition from Newman's Tractarian movement to the wider movement known as Puseyism." In four chapters he deals with Pusey's early life, his University career, his residence in Germany, his controversy with Hugh James Rose, his passage from "liberal" Churchmanship to Tractarian Anglicanism and his coalition with Newman, his Tract on Baptism, and, in general, his doctrine of Baptism and Confession, his teachings as to celibacy, sisterhoods, the Eucharist, and the doctrine of the Real Presence, and his *Eirenicon* as to re-union with Rome. Then follows a chapter as to Pusey's special personal characteristics, his inconsistencies, his relations with Nonconformists, and as to Puseyism, Ritualism, and Romanism. A chapter on "The Outlook" completes the volume.

As to the transition from Newman's Tractarian movement to Puseyism, Dr. Rigg makes the following remarks:—"Pusey's line of thought and feeling was different from Newman's; he worked on another level. Pusey proceeded, indeed, on the same postulate of exclusive ministerial character and authority, as descending through the line of "apostolic succession"; but he simply assumed that the English and the Romish Church in common possessed this apostolical succession, and set himself to study the conditions under which the ministerial prerogative in the Church must be exercised, so as to make that Church, to all who join its communion, the unfailing channel of grace and salvation. He believed himself to have found what was necessary in the doctrine of sacramental grace, by means of baptism and the Eucharist, duly administered by duly ordained priests; and especially in the efficacy of the "sacrament" as he described it, 'of confession and absolution'; with which he combined a dogma of the Real Presence, scarcely to be distinguished,

if at all, from the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this way Pusey, working ever in harmony with Newman's principles, though he did not follow Newman to Rome, provided a foundation within the pale of the Established Church, on which all the essential doctrines of Rome might be built up. Auricular confession, priestly prerogative and influence, not only in the pulpit, but in the most secret recesses of family life, and especially over the souls, individually and apart, of women and children, the confessional priest in schools, penance, sisterhood, all these elements of Romanism Pusey introduced into the Church and into society, and lived to see them take deep root, and spread far and wide. All this was hardly included in the idea of Tractarianism as first initiated by Newman. But Pusey, working ever silently, and with much secrecy and subtlety, had begun his work, and sown much seed carefully and deeply, before Newman passed out of view, and the Tractarian movement proper came to an end. After Newman's secession, he was recognised as the head of the resulting movement, still largely an "Oxford Movement," which grew out of the Tractarian movement, and which has gone so far during the last generation in Romanising the Church of England. He has thus prepared many Anglican priests and some lay devotees, including a few men of education, such as Lord Halifax, to welcome and work for such an identity of doctrine, ritual and practice with the Church of Rome as may prepare the way for what is now confessed to be the goal of their efforts, an extensive re-union of English Clergy and Churchmen with the Roman See and the Latin Catholic Church."

Towards the end of the volume Dr. Rigg makes some observations which are quoted here because of their suggestiveness, and which sum up a good deal, which in preceding pages is traced out in detail. "Some seem to think it much to say in behalf of Pusey that any rate he never left the Church of England; as if on that account he were to be favourably distinguished from Newman or Manning. But is it not, on the contrary, a part of the case against him that he did *not* leave the Church of England? The evil is not so much going over to Rome, as being a Romanist at heart, a Romaniser within the Church of England. It is the characteristic doctrines and practices, corruptions and superstitions of Rome, which constitute the real evil of Romanism—not the name, but the thing. It is an incomparably more evil and mischievous thing to remain in the Church and make it a business to Romanise it, than even to join the Papal communion; it is far worse to corrupt one-third of the clergy, and through them many of the laity, than to go over to Rome with a few companions. But that is not a complete and frank statement of the case. The Romanising leaven introduced into the Church of England, and remaining there, is in itself a worse thing than the same amount of Anglo-

Romanism is after it has found its proper home within the Roman Catholic Church. The confessional, as organised by Pusey, has been in itself a more deadly evil, so far as it took hold, than the practice of confession as used by the English Roman Catholics. The Romish Church does not teach raw untrained University men of last evening that to-day they are, by the bishop's hands, made competent to act the part of priest-confessor, of searcher, physician, and judge of souls. Neither does the Church of Rome summon into the confessional boys of six. Not till the period of confirmation do any young people in the Romish Church present themselves for confession and absolution. These two peculiarities of Puseyism, for both of which Pusey personally cannot but be held responsible, are more pernicious and monstrous errors, involve usurpation more terrible and demoralisation more unnatural, than can easily be paralleled even in the Church of Rome."

The last chapter but one of the volume closes with the following paragraph:—"From its rise under the joint inspiration of Keble, Froude, and Newman, through the line of Tractarian organisation and influence until Tractarianism was merged in Puseyism—through the development of Puseyism from point to point, from deep to deep, till it combined in itself a confessionalism more exacting and oppressive than that of Rome, with the gaudiest ritualism ever assumed by corrupt Christianity as its outward dress;—the growth of Oxford Anglican Neo-Popery has been traced in the foregoing chapters. The question as to the future remains to disturb and perplex us. Has England seen the worst? Is there reason to hope that a manly and a truly evangelical reaction is at length beginning to make itself felt?"

To that question he gives his answer in the last chapter.

"The real truth," he observes, "as to Pusey was never known until his biography was published. His was the life of a recluse; a halo of mystery surrounded the oracle whence issued the counsels of this man of vast learning, who dwelt in unviolated solitude, and scarcely ever visited the outer day. The repulsive hardness of his ghostly counsels was sometimes intimated in whispers; but the secret was darkly kept as to his penitential discipline, his superstitious legalism, the slavery more abject than that of Rome to which he reduced his penitents, and the terrible depths of corporeal mortification and suffering which formed an essential part of his treatment, both for himself and for others. Now, however, his biographer has had no alternative but to disclose so much of the truth as must disenchant most of his readers, He has not told all—not told the worst. . . . Still, enough is disclosed in the biography to show the real character of Pusey's religious teaching and influence. The picture presented is one more likely to alarm

than to attract. So long as Pusey was little more than a name and an ideal, an ideal shrouded in secresy, but known to be worshipped by some eminent and distinguished persons, the element of mystery heightened his influence, and assisted in concealing the actual facts concerning his work and his teaching. His great age also combined with his seclusion to enhance the veneration with which some who were by no means Puseyites regarded him. He was understood to lead a saintly life, apart from all worldly strife or show. His learning was believed to be profound. He was a man of high family connections, and of assured social position; and he was not only very wealthy, but very generous. Such a combination of characteristics placed him on a pedestal apart; he was as Newman said—Pusey the Great. But, besides all this, 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 urgent and Boanerges-like sermons, and by the unbounded use of his private resources. That Anglican ministers of a priestly temper should use all the means in their power to magnify his fame and bring disciples to his school, was natural and inevitable. He was just the sort of man, also, to influence a certain class of devout, benevolent, and enthusiastic women. So, not only through sisterhoods, but in many ways besides, the character and influence of Pusey were held up to admiration, and seemed to grow more attractive and potent, from year to year, within a certain zone of Church life. Since his death, tradition has risen up to do him reverence, a Pusey-cult has been established, a nimbus of glory and sanctity has gathered about his name and memory. Now, however, that the real 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, it may be hoped that the process of disenchantment will take place speedily and effectually."

"Except, indeed, within the ecclesiastical circle which has been indicated, Pusey was never a man of living influence. In the world of literature, in the sphere of intellectual thought, even in the circle of theological science, he has no place; he has made no mark, he has never sent a thrill through the minds of men, or waked an echo in the consciousness of the age through which he lived. Seldom has any man who attained name and fame been so utterly dead to the nation and the world within ten years after his passing from the world's view, as Dr. Pusey. Since his death, thirteen years ago, nothing has been written about him to meet any popular demand. Not so much as a sketch of his life appears to have been published by his followers. . . . .

"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 I have spoken. I am myself no enemy of the Church of England; but it is not the less a duty to state unpleasant truths on so grave and momentous a subject, and to do my 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 degrading superstitions, weigh, like a sentence of doom, on the neo-Romanising Anglicanism of modern England. . . . If what Dean Farrar forbodes shall come to pass, and the Church of England be in consequence, not disprivileged by graduated stages of reform, with the due unfolding of her intrinsic forces and her liberated faculties, and with ample and kindly regard to all the equities involved in the case of a National Church with so grand, and, on the whole, till Puseyism arose, so truly national a history, the result will be due to nothing else but the development of Puseyism into the Romanising and superstitious system of which the Church Union has for thirty years been the representative and the exponent."

It is the historical character of this volume, the array and succession of indisputable statements of fact, and the well weighed and deliberate nature of the judgments and conclusions it contains, which have given it so strong and commanding a hold on public attention. The history—merely as history—is full of eloquence to thoughtful readers, and the facts ring out alarms startling enough to wake up the soul of England to indignation and terror. It is cause for just satisfaction that this journal furnished the means of maturing for the nation's service some of the material which has gone to the making of this volume.

The Pilgrim Fathers of New England and their Puritan Successors. By JOHN BROWN, B.A., D.D. With Illustrations. Religious Tract Society. 1895.

Dr. Brown, by his excellent life of Bunyan, has established for himself a high character in the line of historical biography. That character will be fully sustained by the present volume, in which he deals with a subject of deep and pathetic interest, and of more than national importance. The history of the world presents no more important subject for the historian. Civilization and Christianity, the free development of the English races, the fortunes of the American people, are alike bound up with the subject of Dr. Brown's book.

It was high time that this great history, in its authentic details, should be made clearly known to Englishmen by a

volume at once standard in its character and popular in its treatment and style. The confusion of ideas as to the original homes in England of the Pilgrim Fathers has been discreditable. Not many weeks ago a long correspondence in the leading English journal arose as to the source of the nasal accent characteristic of New Englanders. A gentleman who had heard the self-same tones in the speech of a Cornishman, took up the idea that the pilgrims must have come from Cornwall and the Western counties, evidently imagining that Plymouth was the focus to which they had gathered when leaving their own country, and that the Plymouth plantation on the other side of the sea was imagined to be a sort of reproduction of the English port from which the exiles had sailed for America.

The fact is, as this book very distinctly shows, that the pilgrims were from the Eastern counties, and not a few of them from Lincolnshire. The *Mayflower* sailed from Plymouth at last, because it had been driven backward into that port from the Atlantic tempests. It would seem that the nasal tones for which America is famous may still be heard down the Eastern coast, and also on the South-western seaboard of England. The Trans-Atlantic tones may, perhaps, have been somewhat sharpened and also deepened; climate and the colonial character together may have made more harsh and penetrating the accent which the settlers had brought from England, but the identity is unmistakable, and is recognised equally on the East and the South-western seaboard of England. The later emigrants, those who colonised Massachusetts and Connecticut, and who have nursed a nasal accent certainly not less marked than that which belongs to the region colonised by the men of the *Mayflower*, were likewise more generally from the Eastern counties than from the West of England.

The subject of the volume divides itself very distinctly into two parts—the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, properly so-called, who settled at Plymouth plantation, and that of the Puritan refugees, who sought liberty for the development of their own religious and political ideas in that part of America known as Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut Valley, and afterwards, generally, as New England. The Puritan settlement was twenty years later than that of the Pilgrim Fathers, and there were marked distinctions of temper and spirit between the two, though they all became and for many years remained confederated under the title of the United Colonies. The Plymouth pilgrims were rather Independents than Presbyterians, Independents of a large and liberal school of thought. The Massachusetts pilgrims were Presbyterian English Churchmen, with less respect for individual liberty than for Puritan uniformity. Dr. Brown sets forth the history of the two plantations with admirable distinctness, and with quiet picturesqueness and force

of description. It is evident that his own sympathetic admiration is somewhat stronger for the Plymouth than the Massachusetts settlers. Indeed, the history of the refugees who first left England for Holland, and then sailed from Leyden to England and America that they might gain a final home for faith and family life, is one of the most touching and noble which the history of the world can show. The language of the original actors and sufferers themselves reads like the simplest, truest, most sterling English truth-telling of that fine period of national development.

Within the last few years materials have been brought to light which had been lost sight of for a considerable period. The MS. of William Bradford's history of the early years of the settlement in Plymouth, of which he was the first Governor, has been found in the library of Fulham Palace, and Dr. Brown makes excellent use of it. Also by the application of trained research and comparison on the part of these experts, the locality has been discovered where the first congregation was gathered, containing the nucleus of the Pilgrim Fathers' Church which took refuge afterwards first in Holland and then in America. This locality is the village of Scrooby, where the three counties of Nottingham, York, and Lincoln meet. Here was the birth place of the Pilgrim Church. At William Brewster's house they met on the Lord's Day. Those who would read of the moving escapes and adventures of these devout and godly people, in connection with their two removals, must read Dr. Brown's book. They found refuge in Holland at the moment when an armistice and truce had just been concluded between Holland and its persecuting Spanish masters in 1609, finding an asylum of liberty at Amsterdam and afterwards at Leyden. For nearly twelve years they abode there in peace and fair prosperity, though they could not feel that Holland was to be their home. They departed in 1620 just when the Thirty Years' War of religion with all its horrors was bursting into flame.

Dr. Brown traces the history of the precursors of the Pilgrim Fathers from the time of the Lollards onwards. He describes the worship and history of the Fathers themselves, with the beginnings of their distinct Church life, especially in the neighbourhood where the first meeting was held. He paints the life of the exiles in Holland, and describes the teaching and the influence of good John Robinson, their pastor. He then gives a chapter on "The Sailing of the *Mayflower*," which was driven back in the Atlantic and compelled to put into Plymouth for shelter (this being the one connection between the Plymouth of England and the Plymouth plantation), and describes the fearful struggles of the Pilgrims during their first year, a year the hardness of which proved so terribly fatal to the colonists; he

sets forth also the patient forbearance which at length proved victorious over unparalleled difficulties and sufferings. Then follows a chapter on "The Plymouth Plantation" till the end of the first seven years of its history; which is followed by one on "The Voyage and Arrival of the" large and influential body of "Puritan Colonists" which settled in Massachusetts and the Connecticut Valley, and his final chapter furnishes an outline view of the United Colonies. This book ought to be in every English gentleman's library; it ought especially to be prized by Protestant Englishmen, whether Nonconformist or Episcopalian.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages. By the late DEAN CHURCH. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Messrs. Macmillan, through the good mutual understanding which happily exists between our greatest publishing houses, have by the "kind permission" of Messrs. Longman, who hold the copyright of Dean Church's book on *The Beginning of the Middle Ages*, been enabled to print this volume as one of the Eversley series. It is thus brought into a popular form, and into connection with a choice series of masterpieces in course of publication; and takes its place with the rest of Dean Church's "Miscellaneous Writings" in the collected edition. It is a book to meet a universal need, and is the only book which, for moderate price and in convenient compass, meets that need for busy students or for general readers—for all, that is to say, who do not wish to make the centuries between the destruction of the Western Empire and the new arrangements in Europe which followed the break-up of the Empire of Charlemagne, a special study. The five centuries in question, from the end of the fifth to the end of the tenth, bridge the space between the break-up of the Roman power and the beginnings of modern Europe. They are the "dark ages," not improperly so-called, which preceded the dawn of the new common European culture and life, ages lit up, indeed, by the greatness and glory of the magnificent Charlemagne, but otherwise full of dark confusion, and ending in the simmering and struggling movements of the subsiding overflow of mingled nations towards a new basis of mutual understanding and Christian unity, a result not reached until after many struggles, but yet which by unconscious stages at length came into view. Of the history of this most interesting and important period, Dean Church has given an admirable compendium, affording such glimpses of the tumults which followed each other as serve to give an intelligent conception of the confusion, the misrule, the seething and surging of the great barbaric welter of races and of forces, in the midst of which, at length, the great Charles asserted his pre-eminence and power. One consecutive line of policy and influence alone

seems to hold its way amongst all the contending tides and movements. That one line, we need hardly say, was that of the Roman Church, which for good and for evil—and often it is hard to balance between the two—held its own course and maintained its own identity in the midst of what otherwise seemed chaotic discord. At length Charlemagne and the Pope joined hands. On the side of the Church there was cunning, fraud, forgery, but also, not seldom, wisdom and high aims. History furnishes a severe criticism of the claims of the Church to beneficent and Christian pre-eminence: it reveals the frauds and forgeries of the Church. At the same time it shows, from time to time, the influence for good exercised by the Church and its Primate in the midst of confusion and wrong-doing. We give this volume our heartiest commendation.

The History of St. James's Square and the Foundation of the West End of London, with a Glimpse of Whitehall in the Reign of Charles the Second. By ARTHUR IRWIN DASENT. London: Macmillan & Co. 1895. 12*s.* net.

Mr. Dasent's volume is the first attempt at a detailed house-to-house chronicle of a particular street or square in London, so that even amid the wealth of books on the greatest and most variously interesting city of the world, this is one that actually breaks new ground. The parochial rate books have enabled Mr. Dasent to compile a set of tables, showing the successive tenants of each house in the square, from the time when Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans, secured a grant of the land from Charles the Second. Pepys tells us that the city "stomached" this project highly, but dared not oppose it. Jermyn was the real founder of the west-end of London. His building operations were brought to a standstill during the Plague, but were resumed in earnest after the Fire of London. The rate book of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields for 1676 shows that the Countess of Warwick, the Marquess of Blanquefort, the Earls of Oxford and Clarendon, and other distinguished members of the aristocracy, were among Lord St. Albans' first tenants, and since that time the square has never lacked famous residents. The path of fashion can easily be traced westwards, in the seventeenth century, from Lincoln's Inn Fields, through Great Queen Street and Covent Garden, towards Leicester Fields, beyond the Haymarket, and to the north of Pall Mall. After an instructive sketch of the conditions of social life in 1676, Mr. Dasent describes Charles the Second sauntering round St. James's Square in the summer of 1683. In almost every house dwelt one of the king's familiar friends or ministers, about all of whom Mr. Dasent has many pleasant details to give. His chapters on the great mansions of

the square—Norfolk House, Derby House, and Ossulston House on the east; Ormond House on the north; Halifax House and Cleveland House on the west—give some capital glimpses of the chief events in the history of the square. The Duke of Norfolk lent his house to Frederick, Prince of Wales, when he quarrelled with his father, and here the future George the Third was born. Queen Caroline lived, during the famous trial, at Lady Francis's house on the west side of the square. The Earl of Chatham resided at No. 10, a house in which Lady Blessington, Lord Derby, and Mr. Gladstone have also lived. Lord Chesterfield was born in what is now London House. Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Liverpool both had homes in the square, as also had Lord Chancellor Somers, Lord Apsley, Lord Thurlow, and Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough. Mr. Dasent knows how to introduce his long succession of notabilities with those little touches of biographic incident that give life and reality to the picture. His chapters are chatty and bright, but they are always instructive, and it would not be easy to find a book which brings us so closely into touch with the aristocratic circles of the last two centuries. We hope that the success of this work will encourage Mr. Dasent to undertake a similar labour of love for Clarges Street, Piccadilly, which we gather, from a note on p. 106, has a considerable attraction for him. Numerous illustrations and some valuable maps add largely to the interest of this most entertaining volume. On p. 107 "wealthly" is an evident misprint.

The Lives of Doctor John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert, and Doctor Robert Sanderson. By IZAAK WALTON. London: Methuen & Co. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This volume of Messrs. Methuen's "English Classics" supplies a real want. Izaak Walton's "Lives" have a perennial charm, both from their own intrinsic merit and the insight which they afford into the habits of thought of one of the most interesting writers of his day. To get these five lives in one volume, printed on laid paper, and strongly bound in buckram, at so low a price as this is a great boon. Mr. Vernon Blackburn's suggestive introduction deals pleasantly with Walton and his "Lives." "There is something," he says, "engrossingly minor about nearly everything that he ever produced. He is little, not as a small man is little to the eyes of his greater fellows, but as a beautiful insect is little to the eyes of man. He potters—'tis the only word for his pervasive manner; but he potters with delicious ease and unconsciousness. Few writings are so conversational as his; and there would seem to be few men whose conversation was better worth attending." The "Lives" sparkle with quaint and

lovely sayings. Donne, though born a Romanist, became a Protestant divine, for "Truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an enquirer." The description of his preaching is justly famous, "weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them, always preaching to himself like an angel from a cloud, but in none." The lovely touch about George Herbert: "Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter." Such bits as these, which abound on every page, make Walton's "Lives" a continual refreshment to one's mind and heart. This capital edition ought to have a very large sale.

John Howe. By ROBERT F. HORTON, M.A., D.D. London: Methuen & Co. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Horton has been well employed in writing this life of the purest, largest, and noblest of Independents. He has done the work lovingly and carefully. Among the saints of the seventeenth century we know of no one so truly Catholic, so large and equitable, beyond all narrowness of sect or party, as Howe. Dr. Horton has made good use of his writings in illustrating the spirit of Howe in his passage through a trying and various life, in which he experienced, as few others have done, wide contrasts of prosperity and adversity. That such a man should have been chaplain to Cromwell, and retained his personal independence and his catholic moderation of spirit, was not only a sign of Howe's Christian nobleness, but of the Protector's sterling superiority of character, notwithstanding his undeniable flaws of temper and his occasional faults of conduct, for which excuses may indeed be made, but from which it is idle to demand acquittal. If Dr. Horton's timely memoir should be the means of inducing modern Nonconformists to study the life of so magnanimous a hero among their forefathers as Howe, and English Churchmen also to make acquaintance with a true Catholic, whose philosophic breadth of culture, whose loftiness of Christian thought, and whose saintly consecration of spirit would have fitted him for the highest place in any truly Christian community of believers, it will be well for Church and State to-day. In one respect the volume shows haste—the style here and there is at fault. To "attach the Puritan exaggeration of importance to" what is "intellectual" is hardly good English, any more than to "incur a benediction." A few such blemishes of hasty writing are found here and there; but they do not affect the substantial merit of the volume.

Letters of Matthew Arnold, 1848—1888. Collected and Arranged by G. W. E. RUSSELL. 2 Vols. Macmillan. 1895.

These, to those who knew Arnold especially—and he was very widely known—will be interesting letters; as a whole, many

readers will find them very charming. And yet it is already evident that by the general public, on the whole, they will be felt to be disappointing. They are charming to the many friends of Arnold, because, as Mr. Russell says, they are himself—they reproduce him as he smiled, and talked, and was gracious, or, occasionally, a little satirical. They are charming because they are so instinct with affection to all the members of his family—never was there a more affectionate son, brother, husband, father, than Matthew Arnold. But they are disappointing because they are so little suggestive; because they chiefly suggest to the outside critic that his range of knowledge and of capacity was limited; because they so very seldom go beyond the interests of the circle of which he was the centre, or of the amiable society which took him for an idol. Of science or philosophy he was, indeed, altogether ignorant. But there is little literary enthusiasm, and they suggest a comparatively narrow range even of literary cultivation and of general knowledge. It is amusing to read that he thought himself a poet ranking between Tennyson and Browning, for his merits, and likely to grow in fame and influence beyond both. His Gallomania—his Frenchiness in many ways—does not add to the charms of the letters. His politics, also, in which he takes himself very seriously, taking the Celtic factor for one of his main political elements, and his contempt for the English middle class—for all England, except the leaders of culture—cannot but jar on many readers of these volumes. The contrast between these letters and those of James Smetham is striking and suggestive. Arnold was a fine poet, a poet of pure and clear genius, a classic poet. But as a poet his range of power, his range of notes and command of chords, was strictly limited. He was an exquisite writer of English, not inferior to Newman for purity and easy unaffected grace of style. He was a fine critic of poetry, of style, of society, with a talent of exquisite satire. Outside this circle of power, he lacked faculty and force. His letters betray this deficiency.

Bishop Heber: Poet and Chief Missionary to the East: Second Lord Bishop of Calcutta, 1783—1826. By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D., Author of "William Carey, D.D.," "Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar," &c. John Murray. 1895.

This will probably be the most popular of Dr. Smith's missionary biographies, by which he has laid the Christian world under such obligations. Dr. Carey's Life was not less interesting, and certainly not less important, but Bishop Heber's memory appeals to a wider range of cultivated readers. Henry Martyn's Life redeemed from something like oblivion the memory of that brilliant scholar and devoted missionary. But Martyn's

personality was not widely known, or fascinating, like that of Heber; besides which, the shadow of an almost morbid religious susceptibility and experience darkens his letters and the pages of his journal. Heber, on the contrary, for years before he went to India, had been a favourite in the best and most Christianly cultivated society of England, had made his mark as a poet, was a leading writer for the *Quarterly Review*, and was one of the acknowledged stars of the literary brotherhood of his country. This volume is full of charm from first to last. The union of literary culture, social attractiveness and influence, and missionary zeal and consecration, in one and the same English gentleman, as University scholar, as parish clergyman, and as missionary bishop, furnishes a delightful theme. The Christian and missionary character in Bishop Heber deepened and developed with his years. He was but in middle life when his course closed, but he had lived a full and beautiful life. Dr. Smith has done his work admirably.

Two Missionary Books.

1. *A Lady of England.* The life and letters of Charlotte Maria Tucker. By Agnes Giberne. 7*s.* 6*d.*

2. *Twenty Years in Khama's Country and Pioneering among the Batauana of Lake Ngami.* Told in the Letters of the Rev. J. D. Hepburn. Edited by C. H. Lyall. With Illustrations. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895. 6*s.*

1. A. L. O. E. has laid the boys and girls of several generations under such a debt that Miss Giberne's biography will be certain of a warm welcome. It tells the story of a consecrated life reaching far up towards the ideal. Miss Tucker belonged to a family intimately linked with India. When she had reached the mature age of fifty-four, circumstances at last set her free to volunteer for mission work there, and for eighteen years she was spared to go in and out of the Zenanas, spreading Gospel light and truth. This volume does not seek to conceal the real woman whose strength and determination sometimes ran into obstinacy, and became a trifle dictatorial. She had extraordinary force and vitality, was very resolute, very persevering, very affectionate, reserved yet demonstrative, untidy yet methodical, "vehement and impulsive, yet never in a hurry or flurry; unyielding, yet tender; severe, yet frisky." A friend was once trying to shake off a headache after hours of hard study, when Miss Tucker brought her guitar and began to sing and play. A gentle protest was of no avail, for she was persuaded that she had brought a sovereign remedy.

These foibles only make Miss Tucker a more interesting study. The larger half of this goodly volume is filled with sketches of her mission life. Miss Giberne allows her to tell the story so far as possible in her own words, and there is a vivacity in the extracts from her letters and journals which makes them very pleasant reading. Missionary speakers will find the volume a great help when they wish to describe Zenana work in India. The illustrations add much to the value of a biography which will be dear to all sections of the Church.

2. Mr. Theodore Bent said some time ago that Khama was probably the only black man whose biography was worth writing. Mr. Hepburn spent twenty years in his country in the most intimate personal relations with him. He gives an impressive description of his early struggles with his heathen father and uncle, his determined loyaltv to Christianity, and his resolute fight against strong drink. As a man and a ruler, he puts many a European prince to the blush. It does one good to get into his presence in these pages. The volume is written by a man who knows what heathenism really is. His description of a visit paid to the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami, where he became familiar with heathen life in every degree of repulsiveness, loathsomeness and shamelessness, is very impressive. When he preached to them, he says, "What a sowing it was on hearts in every stage of slumber, all slumbering!" Khama's conversion stands out the more vividly from such a background. We wish the book had been pruned a little, but it is a wonderful record of a work that does great honour to the London Missionary Society.

BELLES LETTRES.

In Veronica's Garden. By ALFRED AUSTEN. Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The Garden that I Love was an exquisite book, with the daintiest and most perfect illustrations. The present volume by the same author is, perhaps, not fully or throughout equal to that, but it will hardly charm less or less widely than its predecessor. Its pictures of garden beauties and garden culture and of rural loveliness are not to be surpassed. The play of dialogue between the four characters—"the Poet" and Veronica with Lamia and the imaginary narrator, whose conversations make up the book, are, as before, graceful, alluring, and suggestive. The illustrations, so far as we know, represent the highest perfection of taste

and of art in their own line. The whole get up of the volume is appropriate to its contents. Throughout snatches of poetry, sometimes whole poems, are interspersed, which bear the mint-mark of the author very distinctly. He must excuse us one little criticism. Charming as his songs are, and bright and vivid as the longer poems are which here and there are inserted, we venture to think that the "Fallen Elm," notwithstanding its many beauties, would have had a more distinct and satisfying charm if its music and its phraseology did not so often remind us of Tennyson's inimitable "Talking Oak." The echoes of that masterpiece seem to follow us through the verses of Mr. Austen's poem. For a special present, whether for Christmas or for Midsummer Day, for betrothal or for marriage, we know of no book more delectable than *Veronica's Garden*, unless it were its predecessor.

The Father of the Forest and Other Poems. By WILLIAM WATSON. With Portrait, after a Photograph by Frederick Hollyer. London: John Lane. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

If the laureate's crown were to be adjudged by the critics, William Watson might almost feel the bays encircling his brow. He is scarcely a people's poet. There Tennyson's immense popularity completely overshadows our younger bard. He lacks *abandon* and has not chosen the subjects or adopted the style of treatment which win a way most quickly to the heart of a nation. But no one can read this last volume of Mr. Watson's poems without feeling that he is a great master of language, who searches out jewelled phrases and condenses the results of wide reading and long meditation into a few masterly lines which sum up all the chief characteristics of the great singers of the past. Mr. Watson's art is perhaps seen to greatest advantage in his poem on "The Tomb of Burns." It is full of lines which ought to become classical. Mr. Watson almost describes his own style when he asks—

> "Was this some master, faultless-fine,
> In whom we praise
> The cunning of the jewelled line
> And carven phrase?"

What a fine estimate of our great dramatist is this—

> "A Shakespeare, flashing o'er the whole
> Of man's domain
> The splendour of his cloudless soul
> And perfect brain."

How perfectly also the genius of Keats and of Shelley are measured in the stanza—

> "Some Keats, to Grecian gods allied,
> Clasping all beauty as his bride?
> Some Shelley, soaring dim-descried
> Above Time's throng,
> And heavenward hurling wild and wide
> His spear of song?"

These are estimates which will long be quoted and treasured by lovers of poetry, and almost every stanza furnishes other illustrations of the same gift of appreciation.

The title poem, dedicated to the yew, is a happy attempt to chronicle the events of human history on which "the Father of the Forest" has looked down as he watched successive ages retire "into the dusk of alien things." The "old emperor" brushes these trivialities lightly aside:

> "Who prates to me of arms and kings,
> Here in these courts of old repose?
> Thy babble is of transient things,
> Broils and the dust of foolish blows.
> Thy sounding annals are at best
> The witness of a world's unrest."

For dignity of conception, and for the stately march of its sonorous metre, the "Hymn to the Sea" takes the highest rank in this volume. The two lyrics have great sweetness and charm, whilst the Apologia—a poet's defence of his methods—will itself endear this collection of his verse to Mr. Watson's circle of admirers. "An Old and Iterative World" is a phrase that ought to live, and that fine plea for the worthy imitation of the past—

> "To tread in nobler footprints than my own,
> And travel by the light of purer eyes"

should not be overlooked by a generation that sometimes affects originality, where originality is really unsatisfactory and unworthy.

The Jungle Book. The Second Jungle Book. By RUDYARD KIPLING. Macmillan.

When Professor Drummond was travelling in the Dark Continent, he often wished that he could get inside an African for an afternoon and just see how he looked at things. Rudyard Kipling seems to have mastered that art so far as the denizens of the jungle are concerned. Turning over his enchanted pages, we feel that the inmost thoughts of beast and snake stand

revealed. We learn the laws of the jungle, and become familiar with its daily history. The Jungle Books carry us into a new wonderland. The spell is never broken; Mowgli, the man cub, with his daring, his gentleness, and his strength, learns all the secrets of the jungle and becomes its master. His early adventures, "Kaa's hunting," which brought ruin to the chattering monkeys; "The White Seal," and above all the stories of the brave mongooose, and "Toomai of the Elephants," are pictures unique in their interest. Young and old will be equally charmed with these tales. *The Second Jungle Book* is as spirited and fascinating as the first. "The Miracle of Purua Bhagat" is a wonderful study of Indian religious life, and also of the power of gentleness in taming all the creatures of the forest, whilst "Letting in the Jungle," which describes the way in which Mowgli led the elephants to devastate the lands of the man pack who had served him so cruelly; the alligator's terrible story, and "Red Dog," the record of a life and death encounter with a pack of wild dogs, are full of spirit and make a reader's pulses beat high. Mr. Rudyard Kipling's unique gifts are nowhere shown more conspicuously than in his Jungle Books. For boys who love thrilling adventure there is nothing to approach these delightful volumes, and the illustrations add greatly to their interest.

Messrs. Wells, Gardener, Darton & Co., have sent us a parcel of gift books which are a triumph of the printer's, the binder's, and the artist's skill. The place of honour must be given to Mr. Crockett's *Sweetheart Travellers: A Child's Book for Children, for Women, and for Men.* It is *the* gift book of the season. The author's cycle trips in Scotland and Wales with his little four-year-old sweetheart, give many a pleasant glimpse of Nature and of country folk, but the central figure is always the merry "Sweetheart," with her quaint sayings and her wonderful powers of observation. Tramps through the woods in the rain, studies of birds and flowers, mingle together in this lovely volume. The picture of Aberdaron—a village transferred bodily from the operatic stage—is wonderfully lifelike. Some of the sketches of Nature in its quieter moods reveal the true poet's power of observation and description. Sweetheart herself is original enough to make the fortune of any book. "Do you know, father, how I should know an angel from a clergyman, if one of them should call to see me?" Mr. Crockett gave it up. "Well," says Sweetheart, "the way I could tell is this. An angel would be dressed in white and have wings. A clergyman would be dressed in black and have an umbrella." There is fun and wisdom here to enliven and delight every family circle. The illustrations are charming. *National Rhymes of the Nursery* is a collection of all the jingle dear to childhood. "Old King Cole," "Ride a Cock Horse," and other noted nursery rhymes

find a niche in this volume, which is aptly illustrated by Gordon Browne, and prefaced by a sensible little introduction from Mr. Saintsbury. We quite agree with his contention that "the main, the pervading, the characteristic attraction of them lies in their musical accompaniment of purely senseless sound, in their rhythm, rhyme, jingle, refrain, and the like, in the simplicity and freshness of their modulated form." *Roseacre*, by Janie Brockman, is a capital story of a missing heir. It will both attract young folk and do them good, for it has a healthy moral tone. The three volumes of the "Chatterbox Library"—*Marcia's Home*, *The Sisters*, and *Six Months in the Fourth*—are pleasantly written tales for boys and girls. They are full of adventure, simple and natural in style, and teach many good lessons. They are cheap indeed at eighteenpence. *A Nobody's Nonsense* will be found attractive for tiny children. The title aptly describes the contents, and the illustrations are in keeping with the amusing nonsense of the book.

Strangers at Lisconnel. A Second Series of Irish Idylls. By JANE BARLOW. Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.

Miss Barlow is the Ian Maclaren of Ireland, and shows rare capacity to appreciate and to interpret the life of an Irish hamlet. She introduces us to Lisconnel, standing in the middle of its wild bogland, so remote from the world that the widow M'Gurk said "you might as well be living at the bottom of a bog-hole for any company you got the chance of seeing." But where the horizon is limited, the curious student seems to see deeper into the little comedies and tragedies around him. Religion counts for less in these Irish idylls than in the Scotch scenes, which we owe to Mr. Barrie and Ian Maclaren. Here the social problem comes to the front with the struggle for existence. But if the material is less promising, the homely details are set out with such humour and such unfeigned interest, that the reader feels drawn on, step by step, through this portrait gallery of an Irish hamlet.

From the Memoirs of a Minister of France. By STANLEY WEYMAN. Cassell & Co.

The Red Cockade. By STANLEY WEYMAN. Longmans. 6*s*.

Mr. Weyman's *Minister of France* is a kind of after-math furnished by his elaborate studies of French history. M. de Rosny is the central figure of all the adventures, so that these twelve stories have a certain coherence and furnish an instructive view of old Court life in France. The amours of Henri Quatre, the Queen's jealousies, the rivalries and quarrels among the courtiers, the wrongs inflicted on the peasantry by unscrupulous tax-

gatherers and governors, all furnish material for Mr. Weyman's picturesque sketches. M. de Rosny leads an anxious life through the king's caprices, and still more through the plots of his enemies, and the tangled skeins which he has to unravel furnish material for several capital detective stories. Those who have found some of Mr. Weyman's earlier books somewhat too full of duels and fighting will greatly relish this volume. The stories are told quietly, but we trace in every page the hand of a master. The lovely tale with which the book opens, "The Clockmaker of Poissy," is one of the most attractive in the book, whilst "The Tennis Balls" and "The Cat and the King" furnish exciting narratives of two subtle attempts on the king's life. We do not know a more thoroughly enjoyable collection of short stories.

The Red Cockade shows that Mr. Weyman is still faithful to France, but it is the France of the Revolution, just after the king had dismissed Neckar, and the smouldering fires of discontent found vent in the destruction of the Bastille. The young Vicomte de Saux, for whom a marriage has been arranged with Denise, the daughter of the noble house of St. Alais, sympathises deeply with the cause of reform, and has many a bitter struggle between his love and his convictions. His heroic conduct when the peasants attack the country house of the Marquis St. Alais, and pillage their town mansion in Cahors, his adventurous journey to Nîmes, and the terrible struggles in that city, supply Mr. Weyman with the material for a brilliant story. The Vicomte and his shy but lovely lady, the passionate Marquis, and his proud-spirited mother, are characters that enchain the interest of the reader. Buton the smith, Froment the Royalist, and Madame Catinot are also finely sketched figures in this historic canvas. The book will take rank as one of Mr. Weyman's best pieces of work. It is almost impossible to lay it down. As a study of human nature, when all the demons of hate and passion have entered into it, an l as a record of one of the most terribly memorable pages of history, *The Red Cockade* will repay careful attention.

English Pastorals. Selected, and with an Introduction, by EDMUND K. CHAMBERS. London and Glasgow: Blackie & Son. Crown 8vo, 280 pp. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the first volume of the "Warwick Library of English Literature," which the intelligent and spirited firm of Glasgow and London publishers, to whom the young people of England have been so specially indebted of recent years, is now bringing out. The union of cheapness with excellence alike of contents and of "get up," is one of the special features of Messrs. Blackie's publications. The present volume starts the new "Library" on the highest level. Sterling excellence marks the work of the printer

and the publisher; high literary competency that of the editorial department. The general editor is Professor C. H. Herford, while Mr. Chambers is specially responsible for the present volume. His "Introduction" is a model of unpretending competence—of good sense and good taste. He sketches the history and character of English Pastorals. "Pastorals" were in our country, for the most part, in every sense exotic, borrowed as to ideas, tone and manner from the classic models—full, absurdly full, of satyrs, fawns, shepherds and shepherdesses. But they were highly finished and contained crowds of pretty conceits and dainty phrases—artificial but often exquisite. "The ideals of the past," says Mr. Chambers, "are illusions in the eyes of the present; and, save as a rare survival or a conscious archaism, the fine old art of pastoral has given way to newer and more vital modes of thought and imagination." In this volume there is a generous collection of the best of our English pastorals.

Sunshine and Calm: Songs by the Way. By MARY ROWLES JARVIS. Religious Tract Society.

This is no ordinary book of poems. Throughout the spirit is tender, devout and Christian. But throughout, also, music of measure and rhythm, and genius of expression, stamp the cheap little volume with the mark of true poetry. But there is no affectation, no strain, no eccentricity. All flows on with ease and brightness through many varieties of subject and metre. We give two or three stanzas of a poem on "Baby Love," as a sample —no better than the rest, and not so fine as many poems on deeper or loftier subjects—

"Starry eyes of violet gray
(Violets in an April day),
Looking up thro' lashes brown
With most sweet beguiling;
Now in some affairs of state
Wondrous thoughtful, and sedate,
Now, at fancies all her own,
Roguish in their smiling.

Golden hair, whose wayward grace,
Like an aureole frames her face,
Through its witching kinks and curls,
Peep her glances merry;
In her cheeks, as roses round,
One shy dimple may be found,
And, of course, her teeth are pearls,
And her mouth a cherry.
* * * *

This is our wee baby-love,
Precious to our hearts above
All of empire, fame or gold
Once accounted treasure;
In their trusting helplessness
In their power to soothe and bless,
Truly her soft fingers hold
More than life can measure."

These are three stanzas out of seven, each distinct, all various and all in harmonious sequence.

The Coming of Theodora. By ELIZA ORNE WHITE. The Novel Series. Smith, Elder & Co. 1895. 4*s.*

This volume, by the author of *Winterborough*, is thoroughly but sedately American, but it has none of the qualities which make not a few American stories, to an English reader, seem *outré* and objectionable. Only in the society of an American town, under strictly American conditions, could Theodora have entered as she did into her brother's family, or refused, as she did, an excellent husband and a good home, the husband being a widower with one child, on the imperative demand of a young girl, the widower's daughter, hardly as yet in her teens. The book is well worth study, because it is a true and matter-of-fact picture of social conditions unknown in Europe; it is besides a thoroughly honest and wholesome book. Without any sensationalism, it is steadily interesting, and it has a freshness quite its own.

The Grey Lady. By HENRY SETON MERRIMAN. Smith, Elder & Co. 4*s.*

The distinguished firm which publishes this volume, and also *Theodora's Coming*, is trying, it would seem, to provide a cheap, attractive series, wholesome in tone, old-fashioned in social ideas, or, at least, not depending for popularity on "new woman" ideas. This is a clever book, and the scenery is fresh, and, when laid in the Balearic isles, singularly beautiful. The characters are skilfully drawn. There is a selfish, heartless woman, and a nephew whom her callous severity after his failure in a naval examination contributed to make a misanthrope and villain, who wrecks his ship to make money. But these characters have no attractive features, and no genuine success. The other leading characters are interesting, honest, and thoroughly upright, especially a Spanish Count and a lovely heroine. The book is full of variety and adventure. It is also wonderfully cheap. It ought to be a success.

Messrs. Blackie's Christmas Books.

As usual, at the Christmas season, Messrs. Blackie offer a very attractive bill of fare, especially, it might be said, for boys, but, to our thinking, quite as much for girls. Boys' books are intensely appreciated by girls; the more out-and-out boys' books they are, the greater favourites, as a rule, they are with girls. Of course G. A. Henty is to the front. *Through Russian Snows* is, it will be expected, a story of Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow. Can any subject more exciting and enthralling be thought of than this in the skilled hands of Mr. Henty? In quite another region of history, one of the deepest interest for boys, full of strangeness and romance, is *A Knight of the White Cross*. The story is of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks, and its relief by the valour of the knights of St. John of Malta. A young Englishman, of course, does marvellous feats of valour, and excels all the chivalry of the nations. Of course, also, he wins his lady-love. *The Tiger of Mysore* is a tale, by the same author, and of similar merits, of which the scene is laid chiefly in India, and in which "Tippoo," the tiger, is a leading figure. Mr. Gordon Staples, in a very effective story, outlines the history of the American War in 1860-4. The advantages of scenery and social interest and contrast, the circumstances also of the combatants in the South, naturally tend to make that region the chief scene of adventure and romance; the character of the Southern leaders contribute to the same result. The North, nevertheless, is fairly dealt with, and the righteousness of its cause, if not insisted on, is implied. It is a capital book.

In *At War with Pontiac, or, The Totem of the Bear: A Tale of Redcoat and Redskin*, Mr. Kirk Munroe has produced a ravishing story of Indian and old Colonial times in America. Mr. Hugh St. Leger furnishes a tale of love and shipwreck, entitled *Hallowe'en Ahoy, or, Lost on the Crozel Islands*. It is a jolly story, with plenty of excitement and suspense, but no horrors. All these books are finely and strikingly illustrated. They are large books, with plenty of story, and the retail price is only five shillings. To Blackie's "School and Home Library" a welcome addition is made in Miss Edgeworth's bright, lively, and charming, as well as instructive, *Good Governess and Other Stories*, one of her best books, as we think, the price being one shilling and sixpence.

Northanger Abbey, by Jane Austen. This has been selected by Messrs. Blackie from among Jane Austen's true and pure pictures of a bygone generation, because of its amusing records of every-day life in our grandfathers' days, a hundred years ago. Bath, in its fashionable days, is here depicted to the life. *What Katy Did*, by Susan Coolidge, is a lively and pleasant American book, very good for boys and girls.

The Days of Auld Lang Syne. By IAN MACLAREN. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895. 6*s*.

Mr. Watson, by his works of imagination, is a public benefactor. Wholesome, bright, pathetic works of genius, full of Christian influence, meet one of the greatest needs of this romance-reading age. It may be doubted whether the author could ever, by his useful and popular ministry, do as much to neutralise the evils of the time as he is doing by his stories, though, of course, if he were not a preacher, and an earnest and sympathetic preacher, to begin with, he could not be such a writer of tales. The inspiration of the tales is essentially the same as that which gives warmth and tenderness to the utterances of the pulpit. The present volume will be enthusiastically welcomed. There are those who say that this last wine is Ian Maclaren's best. The scenes are laid still at Druntochty. The nature of the people lives perfectly throughout; the pathos, the realism, the homely Scottish dignity, tenderness, and shrewdness are perfectly rendered.

Poems and Sonnets. By F. REGINALD STATHAM. T. F. Unwin. 1895.

Mr. Statham is a poet of more than ordinary promise. Some of his pieces have both glow and passion, while all show a considerable grasp of metrical form and great grace of expression. "Gianetta," the piece with which the selection opens, is a powerful and tragic story. It is followed by many shorter poems, some of which are really beautiful. We may venture to name "Rus in Urbe," and the exquisite "Violin's Story," but all lovers of poetry will find much to charm them in this volume.

London Idylls. By W. J. DAWSON. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

It is doubtful whether Mr. Dawson has chosen an appropriate title for his book. Its contents, whatever they are, are certainly not idylls, either in the technical or in the freer use of that term. They are ten stories, more or less nearly related to the life of London, but with little in them that would not hold good of almost any large centre of population. Pathos, rather than humour, is their note; and they are told with considerable literary skill, save for occasional slips which the author is apt to make when he undertakes the use of words not yet perfectly naturalised. The style is effective, the stories are all of them possessed of human interest, and the printer has so co-operated with the author as to produce an attractive book, pleasant to handle and pleasant to read.

The Cornhill Magazine. New Series. Vol. XXV. July to December, 1895. Smith, Elder & Co.

The editor of *Cornhill* has been fortunate in securing a powerful Russian story, "The Sowers," from Mr. Merriman, and a fine specimen of Scotch humour from Mr. Crockett. "Cleg Kelley's" adventures, and the amazing feats of "Muckle Alick," head porter at Netherby Junction, are really inimitable. Some of the short papers and stories well maintain the high reputation of the magazine.

Toxin: A Sketch. By OUIDA. T. F. Unwin. 1895.

There is no doubt as to the power of this story, but it is painful reading. A young Sicilian prince falls in love with the Countess Zaranegra, but he is seized by diphtheria, caught in rescuing a little child from one of the canals. Frederic Damer, the English surgeon, injects his poisonous toxin into the young prince's veins, when he is on the fair way to recovery, and secures the Countess for himself. The indictment of surgery, and of vivisection in particular, may almost be described as terrible. Damer is certainly a monster, and the story of his heartless cruelty cannot be described as pleasant reading.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Three Months in the Forests of France. A Pilgrimage in Search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France. With numerous Illustrations. By MARGARET STOKES. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895. 12*s.* net.

The title of this handsome volume is somewhat misleading, for it is the old saints of France, not the forests, on which Miss Stokes lavishes her careful research. She has set herself to trace the missions of the Irish Church in the sixth and seventh centuries through those forests in the plains of France once trodden by the feet of St. Columban and Fursa the Second, and she does this with a wealth of antiquarian knowledge, and a whole-hearted enthusiasm, which makes her book pleasant reading, both for students and for all lovers of hagiology. The legends about the two Irishmen, Caidoc and Fricor, who won the young noble Riquier to Christianity at the close of the sixth century, and the wonderful stories about Fursa's miracles, are graphically told, and the volume is full of glimpses into the early religious life both of France and of Ireland. In Killarsa, co. Mayo, a funeral custom is still observed by the peasantry, which is also practised near the mouth of the Somme, where St. Fursa first landed in France. When the coffin is supplied, the pieces

of wood which are left are cut into small crosses. These are painted in various colours, and one of them is placed at the head of the coffin, while the others are carried by the chief mourners. At the cross-roads nearest the cemetery there is always a tree, at the foot of which the procession pauses, while the cross-bearers fix their crosses in its branches. Miss Stokes was greatly disturbed to find the nettles growing where Fursa's altar once stood. The peasant replied to her remonstrance, "Oh, he's all forgot now; sure, that was long ago." "Long ago," she rejoined, "why, you may say the same of Christ. He was hundreds of years before your saint; are you going to forget Him, too?" The poor fellow looked at her with a gentle remonstrance: "Sure, Christ is never long ago. He's always with us here." Some of the descriptions of forest scenery are very beautiful, but the book is written mainly for the lover of Irish hagiology, who will find it full of delight and instruction. The illustrations are very numerous and attractive.

Wesleyan Book Room Publications.

A Manual of Modern Church History, by Professor Slater (*2s. 6d.*) gives a sketch of Church history during the last two centuries which will prove very instructive and helpful to many young students and busy people who want a bird's eye view of the Churches of to-day and the steps by which they have reached their present development. Professor Slater is content to play the part of historian rather than of critic, and his book bears evidence of patient care on every page. It will not be found free from some errors, but it is a readable and a valuable synopsis of modern Church history.

An Introduction to the Study of New Testament Greek (3*s.*) could not have been placed in more competent hands than those of the Rev. James Hope Moulton. He pays graceful tribute in his preface to his father and his father's friends and colleagues on the Revision Committee. "To watch such men work is itself a liberal education." The handbook is everything that a young scholar needs to start his studies in the Greek Testament. It is arranged very clearly. The explanations and introductions are models of lucid statement and the book is both complete and exact. It is a welcome addition to the valuable series of "Books for Bible Students."

The Christian Priest, by G. Stringer Rowe.—We are glad that Mr. Rowe has published this timely and able address, delivered as an Inaugural at Headingley College last September. He discusses the views of the Sacerdotalists in a way that is both candid and courteous, and brings out with clearness and force

the argument for the universal priesthood of believers. Twopence spent on this booklet will clear the views of many a young thinker and fortify him against the errors of Popery and Ritualism.

Thoughts for Class Leaders are intended to assist leaders in making their weekly gatherings more attractive and useful. Mr. Page and Mr. Bainbridge, who are responsible for the publication, have secured the help of Mr. Watkinson, Mr. Champness, Mr. Brailsford, and other well-known Methodist ministers, who have supplied brief passages likely to stimulate conversation and promote the devotional spirit of the class. There is almost unlimited food for devout minds in this volume. Short Bible readings are given in outline, and most of the subjects which arise in a Methodist class, such as prayer, holiness, fellowship, faith, and peace are illustrated. Each minister's contributions are kept together, but there is a good index, which will enable any one to find what he needs in a moment. The design of the book is good, and it is carried out in a way that cannot fail to be really helpful.

Laws and Landmarks of the Spiritual Life (3*s.* 6*d.*), by William A. Gray, belongs to the "Life Indeed" Series. It consists of Sermons dealing with such suggestive topics as the law of the higher vision, the law of simplicity, of circumspection, of charity, reverence, hope. The style of treatment is beautifully fitted to the themes—simple, crisp, graceful, stimulating. The book ought to be eminently helpful to devout readers.

In *Ellan Vannin* the Rev. W. T. Radcliffe has given us one of the best books on the Isle of Man—its history, its people, its language, and its scenery—that we possess. It gathers together from every quarter all the reliable information on the subject, omitting that which is fabulous and doubtful. It is beautifully illustrated, and well written. Such a book ought to be in the hands of every visitor to the island, and of all who wish to study the life and customs of one of the most interesting corners of the United Kingdom.

Gates of Imagery (2*s.* 6*d.*) is another of Mr. Marrat's racy books. It supplies "Anecdotal and other Illustrations of Religious Truth," arranged under such heads as "God and His Works," "Jesus Christ and His Works," "The Home and the Family," "Christian Life," "Christian Service," &c. The incidents are well selected, and the lessons clearly brought out, so that those who wish for help in addresses to the young, or in country sermons, will do well to get this book.

Dr. Brent's Neighbours, by Dora M. Jones (2*s.*), is a capital Methodist story, the scene of which is laid at the beginning of the century. Dr. Brent and his daughter, Honor, with her lover, Maurice, are very attractive studies, and the book is brightly vivacious to

the last. *Elbert's Return*, by the Rev. Daniel Wise (2s.), sketches the adventures of an idle boy, who runs away from home, and becomes reformed by his hardships. It is very American, but it is full of good sense and good lessons. Any one who has not read Edward Eggleston's *Circuit Rider* (1s. 6d.) ought to get this new edition. It gives a realistic view of the backwoods American Methodist preacher, which keeps one's pulses beating right through. Adventures from mobs and highwaymen, and, not least, from scheming women, give spice to every page of this record. The annual volume of *Early Days* (1s. 6d.) will show what good work this modest little monthly is doing for boys and girls. It is full of illustrations, and has a great variety of matter well suited to juvenile readers.

Messrs. Nisbet's Publications.

Messrs. Nisbet send us a parcel of books which will bring delight to a host of young readers. They are gaily dressed, well illustrated, and brightly written, so that they answer all the requirements of the season. Miss Tytler's *Tudor Queens and Princesses* contains discriminating sketches of Queen Elizabeth and the other ladies of her house. They are based on the best authorities, and will give young people a valuable introduction to the fuller works of Miss Strickland. Mr. Gordon Stables, in *The Cruise of the Rover Caravan*, carries his friends on tour through England and Scotland. He is always bright and chatty, but he manages to give a good many instructive glimpses of life in town and village. *The King's Recruits*, from the German of Dr. Von Zobeltitz, is a splendid introduction to the campaigns of the Great Frederic. The sergeant's son, who is the hero of the tale, will win his way to every boy's heart. *Katherine's Keys*, by Sarah Doudney, is a lovely tale of a city curate's daughter, who goes with her father to the country living which has been presented to him, and proves herself a girl of fine heart and temper. *The Lady's Manor*, by Emma Marshall, is another story for girls, which is bright and helpful throughout. *The Saga Book of Lunda* is a tale of adventure in the Shetland Isles, by Jessie M. E. Saxby. There is the dash of the foam right through this happy book of adventure. Messrs. Nisbet also send us a book by Jaakoff Prelooker, *Under the Czar and Queen Victoria*, which describes the life of a young Russian Jew, who was assistant-master of a school in Odessa, and has now come to live in England. He became interested in Christianity through reading the "Sermon on the Mount," and was gradually led to publish a book, called the *New Israel*, which caused a great sensation among the Jews of Russia. He has much to say about life in the dominions of the Czar, and his story is one to arrest attention and win warm sympathy from Christian readers.

An Account of Palmyra and Zenobia, with Travels and Adventures in Bashan and the Desert. By Dr. WILLIAM WRIGHT. 7*s.* 6*d.*

How Jack Mackenzie won his Epaulettes. A Story of the Crimean War. By GORDON STABLES, M.D. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Life's Byways and Waysides. By J. R. MILLER, D.D. 3*s.* 6*d.*

For a Busy Day. A Morning Prayer for a Busy or Troubled Week-day. By J. R. MILLER, D.D. 6*d.*

London : T. Nelson & Sons. 1895.

Dr. Wright's book is full of adventures of travel and exploration in the East. He enjoyed unusual facilities for such work as this during his residence in Damascus, and his knowledge of Arabic and his familiarity with Eastern life give permanent value to his entertaining book. We know no volume which brings out so clearly the wonders of Palmyra. Dr. Wright took long ladders with him, by which he was able to climb up into the tomb towers; he swam into the fountains, and conducted all his researches with wonderful zest and success. Dr. Wright has much to say about life among the Bedawin and the Druzes, and his volume is one of the best illustrated books of the season.

Dr. Gordon Stables' new book will delight every boy reader. The scene is laid in the Crimea, and a bird's-eye view is given of that painful struggle, which will itself prove of no small educational value. The story is full of movement and adventure. Dr. Miller's prolific pen furnishes two more devotional books. The smaller one is based on Psalm 143, 8—11. Its six petitions supply pegs for much homely and helpful counsel. *Life's Byways and Waysides* is one of the author's best books. It is crisp in style, with much happy illustration, and a cheery and practical tone and manner of treatment.

Dog Stories from the "Spectator." With an Introduction by J. St. LOE STRACHEY. T. F. Unwin. 1895.

The dog stories of the *Spectator* are dear to all lovers of our canine friends, and Mr. Unwin has done a happy thing in persuading Mr. Strachey to group them together in this instructive and most entertaining volume. The stories are classified so that their bearing on certain problems of canine intelligence is well brought out, and they furnish not only pleasant employment for leisure moments, but also yield abundant food for further observation. Mr. Strachey supplies a sensible preface, and the book is got up in a very attractive form. We hope that Mr. Unwin will give us a companion volume on cats at an early date.

Episcopal Palaces of England. By EDMUND VENABLES, M.A., late Canon and Precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, and Others. Illustrated by ALEXANDER ANSTED. London : Isbister & Co. 1895.

This handsome and beautiful book is dedicated very fitly to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The scheme of the volume was projected by the late Precentor Venables, who, however, did not survive to complete the work for which he was so eminently qualified. He wrote the history and description of the northern Archbishop's Palace, Bishopthorpe, of Auckland Castle, Farnham Castle, Ely Palace, Wells Palace, Salisbury Palace. Rose Castle—the residence of the Bishops of Carlisle—and Norwich Palace. Lambeth Palace is done by the Rev. J. Cane Brown ; Fulham House, by Dr. Simpson; Lincoln Palace, by the Rev. A. R. Maddison. The work of the whole volume is well and lovingly done, and is intrinsically full of interest; it belongs to the grand heights of English history, and has, at the same time, special attractions for the antiquarian and the artist. The illustrations are charming, worthy of the history they adorn and illuminate. The volume, as a whole, is superb, but in perfect taste; most suitable for a gift book.

Garden-Craft, Old and New. By the late JOHN D. SEDDING. With Memorial Notice by the REV. E. F. RUSSELL. New Edition. Kegan Paul & Co. 12*s*.

We are glad to welcome a new edition of this instructive and charming book on garden-craft. Mr. Russell, the Vicar of St. Albans, Holborn, pays a lovely tribute to his old friend who was for many years one of his best helpers as churchwarden and organist at the afternoon services. He had been trained in Mr. Street's offices, and was gradually gaining a high position as an architect and designer. He died in 1891 at the age of fifty-three. His garden at West Wickham was an unfailing delight after the toil and strain of his busy days in London. This book preserves his thoughts and focuses his varied reading on gardens and gardening. We miss the airy touch of Mr. Alfred Austin's classics, but Mr. Sedding knows how to write, and writes as an enthusiast who has given large and wide study to the subject, and he has much to say that will guide and interest every lover of gardens. There are some excellent illustrations, giving plans for laying out a rosary, pleasaunce, and various parts of a garden.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October 1).—The Viscount Eugene-Melchior de Vogüé writes a suggestive article on "*The* English book—*Robinson Crusoe*." He says that the recent parliamentary elections in this country have awakened many reflections in the minds of intelligent observers. Events have not justified the prognostication that England was a victim to that general unrest which meets one everywhere in Europe. Our people have shown a spirit of consistency and conservation. Whilst other nations are like vessels tossed about on an unknown sea, the British ship holds on its way, struggling against the wind. Other national barks tack about and maintain their position only because the pilot manages by a stroke of the helm to undo the effect of the manœuvres of a portion of the crew, whilst in our case the crew are ruled by the compass, and unite in one common plan of work. The compass is the "accumulated will of the dead. It is a rare spectacle, the government of an audacious living nation subordinated to the will of the dead." Frenchmen naturally long to have a treatise of psychological history upon a nation so interesting. That treaty really exists. All have read it in their youth. It is *Robinson Crusoe*. Whilst our elections were in progress the writer of this paper cast about to discover the book to which the Anglo-Saxon race had committed most fully the secret of its force. A happy accident brought into his hands a translation of Defoe's masterpiece, made by "Petrus Borel le Lycanthrope." It is a new adventure of Robinson, and not the least singular that the most truculent of romantists should have attached themselves to that simple story, and should have translated it with such conscientious exactitude. Petrus Borel affirms that he has undertaken his task as a labour of love for a small number of elect spirits, because the translator of that book does not believe in injustice. As M. Melchior re-read the book of his childhood it confirmed him in his conviction that better than Shakespeare, Macaulay, or those great modern expressions of the English mind—*Adam Bede* or *Aurora Leigh*—*Robinson Crusoe* gives a clear conception of the English race and its progress in the world. There are two books which escape all classification and comparison, because their universality places them outside all others. They are *Don Quixote* and *Robinson Crusoe*. Other masterpieces of literature take higher rank for the perfection of their art or the sublimity of their thought, but these do not address themselves to all ages and to all conditions. They require, if they are to be enjoyed, a mind already formed and an intellectual culture, which are not given to all. Cervantes and Defoe have mastered the problem of interesting both the little child and the thoughtful man, the servant and the philosopher. The creations of their genius, truly living organisms, grow and develop with our individuality, acquiring as it were new faculties in the course of years, revealing a power of transformation, and of adaptation to different ages and different environments. The same phrase holds in reserve several meanings, which reveal themselves successively to our views. Over those very pages which made us laugh and shudder as children, our heart beats painfully in manhood if we read *Don Quixote*, and our spirit meditates deeply if we read "Robinson." Each of the books is a romance of analysis in a romance of adventure, centering round a principal personage, accompanied by his satellite. They resemble each other in the minute realism which these idealists observe throughout their dreams. But there the resemblance ceases. Under the appearance of lively badinage *Don Quixote* is the most pessimistic of all books; *Robinson Crusoe* is the most optimistic. One relates the defeat

of an outrageous ideal; the other chronicles the triumph of a reasonable ideal. "Robinson" is the lover of the sea, lured onward by the tempest. The blood of the old Vikings runs in his veins. Defoe is a typical Englishman in his unconquerable imagination, in his stubborn individualism, against which neither argument nor restriction avail anything, and which can only be taught by the discipline of events. The book is really the epic of the Englishman's will power and the Englishman's pride. The lonely mariner cast away on a desert island becomes a sovereign, conquering nature and savage man. He organises first of all a home for himself, and, as far as possible, it is of the type that would best content a Yorkshire farmer. "Robinson's" relation to the Spaniards and to the savages, his devotion to his Bible, and many other suggestive points of the story are brought out with great force in this valuable article. Defoe's work is the English book, the faithful mirror of millions of men on all coasts where British vessels bring their sailors, their colonists, and their Bibles.

(October 15).—M. Doumic gives a pleasant sketch of "A novelist of provincial life—M. René Bazin." When we read many of the stories of to-day, we think how narrow the field of literature is after all. The style of the writers changes, but the characters, the manners, the sentiments analysed, are the same. It is always the same world, rich, lazy, distinguished, depraved; a world situated, it would seem, in a corner of Paris. M. Doumic confesses that he has no personal knowledge of such people. He accepts what he is told as he would accept the stories of an explorer, because he is not able to verify them for himself. Ordinary people like himself do not furnish material for romance. There is a different humanity for books from that which we meet in every-day life. Literature is a State in revolution. Honest folk are not interesting. Health has no value from an artistic point of view. He loves the books of M. René Bazin because of their delicacy of mind and their elevation of sentiment, because he is bold enough to remain honest and chaste as well as far-seeing and veracious. He owes not a little of his charm to the fact that he has been bred in the country, and has known joys and emotions which are almost a sealed book to the residents in towns for whom the charm of nature is almost a dead letter. His first years passed peacefully in the neighbourhood of Segré, and he remains faithful to his province. He lives in the pretty city of Angers. When he leaves it, it is to run over France or to travel in Sicily or Spain. He is scarcely ever seen on a Parisian boulevard. He has nothing to gain in the capital, where he would only compromise his own special gifts and the peculiar flavour of his talent. If anyone wishes to know what treasures the provinces offer to a writer who loves them, he should read the articles contributed by M. Bazin to the *Journal des Débats* under the title "En province," which are among the most charming things which the literary journalism of to-day has produced. Landscapes, studies of manners, souvenirs, reveries, legends, anecdotes, little dramas—the most diverse elements intermingle in the most natural and easy fashion, giving a view of things seen at first hand. The article has additional interest for those who have read M. Bazin's articles on "The Land of Spain," to which we recently called special attention in these Summaries.

(November 1).—M. Jean Cruppi makes a strong indictment against the French Jury system in his "Courts of Assize of the Seine." He says the code of criminal examination is severely criticised, and awakes a general feeling of distrust. That feeling bears hardly on the magistrates that administer the code, who are often unjustly made responsible for all the defects of the law. There is a want of agreement between public opinion and the magistracy, and that is distinctly prejudicial to the Government. The time seems to have arrived for some new legislation. M. Cruppi says that England has set an admirable example. After a judicial history most troubled and sombre, we have gained judges whom all classes honour, and laws in which we have the most complete confidence. Like other human laws, they cannot be regarded as models of perfection, but they rest on certain salutary principles to which the nation is steadfastly attached. There is no English-

man in the world who is not convinced that it is indispensable for Great Britain to have magistrates whose independence is absolute, whose impartiality is manifest, whose capacity is notorious. In France, behind the majestic courts of assize, it would appear from the demonstration of facts that there is no real criminal jurisdiction, that the jury is a mere show which has virtually handed over its powers to the tribunals of the police courts. The great majority of cases go direct to the Tribunal. The enquiry is reduced to the simplest form, and the magistrate, encumbered with business, is compelled to pronounce in a few moments, without documents to guide him, on questions which involve sometimes the most delicate problems of criminality. This gasping, headlong justice, which has only one aim, and that to go quickly, is the form of jurisdiction which begins to usurp the place of all other forms. These police tribunals are badly informed, and have no confidence in themselves, so that their tendency is to pass short sentences as a kind of compromise. M. Cruppi's paper deserves careful perusal from all who are interested in criminal procedure.

(November 15).—M. Leroy-Beaulieu deals with "French Colonization *apropos* of Madagascar." He has made the subject of colonisation a favourite study for the last quarter of a century, and has been practically concerned in several colonial enterprises. It is often asked why France, whose situation in America and Asia appeared so brilliant and so full of promise at the end of the seventeenth century, or in the first three quarters of the eighteenth, has seen the fruits of her explorations and discoveries slip into the hands of others. The causes are numerous, but two stand out above the rest. M. Beaulieu quotes from a leader which appeared in the *Times* on September 12th, 1884.† It dealt with a volume of the *Rolls Calendar of State Papers* which concerned colonial matters during the years 1625 to 1629. The article laid stress on the "infinite patience necessary for success." "Shipwrecks and misadventures at sea, collision with the home authorities, discontent among the agents and their colleagues, struggles with barbarous or semi-barbarous princes, furious jealousies with rival commercial states—such matters fill this enormous compilation of eight hundred pages." That infinite patience—that long and necessary perseverance—is the quality which France has lacked. Scarcely has it scattered the seed before it has stretched forth its hand to seize the fruit, and when it was not forthcoming the soil was abandoned as worthless. Others came, who smiled at the infantile behaviour of the French, and reaped a good harvest in the place which they had abandoned. The second great defeat in French colonial enterprises has been that they were always considered as a secondary end, a subordinate employment of its activities, an object of fantasy or caprice which has been seized one moment and thrown aside the next. Colonization does not admit of dilettantism; to succeed it must take a first place, as it does in England and Holland, and as it is beginning to do in Russia. If France wishes to become a colonizing power, the development of its colonies must be the first and most persistent of its national cares during the next quarter of a century.

(December 1).—The Viscount d'Avenel contributes an interesting study on "Paper" as part of the mechanism of modern life. He traces the art from Egypt, where the matter that we print on an octavo page covered about twenty-five metres of wall. The libraries were solid rock, and at the end of four thousand years are still legible. This cuneiform age lasted till the discovery of the art of making parchment from the papyrus. For hundreds of years all writing was done exclusively on parchment, until paper made from rags was produced in the reign of St. Louis. It came from China, whence its course can be traced across Asia, creeping slowly towards the Mediterranean. The production of paper, which was 221 kilos. in 1850, has risen to 2 milliards 260 millions of kilos. In France 40,000 tons were manufactured at the beginning of the Second Empire; this rose to 137,000 in 1867, and to 350,000 in 1894. The industry is severely tried by the fact that the price of paper is only one-third of what it was, whilst the salaries of workmen have doubled.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October 1).—Signor Barone writes a paper on Moltke based on Professor Zanelli's recent book. Colonel Zanelli was professor of military history in the School of War, and was thoroughly acquainted with the voluminous literature of the Franco-German War. He had not that intimate acquaintance with the Great Field-Marshal which would have been of such service to him in preparing his work, but recent publications, and especially the voluminous correspondence of the victor of Königratz and Sedan, have supplied this lack. In his letters we see a very different man from the Moltke of the camp and battle-field, conventional and rigid in his manners, a soldier and nothing but a soldier bent exclusively on organizing, preparing and directing the course of a great war. In the Academy of Cadets at Copenhagen, he was something of a recluse. He was poor and far from home, so that he made few friends. In 1822, he entered the Prussian army, and became an officer in the Eighth Regiment of Infantry at Frankfort-on-Oder. He had one treasure which he jealously guarded, an intense love to his family. Far away in the little city of Briese, in Schleswig, lived his mother, a gentle and cultured woman, with three sons and two daughters. His letters bear witness to the tender affection which he bore for home and kindred. He became captain at the age of thirty-five. His true master in the art of war was Clausewitz, whose great work *La Guerra* has shaped the whole military system of Prussia. Moltke travelled in Turkey, and in 1845 visited Rome. The majesty of its ruins, the great city rising in the midst of its deserted and melancholy Campagna, made a profound impression on his artistic mind. After tracing his achievements, Signor Barone shows that he was both great and modest. Both as a young man and a veteran, he was a stranger to vanity. His disposition, his habits, his sentiments, remained unchanged amid all his honours. Fidelity and devotion to his king was the ruling principle of his life, but this was merged in that higher principle of loyalty to duty.

(October 15).—Signor Luzzatti writes on co-operation and credit in Italy during the last thirty years. It was at the end of the year 1863, in the Associations of workers at Milan and Lodi, that the principles of co-operation, such as were then taking hold of the masses in England and Germany, first emerged. The enthusiasm with which the movement was hailed was sincere enough, and the very word *co-operative* seemed laden with matter for rejoicing. The first people's banks were instituted about 1864, and Signor Luzzatti discusses the principles on which they have been conducted with ample knowledge of the whole case. In 1893 the number of banks was 730, with 118 million lire of capital, and 357 million of deposits. This last sum has increased considerably since the bank crisis was over. The heroic age is past and that period of severe criticism has been reached which no institution can escape. The clientele of the people's banks has kept its true character. Out of 403,341 depositors enumerated in the statistics, we know the callings in which 368,199 are engaged: 88,803 of these are agriculturists, 92,963 are engaged in business or industries of some sort, 69,423 hold offices or belong to various professions, 29,864 are workmen, 17,165 are country labourers. People's banks have not solved all social problems, or ushered in an age of universal happiness, but they have wiped away many tears and brought some ray of happiness to many a struggling home.

(November 1).—Signor d'Ovidio pays a well-deserved tribute to Ruggiero Bonghi, who has long been the leading contributor to this review. When any noteworthy event, any important contemporary question, any prominent person rose or disappeared from the scene, Bonghi was always ready with a worthy article. One day it was the Austro-Prussian war, or the opening of the Suez Canal, or the proclamation of Papal infallibility; another day it was Bismarck, whose image loomed forth on the European horizon, or the third Napoleon, who spent his last days in exile, followed by sturdy hate or profound pity. For every task Bonghi was fully equipped. Every subject was so clearly and subtly handled, with such a wealth of learning, that it seemed as though he had done nothing else save prepare that article for a long time.

Important personages were painted in such lively colours, judged by a standard so lofty, and with language so high, and, when dead, were surrounded by such an aureole, that it seemed as though he had been at work not a few days, but for several years. The writer traces Bonghi's career from the time when he published his first treatises on Plotinus and Plato's *Philebus*. In his last years he devoted his great powers to the promotion of every object which seemed to promise to Italy an increase of virtue, culture, or influence in the world. He took an active part in the Peace Congress, was President of the Philological Circle of Naples, of the Press Association, of the Dante and Saint Cecilia Academies. The orphan children of Anagni have lost a true friend, and Italy honours Bonghi's memory the more deeply because he was the protector of the destitute.

(November 15).—Raffaele de Cesare writes on the "New and graver conflict between Church and State." He hopes that he may do good service on the eve of the re-opening of Parliament, when the air is full of accrimonious political discussions, by examining the causes of this latest phase of the quarrel between the Italian State and the Papal Chair. The tension is due to Leo XIII.'s letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome prohibiting the Romanists from taking part in the political elections of the year. The letter was not inspired by any goodwill towards the new Italy nor was it opportune, and it has furnished new arguments to extreme partisans, and caused the Italian Government to suspend the *exequator* in the case of several bishops, and to refuse various concessions which it was about to make to certain religious communities. The better relations between the Ministry and the Vatican which have lasted for two years, were rudely interrupted. The old age both of the Pope and of the Prime Minister Crispi, render it extremely improbable that a time of better relations will return. Leo is eighty-two, and if a successor had to be chosen for the Papacy under present circumstances, the event would be attended with grave perils for the Papacy.

CANADIAN METHODIST REVIEW (September-October).—Dr. Pate writes an interesting article on Richard Williams, the Patagonian missionary, who was born at Gloucester in 1815, practised as a doctor in Burslem, and went as missionary to Patagonia in 1850. The touching story of his privations and death is well told, and, though his own life seemed to have been sacrificed, his journal roused the Church at home to carry on his work, so that the Patagonian Archipelago has been transformed. Polygamy, witchcraft, infanticide, cannibalism, theft, and other vices have disappeared. Mr. Phillips has a brief paper on "Epworth League Bible Studies." He thinks that the devotional night of the Guild should not be another Sunday School Bible lesson, but should deal with applications to practical godliness, so that it may promote an intelligent Christian manhood, and the development of a vital Christian character. In "Synopses of Important Articles" extended quotations are given from the papers on "Social England" and "Sir William Petty" in our July number.

METHODIST REVIEW (November—December).—Professor Sheldon, of Boston University, deals with some "Reactionary Phases in the Pontificate of Leo XIII." He says that the Pope's "amiable mannerisms" are well adapted to produce a measure of popular illusion, yet in its dogmatic trend and fundamental bias his pontificate reverts strongly to the mediæval type. No pontiff of any century has outdone Leo XIII. in industrious efforts to promote the sentimental devotion which culminates in essentially divine honours to the Virgin Mary. A good deal of resolution and industry has been shown in supporting and propagating long-standing Roman Catholic traditions. In the domain of philosophy, theology, and biblical study, Leo XIII. has sought with great assiduity to bring Roman Catholic scholarship universally under the practical control of the mediæval standard. He has also sought to "subsidize history to the end of magnifying and glorifying the Papacy," and in describing the essential prerogatives of his office, has emitted a mass of statements which vie with the language of the most ambitious representatives of the Papal theocracy.

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