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APRIL, 1896.

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ART. I.—THE REVISED VERSION OF THE APOCRYPHA.

The Apocrypha. Translated out of the Greek and Latin Tongues. Being the version set forth A.D. 1611, compared with the most ancient authorities and revised A.D. 1894. Cambridge: University Press. 1895.

WE join very heartily in the welcome which has been accorded to the long-expected revision of the current version of the books known as "The Apocrypha." In an article on the Apocrypha, published in this REVIEW in October, 1888, we were anticipating the appearance of a work which had at that time been some years in hand. More than seven years have elapsed since then, and the interval may well seem a long one to those who have had little experience of the nature of the task, and of what is implied in the collaboration of a number of busy scholars, engaged upon a *πάρεργον* to which they could devote only a portion of their scanty leisure. It appears that a considerable part of the work was ready some time ago. The so-called "London Committee," to which Ecclesiasticus was entrusted, began

their work in 1881, and finished it in 1883. The Westminster Committee had completed their revision of 1 Maccabees, Judith, and Tobit in 1882. The Committee of the Old Testament Company, which undertook 1 and 2 Esdras, Baruch and the shorter books, were appointed later and finished their work later. The Cambridge Committee included some of the strongest names in the whole list of eminent scholars who took part in the work; it had, perhaps, the most interesting part of the work allotted to it—Wisdom and 2 Maccabees—and its labours were much closer and more protracted. Bishop Lightfoot and others who were members of this Committee were unable, for various reasons, actually to engage in the revision, and the three working members were Bishop Westcott, Dr. Hort, and Dr. Moulton. Their patient toil was continued over more than ten years, from March, 1881, to the summer of 1892. All the work was carefully revised twice, and the Book of Wisdom three times. A list of various readings adopted was preserved by this company from the first, a course apparently not taken by the other companies, though the value of it was afterwards seen. We may say at once that the painstaking labour bestowed upon Wisdom was well deserved, by the character and value of the book, and it has been abundantly rewarded in the triumph which these accomplished scholars have achieved in their rendering of this difficult but fascinating book. The only other book which compares with Wisdom in interest and importance is Ecclesiasticus. Here, we regret to say, the signs of equal care are not evident. Neither in the determination of the text, nor in the solution of problems raised by the fact that the translators were engaged upon a Greek version of a Hebrew original, have the Revisers been supremely or even conspicuously successful. They have effected an immense number of improvements, as was only to be expected, and their task had difficulties of its own; but it is much easier to find ground of criticism in the treatment of Ecclesiasticus than in that of Wisdom. This is, however, to anticipate.

The study of the Apocrypha in this country, as we re-

minded our readers seven years ago, on the publication of this portion of the *Speaker's Commentary*, has been too much neglected. It can hardly be expected that ordinary readers, who love their Bibles much but study them little, should find time to spend upon the uncanonical books. But we speak of Bible students, ministers, and others who give attention to questions of Biblical history and doctrine, who spend time upon Scripture parallels and the usage of words and the development of religious thought, but do not sufficiently consider the claims of books lying outside the sacred Canon. The light shed by these books is, of course, a side-light only. But the history neither of the Old Testament nor the New can be fully understood without some acquaintance with the period between the two. As Dr. Salmond has said, "There is a great gap in popular knowledge of Jewish history." There is not an equal gap in the knowledge of ministers and educated men, but much remains to be done in bridging the gulf between Old and New Testaments in the minds of teachers, as well as of taught. One of the chief planks in such a bridge is a knowledge of the Apocrypha. Here the development of Jewish thought and life, in some at least of its aspects, may be best studied. A book was published lately with the somewhat *ad captandum* title of *Books which Influenced our Lord and His Apostles*, in which certain other extra-canonical writings of the Jews were described and discussed. Without exaggerating the influence of these books upon New Testament writers, it is quite impossible to consider intelligently the subject of Eschatological belief among the Jews in the time of our Lord, without being acquainted with the Apocrypha. This is only one example out of a score of the bearings of a widely ramifying subject.

It is to be hoped, therefore, on all accounts, that the publication of the Revised Version of the Apocrypha will call fresh attention to a neglected department of study, as it will assuredly furnish fresh help to the English reader in pursuing it. The Committee of Convocation in 1870 regarded the Apocrypha as an integral portion of the Bible, and its revision was included, as a matter of course, along

with that of the canonical books. In some respects it needed re-handling even more than they. Dr. Scrivener has pointed out that the Committee to which the Apocrypha was entrusted in 1611 did its work in a hasty and somewhat perfunctory fashion. It did not make use even of the best text then available, and there are many marks of laxity in the omission of renderings of certain Greek words and in the retention of some obvious blunders of the Bishop's Bible. Doubtless it was felt in 1611, as it was also felt in 1881, that an amount of care was hardly to be expected and hardly needful in the case of the Apocrypha, equal to that bestowed upon books reverenced as "able to make wise unto salvation." But a scholarly habit of mind will reveal itself in all that it does, and there was urgent need that the scholarship of to-day should have an opportunity of uttering itself concerning these deutero-canonical or "ecclesiastical" Scriptures.

In the first place, the text claimed careful attention. Roughly speaking, the translators of 1611 depended for their text upon the Complutensian Polyglot—which in certain books seems to be almost a transcript of one particular MS. (Cod. 248)—the Aldine edition of the LXX., the Roman edition of 1586, and Junius's Latin paraphrase of 1589. The marginal notes to the A.V. of the Apocrypha are more numerous, and give a better idea of the authorities used, than is the case in the canonical books. Professor Ryle says in his article "Apocrypha," in the last edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, that a good critical edition of the text of these books is greatly needed, and full materials for their work could hardly have been before the Revisers during the last decade. But their labours will have prepared the way for a critical edition which may ere long be forthcoming. Meanwhile, some of the necessary changes lay upon the surface. The corrupt state of the received text of Ecclesiasticus has long been known, and a very vigorous purgation of it was necessary. A glance at the marginal notes of the A.V. will show how often clauses, verses and passages, several lines long, have been cut out. Some com-

plicated questions arise concerning the mutual relations of the chief authorities for the text, notably Cod. 248, which, according to Dr. Edersheim,

"represents an old text which had originally been emended from the Syriac, and was afterwards revised, expurgated, and added to, by a later, probably Christian, hand, and in accordance with the then *textus receptus*."

Other questions concern the value of the various versions —the Syriac, old Latin, Armenian, and others. Considerable help may be obtained from the versions in determining the text, where it is obscure or corrupt, and the Revisers have to a certain extent availed themselves of this assistance. Whether they have done so as fully as they might, may be questioned. Dr. Edersheim, in his Notes, strikes out a bolder policy in relation to the received text, and in some places, at least, we might have expected the Revisers to adopt conjectural emendation somewhat more freely. They had not, however, the advantage of using Edersheim's work, which is perhaps the most valuable contribution to the elucidation of Ecclesiasticus that has appeared in this country.

The text of 2 Esdras presents an interesting feature, alluded to by the Revisers in their preface. The *lacuna* in ch. vii., which had long been known to exist in the Latin version of this book—the Greek is no longer extant—was happily filled up by Mr. Bensly about twenty years ago. The story of his discovery of a MS. in the Bibliothéque Communale of Amiens, containing the lost paragraphs, was told by Mr. Bensly at length in his *Missing Fragment of 4th Ezra*,* published in 1875. Mr. Bensly had been, unknown to himself or others, anticipated in his discovery by Professor John Palmer, of St. John's, Cambridge, who some years earlier had discovered a Spanish MS. containing the fragment, but had never published it. It now appears in its place, translated by the Revisers, in 2 Esdras vii. 36-105. The general character of the lost verses had been previously known from Oriental versions of this book, but it is interesting to find that several conjectural emendations of Mr.

* 4th Ezra is equivalent to 2 Esdras.

Bensly are confirmed by this fresh witness to the text.* We cannot pursue the question of text in detail, but the reader of Wisdom will observe several marginal notes to the effect that the Greek text is probably corrupt, particularly in the later chapters, which in style and character differ considerably from the earlier. The rival texts in Tobit and some other books present a problem not easy to solve. Mr. Swete, in his edition of the LXX., has in places simply printed them side by side.

Amongst conjectural emendations adopted by the Revisers, we may mention two in 2 Maccabees. One is found in ch. iv. 4, and is due to the acuteness of Dr. Hort, who, for the received text *μαίνεσθαι ἕως* suggested *Μενεσθέως*. The A.V. renders "Apollonius, the governor, did rage and increase Simon's malice;" but such mad rage is inexplicable, in spite of Canon Rawlinson's suggestion that Apollonius was disappointed by the failure to obtain the treasure in question. The R.V., in adopting Dr. Hort's conjecture, "son of Menestheus" (see ver. 21), has made a change which, directly it is suggested, is seen to be correct. Another conjectural emendation in 2 Maccabees finds a place only in the margin. The text in vii. 36 runs: "For these our brethren, having endured a short pain that bringeth everlasting life, have died under God's covenant." The slight alteration of *πεπτώκασιν* into *πεπώκασι* would change an almost meaningless phrase into the easily intelligible "having endured a short pain, have now drunk of everflowing life under God's covenant." The Revisers were, however, doubtless right in not giving to this very probable conjecture the same weight they gave to the former one. We observe that in Ecclus. l. 26 the Revisers keep the reading "Samaria," which in the Hebrew almost undoubtedly read "Seir." The Samaritans are referred to in the last clause of the verse as "the foolish people that dwelleth in Sichem," and the Syriac and Vet. Lat. in l. 26 read "Seir," containing a covert allusion to Herod as

* A Critical Text of 2 Esdras, prepared by Mr. Bensly, with Introduction by Dr. James, has since appeared in the Cambridge series of *Texts and Studies*.

a prince of Idumæa. The supposition is probable that the curious little riddle in 25, 26, inserted between the closing prayer of 23, 24 and the customary ending of 28, 29, is a later addition, inserted by some scribe about the time of Herod the Idumæan. It should read:

> "With two nations is my soul vexed,
> And the third is no nation;
> They that sit upon Mount Seir and the Philistines,
> And that foolish people which dwelleth in Sichem."

The Revisers have adopted a probable emendation in 2 Esdras xiv. 42, where instead of "wonderful visions of the night which they knew not," they read, with some versions, "in characters which they knew not," the tradition being handed down from the time of Jerome that Ezra invented the Chaldee or square characters in which Hebrew came to be written. In 2 Esdras xiii. 45, the marginal explanation of Arzareth is given, "That is, another land;" see Deut. xxix. 28. There are cases, however, in which tolerably obvious improvements in the text have not been adopted.* One is in Ecclus. xxiv. 27. After speaking of the law making wisdom abundant "as Pishon and as Tigris," and understanding as full as "Euphrates and Jordan," the Greek makes the next clause to read, "maketh instruction to shine forth as the light, as Gihon in the days of vintage." This seems to imply a misunderstanding of the Hebrew כְּאוֹר, which stands, as Edersheim points out, in Amos viii. 8, for כַּיְאוֹר, so that the clause would mean "maketh instruction to appear as the Nile," making it parallel with the clauses before and after it. Ch. xxv. 15 is unintelligible as it stands, "There is no head above the head of a serpent," but the translation of the Hebrew word רֹאשׁ as "poison" makes all clear—

> "There is no poison above the poison of a serpent,
> And no rage above the rage of an enemy."

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* These, with other examples, may be found in Dr. Edersheim's Notes on the passages in question. Cheyne (*Job and Solomon*, p. 196) refers to three such cases.

The first prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, "made by an uncertain author," of course disappears. Its presence in A.V. is due to its occurrence in Cod. 248 and the Complutensian Polyglot. It is found also in the *Synopsis*, falsely attributed to Athanasius, but was probably added as late as the tenth century A.D. One change in Wisdom should not be missed. In ii. 23 A.V. reads, "God created man to be immortal and made him to be an image of his own eternity." R.V. renders "made him an image of his own proper being;" founded on the reading ἰδιότητος instead of ἀϊδιότητος, "everlastingness." The translation of the Syriac and the Vulgate, together with the MSS. which read ὁμοιότητος, favour this reading. The importance of the change is obvious.

Other changes of text, actual or possible, must be passed by. On the subject of the translation in general there can hardly be two opinions. The Revisers have made corrections in almost every verse and these nearly always represent improvements. They have preserved the general character of the diction familiarised in A.V., and have made no unnecessary changes. But a number of obvious mistakes have been corrected, in such matters as the use of the article, the force of the tenses, and other points of grammar. They have cleared up many obscurities. They have removed a few awkward or archaic expressions and made the meaning of several passages much more easily intelligible by slight touches difficult to particularise. The translators of Wisdom have done more than this. Their rendering of the peculiar Greek of this book is a work of art and repays close study. Some of the finest passages will catch the eye at once, but careful work is discernible in almost every line. Sometimes the rhythm is improved by a slight change, or the graphic force of a word is more fully brought out, or greater accuracy brings its own reward in the appearance of some refinement of expression only discernible upon close examination. We have counted seventeen changes in ch. i. 1-4, comprising about ten lines, and, though it may be said that all put together do not substantially alter the meaning, every

change is an improvement, and the complexion of the whole is vastly bettered. A few only of the changes that occur in the first chapter shall here be noted. In ver. 4 *κατάχρεῳ* translated in A.V. "subject unto sin," means "forfeit" or "impawned to sin," as St. Paul expresses it "sold under sin." The Revisers give "held in pledge by sin." In ver. 6 *φιλάνθρωπος* should, of course, be translated not "loving," but "that loveth man." In ver. 10 the turn of the phrase adopted in R.V., "There is an ear of jealousy that listeneth to all things," shows the reader that the ear of the jealous God is intended. In ver. 14 A.V. has "the generations of the world were healthful," which is hardly intelligible and spoils the fine passage beginning

> "Because God made not death
> Neither delighteth He when the living perish."

The Revisers give us "the generative powers of the world are healthsome," which is a happy rendering of *σωτήριοι αἱ γενέσεις τοῦ κόσμου.* In ch. ii. 9 A.V. misses the meaning of the late Greek word *ἀγερωχία* in its rendering "voluptuousness" (marg. "jollity"), while the Revisers' translation "proud revelry" is poetical as well as accurate. Note also, "we were accounted of him as base metal" in ii. 16, and the effect of a single touch in iv. 20, "They shall come, when their sins are reckoned up, *with coward fear*," as an admirable equivalent for the emphatic *δειλοί.* In vi. 8 again, instead of the tame and inaccurate, "a sore trial shall come upon the mighty," we have, "Strict is the scrutiny that cometh upon the powerful." The epithet poetical seems again appropriate when we come upon the phrase, "Wisdom is radiant and fadeth not away," and when, in vi. 23, instead of "Go with consuming envy," we read, "Neither will I take pining envy for my companion in the way" as a translation of *συνοδεύσω.* The superior accuracy of the R.V. is obvious, but it is this very accuracy, combined with taste and skill, which, in a book like Wisdom, makes a faithful translation more graphic and poetical than a loose one.

A longer extract will enable us to do greater justice to the

sustained style of this admirable translation. Often as it has been quoted, we cannot pass by the description of Wisdom in vii. 22—

"22. For there is in her a spirit of quick understanding, holy,
Subtile, freely moving,
Clear in utterance, unpolluted,
Distinct, unharmed,
Loving what is good, keen, unhindered,

23. Beneficent, loving toward man,
Stedfast, sure, free from care,
All-powerful, all-surveying,
And penetrating through all spirits
That are quick of understanding, pure, most subtile,
For wisdom is more mobile than any motion;
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pureness."

Or, turning to a passage less well known, but a striking one of its kind, describing the terrors of a guilty conscience, what English reader would suppose the following lines to be a translation, so far as choice of apt and sonorous words is concerned? Yet the original is particularly difficult to present naturally in an English dress.

"xvii. 18. Whether there were a whistling wind,
Or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches,
Or a measured fall of water running violently,

19. Or a harsh crash of rocks hurled down,
Or the swift course of animals bounding along unseen,
Or the voice of wild beasts harshly roaring,
Or an echo rebounding from the hollows of the mountains,
All these things paralysed them with terror.

20. For the whole world beside was enlightened with clear light,
And was occupied with unhindered works;

21. While over them alone was spread a heavy night,
An image of the darkness that should afterward receive them;
But yet heavier than darkness were they unto themselves."

It is seen at once that the style in such a passage is florid, strained, extravagant, but the thought in ver. 20 and 21 is impressive and impressively expressed. The Revisers were called upon to reproduce both these characteristic features of the later chapters of Wisdom, with fidelity to each in its place, and there can be but one opinion as to their success. Amongst the notable phrases of the book we may draw attention to iv. 2 (of virtue), "throughout all time it marcheth crowned in triumph;" vii. 10 (of wisdom) "her bright shining is never laid to sleep;" and again, viii. 3,

> "She glorifieth her noble birth in that it is given her to live with God,
> And the Sovereign Lord of all loved her."

Again, it is said of God, "To be greatly strong is Thine at all times" (xi. 21); and again –a fine saying finely rendered —"Thy sovereignty over all maketh Thee to forbear all" (xii. 16). There are not very many familiar phrases in the Apocrypha. Two which occur in Wisdom have been altered by the Revisers. "He, being made perfect in a short time, fulfilled a long time" (iv. 13) becomes "Being made perfect in a little while, he fulfilled long years;" and in x. 26, "But Thou sparest all, for they are Thine, O Lord, Thou lover of souls," is changed into—

> "But Thou sparest all things, because they are Thine,
> O Sovereign Lord, Thou lover of men's lives."

However we may regret the loss of phrases to which we had grown attached, it will be seen that the Revisers are right in both cases. The play upon words in the R.V. of iv. 13 is not warranted by the Greek; and quite apart from other improvements in x. 26, it is clear that it is not the soul distinct from the body that is spoken of, but, whereas in classical Greek φιλόψυχος means loving life in a bad sense, *i.e.*, cowardly, here God is represented as a lover of life in the sense of the familiar words, in that He "loveth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live." A study of the compound words in the book of Wisdom, it may be said in passing, and the way

in which they are used by this original and sometimes most impressive writer, will be found to be full of interest. But we must take leave of this particular book, and we can hardly do so better than by quoting Dr. Westcott's words concerning one of its chief features.

"The magnificent description of Wisdom (vii. 22—viii. 1) must rank among the noblest passages of human eloquence, and it would be perhaps impossible to point out any piece of equal length in the remains of classical antiquity more pregnant with noble thought, or more rich in expressive phraseology. It may be placed beside the Hymn of Cleanthes or the visions of Plato, and it will not lose its power to charm and move."*

These words were written more than thirty years ago, and now English readers have to rejoice that Bishop Westcott has been spared to take part in introducing this book to their fuller acquaintance in a form not unworthy of the eloquent original.

The Revisers draw attention in their preface to the fact that in 1 Maccabees the name of God does not once occur in the best MSS.† Nevertheless, in the Authorised Version the name is supplied several times; the absence of the word in the original being sometimes, but not always, indicated by italics. Usually, the word "Heaven" is substituted for God or Lord, but sometimes personal pronouns only are used. The Revisers for the most part have reproduced this peculiarity of the original. Sometimes it was impossible, as in i. 59, where they read "they sacrificed upon the *idol* altar, which was upon the altar *of God*," italicising, however, the words they found it necessary to supply. This is not done in A.V. In ii. 21, R.V. reads "Heaven forbid," instead of A.V. "God forbid." In iii. 22, A.V. reads "The Lord Himself," where the original reads "He Himself," with a reference to "Heaven" (some MSS. "God of Heaven") in verse 18. So with other instances. This may not appear to be a matter of great importance, but the reticence of the

* *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*: art. "Wisdom of Solomon." Vol iii., p. 1780.

† Canon Rawlinson (*Speaker's Commentary*, vol ii., p. 376) by a mistake excepts iv. 24 from this rule.

author, from whatever cause arising, should be imitated in a faithful version. Some have thought the tone of 1 Maccabees to be spiritually frigid and rationalistic, others have found in the book an illustration of the excessive reverence for the name of God which was characteristic of later Judaism; but in any case, this feature of style and expression should not be wantonly obliterated.

As a specimen of the translation of Ecclesiasticus, we may take the prayer of chapter xxiii. 1-6.

"1. O Lord, Father and Master of my life,
Abandon me not to their counsel:
Suffer me not to fall by them.
2. Who will set scourges over my thoughts,
And a disciple of wisdom over my heart?
That they spare me not for mine ignorances,
And *my heart* pass not by their sins.
3. That mine ignorances be not multiplied,
And my sins abound not;
And I shall fall before mine adversaries,
And mine enemy rejoice over me.
4. O Lord, Father and God of my life,
Give me not a proud look,
5. And turn away concupiscence from me.
6. Let not greediness and chambering overtake me,
And give me not over to a shameless life."

In these six verses there are somewhere between a dozen and twenty changes, according to the way in which changes are reckoned. Of these, five may be set down as due to the correction of grammatical inaccuracies, such as omission of article, singular for plural, &c. Two important corrections in ver. 3 and 5 rectify erroneous readings. Some ten or eleven changes may be reckoned as improved renderings: *e.g.*, "suffer" instead of "let" for ἀφῇς, "master" instead of "governor" for δεσπότης, "be multiplied" for "increase," together with one or two changes in which a more delicate expression is substituted for a grosser one. The change of reading in ver. 3 and 5—the whole clauses "whose hope is far from thy mercy" and "thou shalt hold him up that is desirous always to serve thee" being omitted—are typical of

a large number in Ecclesiasticus, which the reader will find noted in the margin.

The third verse presents difficulties which the Revisers have not fully overcome. To begin with, the meaning of τὶς ἐπιστήσει is not given in English by "Who will set?" This implies that no one can, whereas the idiom requires the rendering "Oh that one would set!" In the clauses that follow, the several subjects to the verbs are not easily distinguishable. "That they spare me not"—who are intended here? "And *my heart* pass not by their sins"—is the subject properly supplied here, and whose sins are meant? The passage is obscure, and several attempts have been made to improve the text. The Syriac version avoids the difficulty by omitting a "not" and paraphrasing; and Fritzsche changes the number and the personal pronoun "their" into "my." Without external evidence to support such changes, they should, perhaps, hardly be made. With the present text the meaning seems to be—

"Oh that one would set scourges over my thinking
And a discipline of wisdom over my heart!
In order that they [the scourges] spare me not for my ignorances,
And it [the discipline] pass not by their transgressions [*i.e.*, the transgressions to which the ignorances lead]."

This is clumsy, but the only alternative is to make such slight changes in the text as will make clear the writer's obvious meaning.

Such are a few specimens of the Revisers' work. It remains briefly to indicate a few of the topics upon which the Apocrypha sheds light, and which deserve special attention in the new and much improved version thus offered to the English reader. It will be understood at once that these books are Græco-Jewish in thought and language. Some of them were almost certainly composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, including 1 Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, 1 Esdras, and part of Baruch. Wisdom and 2 Maccabees were with equal probability composed in Greek. But all the books, both as regards style and thought, stand upon the borderland

between what we have come to call the "Hebraism" and the "Hellenism" of the time. They show how the Jews, under the influence of Greek language, culture, and general habits of thought and life, were in process of preparation for the great end for which Providence designed them, the formation of a seed-plot for the nurture and development of a universal religion, for Christ and Christianity. They illustrate this process from the point of view of language, and the student of Hellenistic Greek finds them of great value and importance. They illustrate it from the point of view of literature; the sober historical books like 1 Maccabees, the half-legendary like 2 Maccabees, the fictitious like Judith and the additions to Daniel, the prophetical and poetical elements and the apocalyptic elements such as are found in 2 Esdras, no less than the solid didactic books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, contribute to an understanding of the habits of thought of the time. The history of doctrine—if we take the whole Divine revelation from the patriarchs to the apostles as one—can hardly be rightly understood, if the important link furnished by the apocryphal books be omitted. The doctrine of God, His character and relation to the world, the decay of anthropomorphism and growth of the habit of personification of the Divine attributes, is one subject on which these books shed much light. The history of the Messianic idea cannot be traced without a reference to them, their comparative silence concerning a personal Messiah, and the absence of some forms of the Messianic hope, being very significant. Angelology is another subject on which these books enable us to trace the development of Jewish thought between the Old and New Testaments. Much light is shed upon the beliefs of the Jews in the time of Christ concerning the nature of man, sin, death, and personal immortality. The apocalyptic element present in the extra-canonical books is, as is well known, considerable; and while the ordinary reader may pass over whole chapters of 2 Esdras as fantastic or absurd, the student of thought finds much to instruct him in the very wildness of its imaginings. Even the uninstructed reader will be startled

to find in ch. vii. 29, the statement from a Jewish writer, albeit of the Christian era, that "my son Messiah shall die, together with all that have the breath of life."

The careful reader of the New Testament will find the books of the Apocrypha to be full of interest. Not that the influence of these books upon the writers of the New Testament was directly deep or powerful. They are never quoted or referred to by name in the Gospels or Epistles. There is no evidence that on the leading subjects of religious thought the ideas of the New Testament are drawn from them; but it has been made abundantly clear that some of the New Testament writers were acquainted with some of these books, while words, phrases and thoughts show traces of their indirect influence. The most striking examples are found in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of James. The occurrence in Heb. i. 1 and 3 of two such peculiar words as *πολυμερής* and *ἀπάυγασμα* in close conjunction, the same two occurring within a few verses in Wisdom (ch. vii. 22 and 26) cannot be accidental. The unusual expression *τόπος μετανοίας* "place for repentance," in Heb. xii. 17 (*cf.* Wisdom xii. 10) is only one out of several passages in which a curious coincidence is noticeable, whilst it has been shown that in Heb. xi. the phraseology describing the sufferings of the martyrs in vers. 33-37 is largely drawn from the second book of Maccabees. The Epistle of James shows many coincidences, both with Wisdom and with Ecclesiasticus. If James says "Be swift to hear, slow to speak," the son of Siraeh has said before him "Be swift to hear, and with patience make thine answer" (ver. 11). The writer of the chapter in St. James on the power of the tongue can hardly have been ignorant of Ecclus. xxviii., though it indicates no servile imitation, and the superiority in several respects remains with the New Testament writer. Dean Plumptre's discussion on the relation between St. James and the books of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, as given in the introduction to his *Commentary*, deserves careful attention. The evidence in such cases is from the nature of the case cumulative, and it is impossible

to reproduce it without the examination of a large number of somewhat minute coincidences or allusions. On a larger scale, the whole teaching of the book of Wisdom forms a link between the Old Testament and the prologue of St. John's Gospel. It is not meant by this phrase that any direct connection of thought is traceable, but that the process by which men's minds were being prepared for the ideas of the Gospel is largely and suggestively illustrated by the Jewish-Greek thought of this remarkable book.

Here we must bring to a close an inadequate notice of a book full of interest and importance to all students of the Bible. The publication of the Revised Version of the canonical books has proved a wonderful stimulus to a more careful examination of their phraseology, and a more thorough understanding of their import. We may at least hope that the appearance of a new translation of the Apocrypha will arouse interest as to the nature of books over which so much time and labour has been expended by some of the first scholars of our day for the benefit of English readers. In theological colleges especially, and amongst the clergy and educated laity of this country, the use of the Apocrypha, not so much for "the instruction of manners" as for the study of religious literature and the history of religious thought, should be greatly quickened by the completion of this Revised Version. We would recommend readers comparatively uninstructed in the subject to use side by side with it Mr. Ball's excellent edition with Variorum Notes, Professor Ryle's article in the last edition of *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, and the two volumes of the *Speaker's Commentary*. A smaller handbook is announced as soon to appear by Professor R. W. Moss in Mr. Gregory's series of books for Bible students. Once set upon the track of the subject, no student who really desires to get all the light he can upon the history of the Divine Revelation which culminated in the Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ, will be likely to stop short till he has made himself fairly familiar with the period immediately preceding that Advent and the literature which illustrates and makes it known.

ART. II.—WESTMINSTER AND ITS ABBEY.

Westminster. By WALTER BESANT, M.A., F.S.A., Author of "London," &c. With an Etching by FRANCIS S. WALKER, R.P.E., and 130 Illustrations by WILLIAM PATTEN and others. London: Chatto & Windus. 1895.

Annals of Westminster Abbey. By E. T. BRADLEY (Mrs. A. MURRAY SMITH). With a Preface by the DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, and a Chapter on the Abbey Buildings by J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A. Illustrated by W. HATHERELL, R.I., H. M. PAGET, and FRANCIS S. WALKER, F.S.A., A.R.I.E. London: Cassell & Company. 1895.

THE city of Westminster holds a unique position in our civic history. It is a city without citizens. London boasts of an unequalled roll of worthies whose insight and tenacity of purpose have secured for the Metropolis freedom, self-government, corporations, guilds, brotherhoods, privileges, safety, and order. These privileges she owed to her people's parliament—the Folk's Mote. The history of the Metropolis, Mr. Besant says, is

> "a long and dramatic panorama, full of tableaux, animated scenes, dramatic episodes, tragedies, and victories. In every generation there stands out one great citizen, strong and clear-eyed, whom the people follow; he is a picturesque figure, lifted high above the roaring, turbulent, surging crowd, whom he alone can govern."

In Westminster there is no such citizen, and the crowd is absent. The land belonged to the Church, and the Abbot was king. In such a domain there was no room for mayor or citizen; nor could Westminster boast either trade or industry. There was, indeed, a wool staple of minor importance, but there was no port, no quay, no warehouse. For five hundred years Court and Church, Palace

and Abbey, divided between themselves the whole of Thorney. Until the swamps were drained there was little room for houses. Between New Palace Yard and Charing Cross buildings rose slowly, but as late as 1755

"the parish of St. Margaret's had extended westward no farther than to include the streets called Pye Street, Orchard Street, Tothill Street, and Petty France, now York Street. King Street was the main street connecting Westminster with London by way of Charing Cross; and east and west of King Street, at the Westminster or southern end, was a network of narrow streets, courts, and slums, a few of which still exist to show what Westminster of the Tudors and Stuarts used to be."

After the dissolution of the Monastery some approaches toward popular government were made in Westminster. The Dean was still over-lord, but he appointed a High Sheriff, and the city was divided into wards, with a burgess to represent each. Such a body could not, however, compare for a moment with the Court of Aldermen in London. Thus it was that for centuries Westminster had residents of all classes, from prince to outlaw, but had no citizens or corporate life. In sharp contrast to this poverty at Westminster

"the city of London is a living whole; one would call its history the life of a man—the progress of a soul; the multitudinous crowd of separate lives rolls together and forms but one as the corporation grows greater, stronger, more free, with every century. But Westminster is an inert, lifeless form. Round the stately Abbey, below the noble halls, the people lie like sheep—but sheep without a leader. They have no voice; if they suffer, they have no cry; they have no aims; they have no ambition; without crafts, trades, mysteries, enterprise, distinctions, posts of honour, times of danger, liberties to defend, privileges to maintain, there may be thousands of men living in a collection of houses, but they are not citizens."

Yet, if we miss these features of interest, Westminster has claims of its own on reverence and love, which have made it more dear than any other spot in our empire to the English-speaking race on both sides of the Atlantic, and in all corners of the world. It is in a real sense the true centre of our national life. The palaces of our sovereigns and the

Courts of Law have been fixed there from time immemorial. All our kings and queens have been crowned in the Abbey, and there most of them lie buried. The Chapter House was for centuries the British House of Parliament, and the palaces in which our courts and legislature meet, and the offices in which the affairs of our vast empire are conducted, still make Westminster the synonym for English law and rule. The Abbey, with all its glories, never held such a place in the religious life of England as Canterbury gained through its shrine of Thomas à Becket, but while these glories of our old cathedrals seem to be dying away, Westminster is continually adding to its fame, and strengthening its hold on the affection of the English race. It has become a nation's burial-ground, where the real princes of England —her statesmen, her soldiers and sailors, her poets and great writers, her philanthropists, her famous men of science and her religious leaders, her travellers, in a word, almost all her most illustrious sons—find fitting memorial.

Mr. Besant has brought his gifts as a literary artist to bear on the story of Westminster. His pages are not a formal history, but a series of sketches of pageants and processions, which make the book a living, breathing picture of former times. The story of the Abbey, over which Mr. Besant passes lightly, is told with great skill and manifest devotion by the daughter of Dean Bradley. Her pen is scarcely "picturesque," but she traces with conscientious care, with distinctness, good taste, and becoming dignity, the history of the Abbey from the times of the Confessor right down to the present day. As a work of art we have no book on Westminster which can be set by the side of this sumptuous volume. It is crowded with illustrations, which add largely to the interest of the faithful chronicle, whilst the writer's mastery of her subject is seen on every page.

No one who wishes to understand the origin of the Abbey should overlook Mr. Besant's attempt to unravel the mystery of its foundation. He approaches the oft-told tale in the light of experience gained twenty years ago in following Major Conder's Survey of Palestine. He applies to Thorney

and the site of Westminster Abbey, five valuable tests—the evidence of situation, of excavation, of ancient monuments and ruins, of tradition, and of history. Above the village of Charing the Thames broadened out into a vast marsh. This lagoon covered what we now know as St. James's Park, Victoria Station, Earl's Court, and part of Chelsea, whilst on the Surrey and Kent side—as we now say—it extended from Battersea to Rotherhithe, including most of Lambeth and Southwark. Thorn-ea, the Isle of Thorns, now a part of Westminster, was an islet entirely surrounded by the waters of a broad and shallow river. The evidence of excavation is still incomplete, but it is impossible to doubt that a Roman station existed here. Here also was the only ford by which the river could be crossed for miles. The Saxon Watling Street stopped abruptly on the edge of the marsh, near the site of what is now Buckingham Palace. There the traveller plunged into the shallow waters, and, guided by stakes, waded over to Thorney. Here, if the water were low, he might get across to the south side of the water, where the great Dover road began. Mr. Besant has come to the conclusion that Thorney, instead of being a wild and desolate spot chosen as a site for a monastery on account of its remoteness and seclusion, was in reality the halting place for a stream of travellers that never stopped all the year round. Merchants with pack horses laden with hides for the Continent, long strings of slaves going to be sold in France, Roman legions bound for the north, with craftsmen, traders, miners, actors, musicians, dancers, and jugglers streamed along this road.

"Always, day after day, even night after night, there was the clamour of those who came and those who went: such a clamour as used to belong, for instance, to the courtyard of an old-fashioned inn, in and out of which there lumbered the loaded waggon, grinding heavily over the stones; the stage-coach, the post-chaise, the merchant's rider on his nag—all with noise. The Isle of Bramble was like that courtyard: outside the Abbey it was a great inn, a halting-place, a bustling, noisy, frequented place; the centre, before London, the mart of Britannia; no 'Thebaid' at all; no quiet, secluded, desolate place, but the centre of the traffic of the whole island. And it remained a busy place long

after London Bridge was built, long after the Port of London had swallowed up all the other ports in the country. When the river, by means of embankments, was forced into narrower and deeper channels, the ford disappeared."

After the backwater and the marsh were reclaimed, the river became the highway for the trade with the West of England. A constant stream of barges carried up the Thames the spices, wines and foreign luxuries which came into Britain ; they came back laden with pelts and wool. Tradition represents Lucius, our first Christian king, as the builder of a church on the Isle of Bramble where a temple to Apollo had formerly stood. This was destroyed by the Saxons two centuries and a half later. After Sebert became a Christian, he restored the ruined Church of St. Peter. The Miracle of the Hallowing, when St. Peter himself awoke the fisherman Edric, and used his boat to cross the river in order that he might consecrate the church, is one of the best known stories of the Abbey. As the apostle crossed the threshold, a thousand waxen tapers illuminated the church, and a choir of angels burst forth into song. Edric was instructed to inform the bishop, who was coming next day to consecrate the building, that St. Peter had forestalled him. Of all this evidence was not lacking. The fragrance of the incense still lingered in the church, on the altar were the drippings of the waxen tapers. What more was needed ? The bishop held a solemn thanksgiving instead of a consecration service, and then he and his company sat down to a banquet with the finest salmon from Edric's miraculous draught of fishes lying on a lordly dish. The date assigned to this miracle is A.D. 616.

If, leaving legendary stories, we descend to the more prosaic pages of history, material becomes less abundant. Offa of Mercia, in a document bearing date 785 A.D., conveys the manor of Aldenham to "St. Peter and the people of the Lord dwelling in Thorney, that terrible place which is called at Westminster." Mr. Besant thinks that a rude wooden church, roofed with rushes, stood here, which was restored early in the seventh century, and that it succeeded a still

earlier building. The fact that the Abbey had a long list of relics at its Dedication in 1065, is not without significance. These were represented as gifts of such benefactors as Sebert, Offa, Athelstan, Edgar, Ethelred, Cnut, Queen Emma, and Edward the Confessor himself. A church of no antiquity or pretension to greatness would scarcely have dared to make parade of such relics. Nor is there any difficulty in accounting for the treasures from the Holy Land which the church is said to have possessed. In the ninth and tenth centuries, pilgrims crowded every road to Palestine, and brought back water from the Jordan, sand from Sinai, soil from Gethsemane, and other treasures. Edgar, who had restored the church after it was plundered by the Danes, erected a Benedictine monastery and brought twelve monks from Glastonbury to found it. He gave them lands stretching from the site of the Marble Arch to the mouth of the Fleet river. A little later, Chelsea, Kilburn, and Paddington, came into their hands, so that what is now the wealthier half of modern London belonged to the Benedictines. More than half of their territory, however, was then marsh land, and at first the revenues of the monastery were but slender.

We may pass lightly over the history of Edward the Confessor's church at Westminster. Nothing now remains of the original foundation save part of the Chapel of the Pyx—that mysterious place which long served as the Treasury of England—the bases of three pillars, and some other fragments. But the Confessor's name is inseparably associated with the church which he built as his last resting-place. For his sake king after king lavished gifts upon the Abbey, and when Pope Alexander III. granted a Bull of Canonisation in 1163, Westminster was able to boast of a royal saint, whose shrine became a fruitful source of wealth and honour. In 1220 the monks successfully resisted the claims of the bishops of London to exercise jurisdiction over the Abbey, which was held to be subject only to the Pope's authority. Since the Reformation the Dean has had sole jurisdiction here, subject only to the Sovereign, as royal

visitor. Henry III. determined to honour God and the two saints, St. Peter and St. Edward, by the erection of a magnificent church at Westminster. He thus became the founder of our present Abbey. In 1245 the work of pulling down the old building began. The monks held their services in the Lady Chapel and the nave for 24 years, till the new choir was built. The royal treasury during this period was constantly empty, and the king was driven in 1267 to pledge the jewels from the Confessor's shrine and sell other valuables from the Abbey. Yet by means of all kinds of exactions he managed to pay the cost of the buildings which by 1261 amounted to £29,600, an immense sum in those days.

He appointed a special officer to receive the money collected, and made over a debt of £2,591 due to him from the widow of an Oxford Jew. Among other means of raising funds Henry, in 1248, granted the abbot an annual fair at St. Edward's tide in October,

"to endure fifteen days, and to the end that the same should be haunted with all manner of people he commanded by proclamation that all other fairs, such as Ely and such like, holden in that season should not be kept, nor that any wares should be showed within the City of London, either in shop or without, but that such as would sell should come to Westminster, which was done not without great trouble and pains to the citizens, which had not room there, but in booths and tents to their great disquieting and disease for want of necessary provision, being turmoiled too pitifully in mire and dirt through occasion of rain that fell in that unseasonable time of the year."

The citizens of London were sorely aggrieved by these orders, which caused them no little loss as well as inconvenience. There was also a sharp contest within the monastery, where the Abbot Crokesley was quarrelling with the brethren about their respective shares in the Abbey estates. Crokesley visited Rome and managed to win the Pope over to his side; but on his return Henry refused to allow the rapacious abbot to set aside his predecessor's arrangements. In 1252 a weird scene took place in the half-built Chapter House or in the Refectory. Henry,

holding a lighted taper in one hand and the Gospels in the other, swore to observe Magna Charta. Then he and the prelates and ecclesiastics around him flung their smoking candles on the pavement, crying, "So go out with smoke and stench the accursed souls of those who break or prevent the Charter." That same year Henry's little daughter, Catherine, was born. She was "dumb and fit for nothing," but she had great beauty, and her death at the age of five was a heavy blow to the king and queen. Henry erected a costly tomb for her of marble and rich glass mosaic, which, shorn of its images and bright colours, is still standing in the South Ambulatory.

In 1269 the Confessor's body was transferred from Westminster Palace to its new shrine. Mrs. Murray Smith tells us that to raise the saint, "high on a candlestick to enlighten the church," a great mound of earth, said to have been brought from Palestine,

"was piled behind the high altar, and here Abbot Ware's Italian workmen constructed a splendid shrine of Purbeck marble, porphyry and glass mosaic, fashioned in the delicate Italian style. The twisted pillars resemble those in the cloisters at St. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, and are of a common Italian type. Above this marble and mosaic basement was a glittering shrine, made by English goldsmiths, of purest gold ablaze with jewels. Within this costly casket the coffin was to be placed, and a wooden cover was specially constructed to protect the whole. The cover no doubt was elaborately decorated and painted, as it was only taken off on feast-days, when it was drawn up by means of pulleys hanging from the roof, the holes for which still exist. West of the new shrine was the altar, and upon pillars at the sides stood statues of St. Edward and his patron saint, St. John, in his pilgrim's garb. Edward II. gave two new figures made of pure gold at his coronation, which probably took the place of those shown in the picture of the shrine, as it was when just finished, in the Cambridge Life of the Confessor."

Golden statues, silver images, and other treasures adorned the shrine, and in a chest close by were relics presented by various sovereigns, all set with gold and ornamented with precious stones. The king, with his brother and his two sons, assisted by the great nobles of England, bore the

Confessor's coffin from the Palace to the Abbey on their shoulders. Then a great feast was spread in the Palace. Henry was buried in the Abbey three years later, and here Edward I. and his queen were crowned after the king's return from the Crusades. In 1297 the Abbey gained one of its chief treasures. Edward presented to it the crown and sceptre of the Scotch kings and the famous coronation stone from Scone, on which all his successors have been crowned. He ordered a chair to be made to enclose the stone, and this also survives, though reduced to the wreck of its former self.

From this time the Abbey became a kind of national shrine. Richard II., in all his youthful beauty, was crowned here in 1377. The service was so long and hot that the king was borne out fainting, and had to be carried on a litter to the Palace. He revived the custom, which had fallen into disuse under Edward I., of appearing crowned in the Abbey on the Confessor's Feast. Before he rode to Smithfield to quell Wat Tyler's rebellion, he heard mass in the Abbey and consulted a hermit who lived in the precincts. The funeral of his wife, Ann of Bohemia, was conducted here with lavish costliness. Hundreds of wax candles were brought from Flanders, and Froissart says the illumination was "so great that nothing like to it was never before seen." Henry V. was so generous in his gifts to the Abbey that Abbot Colchester was able to push on vigorously the new part of the nave. After Henry's death a Chantry Chapel was built to commemorate the victor of Agincourt. His burial was perhaps the grandest outburst of national grief and love that the Abbey had yet witnessed. An effigy made of boiled leather was placed on the coffin, the face, which turned upwards, being painted to resemble the king. His three chargers, draped in black and loaded with the royal arms and accoutrements, were solemnly led in the procession right up the nave to the high altar. Amid a gorgeous show of banners and such "solemn ceremonies, mourning of lords, prayers of priests, and such lamenting of commons as never before then the like was seen in England."

Mr. Besant leaves the royal ceremonies and national functions which have given dignity to the Abbey to courtly and ecclesiastical chroniclers. At such times the place of the poet, or man of letters, was on the kerb. Here then Mr. Besant takes his stand. He holds a brief, not for royalties and princes of the Church, but for the monks and servants of the Abbey. He finds ample material in the life of Brother Ambrosius, which throws much light on the Benedictine Rule as it was practised just before the Dissolution. Ambrosius was the youngest son of a knightly house at Steyninge, near Chichester, and was deemed extremely fortunate in securing admission to the most wealthy monastery in the kingdom. Monastic life had lost some of its attractions in 1472, through the Civil War and the spread of Lollardism, but the Abbot of Westminster was, even then, greater than any bishop, and entertained kings in his palace. The monks were surrounded by lay brothers and servants, the early austerities of the Rule had long been relaxed, the buildings were more stately than those of any other monastic community, whilst the neighbourhood of London and of the Palace added greatly to the interest of their daily life. Mr. Besant says

"it took many years to make a perfect monk. The rules under which Hugh was now brought up were more voluminous than those of the Talmudic law. Long hours of silence, sitting with eyes downcast, never being left alone, allowed to play only once a day; the performance of every action, even to the lifting of a cup to the lips, to be done according to the Rule; the separation of the boys from each other—all these minute regulations, all these vexatious and petty precautions. learned after frequent floggings, and fully observed only after the habit of long years, gradually transformed the boy from possible manhood to certain monkhood. Gradually the old free look vanished; he became silent, timid, obedient. The House was all his world; the things of the House were the only things of importance in the whole world. He was not cruelly treated; on the contrary, he was most kindly treated—well fed, well clothed, well cared for. He quickly understood, as children do, that these things, so irksome at first, were necessary; that all the elders, even the Abbot and the Prior, had gone through the same discipline. All the time, the boy's education in other things besides the Rule

was going on. He was taught a great deal—grammar, for instance, logic, Latin, philosophy, writing and illuminating, music, singing, the history of the Order. The Benedictines always rejoiced in a liberal education. The school-house was the west cloister. Here, the arches being glazed, desks were placed one behind the other, and the boys sat in this single file, with their books before them. There were rules of silence, rules of talking French only, rules how to sit, how to carry the hands, rules here and rules there, regulations everywhere."

Happily for the boy novice, these rules were interpreted in a kindly spirit. The career was not without its ambitions, for a novice might aspire to become prior or abbot; there were also manifold offices and duties which gave purpose to life, and there were not a few mild sensations which saved even cloister life from irksome monotony.

The Abbey had its anchorite or solitary, who was shut up for life in a cell twelve feet long by eight feet wide. There was a narrow opening so that he could hear mass, and see the elevation of the host in the church, whilst high up on the other side was a grating, through which the anchorite received his food and held converse with those who came to seek his guidance and blessing. When one anchorite died, another volunteer had to be found, who was introduced to his cell with much solemnity by the Abbot and the brethren. Then the solitary was walled in, with a stone bench for his bed and his frock for blanket.

On the north-west corner of the Abbey precinct, near where the Westminster Guildhall is now built, there formerly stood St. Peter's Sanctuary. It was 75 feet square and 60 feet in height. On the east side was a ponderous oaken door cased with sheets of iron, which gave entrance to a curiously gloomy and narrow chapel, shaped as a double cross. In one corner a winding staircase led to the upper chapel. There was only one door and one window on the lower floor, for the place was built to resist any sudden attack. The refugees heard mass in the chapels, and those who were of high rank lived here for greater safety. The common herd of refugees formed a little colony under the shadow of the gloomy fortress. The rights of sanctuary

at Westminster were defined and regulated by Edward the Confessor. The whole precinct of the Abbey, with its gardens and cloister, as well as all its buildings, was sacred ground. Traitors, Jews, infidels, and those who had committed sacrilege, were denied sanctuary, but the rights of others—criminals included—were jealously guarded. Sometimes, however, fierce passion made men oblivious of these things. Thus, in August, 1378, whilst high mass was being celebrated in the Abbey, the Constable of the Tower pursued two fugitives into the church with an armed band. Three men were killed in the fray. Then the Constable withdrew his force. The Abbot and the monks made an outcry that was heard throughout Christendom. The church was closed for four months ; Parliament, which then met in the Chapter House, was suspended ; the two chief assailants were excommunicated, and had to pay a fine of £200, equivalent to about £3,000 of our present money. The Abbot protested against the outrage at the next meeting of Parliament, and the privileges of the Sanctuary were solemnly confirmed. Elizabeth Woodville, the queen of Edward IV., twice found shelter here during the Wars of the Roses, and here, in the upper chapel, Richard III. seized her little son from her arms, and sent him to join his elder brother in the Tower. The poor mother knew that an evil fate lay before the boy prince. "Farewell," she cried, "farewell, mine own sweet one! God send thee good keeping! Let me kiss thee once, ere you go. God knoweth when we shall kiss one another again!" Mr. Besant tries to depict a May morning in the Sanctuary bounds in 1520, with John Skelton, the first laureate, who had fled hither to escape the vengeance of Cardinal Wolsey. As we move with him about the colony, we become familiar with the jail-birds who continually defeated justice by availing themselves of the right of sanctuary. They turned Westminster into a "common sink of all rogues." Murderers, house-breakers, thieves, came here to plot crimes by day, and stole out at night on their evil errands. There was no honest work within the bounds of sanctuary ; all alike were idle and

unprofitable. It was a clear gain to justice and honesty when the rights of sanctuary were abolished.

We must now return to the Abbey. In January, 1503, Abbot Islip laid the foundation stone of Henry VII.'s Chapel. The king died when his exquisite addition to the Abbey was only completed as far as the vaulting. Nine days before his death he gave £5,000 into the hands of the abbot and ordered his executor to furnish £5,000 more if needed. He also bequeathed 500 marks towards the completion of the nave. The chapel was finished about 1519, when Torrigiano set to work on the high altar. The Abbey had now taken its present form save for the western towers. Before the Puritans laid their hands upon it the building far outshone its present self. The upper windows were then filled with painted glass, of which the figure in the east window, called Henry VII., and a few fragments of his badges, are all that now remain. The iconoclasts pulled down some of the saints from their niches; happily, however, ninety-five out of the original hundred and seven still survive. The banners of the Knights of the Bath and their coats of arms on the back of the stalls were not placed here till 1725, but the gorgeous plate and costly draperies on every altar, with the jewelled glass, must have made a rich and beautiful whole.

On January 16, 1540, the abbot and monks, twenty-four in number, surrendered the Abbey and its estates into the hands of the king. The revenues amounted to about £3,500, equal to £70,000 a year of our money. Thomas Thirleby, Dean of the Chapel Royal, was appointed Bishop of Westminster, with the abbot's house for his palace. The diocese was merged into the See of London ten years later. The old Abbot Boston became dean under the name of Benson; five of the monks were turned into canons and four into minor canons. Four younger brethren received king's studentships at the university, fifteen were dismissed with small pensions. The Abbey saw many trying days under Protector Somerset, who was a zealous Protestant, and under the rule of Dean Cox, who succeeded Boston in

1549. Altar cloths, copes and missals were taken away, so that the Abbey was robbed of some of its chief treasures of art. During Mary's reign the Roman ritual was restored, and a service of reconciliation between England and the Pope was celebrated in 1554. The monastery was also restored for a brief period, but in January, 1559, the monks were again scattered never to return. Elizabeth proved herself a generous patron of the Abbey. Dean Goodman, who held office during forty years of her reign, was a personal friend of the queen's and knew how to obtain whatever privileges he desired for the Abbey. Henceforth the story of Westminster is divided between great State ceremonies and public funerals. The Abbey well maintained its dignity under the rule of such men as Lancelot Andrewes, whom people came here to consult "in the nicest and most difficult cases of conscience." Even the senseless levity of James I. and his Court was restrained in the dean's presence. The story of Francis Atterbury is another page in the Abbey records which never loses its interest. Cromwell, Ireton and Bradshaw were not allowed to rest in the burial place of kings. Their bodies were taken up, and the coffins hung at Tyburn and then buried under the gallows. Mrs. Murray Smith says that "the gloom which darkened the first months after Charles's return was still further intensified by this act of senseless vengeance, which shocked the moderates of both parties alike and is an everlasting stain on the restored king's memory." Other magnates of the Commonwealth were taken out of the Abbey and buried in the adjoining churchyard.

The western towers were not finished till 1740, when the Abbey buildings took their final shape. There was no thought of limiting the number of persons buried or commemorated in the Abbey till quite late in this century, so that year by year the walls were being covered and the chapels and even the windows blocked up by large and cumbrous monuments. This former prodigality has brought its penalty for our generation, when the Abbey has become the final resting place for our most illustrious sons and every corner is precious.

The reign of Victoria, the first maiden queen crowned in Westminster since the time of Elizabeth, has seen some memorable events. The Jubilee Service in 1887 forms, perhaps, the most notable pageant in the history of the Minster during its long and eventful history. Our generation, also, has witnessed the rule of the best loved of all Deans of Westminster. His own sermons there have left their mark in the history of the Abbey pulpit ; the Children's Service, which he began on Innocents' Day, has linked the lives of thousands of English boys and girls to the Abbey, whilst the doors of the great resting-place have been opened to such representative men as Charles Dickens and David Livingstone. Under Stanley's care the Abbey was made more accessible to the public, and parties of working men began to enjoy their first sight of our national temple under his personal conduct. No graves are more sacred to us than those of himself and his noble wife, Lady Augusta. The Abbey is the sacred shrine of England's most famous and cherished memories. Its best and noblest sons rest within those hallowed walls. We still have our Poets' Corner, which retains a chief place in the hearts of Englishmen, but we have also found room for the representatives of all callings—statesmen, soldiers, travellers, literary men and great religious leaders like John and Charles Wesley. America vies with us in loyalty and love to the great house which becomes ever dearer to the Anglo-Saxon race in all parts of the world.

Once again we pass outside the Abbey. Caxton's name and work are bound up with Westminster. He himself tells us, "I was born and learned my English in Kent in the Weald, where I doubt not is spoken as broad and rude English as in any place of England." After his apprenticeship in the Old Jewry he went to Bruges, where he became rector of the English house of merchants. Thirty years were spent here, then he entered the service of the Duchess of Burgundy. In 1476 he brought over his presses and workmen and settled as a printer in Westminster. There was no guild of printers in London, so that he could not

begin his work there. Westminster, however, was close to the city, and seemed to promise the patrons and customers whom he wanted for his new trade. His house seems to have been the Great Almonry, where Westminster Palace Hotel now stands. Caxton speaks of his presses as set up in the Abbey, but this expression includes the precincts. He knew that the new art had many enemies, but he hoped "that the quick production and the cheapness of books would cause many to buy them who hitherto had been content to live without the solace of poetry and romance, and without the instruction of Cato and Boethius." He forgot the great store of manuscripts in every monastery, and was much amazed when the nobles, who cared nothing for cheapness, "scoffed at my woodcuts compared with the illuminations in red and blue and gold which adorned their written books." Caxton's brave struggle against all discouragement is one of the most interesting pages of our literary history. He died in harness in 1491 and is buried at St. Margaret's.

Westminster is the city of royal houses. Mr. Besant attempts to reconstruct the life of the first great palace in the reign of Richard the Second. The number of its inhabitants may, perhaps, be set down at twenty thousand. Harding, the poet, puts it at ten thousand, but he does not include women and children, all of whom had "bouche of court," that is, the right to rations, pay, arms, and lodging.

"It was, therefore, a crowded city, complete in itself, though it produced nothing and carried on no trade; there were workshops and forges, and the hammering of armourers and blacksmiths, but there were no stalls, no chepe, no clamour of those who shouted their goods and invited the passengers to 'buy, buy, buy!' This city produced nothing for the country; it received and devoured everything; it was not an idle city, because the people earned their daily bread; but for all their labour they never increased the wealth of the country."

Modern England has lost the art of pageantry. The age of great shows vanished, with the spirit of chivalry, during the Wars of the Roses. But Richard's reign was a time of magnificent processions, of mysteries and pageants and

banquets, with minstrels and music everywhere. The great mass of the palace buildings lay between Westminster Hall and the river, with the stately chapel of St. Stephen rising in their midst. Edward I. rebuilt this chapel as a thank-offering for his victories, and endowed it with such wealth that at the Dissolution its revenues were a third of those of the Abbey. The crypt still remains, but the exquisite chapel, with its matchless carved work and decorations, which had been much altered to find room for the Commons, disappeared in the fire of 1834. Old Palace Yard, the open court belonging to the first palace, witnessed many a tournament and trial by battle, and some ghastly executions. There is no need to speak of Buckingham Palace, or of St. James's and Kensington, but Whitehall must not be forgotten. It had long been the town house of the Archbishops of York, and Wolsey turned it into something like a royal palace. After his fall, Henry was glad to find in it a successor to his own mouldering palace beside the Abbey. Here, so we learn from the Act of Parliament which annexed it to the Palace of Westminster, the king "most sumptuously and curiously builded and edified many beautiful, costly, and pleasant buildings." All these have vanished. Not a fragment remains to remind us of the old Tudor princes. Even the Stuart Whitehall is represented solely by Inigo Jones' banqueting hall. Mr. Besant's description of the feasting and the frivolities under Charles seems, however, to bring back again the palace and its old masters.

Mr. Besant leads his readers forth among the people to witness the famous election of 1784, when, after forty-seven days of polling, Lord Hood and Charles James Fox were returned to Parliament, and Sir Cecil Wray came third. The humours and the quarrels of the great struggle are well reproduced in these vigorous and lively pages. For more than six weeks Westminster was delivered up to continual fighting, feasting, and drinking. Lord Hood brought a body of sailors from Wapping to protect his voters and assault those of Fox. The belligerent tars were actually commanded by naval officers. Fox's supporters, the Irish

chairmen and the honest butchers, had many a fight with the sailors, and the rioting lasted throughout the election.

Mr. Besant has little to tell us about the House of Commons which sat for three hundred years in the Chapter House, and for three hundred more in the chapel of St. Stephen. That belongs to the history of England; but he leads us into the slums, takes us round to look at the taverns and quaint almshouses of Westminster, and makes us familiar with the many-sided life of a city "which welcomed all the scum, riff-raff, and *ribauderie* of the country, and gave them labour, which has always belonged to the Church, yet has never been expected to have any morals." Sketches of Westminster, with its Palace, its Abbey, its Sanctuary, and its slums pass before us, which make Mr. Besant's book, with all its imperfections as history, a real living picture of one of the most fascinating corners of the whole British empire.

ART. III.—THE BALKAN PENINSULA.

1. *Historical Geography of Europe.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN.
2. *La Péninsule des Balkans.* By M. DE LAVELEYE.
3. *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle: l'Europe Meridionale.* By E. RECLUS.

THE Balkan States are generally recognised as the corner of our Continent where great and conflicting forces have long been slowly working and are destined to affect the history of the future. The ordinary newspaper reader scarcely realises that here we have nationalities whose development is determined mainly by physical and ethnological conditions. Some of the peoples who inhabit this Peninsula were in possession of their present territories long before the Turks invaded Europe; and, although there have been minor dis-

placements, the Slav communities still largely retain their ancient position. In spite of their common affinities of race and language, and the bold front they have presented to alien invaders, the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula have, however, never recognised the power of unity. Had their country been a plateau instead of a highly mountainous and diversified district, there would probably have been a very different distribution of races. Greece and Rome both made themselves masters of the Peninsula, but did not stamp out its individuality; and, though Mohammedanism has thrown back the people, they have never been absorbed by their conquerors. To a student of national and racial character, these Slav States are full of interest; and we shall endeavour to indicate some of the geographical and ethnical reasons that have determined their present position in the Peninsula.

We shall speak, first, of the *Physical Aspect of the Peninsula.* Of the three peninsulas of Southern Europe, perhaps the Balkan Peninsula enjoys the most favourable geographical position and the greatest natural advantages. It is much more diversified in shape than that of Spain, and in richness of contour even surpasses the Italian Peninsula; its shores, washed by four seas, are indented with gulfs and ports, fringed with minor peninsulas, and embroidered, so to speak, with numerous islands. Several of its valleys and plains compare favourably, in point of fertility, with those of the Guadalquivir and of Lombardy. Two zones of vegetation meet, and the intermingled flora of the two lend a special feature of beauty to the landscapes. The picturesque mountains of the Peninsula, so little traversed, are as imposing as those of Italy and Spain, and are covered with dense forests; but, from the nearly total absence of paths, they are less accessible than the Apennines or even the Spanish *sierras*, although their mean altitude is less and their escarpments are broken by a great number of passes, the plateaux which impinge upon them being also much narrower and more eroded into valleys than the high-plateaux of Castile. Lastly, while Italy and Spain are imprisoned on the north by mountain barriers difficult to cross,

the Peninsula of South-eastern Europe is joined to the continental mass by a gradual slope, which at no part is barred by obstructive frontiers. The ranges of the Austrian Alps continue uninterruptedly into Bosnia ; and the Carpathians cross the Danube (at the famous obstruction of the Iron Gates) and unite with the Balkan systems. East of the Iron Gates stretches the great plain of the Lower Danube. This great waterway and its tributary, the Save, form the natural northern boundary of the Peninsula. Coming from the heart of Europe, and flowing through the capital cities of the Empire-Monarchy, it finally empties its dark and turbid waters into the Black Sea, through the three mouths in the swampy Dobruja district.

An almost unique advantage belonging to the Thracian Peninsula is its close proximity to the parallel borders of two continents. Europe and Asia meet on the shores of a land-locked sea, the Marmara, which, connecting the Black Sea in the north with the Ægean in the south, separates the two continents by the narrow straits of the Dardanelles and Bosporus—the continents and the seas thus crossing at right angles to each other. The Dardanelles and Bosporus therefore offer as easy a passage for the peoples of one continent to the other as for sea-borne commerce between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

The *massifs* and mountain chains of the Peninsula in no place form a regular system : there is no central range with branches ramifying alternately left and right and gradually subsiding into the plains. On the contrary, the centre of the Peninsula is far from being the most elevated region ; and the highest summits are grouped in the most irregular manner. The bearings of the mountain crests vary in no less a degree : they lie at all points of the compass. One may say, in general terms, that the mountain chains in the west have a trend parallel to the shores of the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, while in the east the ranges lie perpendicular to the Black Sea and Archipelago. By its physical relief and general slope, the Peninsula may consequently be said to turn its back upon Europe : its highest summits, its widest

plateaux and most inaccessible forests are found in the west and north-west, as if withdrawing from the shores of the Adriatic and the Hungarian plains; and, similarly, all its waters, flowing north, east, and south, finally empty into the Black Sea, or into the Ægean, washing the shores facing Asia.

But, in this intricate network of mountains, a few more or less distinct so-called ranges may be made out. Their nucleus appears to be to the east of the great basin of Sofia, in the Etropol Balkans. From thence to Cape Emineh, on the Black Sea, the Balkans proper form the boundary between Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, having a gentle northern slope to the Danube and high escarpments on their southern base. This portion of the Balkans corresponds to the ancient name of Hæmus, and contains the most important mountain passes.

The Peninsula of South-Eastern Europe is thus in contrast with the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas by being separated from the continental mass, not by mountains, but by rivers—the Danube and its tributary the Save—on the other side of which commence the plains of Central Europe. North of the Balkans, on both banks of the Danube, are the extensive lowlands of Bulgaria and Wallachia, the plains of the Dobruja and the Bulgarian sea-board. The other plains of importance within the Peninsula are situated in the fertile Maritza valley, sweeping down to the Sea of Marmara, and in Macedonia, east and west of the Rhodope Mountains.

The first place in the river systems of the Peninsula must, of course, be given to the Danube, which drains not only its whole northern portion, but also the extensive plains of Rumania. The present delta of the Danube, which is of no great geological age, is very slow in its accretions. The Sea of Marmara receives only a few mountain torrents; but the drainage area of the Ægean, or Archipelago, comprises the most important river-system of Turkey in Europe. From the close proximity of the Illyrian Alps to the western shores of the Peninsula, the rivers which flow into the sea, though very rapid, are of no great length. Lake Scutari

and Lake Ochrida—the latter 2,300 feet above sea-level—are the only ones of any size in the Peninsula, which, considering its highly mountainous character, is somewhat remarkable. The chief rivers are found in the Bulgarian region of the Hæmus and the Rhodope ranges; Bosnia has only a few inconsiderable streams flowing towards the Save; Albania some mountain torrents; and the only watercourses of Turkey one can compare with the rivers of Western Europe—the Maritza, the Kara Su, the Vardar, the Indje—flow from the southern sides of the Balkans and the crystalline *massifs* of the Rhodope system.

From the physical aspect of the Peninsula we turn to the *Distribution of the Populations.* The extreme disorder of the mountain chains and *massifs* has had its natural resultant in an analogous confusion in the distribution of the peoples inhabiting the Peninsula. Whether they came from Asia Minor by the straits, or from the Scythian plains by the Danube valley, the various groups of immigrants—savage hordes or peaceful colonists—soon found themselves scattered in the closed valleys or in the gateless amphitheatres where they were destined to play their part. The various populations, embarrassed by the difficulties presented in this labyrinth of hills and mountains, and as if thrown together at hazard—like so many bees from different hives—in nearly every case entered into conflict. Some, more valiant in war, more industrious in peace, and perhaps predominating in numbers, increased their territory little by little at the expense of their neighbours; others, on the contrary, vanquished in the struggle for existence, lost all cohesion and became scattered in innumerable factions which mutually ignored one another. The Hungarian peoples—to take an example nearer home—so various in race and language, are relatively homogeneous in comparison with those of the Peninsula; yet, in certain districts of Hungary, communities of eight or ten different stocks live side by side within a radius of only a few miles.

Nevertheless, a general settlement cannot fail to arise out

of this chaos: the pacific relations of commerce are more and more bringing about everywhere an assimilation between the races. Putting aside the political and geographical boundaries—the comparative weakness of which has been illustrated by the union of the two Bulgarias—the present territory of the Peninsula may be divided, according to Reclus, into four ethnological zones. Crete and the islands of the Archipelago, the sea-board of the Ægean, the eastern slope of the Pindus and of Olympus, are peopled by Greeks; the area comprised between the Adriatic and the Pindus is the country of the Albanians (Skipetar, the oldest inhabitants of the Peninsula); on the north-west, the region of the Illyrian Alps is occupied by Slavs, known under the different names of Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Herzegovinans, and Chernagorans (Montenegrins); lastly, the two slopes of the Balkans, the Despoto-Dagh (Rhodope) and the plains of Eastern Turkey, belong to the Bulgarians—a Slavonised Turanian people now practically Slavs. As regards the Turks, the conquerors and the masters of the country, they are scattered here and there in more or less considerable groups, chiefly round the capitals and strongholds; but the only extensive tract of country of which they are, ethnologically speaking, the possessors, is the north-eastern angle of the Peninsula, between the Balkans, the Danube, and the Black Sea.

The geographical and ethnological conditions that have determined the history of the Peninsula are so strongly marked, that, in order to estimate the forces silently at work there at the present day, and not usually taken into account by the diplomatist, it is necessary to inquire into the past before venturing to predict the future. Whether the heterogeneous elements in South-Eastern Europe will ever combine to form a great Slavonic Power, or whether the alien Ottoman Turk can for any length of time be bolstered up by interested nations as a "buffer" against Russian or Slav expansion, is beyond our purpose to inquire. It is more than problematical, apart from the obstacles of national jealousies, whether it would be possible for the Aryan

and non-Aryan races in the Balkan Peninsula readily to assimilate. In some cases—*e.g.*, Bulgaria—we see Turanian conquerors losing their racial characteristics and assimilating with their subjects, the conquered: thus Bulgaria is, for all ethnological purposes, at the present day, a Slav State. On the other hand, we find the Ottoman Turk, by reason of his Mohammedanism, assimilating other non-Christian races: an alien in Christian Europe, he can only exist by the courtesy or the degeneracy of his neighbours. The Magyars—another Turanian people—have a cleaner history. Not only have they penetrated into the heart of the Continent, but, whilst retaining their original language and racial characteristics, they have so firmly planted themselves there, that they are now united with an Aryan people and form an integral portion of the great Empire-Monarchy. This result may, of course, be equally ascribed to the adoption by the Magyar of the Christian religion and to his innate sense of the blessings of so-called Western civilization.

The map of the Peninsula, from its earliest aspect in Homeric times, has undergone such changes, that a rapid survey of them is like looking through a kaleidoscope: to the descendant of the Khalif it might, haply, resemble more closely a dissolving view. But whether we view it as the Greek Peninsula, as the Byzantine Peninsula, or, in its newest phase, as the Balkan or Illyrian Peninsula, we are struck with the never-ceasing struggle of nationalities, which has made this part of Europe the most unsettled as well as the least homogeneous in the pages of modern history.

European history begins in Greece, and Hellenic influences extended northwards in an ever-lessening degree to the foot of the Balkans; but the valley of the Danube lies outside their sphere. It was natural that, from her proximity to the East, Hellas should have been the cradle of European civilization, the mother of European ideas, and the foster-parent of the arts and sciences. Italy, from her central geographical position, gained the ascendency over the other Mediterranean Powers — Carthage alone being, until her

strength was finally broken, Rome's rival; and Rome, in the heart of Italy, was favoured by its unique advantages of position. The national character, by virtue of which Greece and Rome rose to power, was no doubt, in the case of each people, indebted to the favourable influences of its physical environment.

No other division of the world shows such a homogeneous ethnology as does Europe. It is essentially an Aryan continent; everything non-Aryan is clearly exceptional. The Greeks and the Italians first distinguished themselves among Aryan immigrants, though they may not have been the first of them. The Teutonic races came with the next wave from the East, and, after them, the Slavs. Of the non-Aryan invasions, the Huns and Avars have left no distinct trace, the Magyars and Bulgarians have found a permanent home, and—latest of all—the Ottoman Turks have been afforded a long-enduring but yet precarious settlement. All these waves of Turanian migration passed within the sphere of Hellenic influence, and have themselves, by assimilation or displacement, affected, in their passage, the history of the Balkan Peninsula. Nearly all the lands of the Eastern Peninsula were inhabited, therefore, by a family of races, of which the Greeks were only the most prominent. Their relationship must not be denied because the Greeks called them barbarians: they were, at least, of a common Aryan stock. Greek was the "polite" language of the whole Peninsula, and, roughly speaking, held its own against the Latin-speaking lands to the West. Illyria, on the Eastern shores of the Adriatic, was the borderland between the Greek and Latin parts of the Roman Empire, and offered a convenient spot for the establishment of a Roman province. The pretext for meddling with the affairs of Greece—for pretexts were as easy to find then as now—was duly seized by Rome when Rome and Greece had come face to face; and in the course of ages the Greek cities of the Euxine were absorbed in the Roman Empire: *Greek* and *Roman* then became synonymous terms. Greek speech and civilization, however, survived, and still hold their

ground, except where displaced by Slav and Turkish conquests.

All the nations of the Eastern Peninsula, whether older than the Roman Conquest or settlers of later times, are there still as distinct nations. The oldest inhabitants of the Peninsula—the Illyrians—have their representatives in the modern Albanians, or, as they call themselves, *Skipetar;* the Greeks are there, and have kept their language; the Vlachs, who adopted the Roman tongue, are the Rumans or Rumanians of to-day. As regards the invading hordes, the Goths, the Huns, and the Avars have left no enduring influence. Of the Turanian settlers, the Bulgars have become a Slavonic people. Both they and the Magyars, who settled further west, immigrated by way of the lands north of the Euxine. Finally, of the non-Aryan invaders who came by way of Asia Minor or the Mediterranean, the Semitic Saracens were mere pirates and made no final settlement; but the Ottoman Turks, who first gained a footing in 1355, conquered nearly the whole of the Peninsula before the close of the same century, reduced Greece to subjection between 1455 and 1473, and remained masters up to the present century. Since the seventeenth century, however, their power for evil has been growing continually less, until, at the present day, it is chiefly limited to an area equal to about two-thirds the size of Great Britain. That their hold upon this remnant of their greatness is of the slightest description, the events of the last two decades have sufficiently shown: it never was weaker than it is now.

The struggles of the nationalities in South-Eastern Europe for independence and self-government are as fierce to-day as of old. Greece, with the aid of the Great Powers, obtained her independence in 1830. Wallachia and Moldavia (now united in the kingdom of Rumania) were made tributary principalities by the Peace of Paris, 1856. Servia had partly obtained her independence early in the century, and, with Rumania, secured its complete independence by the Berlin Treaty of 1878, the latter receiving the Dobruja in exchange for a portion of Bessarabia,

which was restored to Russia, the former having its area enlarged. The same Treaty handed over to Austria-Hungary the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the brave little province of Montenegro, where a Servian tribe had maintained its independence against the Turks since 1839, the tributary principality of Bulgaria and the self-governing province of Eastern Rumelia were established. The last-named province has since been absorbed in "Greater Bulgaria." By a treaty executed June 14th, 1881—under pressure of the Great Powers—Turkey ceded to Greece 5,160 square miles of territory contiguous to the Greek frontier, having a population of about 390,000, of whom nearly all were Greeks.

Having thus taken a general view of the Peninsula, we may now proceed to examine each State separately, grouping them in the most natural order that suggests itself. We may leave out of account the kingdom of Rumania, which, although closely connected with the Peninsula in so many ways, geographically forms no part of it, but belongs altogether to Central Europe. For the same reason, Greece proper—a peninsula within a peninsula—may be passed over with only incidental references.

Bosnia and Herzegovina are the first to claim our attention. In accordance with the provisions of the Berlin Treaty of 1878, this portion of Turkey was (as already mentioned) handed over to the administration of Austria-Hungary, which previously possessed the adjoining province of Dalmatia—a narrow strip of coast, divided from Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Dinaric Alps. Although not formally incorporated by treaty, these provinces, together with the *Sanjak* of Novi-Bazar—between Montenegro and Servia—form an integral portion of the Empire-Monarchy and enjoy the advantages of a settled government.

Their physical features are in striking contrast. Bosnia—the most beautiful of the Balkan provinces—reminds one of Styria or the Tyrol by its rugged mountainous character,

its dense forests, and the picturesqueness of its valleys. The mountains follow a N.W. to S.E. trend, parallel to the Dinaric Alps; and, except in the valley of the Save, there are no large plains. The Dinaric Alps form the water-parting between the Mediterranean and Danube basins; and four rivers—the Unna, the Verbas, the Bosna (from which the province takes its name), and the Drin—flow northwards to their confluence with the Save. Herzegovina, on the other hand, is a wild district, overstrewn with cyclopean rocks, and watered chiefly by the winter streams that form in the higher lands, and, save in a few depressions, eventually lose themselves underground.

It is in Bosnia, the centre of Mohammedanism, one can best study the simple lives of the strange medley of races inhabiting this part of the Peninsula—Turks, Albanians, Slavs, Caucasians and Arabs, to mention a few of them—and estimate the difficulties of assimilation between Eastern and Western elements. For 400 years the river Save has been the boundary between East and West; at the present day the races meet there in more sharply-defined contrast than, perhaps, anywhere else in South-Eastern Europe. Racial distinctions are marked enough in Hungary and in the Croatian and Slavonian frontier districts; but we pass into an Oriental world when we cross the broad and melancholy Save. The same political and social problems that have confronted, and still confront, Great Britain in India, Russia in Central Asia, France in Tunis and Algeria, here require a solution: Mussulman and Christian must either assimilate, or the weaker go to the wall. The Agrarian question, too—as M. de Laveleye points out in his lucid work, *La Péninsule des Balkans*—bears a close analogy to that which threatens the peace of Ireland.

Unlike Slavonia and Hungary, Bosnia offers no advantages for the growth of cereals; but, as in Switzerland and the Tyrol, flocks and herds may be reared with profit. The commerce of Bosnia is almost exclusively in the hands of Jews, the majority of whom reside in Seraïevo, or Bosna-Serai, the capital. The most enterprising are those who

have immigrated from Austria and Hungary, where, in the latter at least, their growing power is too keenly felt. In Bosnia the Jews are of Spanish origin, and, whilst outwardly conforming to the Mussulman mode of life, closely observe the ordinances of their own religion. The simplicity of their lives, even of the wealthiest Jews, is a single but sufficient indication not only of their national spirit, but of the position they take in the country: they fear to arouse the cupidity of their neighbours. The Jew of the Middle Ages, his beliefs, his ideas, his customs, are to-day unchanged on Mussulman soil.

With the exception of the Jews, Tsigans (gipsies), and some Osmanli (functionaries, soldiers, and merchants), who live in the larger towns of Bosnia, all the inhabitants of the Illyrian Alps are Slavs; and in Herzegovina their characteristics are most strongly marked. The Bosnians themselves, though united by race, are divided by religion—Mussulman against Christian, Greek Orthodox against Roman Catholic. Hence, in spite of every natural advantage, they, unlike their Servian brethren, were unable to emancipate themselves from the Turkish yoke. Their country may be compared to a citadel, so strongly has Nature fortified it against attack from the south; but with disaffection in their own camp, every struggle for independence has proved abortive. The Mussulmans are no less Slav than the Christians; like them, too, they speak Servian, though a great number of Turkish words have crept into their idiom. Although they form scarcely a third of the population, they possess more than their share of landed property, and in their stronghold of Seraïevo they form a State within a State, more inimical to the Christian than is even the Sublime Porte. But of whatever sect or religion, the Bosnians and Herzegovinans possess the same native qualities as the Serbs: they are frank and hospitable, intelligent and industrious, and, whilst practising the domestic virtues, are fearless in battle. In spite, however of these good qualities, their customs are not free from superstition and fanaticism; incessant wars—tyranny on the one side, servitude on the other—have degraded them;

while the trackless forests and the impassable mountains have formed a barrier against civilization.

Since these provinces have been rescued from Turkish misrule, the advance in the development of the country and of national education has been considerable. Whether the Empire-Monarchy will ever realise her dream of Oriental expansion by "going to Salonika"—from which she now has ostensibly withdrawn—or whether Servia will fulfil her national destiny by absorbing the Slavonian States on the Dalmatian sea-board, is a question—as M. de Laveleye points out—that must find an answer (over and above the other obstacles to a Slav Confederation) in the heart of Austria-Hungary, where the contest is no longer between German and Magyar, but between German and Chekh, Magyar and Croat. The Slavonic movement in Southern Hungary—which found expression in the *Omladina* alliance—is still very real; and, it may be, another Deák will arise to plead *Gleichberechtigung*: equal rights for all nationalities, autonomy for each country. Meanwhile, the "patriots" of Agram and Belgrad look into the distant future, and sigh for a Serbo-Croatian State that shall unite all the populations speaking the same mother-tongue—Croats, Serbs, Slovaks, Dalmatians, and Montenegrins.

The little Principality of *Montenegro* is deserving of notice, if only from the fact of its independence, surrounded as it is by powerful neighbours: north and east by Herzegovina and Novi-Bazar, and—with the exception of a small slip of coast-line extending between Antivari and Dulcigno—west by Dalmatia, and south by the Turkish province of Albania. The Montenegrins belong to the Servian branch of the Slav race, and are divided into forty tribes, who speak a remarkably pure dialect of Servian. Nominally a limited monarchy, the form of government is still patriarchal, though the legislation of the Church—formerly the State—is now confined to ecclesiastical matters. With the exception of some 4,000 Roman Catholics and 7,000 Mussulmans, of Albanian or Slav origin, the Montenegrins adhere to the Greek Church. The Berlin Treaty of 1878 recognised the

independence of Montenegro; it also gave her a sea-board, the free navigation of the Turkish river Boyana, the northern shores of Lake Scutari, the possession of two fortresses and of some territory.

The Italian name of Montenegro (Black Mountain) generally obtains among Western nations, and corresponds with the *Kara-Dagh* of the Turkish and the *Cherna Gora* of the natives. It happily expresses the bleak, forbidding character of this region, which is like "a sea of immense waves turned into stone," the black aspect having at one time been enhanced by dark forests of pine, oak, and beech trees. Round the Lake of Scutari, however, are some charming spots, and the valleys, though few in number, contain fruitful soil. The country is cut up into a succession of elevated naked ridges, which, in the east, culminate in the highest peak of the Dinaric Alps—Kutsh Kom, 9,575 feet above sea-level. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people, but live stock of all kinds are reared.

The Montenegrins, although closely related to the Servians of the Danubian districts, possess a distinct individuality as mountaineers: expelled by the circumstances of their position from the limited soil of the valleys into their mountain fastnesses, they have always led a wild, independent life. Nor is it to be wondered at that brigandage of all sorts ranked as an honourable profession among them, when, driven by famine, they were forced to make armed raids into the outlying districts to gather the harvests of the earth under Turkish guns. "When I was a robber" is as familiar an expression in Montenegro as is that of "When I was a boy" in this country. Robbery was to them an economic necessity, unless—as many of them did—they chose to give up their independence and submit to Turkish rule, or emigrate to foreign parts. Under these harsh circumstances the Montenegrin has become the brave and lawless warrior of to-day, hot-headed and violent, and ever ready to resort to the arms which he habitually carries about him, no matter what his occupation may be. Their unwritten law is "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth." Hence, hereditary and

family feuds are maintained from generation to generation; but nowadays, on account of the stringent measures of the Government, they rarely result in bloodshed.

Servia obtained her complete independence of Turkey (after centuries of stubborn resistance) by Article XXXIV. of the Berlin Treaty of 1878, and is to-day one of the most promising of the Balkan States. In her capital, Belgrad, she holds the key to Hungary, which, from 1521 to 1791, was alternately in the possession of Turkey and Austria; by her northern boundary, the rivers Save and Danube, she has a fine waterway as an outlet of her trade to the Black Sea; and the country, though half covered by mountains and forests, has a residue of fine cultivable land, where wheat and maize yield excellent crops. In spite of these natural advantages, the country is still in a backward state, and the roads—more especially the fine Roman highway which led from Constantinople, through the heart of the country to Belgrad—are in disrepair. Servia is known to possess mineral wealth, too, but it has not been developed. There are practically no industries; the country being essentially an agricultural one, and the land being in the possession of a stiff-necked peasantry, the stimulus to the creation of an export trade is wanting, though the Government are doing their best to encourage it.

Ramifications of the Carpathians, Balkans, and Dinaric Alps, attaining altitudes varying between 2,000 and 3,000 feet, and afforested with fine trees, chiefly oak, occupy half of the area of the kingdom. Though there is a gradual slope to the Danube, the rivers in the interior are not navigable, and the means of communication, prior to the comparatively recent introduction of railways and telegraphs, were of the simplest description.

The population of Servia is almost entirely Slav. The annual increase is more rapid than in our own country, for Servia has the highest percentage of marriages in Europe. The country has been described as the only genuine Arcadia: the home of democracy and of "a smiling and contented peasantry." This self-satisfaction on the part of the peasant

has been ascribed to the fact that he is the possessor of the soil, having in his long wars of independence packed off the ineffable Turk, "bag and baggage"—or, rather, without these *impedimenta.* The land is now inherited by the peasantry, whose democratic instincts do not brook any interference with their rights on the part of an unpopular ruler. That, in common with the Bulgarians, they should forget their gratitude to the White Tsar, who gave them their liberty, and seek to keep hold of this precious gift for themselves, is only in accordance with their national traditions. Brave as is the Serb, he might well think twice before "leaning" on his Imperial Protector "as a brother," or taking any such uncalled-for liberty. The national arms of Servia are an expression of the popular voice : a white cross on a red ground, with the four initial letters, in gold, of the motto : *Çama Çloga Çpasiva Çerbi*—"Concord alone can save the Serbs."

The Serb is honourably distinguished among Eastern peoples for his nobility of character, his highly poetic temperament, his native dignity, and incontestable bravery. "We have no nobles," they say of themselves ; "we are all noble." The men have a distinctly military bearing, and their well-knit and powerful frames enable them to carry their heads proudly ; the women are equally distinguished for their appearance, and for the taste they display in their picturesque semi-Oriental costumes. In spite of their high order of intellect, their customs bear evidence of an unformed national character, though in their family life and relationship—upon the perfection of which the greatness of a nation so much depend—and in their friendship, they display a native virtue that leaves little to be desired. They are born freemen, and in their institutions show an intelligent application of the liberty they have so dearly won for themselves. The Serb is so proud, and so contented with his primitive methods of cultivating the soil, that he gets his servants from the Empire-Monarchy, and calls in his friends (who reciprocate, as in the Canadian North-west) to assist him in gathering the harvests of the earth. As for the in-

habitants of old Servia, the Arnaut struts about with a whole arsenal of weapons about him, and is almost as enterprising as he is unscrupulous and vain. They are the descendants of the wild Arnauts who, after the battle of Kossova, embraced the Mussulman faith, in order to obtain the land and privileges accorded to those who took the turban.

The Tributary States of *Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia* are united under a personal union. On September 17th, 1885, the Government of Eastern Rumelia was overthrown by a bloodless revolution; the union with Bulgaria was proclaimed, and, after some wrangling, the Prince of Bulgaria was named Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia, agreeable to the stipulations of Art. XVII.* of the Berlin Treaty. Something approximating to the Great Bulgaria of the San Stephano Treaty has thus been obtained by the popular voice; and it is important to notice how even geographical conditions—for the two provinces are divided by the Balkan range—and the solemn will of Europe, have had to succumb to the principle of national development. Since their arrival in the Peninsula in the seventh century, the Bulgarians have always formed an ethnographical unity—a nation: yet the European plenipotentiaries, by the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, tried the dangerous experiment of dividing this nationality into three living parts: Bulgaria—a nearly independent principality; Rumelia—half enslaved, half free; and Macedonia—a Christian province, whose autonomy was refused, and which was abandoned to the yoke of the Mussulman Power under which it had so long suffered. In these provinces, there are no less than five millions of Bulgarians. The result, which might surely have been foreseen, has precipitated the events which continue to threaten the peace of South-Eastern Europe. Macedonia is again in a state of revolt—ground down by the extortions of Ottoman rule, its Christian inhabitants the victims of the Turkish Beys.

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* The Governor-General of Eastern Rumelia shall be named by the Sublime Porte, with the consent of the Powers, for the term of five years.

The history of Bulgaria is an interesting one. The Bulgars first crossed the Danube, coming from the banks of the Volga, in the fifth century, and occupied the eastern portion of the Peninsula. The process of assimilation with their Slav subjects has already been referred to: they soon grew into a Slav Power. Under their Tsar Krum, the "Kingdom of Bulgaria," the capital of which was Preslav, received tribute from Byzantium, occupied Adrianople, and signed a treaty of alliance with Charlemagne. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the Bulgarians were victorious in their wars against the Magyars in the north and the Greeks in the south, and had reached the height of their power. Their Tsar Simeon rejoiced in the title of "Autocrat of all the Bulgarians and of the Greeks:" *Imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum.* They dominated the whole Peninsula; and it is interesting to note, in reference to the Bulgarian ascendency, that already in 976, their Tsar Shishman, whose power ranged over the whole Peninsula, conceived the idea of a State founded on the unity of race, and caused himself to be styled "Emperor of the Slavs." The rivalry between Bulgaria and Byzantium continued, with varying successes, until the arrival of the Osmanli Turks. In 1356, Bulgaria and her ally, Servia, pressed to the walls of Constantinople, and only failed in the establishment of a great Slav State by reason of the defectiveness of their administrative organisation. The Servians succumbed at the decisive battle of Kossova, in 1389; and Tirnova, the Bulgarian capital, was taken four years after by the son of Bajazet. From that time, the Ottoman power began to dominate the Peninsula. Bulgaria, under the influence of Byzantium and of Christianity, had attained, in the Middle Ages, a degree of civilization equal to that of Western nations; but the invasions, first of the Tartars, and subsequently of the Osmanli, entirely destroyed it.

The Principality still holds a unique position in the Balkan Peninsula. A fine waterway as her northern boundary and an outlet to the sea; a sea-board; a purely agricultural country, capable of great development and of

maintaining five times the present population; free institutions, and about the most liberal Constitution in Europe; a peasantry possessing the solid qualities and persevering industry of northern races: with these elements for her economic development, her right to a national existence cannot be disputed. The country is very fertile, and has the advantages of a mild climate, wooded mountains, a fine system of waterways, and cultivable plains. The land is chiefly in the possession of the peasantry, who have a natural aptitude for agricultural pursuits. The manufacturing industries of Bulgaria proper hold only a secondary position, for the rural populations, having no large centres to supply, but only their own simple wants, are self-supporting. That this is an element of weakness, looking to their ultimate development, cannot be denied; but their history as a modern nationality is still young, and the country is rapidly breaking down the barriers imposed upon her by her geographical isolation.

Eastern Rumelia is in many respects in advance of the sister country on the other side of the Balkans; it has much longer been open to European influences, connected as it is with Constantinople and the south by the valley of the Maritza. A distinction must therefore be drawn between the Bulgarians of the Principality and their Slav compatriots in Eastern Rumelia; the latter, having been in contact with the Greeks, and always having kept up relations with Constantinople, are more advanced in their political life, and have come more in contact with European customs. That the Principality is itself coming under this influence is shown by the rapid strides it has made in perfecting its political and social systems; and that this progress is not confined to the towns only, but is spread over the whole country, may be inferred from the rapid breaking-up of the *Zadrugas*, or groups of families, living on a common property with community of goods, and under patriarchal discipline.

A more disadvantageous location, considering the imperfect means of communications, could scarcely be found for a capital than Sofia. Tirnova, the ancient capital,

would have been much more suitable, or—now that the East Rumelian province has been united—Philippopolis. Sofia is situated on a plain, sadder far than the Roman Campagna, and chiefly inhabited by the ancient but prosaic tribe called the Chops. It is almost destitute of shelter, and far from healthy. In this respect it resembles Budapest, which, from its unsheltered position, is baked in the summer, and frozen solid in the winter, the extremes of temperature in both places being very considerable and subject to great fluctuations. Bulgaria had her capital fixed for her when she obtained her emancipation through Russia; and the only reasonable ground for Sofia having been chosen, is that it possesses certain strategic advantages owing to its position on the great highway leading from Constantinople to Belgrad, and is situated at a convenient centre for administering the affairs of Bulgaria, Rumelia, and Macedonia, though the latter failed to secure its autonomy. The population in the towns has greatly diminished since the Russo-Turkish war, in consequence of the emigration of Mussulmans (chiefly to Asia Minor) in order to escape military service; and the same may be said of Eastern Rumelia and others of the newly-emancipated States; but there is evidence to show that every privilege was accorded them to observe the rites of their religion, and the Mussulman soldiers were always allowed to mess together. It is stated by M. de Laveleye, in his *Péninsule des Balkans*, that over 200,000 Mussulmans have thus emigrated from Bulgaria alone; and this cannot be greatly over-estimated, as Dr. Kiepert's ethnical map shows a very dense Mohammedan population on the Bulgarian sea-board. Further westwards, this emigration has been more marked. Their departure does not seem to have been greatly regretted, for their lands have been sold at nominal prices to the native peasantry, and the commercial traffic has nearly doubled in value. Both in Bulgaria and Servia, commercial relations are chiefly with Austria, but England and Rumania have an important share.

The Bulgarians are, in general, of smaller stature than their neighbours the Servians; they are powerfully built,

and carry a firm head on their shoulders. Many travellers have discovered in them a striking resemblance to the solid Breton peasant; indeed, they possess in a remarkable degree the rugged dignity and plain common-sense of a free and independent people. Without having the vivacity of the Rumanian or the *esprit* of the Servian, the Bulgarian has no less a share of intelligence. In the southern districts, where the chains of slavery have hung heavily on him, he wears a sad and disconsolate mien; but in the northern plains, and in the villages shut in by mountains, where he leads a freer life, he is light-hearted and fond of pleasure. On the north-western slope of the Balkans, and in the fertile valley of the Timok, the Bulgarian character more closely approximates to the Servian, and attains its highest type. The Bulgarians of the plains are in general a peace-loving, industrious people. Unlike the Servians, they have no warlike pride, and have long ceased to celebrate the great victories and deeds of their ferocious ancestors. The typical Bulgarian is a peaceful peasant, laborious and sensible, a good husband and a good father, loving the comforts of home, and practising all the domestic virtues. The Bulgarian peasant contrasts with the Servian in this respect, that his qualities, though less showy, are more useful; he has greater common-sense, and is more persevering and industrious. The Servian resembles the Pole, the Bulgarian the Chekh or Saxon. The Bulgarian Constitution, like that of Eastern Rumelia, seems to be modelled on the lines of that of Belgium, except that there is no Second Chamber.

Eastern Rumelia obtained administrative autonomy by the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. It was the district that suffered most during the last war. A Russian corps of occupation held the province until May, 1879, nine months after the ratification of the Treaty. Philippopolis, the capital, is beautifully situated in the fertile Maritza valley, and has in no wise an Oriental aspect. The physical aspects of the country are very varied, the surface in the west being broken up by the offshoots of the Albanian range, and in the north and north-east by the Balkans and their spurs.

In the first two years of the autonomy the nationalities, as might have been expected, were in constant conflict, but the Bulgarians had no difficulty in obtaining the upper hand. Two political parties were formed—the Liberals, Government or Moderate, and the Nationalists or Unionists, who supported a more decided policy. Both parties equally desired the union of the two Bulgarias, and it was the Unionists who, in the summer of 1884, organised the petition for incorporation with the Principality.

Macedonia presents in a nut-shell the difficulties arising out of the strife of nationalities. Bulgaria claims the territory by reason of her long historical and ethnical connections, the purest Bulgarian being still spoken on the Rhodope uplands, where are preserved the treasures of her ancient folk-songs. Greece, which would sacrifice everything to realise the "great idea" of re-establishing her former Empire, asserts a majority in the population. Servia, on the other hand, covets the northern part, which formed the ancient centre of Dushan's Empire, and the southern part, because it leads to the Mediterranean. Austria-Hungary wants Salonika. Meantime, the province is still under the Turkish yoke, and is very slowly being depopulated of its Christian inhabitants. If we turn to statistics, we could not —any more than could the Berlin plenipotentaries—decide which was the predominant race in this unhappy province. Greece claims a large majority; so does Rumelia; Turkey does not count the people. If, however, we consult disinterested authorities, we may be able to ascertain the approximate truth. According to Reclus, Kiepert, and other well-informed writers, we find the Bulgarians greatly in the majority; nowhere have they become Hellenised.

Although Macedonia forms part of the Ottoman Empire, we have grouped it with Bulgaria, not only because it once was incorporated in the Bulgarian dominions, but because at the present day it is still Bulgarian in race and language.

Albania, too, although an integral portion of Turkey, is practically independent of Ottoman rule: in fact, the Albanians have always been an independent people. They

are of unknown origin, and the oldest inhabitants, it is said, of the Peninsula. Before the Barbarian inroads, they possessed the whole of the western portions as far as the Danube, but were ultimately forced back into their mountain fastnesses, where they have since maintained their proud independence, assimilating slightly with the Serbs, Bulgars, and Rumans, but, except in a few places in the south, refusing to be Hellenised. The area of Albania is estimated at nearly 19,000 square miles, and includes the ancient Epirus, part of Macedonia and Illyria. It is a highly mountainous region, being traversed in the interior by a ramification of the Dinaric Alps, joining the Pindus range in the south, from which numerous spurs are thrown out east and west; and it has always been distinguished for the rude valour of its inhabitants. Owing to its remote situation, the Greeks never (except, perhaps, under Pyrrhus) conquered the country, and, on the fall of the Roman Empire, the Albanians rose to power, holding their own against the Turks and the Bulgarians, who dominated all the surrounding districts. In 1478, the Turks succeeded in conquering them, and have held them nominally subject ever since, though their allegiance has been of the slightest. Of the inhabitants of Albania, a considerable portion are Turks and Greeks; but the basis of the population consists of the original race.

Of Turkey in Europe, therefore, very little remains. The Turks have never formed a majority of the population, nor do they now in those districts still under their misrule. The other races are increasing, or at least remain stationary; but the Turks are everywhere giving way, and their dominion is retreating before the rapid march of civilization.

ART. IV.—THE TABLE-TALK OF SHIRLEY.

The Table-Talk of Shirley. Reminiscences of, and Letters from, Froude, Thackeray, Disraeli, Browning, Rossetti, Kingsley, Baynes, Huxley, Tyndall, and others. By JOHN SKELTON, C.B., LL.D. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1895.

THIS charming volume owes "its genesis and exodus" to a spell of indifferent health which overtook the veteran essayist and historian whose name it bears, and incapacitated him for more exacting literary labour. It was a happy thought which led him to use his enforced leisure in ransacking bundles of old letters, dust-stained and yellow, in drilling their contents into order, and then giving them to the world "with such comment as is needful, and such omissions as are fitting." It would have been a real loss to literature had these letters been withheld, "so fresh and animated" are they, "so characteristic of the men who wrote them." Dr. Skelton is not mistaken in supposing that they "disclose new traits of tenderness, fidelity and generosity" in his friends. As to "table-talk," strictly speaking, there is little in the volume. Sparkling wit and keen irony and ready repartee, qualities which marked Froude and Huxley, for instance, find scarcely any reflection here. "Shirley" is not a Boswell. But we are struck with the gracious spirit which pervades this book. The atmosphere is wholly free from any taint of offensive egotism, or suspicion, or bitterness. It is sweet as that of an October Indian-summer day—not too bright, but filled with soft, welcome light, and with the fragrance of orchard and woodland fruit, rather than of summer flowers. The cynic, with his sour grapes and his wry grimaces, is not here.

"Nor yet all sweetness. Not in vain he wore,
Nor in the sheath of ceremony, controlled
By velvet courtesy or caution cold,
That sword of honest anger prized of old;
But with two-handed wrath,
If baseness or pretension crossed his path,
Struck once, nor needed to strike more."

He counts himself fortunate to have had a fair opportunity of speaking his mind freely and honestly on that which he holds to be excellent in the writings of many of his contemporaries. His friends are almost heroes from whom, as he writes of their work from time to time, he receives much more inspiration than he gives to them. He is not blind to their weaknesses, but it is of their virtues that he loves to speak. This is well shown in the chapter entitled "Mainly about those who have failed," in which he tells the story of Patrick Proctor Alexander, of St. Andrews, whom he knew from 1843 onwards.

Alexander was the life-long friend of "the Principal" of those days, and of Alexander Smith, the essayist and poet. He was a man of gigantic physique and distinguished gifts, sincere and affectionate, but his temperament was sluggish; he was careless of fame, his humour was tart and sardonic; his "lucid intellectual fire failed to find any fitting 'outgait,'" and his life became aimless. Dr. Skelton speaks gently and pathetically of this talented man who suffered such "unpropitious eclipse." People generally would say that he was a failure; and his appearance as he walked down Broad Street, slowly, slouchingly, in ragged Inverness cape, a gaunt figure, whose worn chiselled face looked out from under a rusty old wide-awake, seemed to confirm the verdict. But "Shirley" says that, in spite of all superficial reverses, Alexander retained "the courage, the unblemished rectitude, the fine courtesy, the modest reticence of the boy," and, in eulogy of his work, asserts that his short swallow-flights of song have "the brightness, simplicity, unexpectedness, and bird-like music of the Elizabethan masters." No specimen of his poetry in this vein is given, but the following verses, which Dr. Skelton quotes, are so beautiful that our readers

will thank us for copying them. An unavailing sorrow, "the pathetic hopelessness of a wasted life," haunts the tender, witching music of these lines—

"I wander where the river strays
Through woods asleep in pearly haze,
With quiet nooks where earliest peer
The firstlings of the dawning year.
I feel, but scarcely seem to share,
This sense which haunts the happy air
Of young life stirring everywhere;
For ever at my heart of hearts
A pulse of nameless trouble starts.
I watch this tender April sky;
I see its aimless clouds go by;
I gaze, and gaze, and only think—
It would have pleased our poet's eye.

* * * *

His ears are shut from happy sound;
His eyes are softly sealed;
The oft-trod old familiar ground,
The hill, the wood, the field,
This path, which most he loved, that runs
Far up the shining river,
Through all the course of summer suns
He treads no more for ever."

On every page of *The Table-Talk* we have abundant evidence that its author is possessed of that strong sympathy which knits heart to heart, and makes little of the superficial blemishes of those of whose loyalty and kindness he is never tired of speaking. His friendships go on from year to year, decade after decade, and are faithful unto death; they are based on unselfishness and helpfulness, as the following sentences will show:

"At the close of life there is nothing on which a writer of books can look back with more entire satisfaction than the kind words which have helped others on. The appreciation of excellence is twice blessed; it blesses him that takes and him that gives. A work of true genius is stimulating. Some of the pleasantest intimacies, some of the most valued friendships, we make in this world are effected through the relations thus established."

We cannot say that the book is always cheerful reading.

The shadow of the passing years, which are carrying away his friends one by one, falls at times deep on the page. Regrets there are and the sense of loneliness, beliefs severely restricted, and an outlook on the future clouded with doubt. The mood is often that of Ruskin in the Epilogue to the Notes on Turner's drawings, without Ruskin's deeper mood of faith, in which he says :

"Morning breaks as I write, along these Coniston Fells, and the level mist, motionless and gray beneath the rose of the moorlands, veils the lower woods, and the sleeping village, and the long lawns of the lake-shore. Oh, that some one had but told me, in my youth, when all my heart seemed to be set on these colours and clouds, that appear for a little while and then vanish away, how little my love of them would serve me, when the silence of lawn and wood in the dews of the morning would be completed; and all my thoughts should be of those whom, by neither, I was to meet no more."

"Sadder words, I think, were never spoken," is Dr. Skelton's comment ; but his own feeling is very much the same. He starts questions like these : "Does the horizon widen as we grow old ? or does the capacity to rise with the lark skyward, and share the rapture of its song, belong to the young only ?" And he makes answer, "I fear sometimes it does ;" and then adds, "Yet even the weariest may be permitted to hail and welcome the lark. It is our latest poet that sings

> 'My heart is dashed with cares and fears,
> My song comes fluttering and is gone;
> O, high above this home of tears
> Eternal joy sings on.'"

We are grateful for this conclusion, but should have been more rejoiced to hear the clear note of Christian hope as it rings out in James Russell Lowell's "Agassiz"—

> "But God to him was very God
> And not a visionary wraith
> Skulking in murky corners of the mind;
> And he was sure to be
> Somehow, somewhere, imperishable as He,
> Not with His essence mystically combined,
> As some high spirits long, but whole and free
> A perfected and conscious Agassiz."

The reminiscences begin with a chapter "Mainly about

Thackeray," for whose memory Dr. Skelton cherishes the warmest affection. He desires to correct the impression, wherever it may still linger, that Thackeray was a crabbed worldling, the boon companion of roysterers and gourmands. Thackeray was, as is now well known, a pure-minded and even a serious man, sympathetic and frank, but armed with as sharp a lance of satire as was ever wielded. Dr. Skelton can hardly be right in calling his friend the *gentlest* of satirists. Gentle he was, among his intimates, very deep in his sorrow for the suffering, but unsparing, almost fierce, when, with lusty stroke, he made society writhe at the cut

"Of that skilled spear, the wonder of the world."

Charlotte Bronte said, "He seems terribly in earnest in his war with the follies and falsehoods of the world. If truth were a goddess, Thackeray should be her high priest." In the correspondence which appears in this volume between Thackeray and "Shirley," chiefly in reference to the *Cornhill Magazine*, of which the former was editor and the latter a contributor, pleasing light is thrown on Thackeray's fine character, though not much is said that lends itself readily to quotation. He was the reverse of proud, and when sudden fame came to him he was simply astonished at it. "Shirley," in an article in *Frazer*, in 1860, had made kindly and appreciative allusion to Thackeray, speaking of "the wise and sad valour" which lay at the root of all true humour, and gave the moralists who took *vanitas* as their theme a new force and vitality. This was very welcome to the novelist, and was the commencement of that closer friendship which was so soon to be ended by Thackeray's sudden death, in 1863.

"I called on December 23rd," Shirley tells us, "at the fine new house in Kensington Gardens. The man who opened the door told me that his master was in his bedroom lying down, nothing seriously amiss, only he could not see visitors that afternoon. 'I would come another day,' I said, and left. Next morning I heard he was dead. He had been a sufferer for years, but he treated his sufferings with a touch of humorous exaggeration that was apt to mislead. Possibly, with due vigilance, he need not have died at fifty-one."

"Snatched in his prime, the shape august
That should have stood unbent 'neath fourscore years,
The noble head, the eyes of perfect trust,
All gone to speechless dust."

Thus passed away one of the greatest of our writers of fiction, leaving behind a rich legacy, not only of imperishable literature, but of honour and love. The January number of *Cornhill* lay on the bookstalls on the day of his death. Dean Hole, in his *Memories*, gives precisely the same impression of Thackeray as Dr. Skelton in *The Table-talk*. "Love of goodness and contempt of evil" characterised him, the Dean says; but we should have said pity of evil rather than contempt; for the essential tenderness of the man shines in much of his work. He was busy to the last. Dean Hole found him, a few days before he passed away, engaged on the last pages of *Denis Duval*. He appeared to be weary, and his silence and abstracted manner seemed to show that his thoughts were elsewhere.

His own beautiful words, refreshing as the stillness and the cool air of a summer's night, or as the chiming rain on the sun-baked furrow, best illustrate the gentle mood which, in his latest years, superseded, or, at least, dominated, the mocking irony, the whetted satire, "the scalping humour" of the earlier period. Dr. Skelton selects the passage we are about to quote, and characterises it as "perfectly finished as a shell or a flower, tender, gracious, solemn as twilight."

"It is night now, and here is home. Gathered under the quiet roof, elders and children lie alike at rest. In the midst of a great peace and calm, the stars look out from the heavens. The silence is peopled with the past—sorrowful remorse for sins and shortcomings—memories of passionate joys and griefs, rise out of their graves, both now alike calm and sad. Eyes, as I shut mine, look at me, that have long since ceased to shine. The town and the fair landscape sleep under the starlight, wreathed in the autumn mists. Twinkling among the houses a light keeps watch here and there, in which may be a sick chamber or two. The clock tolls sweetly in the silent air. Here is night and rest. An awful sense of thanks makes the heart swell, and the head bow, as I pass to my room through the silent house, and feel as though a hushed blessing were upon it."

Thomas Spencer Baynes—one of a gifted family, son of a Baptist minister—comes in for his full share of eulogy in these pages. To have known him, Dr. Skelton says, was not only a liberal education, but it was "to comprehend what self-sacrifice and renunciation meant." He loved life, and was keenly sensitive to its joys and to all that sweetened and beautified it, but the spirit of service was conferred on him pre-eminently. "In his pure idealism and eager quest after the good and true, and in the absence of all self-seeking, he was the Sir Galahad of our society." Of delicate health, a very leaf shaken by the wind and in danger of falling any hour, he was yet a man of great energy, cheerful, brave, looking at the dead shadow of the grave that haunted him not only without a single fear, but with an eye that kept "a humorous twinkle to the end." He was a man of affairs, a metaphysician of no mean order, a scholarly critic and editor; and withal he was unduly modest, praising his friends and keeping himself in the background.

"A nobler character," says Dr. Skelton, "in all ways it has not been my lot to meet in the world—the simplest, the gentlest, the manliest, the one in which self had least place. Those who knew him as I knew him know what moral beauty means, and are the better for the knowledge."

His nobility of character is not the less attractive because of the fact that he was a devout believer in Jesus Christ.

Our *raconteur* thinks that the selection of Baynes' writings published by Longmans, is entirely unfortunate,—that his best work is omitted. His public life began in 1850, in Edinburgh, when he became assistant to Sir William Hamilton. During the same period, until 1855, he edited the *Edinburgh Guardian*, and welcomed to his aid some young men of promise, who were afterwards to make a name in literature, including Sidney Dobell, Alexander Smith, E. S. Dallas, and "Shirley," who, in the journal just named, made his first venture When this goodly company broke up, and were scattered, Baynes and "Shirley" kept up their friendship by correspondence. A selection of

the letters is given, and is the more interesting because in the *Memoir of Baynes*, very few letters are found; and yet it is in his letters that his personal convictions and opinions are freely expressed. The letters are bright, sympathetic, and descriptive. They relate to many subjects; to travel, literature, art, &c. We can but present a few brief extracts. Writing from his old Somersetshire home under date of February 26th, 1856, he permits us a glance at the range of proposed reading: "I have cut out for myself a wider course of investigation—the critical study of Early English history, language, and literature, having already made a beginning in the Anglo-Saxon period." He remained in the West until nearly the close of the year, when he removed to London to take the position of assistant editor to the *Daily News*. The monotony of village life had not been altogether to his taste. He wanted something more than "storm and sunshine, sheep-shearing, and agricultural shows with fat pigs, and lean afternoon speeches," even when varied with meditations on scholasticism, and peeps into strange mediæval monastic life. Still, the charm of Nature, in her quiet places, did not leave him untouched. In his letters we have such passages as the following:

"I have not the sea here as you have in the north, but I have all the glory of the midnight heavens—the unveiled moon, the clear blue depth of the frosty sky, and the winter stars glittering like gems amidst leafless boughs. And I am continually struck with the refined beauty and power of the winter landscape."

The same delight is observable in a letter about Longfellow—

"I am glad you quote *Hiawatha*. It is perfect. It is marvellous what music he brings out of that dull, monotonous metre. Full of fire, too, simply fresh and vast as the woods, the rivers, and the mountains it reflects."

Other letters written at the same time, contain descriptions, hardly criticisms, of pictures which he saw at the Royal Academy during a visit to London, in May of this year (1856). One of Millais representing a deliverance from death in

a burning house, particularly struck him, and the man is indexed in his words—

"I can scarcely bear to think of it yet; the agony is too near, too intense, too awful, for present rejoicing, even at the deliverance; and that smile on the young mother's face has struggled up from such depths of speechless pain, and expresses such a sudden ecstasy of utter gratitude and overmastering joy, that it quite unmans you to look at it. It is the most intense and pathetic utterance of pure human love I have ever met with."

From London, he still writes to his Scotch friend, though his editorial duties must have left him little leisure for correspondence. A letter written on Christmas Eve, 1860, is uncommonly touching, and brings out his deeply religious spirit. It is too long to quote the whole of it; a sentence or two must suffice.

"How earnestly we look into the darkness, and ache over the mystery of death, and how vainly. We can only trust in 'the dear might of Him that walked the wave.' Love is the only link that binds us to those who are gone, the only link that binds us to those who remain. Surely it is the spiritual world, the abiding kingdom of heaven, not far from every one of us."

It probably will never be known how much English Nonconformity owes to Mr. Baynes' connection with the *Daily News*, then under the editorship of an eminently fair-minded and excellent man; how much also the cause of religion and liberty, of humanity and national righteousness, owe to him during one of the most critical periods of our modern history. Well, indeed, it was that, at such a time, a man so cultured, so clear-headed, so wise in judgment, so eloquent with his pen, and, above all, so pure and unselfish in character, should have had a prominent part in guiding the conduct of the *Daily News*, and, through it, influencing the mind of the nation.

But the duties of a University professor were more congenial to Baynes than the rush and excitement of a newspaper office; and in 1864, he gave up his position on the *Daily News* and removed to St. Andrews, having been appointed to the Chair of Logic. It cannot be said of him that here

"He widened knowledge, and escaped the praise,"

for the mild splendour of his character, and the thoroughness of his work, won for him a great affection, and his memory is held sacred as one of the permanent treasures of St. Andrews. The last two letters exchanged between these fast friends had reference to a memoir of Tulloch, which Baynes, as editor of the new edition af the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, wished "Shirley" to write for that monumental work. In the second of these letters, we have Baynes' estimate of the "Principal," and it is worth quoting:

"The charm of a personality so large and vital, so strong and tender, so manly, so exquisitely sympathetic and humane, is not easily conveyed to others who never saw his face, or heard his voice, or felt his noble presence."

In the spring of 1887, Baynes visited Edinburgh, and was persuaded by "Shirley" to write the memoir himself. But God had ordered otherwise. Three weeks after, he died suddenly in the night. He had long lived in daily expectation of the end; and now "Death had only made his communion with the unseen world somewhat closer."

"He is not gone
To the dumb herd of them that wholly die;
The beauty of his better self lives on
In minds he touched with fire."

The section given to D. G. Rossetti is not new, having appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* in February, 1893. But it may be well to notice briefly Dr. Skelton's view of Rossetti. He does not like Mr. Bell Scott's severe handling of the artist-poet, and calls it "calumny." He claims to have known Rossetti intimately. He denies that his temper was jealous and ungenerous, that he was morose and moody, that he employed illegitimate methods to advertise himself. He thinks the world has decided that the Rossetti school is not "unmanly, effeminate, mystical, affected, obscure;" and goes so far as to say that D. G. Rossetti "was the most variously gifted man it has ever been my privilege to know." He believes that nothing is needed but Mr. Theodore Watt's anticipated biography to disperse "any lingering shred of cloud." We regret that we cannot accept

Dr. Skelton's estimate of this gifted man. His knowledge of the real Rossetti was much less correct and complete than he imagined, or his leniency held in check his candour, while he was under the spell of Rossetti's brilliant genius. It is quite impossible to stop where he stops now that Mr. W. M. Rossetti has, with confessed reticence, presented to the world in *The Family Letters* as much of his brother's life as he thinks ought to be unveiled. We cannot help wondering what "Shirley" would say of the almost nude figure.

It will not promote the interests of culture, much less of religion and humanity, to glorify men addicted to sins of the flesh, no matter how glittering their genius. In extenuation it is often said that

> "These star-wide souls between their poles
> Bear zones of tropic passion,"

and must not be judged by ordinary ethical standards, but must be largely a law to themselves. But whilst admitting the sorer fight and the greater risk, we altogether demur to the contention that there is any warrant, human or Divine, for a laxer moral rule, or a less stringent moral judgment in the case of such men. Not until they have exhausted the means placed at their disposal by Nature and Heaven in the effort to conquer and control self, must they lay the blame of failure to keep a clean soul at the door of their strong tendencies to evil. To resort in the stress of life to chloral and the strongest stimulants is to play with fire. Such drugs may for a while relieve insomnia, but it is to be feared that they enfeeble, and at length destroy, the moral fibre, and prepare the way to deeper self-indulgence, exacting a fearful penalty. Admirers of D. G. Rossetti must shudder as they read of the incredible delusions, the morbid suspicions, the eclipses of reason, the suicidal mania that dogged his steps in the later years of his life. Sad, indeed, is the wreck of this richly freighted soul. No puritan is needed to point the moral. Self-control, a wise heart, a firm lip, and, above all, the recognition of our weakness and

of the immeasurable forces of Heaven which wait on our call, are as necessary for the highly-gifted man as for the humble peasant, if we are to pass through this life with the purity and honest probity which befit our immortality.

Tyndall is a prominent figure in Dr. Skelton's gallery, and we are led into his presence through a graceful, if somewhat lengthy, prologue—a kind of leafy arcade, discussing, with much sombreness, as we go why it is the spring of the year is sad. He takes leave to differ from Ruskin that usually "we speak to the wayside flowers of our love, and to the fading leaves of our ambitions," and says "For the russet leaves of autumn I would substitute the firstlings of spring." He thinks that the sadness of the spring is because it reminds us of "duties unfulfilled, of work unfinished, of ambitions ungratified." But we are inclined to agree with Ruskin; for the flush of the year is joyful, not gloomy. Hope springs eternal in the breast; and it is natural as well as wise, even if we are fifty, which "Shirley" thinks is the height of our blossoming, to rejoice with the season of songs and blooms, cherishing the feeling that in the coming days we may bear larger, better fruit for God and man than we have yet produced. It is simply to court failure if we meet the growing year possessed with the conviction that the best of life lies behind us, and that for the future we are only comparable to a spent tulip bulb, whose flowers waste and diminish season after season till even the little green spire, the last evidence of life, ceases to pierce the ground. Without question it is, as "Shirley" tells us, "of immense importance to retain as we grow old a varied hold upon life." But the application we make of this is not that "if we would not lapse into sheer cynicism, it is very necessary that we should keep some of our illusions." No; let the illusions go, root and branch. Life is not a battle of flowers, nor are we gladiators disporting ourselves in the arena only to gain the expert use of our weapons. We are in the thick of the combat, and it is a real one. What do we want with "illusions," with make-believes, and will-o'-the-wisps? "Shirley" preaches that it

is only in chasing illusions that we can find any joy: "Ever to seek and never to find—the quest still retaining its attraction—that I take it is about as good a definition of happiness as it is possible to hazard. Dear, dusty, dried-up mummies!" This shallow Epicurean philosophy is not worth seriously controverting. It is not good enough for butterflies, for these children of the sun find sweetness by the way; and "dried-up mummies" are poor beside the chrysalis which enshrines the potency of glorious life.

But "the old are not all dried-up mummies," Dr. Skelton allows, that he may make an exception in the case of John Tyndall (then living, now alas! gone), "as bright, as alert, as keenly interested in the search after truth as he was in the vigour of his manhood." Tyndall's merits as a conspicuous scientist are recognised, but "Shirley" believes it is as a great Alpine climber, and one of the earliest, that he will be chiefly remembered. We can well imagine that

"a week on the Bel Alp with Tyndall as guide was an era in a life. He was familiar with all the secrets of the wonder-world that lies above the snow line, and he had a rare power of imparting them to others. Those summer nights, when, from the terrace in front of his chalet, we heard the thunder-cloud break over Italy, and saw the lightning play around Monte Rosa, are not to be forgotten."

He greatly loved his eyrie in the Alps; he found rest in these sublime solitudes after fatiguing labours, and often invited his friends thither. Dr. and Mrs. Skelton were his guests in the summer of 1881, and had pleasant memories of their visit.

Tyndall did not live an idle life when on holiday. He took great interest in the Swiss mountaineers, and was in many ways helpful to them. He writes:

"I have been mainly occupied since your departure in treating the wounds, bruises, and sanitary shortcomings of the population around me. They cut themselves and require plastering; they scald themselves and require swathing; and though clasped in splendid air, they breathe the noisome emanations from their stables, etc. Hence premature age and debility."

It was his joy to minister to their welfare. It was thus that this "brilliant, busy, versatile, eagerly-inquisitive man" filled up the intervals between exploring and climbing.

"Shirley's" reminisences of Tyndall are somewhat meagre. There is no record of conversation, and the few letters he gives are not striking, though they contain some good sentences. Tyndall says that when breaking his crust and drinking his glass of wine at the foot of the Aletschhorn, he had often thought of Emerson's words—"Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous;" but there is little that can be quoted.

There is some pleasant chat about Jowett, who had a great talent of silence. He had been known to allow hours to pass away without uttering a word, greatly to the discomfort of the unfortunate people who happened to be in his august company.

"One characteristic evening I have not forgotten, After dinner—it was midsummer—we carried our glasses and the decanters out on the lawn. The 'Book-hunter' was one of the party, Sir Alexander Grant another. We got on old ecclesiastical scandals, and of these Burton had an inexhaustible store, some of them barely fitted for polite ears. The summer night came down on us before he had exhausted his budget. Jowett was obviously entertained (hugely entertained, as we learned afterwards); it was a new experience to him—these queer reminiscences of the Cameronian pulpit, these samples of Presbyterian eloquence displayed; but during the whole evening he never opened his lips."

This is a sample. "Shirley's" opinion of Jowett is that no one could have been as wise as Jowett looked. His face is compared to that of a cherub, but behind the infantile mask was an intellect massive and virile. But we must hasten on to Froude, who fills a great part of Dr. Skelton's volume, and as he knew Froude more closely than he knew any of the men of whom he writes, with the exception of Baynes, perhaps, the *Table-talk* is here proportionally valuable. We note many an engaging trait in Froude's character, and are permitted to share personal intimacies. Dr. Skelton has told us that of all his comrades Baynes possessed the noblest character; that Rossetti was the most

variously gifted; now he says that Froude "was 'the most interesting man" he had ever known, "a high and pure spirit," and, he adds, "the most steadfastly friendly." The portrait drawn for us is the more impressive from the fact that it was limned when the loss of his friend was quite recent. Froude's

> "presence was striking—coal-black eyes, wonderfully lustrous and luminous—'eyes full of genius, the glow from within;' coal-black hair, only latterly streaked with gray; massive features, strongly lined—massive yet mobile, and capable of the subtlest play of expression."

He retained much of his physical vigour until almost the close of his life, and could still handle his fishing-rod and gun and the tiller of his yacht, and be boyishly elate. The popular estimate of him as being cynical and reserved and proud was, "Shirley" assures us, far from the truth. "He was a singularly bright and vivacious companion; his smile was as winning as a woman's." In congenial society he was a most suggestive talker over a vast range of subjects, which he would light up with his knowledge and eloquence. He was severe in his treatment of all sorts of shams and charlatans; he had a passionate scorn of meanness and truckling, and an equally passionate reverence for truth, and could hit hard when roused. His standard of right was very high. His opinions might change—indeed, he had little respect for men who adopted as their motto, "I change not;" but he was absolutely sincere, though he cared little for the reputation for consistency.

The man is disclosed in these beautiful letters, which reflect the mood of the moment as a mirror. They relate to all kinds of subjects—to literature, history, philosophy, politics, friendship, &c. Froude's correspondence with "Shirley" began in 1860, when Froude undertook the editorship of *Frazer's Magazine*, and the last letter is dated June 22nd, 1894. Some of the letters refer to his *History of England*. We see him in the Record Office sorting papers, hunting for side-lights on his studies in old dusty ballads, like those relating to the death of Darnley, in which "the whole tragedy

is told in that wild, musical Scotch, which is like a voice out of another world;" or he journeys to Spain, seeking information in reference to the relations between James VI. and that country, in the archives of Simancas; or he visits various points in Scotland, to acquire local knowledge, and to steep his mind in local colouring. We get rapier thrusts at "the horrible creed" that punishes men for ever for making mistakes on the nature of the Trinity. Here is the germ, in a letter dated May 22nd, 1862, of the view of the character of Mary Stuart, which he elaborated later on: "Mary Stuart, from my point of view, was something between a Rachel and a pantheress." He had a sincere admiration for the Calvinists. "They were," he says, "the only fighting Protestants." They had courage to stand up for the Reformation, and if it had not been for them the Reformation would have been crushed. "The mass is a damnable imposture, which men degrade themselves in affecting to respect;" and much to the same effect.

His criticisms of his contemporaries in these letters are frank, but never ill-natured. Of Browning, he says:

> "Himself I admire extremely. I often wished for leisure to read him. I tried *Paracelsus* twenty years ago unsuccessfully, and this, I suppose, has prevented me from exciting myself about him as I ought."

Again, "I am sorry about Browning" (Dr. Skelton had written an article on Browning for *Frazer*). His "verse with intellect, thought, power, grace, all the charms in detail which poetry should have, rings after all like a bell of lead." Some will be surprised at the half-apology, half-eulogy, which marks his early estimate of Swinburne. He is not blind to the dross which is mixed with his pure gold; but he refuses to follow the philistines that "bite his heels," and finds some extenuation of "Swinburne's skits" in the prevalence of a Pharisaism that is utterly "without God and faith and heart." "There is much, of course," he says, "which is highly censurable, but much also of real beauty. He has real stuff in him." Froude has a kind word for the Devonshire postman-poet, Capern—"he is a fine musician by

nature," and his work "is a wild-flower growth, but real as far as it goes."

Many of Froude's letters relate to current politics. For these we must refer our readers to the *Table Talk*. His election to the Rectorship of St. Andrews in 1868 gratified him. His address on that occasion, on the subject of Modern Education, goes to show that "all education ought to be of a kind to help men to earn their living: the useful first, the beautiful, and the good even, afterwards."

When his *History of England* was completed he had to endure much keen and searching criticism. How he regarded his critics may be gathered from the following extract from a letter to "Shirley":

"I acknowledge to five real mistakes in the whole book—twelve volumes—about twenty trifling slips, equivalent to 'i's' not dotted, and 't's' not crossed, and that is all the utmost malignity has discovered. Every one of the rascals has made a dozen blunders of his own, too, while detecting mine."

Dr. Skelton's opinion in regard to the charges of inaccuracy brought against Froude is that no case has been made out. Froude, he asserts, took infinite pains, and his acquaintance with the intricacies of politics was, perhaps, unrivalled. It should not be forgotten that to a large extent Froude was a pioneer, and his mistakes are such as might be expected from one who is exploring a new country. As a History for the people, its sympathy with the noblest side of our national life, our love of freedom and our independence, its thoroughly Protestant tone, and its fascinating style, clear as the light of a transparent day in June, and unfailingly melodious, combine to make it unrivalled.

Froude's letters during the summer of 1870 are headed "Derreen, Kenmare." Here "Shirley" visited him and gives a pleasant picture of this place, standing in the midst of sub-tropical shrubs, and flanked by hills, bare on their higher ranges, but clothed with timber lower down. The glades are haunted by lovely birds and insects. The house looks out on a sea of amethyst. Here Froude studied the Kerry peasantry, worked at his books, and, in his leisure

hours, yachted and wooed Nature. We cannot linger over the many remaining letters. In 1871 he changed his political colours and became a disciple of Disraeli, whose life he was destined to write—the least worthy of all his books, owing, perhaps, to the fact that he never could be enthusiastically in love with the character of that clever statesman. It is somewhat painful to read Froude's perpetual girdings at Gladstone; they are so continual and often so bitter that we find it scarcely possible to accept Dr. Skelton's statement that Froude was absolutely superior to prejudice.

The "Carlyle Memoirs" occupy many letters, and suggest much comment. "Shirley" thinks that, in spite of the outbreak of outraged decorum, largely unreal, Froude has done more than any other man to enshrine Carlyle in the esteem of England and the world as a man of genius and high purpose. Froude's *Oceana*, written after a visit to the Australian colonies in 1884-1885, "Shirley" deems one of his most brilliant books, showing no sign of decay in the veteran author. It is, however, we cannot forget, one of his most inaccurate. His closing years are not so bright as we could have wished. "I creep more into my shell," he says, "love my friends better, and care less for the rest of mankind." He takes a gloomy view of the political world. More is thought about the rigging of parties than of the welfare of the country. He soon tired of the Chair of Modern History at Oxford, which Lord Salisbury had given him, and was (during the early summer of 1894) projecting another voyage, when he sickened and died in October, entering unfamiliar seas from which no barque has ever returned.

The remaining sections of the volume are the least interesting, and that on Disraeli is disfigured by an excessive hero worship. The book, however, with some qualifications on account of its sombre tone and rather hopeless outlook, is one of genuine worth. A fine spirit breathes through it, and a beautiful, humane, true man reflects his own character in the pages he has penned concerning his friends.

ART. V.—CHARITY ENDOWED AND UNENDOWED.

1. *Forty-second Report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales.* 1895.
2. *General Digest of Endowed Charities in England and Wales.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1877.
3. *Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Treasury, 1893, to inquire into the Department of the Charity Commission.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. 1895.
4. *Report from the Select Committee on the Charity Commission.* 1894.
5. *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education.* 1895.

THOUGH the Charity Commission is generally recognised as an eminently useful Department, its proceedings are not of a nature to arouse much public interest, and the fact that it forms the subject of two recent Parliamentary Reports—the one by a Departmental Committee of the Treasury, appointed in 1893, and the other by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1894—and that it also occupies a considerable place in the Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895, has, therefore, probably attracted little attention.

These Reports, especially when studied in connection with the last Report of the Department, are, however, well worthy of consideration. In the first place they deal with the important question as to whether the work of the Commission should continue to be carried on by a Board, or should be placed under the control of a Minister of the Crown—a proposal which, owing to the great political, social, and

industrial changes of the last twenty years, has been frequently mooted since 1887, and which various causes have now combined to bring again into prominence. The Local Government Act, 1894, has in no ordinary degree affected the scope and condition of the Commission, both by providing an unexpected expansion of its jurisdiction, which has been gravely affected by certain important judgments on the construction of the Charitable Trusts Acts, delivered by the Court of Appeal during the present year; and also by conveying a distinct recognition of the judicial character recently attributed to it.* In addition to this the procedure of the Department under the Endowed Schools Acts cannot fail to be affected by the share which it is proposed to give to rural and urban local authorities in the work of Secondary Education. It has been recommended by the Royal Commission that the work now done by the Charity Commissioners as regards educational endowments should be transferred to the new Educational Council which it proposes to create.†

In the next place, the proposals for the conversion of the Charity Commission into an ordinary Government Department suggest other considerations besides those relating to their effect on its functions and organisation. Despite their dissimilarity and entire independence of each other, the Charity Commission, the Poor Law, and the great body of Unendowed Charities must, practically speaking, be regarded as united by the bond of their great primary purpose, and the identity of the objects of many of the bodies controlled by or forming them, into one great threefold system for the administration of that law of natural charity which—to quote a great Christian philanthropist—"recognises in each the same right to live, and imposes upon us all, according to our power, the obligation to sustain the life of others as we sustain our own." "Charity" is a term, the wide range of

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* *Report of the Charity Commission*, 1895, pp. 20, 21.

† *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, p. 289; *Report of the Select Committee on Charity Commission*, p. v.

which has, perhaps, never been more neatly indicated than in the well-known lines of Pope—

> "In Faith and Hope the world will disagree,
> But all mankind's concern is Charity."*

In the popular mind it is associated almost exclusively with almsgiving. As judicially defined, however, it is "a general public use that extends to the poor as well as the rich;" and the extensive sense in which it is used in English law is shown by the variety of purposes comprised under it in the Act of Queen Elizabeth's reign known as the Statute of Charitable Uses.† Under that statute it includes:

The "relief of aged, impotent, and poor people;" the "maintenance of sick soldiers and marines, schools of learning, free schools, and scholars in Universities;" the "repair of bridges, ports, havens, causeways, churches, sea-banks, and highways;" the "education and preferment of orphans," and the "relief, stock, or maintenance for houses of correction;" the "marriages of poor maids" and the "supportation, aid, and help of young tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and persons decayed;" "the relief or redemption of prisoners or captives;" and the "aid or ease of any poor inhabitants concerning payments of fifteens, setting out of soldiers, and other taxes."

It is through the different modes adopted for carrying out the manifold objects comprised under the head of charity, and the attitude adopted by the State with regard to them, that the three distinct branches of charitable administration have arisen. By the Poor Law, which confers a statutory force on the ethical law of charity as defined above, the State has assumed absolute control of a charitable fund raised by taxation and administered by local authorities, annually elected by popular suffrage. In the case of the Unendowed Charities, the existence of which must necessarily be regarded as precarious, it has followed the opposite principle of allowing unrestricted liberty to voluntary associations, many of them having no corporate existence, which have to rely solely on voluntary contributions for carrying out their manifold objects. As regards permanent charities

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* *Essay on Man*, Ep. iii., line 307.
† 43 Eliz., c. 4 (1601).

created by endowments of real or personal property, it has adopted, so to speak, a middle course, and granted to them a limited amount of State aid by establishing in the Charity Commission a permanent central authority which guarantees the security of their property, and ensures, by means of supervision and advice, the good management of their affairs. The Charity Commission may, therefore, be regarded as to some extent constituting the central member of this triple group, and the suggestions for its reorganisation derive additional importance from the fact, that both of the other two with which it is thus connected are also generally recognised as standing in need of reform. It may, therefore, be useful to review the history, functions, and work of the Department, and to consider the bearing of the proposals for its reconstitution in relation to the general question of Endowed and Unendowed Charity.

1. Though it has not yet completed its fifty years of existence as a Department, the Charity Commission can, in one sense, claim an earlier origin than the Poor Law, since its jurisdiction is derived from the Courts of Equity, and provides for the systematic and continuous application of powers which were formerly exercised solely and in an occasional and intermittent fashion by them.* From the earliest times the State has endeavoured to aid persons disposed to devote their substance to charitable objects by means of judicial inquiry into the administration of their gifts. Prior to the passing of the Statute of Charitable Uses, in 1601, by which the Poor Law system was established, the Court of Chancery had an inherent right to intervene in such cases, and by that Act the Lord Chancellor was empowered to issue a Commission directed to the Bishop of the Diocese, and four Commissioners, to inquire, by a jury, concerning charities—a cumbrous and not always effective procedure, which fell into disuse from the middle of the last century, and was replaced by proceedings by the Attorney-General

* *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, pp. 19, 20; *Report of the Departmental Committee of the Treasury*, p. 4.

taken under the original jurisdiction of the Court. The Statute thus left the initiative of all proceedings prescribed by it to the Court and its officers or representatives, and as it did not impose any obligation upon the administrators of charitable funds to give publicity to, or to render, or even to keep accounts of their expenditure, it is not surprising to find that no general record of charitable donations is known to have existed until Parliament began to take up the matter actively towards the close of the last century. After the passing of the Gilbert Act, in 1786, returns of charitable donations began to be presented to the House of Commons, and in 1812 the 52 Geo. III. c. 102, provided for the registration of statements of the property, income, and objects of every charity, with the names of the trustees, in the offices of the Clerk of the Peace for each county, and for their transmission to the Enrolment Office of the Court of Chancery. The provisions of this Act appear to have been only very partially complied with, and the Reports of the Committee appointed, in 1816, to inquire into "the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis" led, two years later, to the passing of an Act which established a Commission of Inquiry into Educational Charities—an inquiry extended, in 1819, to all the charities of England and Wales. From 1818 to 1867 this and three other similar Commissions were, with two brief intervals, in continuous operation, and during the sixteen years subsequent to the final Report of that of 1867 numerous attempts were made by successive Governments, as well as by individuals, to pass through Parliament Bills providing a summary and expeditious jurisdiction for dealing alike with the property and administration of charitable endowments. In 1853, however, this object was at length attained by the establishment of the Charity Commission, under the Charitable Trusts Act of that year, introduced by Lord Cranworth, the provisions of which have been amended by a series of enactments* extending from 1853 to 1893; and

* *Cf. General Digest of Charities*, p.p. 4-8. Among this series may be noted the Charitable Trusts Amendment Act, 1865; the Charitable

twenty years later the Department was reconstituted in its present form under the Endowed Schools Act, 1894. The functions and powers of the Endowed Schools Commission, established under the Endowed Schools Acts, 1869 and 1873, "for making schemes for the better government and management of endowed schools," were by that Act transferred to the Charity Commission, which was increased by the addition of two Commissioners, who exercise the same powers as their colleagues, and may thus act under the Charitable Trusts Acts as well as under the Endowed Schools Acts.* As at present constituted, the Commission consists of one chief Commissioner and of second, third, and fourth Commissioners, and a secretary; the fourth Commissioner, who is unpaid, having a seat in the House of Commons, and being appointed by the Administration for the time being, and quitting office on its resignation.†

Though the whole Commission has a collective responsibility for the administration of both sets of statutes, it is manifest that the jurisdiction it exercises under the Charitable Trusts Acts is entirely distinct from that conferred on it by the Endowed Schools Acts.

Its powers under the Charitable Trusts Acts for the general supervision of charitable endowments are partly judicial and partly administrative. Of the former class are those enabling the Commissioners to give relief or protection upon applications made to them on behalf of a charity, by issuing orders for securing the safe custody and investment of the property of charities; for diminishing the cost of legal proceedings; and generally aiding and controlling the administration of trustees, especially—and this forms a great part of their work—by giving advice for their protection

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Trusts Act, 1860; the Charitable Trusts Act, 1869; the City of London Parochial Charities Acts, 1885 and 1893; the Charitable Trusts (Recovery) Act, 1891; the Charitable Enquiries Expenses Act, 1892.

* These Acts are temporary, and since 1882 have been prolonged annually by the Expiring Laws Continuance Act.

† It has at its disposal the following Staff:—Two Assistant Secretaries, eight Assistant Commissioners, and two Accountants, and four chief and fifty subordinate clerks, besides a certain number of messengers.

and assistance. It is this—the judicial—portion of its duties which is chiefly affected by the Local Government Act, 1894, which, by the creation of representative local authorities throughout the country, has, as stated by the Commissioners, satisfied the need felt by them for the interposition of an authority entitled to speak in the name of the interested localities, as to questions arising between the local administrators of individual charities and their Board as the agent of central control.* The direct bearing of the Act, as respects charitable endowments, is mainly concerned with the work of appointing trustees, considerable powers in this respect being granted to Parish Councils and Parish Meetings, subject in some, but not in all, respects to the approval of the Commissioners. It is also provided that notice may be given to these local authorities of schemes proposed by the Charity Commissioners, and that the accounts of all non-ecclesiastical charities shall be rendered, and the names of all beneficiaries of dole charities shall be communicated to the Parish Council or Parish Meeting.

Of their administrative functions, which are exercisable by the Commissioners of their own motion over all charities alike, the most important are those enabling them to secure information as to the property of charitable endowments and its disposal, and to render such information generally accessible. Trustees and administrators are required to transmit full accounts of their receipts and expenditure annually to the Commissioners, and, in the case of parochial charities, to deliver them to the churchwardens for the inspection of the vestry; while the Commissioners are empowered to hold inquiries, when necessary, into charities, and to give efficient expression to the doctrine of *cy-près*, as administered by the Courts of Equity, by framing schemes for adapting their administration to the altered circumstances, whether of the charity property, of the locality, or of the society generally. The results of this branch of the work of the Commissioners have been made available for the

* *Forty-second Report of the Commissioners*, p. 21.

public by the preparation of a general digest of all endowed charities, which was first suggested by the Commissioners in 1861, and completed in its original form in 1876, and which is now being amplified by the publication of a series of supplementary digests.

While the principles by which it is guided, the provisions for appeal on various points to the Chancery Division of the High Court, and the nature of the means by which its authority is ultimately enforced, combine to manifest the legal origin of the jurisdiction of the Charity Commission, it has—though subject to the ordinary financial control of the Treasury—no organic connection with any Minister or Government Department, so far as relates to its work under the Charitable Trusts Acts. Under the Endowed Schools Acts, however, the Commission is brought into definite though incomplete relation with the Education Department.* The jurisdiction of the Commissioners under these Acts is not generally administrative, but is directed to the single object of making original or amending schemes for the endowments concerned;† and though they enjoy greater powers of initiation than under the Charitable Trusts Acts, their action is minutely regulated by Acts of Parliament. An appeal lies in many directions against their decisions, not to Chancery but to the Privy Council, while ministerial control is also exercised by the Vice-President of the Committee of the Council on Education over the schemes submitted to the Education Department.‡ The Commissioners are empowered to make and amend schemes in any case, without application on the part of the local trustees, and to visit for the purpose of inquiring into details of administration; but the ultimate responsibility of these schemes, so far as questions of public policy are concerned, rests entirely with the Education Department. It is important, however, to bear in mind that the authority of the Commissioners over educational endowments is not derived wholly from the

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* *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, pp. 25, 26.
† *Ibid.*, p. 21.
‡ *Report of the Committee of Treasury*, p. 4.

Endowed Schools Acts. They exercise a much older and more permanent, although more limited, jurisdiction in this respect under the Charitable Trusts Acts, by which they were constituted guardians of the funds of endowed schools, the trustees and governing bodies being required to render them annual accounts, as well as to apply to them for relief from certain legal disabilities largely affecting the educational administration of the endowments under which they are placed by these Acts.* The Commissioners are also empowered to conduct inspection for certain purposes, such as that of ascertaining whether the provisions of any existing scheme are duly carried out under the Charitable Trusts Acts, though owing to the greater educational experience possessed by the staff under the Endowed Schools Acts, they find it preferable to do so under the latter.†

It will be evident from this sketch of its functions that the Charity Commission, besides being the central authority for the administration of endowed charities, is also, as pointed out in the Report of the Royal Commission, the nearest approach we have yet had to a Department of Secondary Education, and the extent and variety of the work it performs in this twofold capacity cannot fail to strike all who care to examine the last Report of the Commissioners.

In the exercise of its judicial functions under the Charitable Trusts Acts, the Board made 3,130 orders during 1894, as compared with 2,811 in 1891 and 3,113 in 1893. Of these 404 were for the appointment or removal of trustees, the establishment of schemes for the regulation of charities or for vesting their real estate; others being for the grant of building and other leases, or the expenditure of funds on improvements; others in the form of opinions and advice

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* *Report of the Select Committee*, 1894, p. 4.

† Eton and Winchester are wholly exempted from the inspection of the Commissioners, but may apply to have the benefit of the Charitable Trusts Acts extended to them; while various other classes of schools are liable to inspection under these Acts, but are exempted from it under the Endowed Schools Acts.—*Report of the Royal Commission*, p. 24.

for the indemnity of trustees and others, for the taxation of bills of costs, for the transfer of stock or payment of money to the official trustees of charitable funds, besides a variety of other purposes. The extent to which this branch of work has been diverted from the Courts of Equity to the Commissioners is shown by the fact, that after the passing of the Charitable Trusts Act, 1860, the number of applications of this class, exclusive of such as related to the vesting of real estate, made to Chancery or to the County Courts, sunk from 1,279 between the years 1854 and 1860 to 98 between 1861 and 1870; while during the same decade the number of orders made by the Commissioners rose from *nil* to 3,056. The sum produced by the sale of real property during 1894 was £187,067 13s. 6d., the amounts thus realised during the last ten years ranging from £104,143 in 1886 up to £321,299 in 1888; while the total number of orders of this class made by the Commissioners since 1853 was 8,670, realising over £8,000,000. The extent of the financial transactions of the Board is sufficiently shown by the fact that the total sum of stocks and investments held by the official trustees of charitable funds, which in 1863 was £1,634,045 17s. 8d., amounted on the 31st December, 1894, to £17,208,686 16s. 6d., divided into 17,949 separate accounts. This judicial work of the Commissioners has already been increased, and—as the existence of Parish Councils will doubtless tend to add to the cases brought to their notice—is probably destined to be still further augmented by the duty imposed upon them by sect. 75 (ii.) of the Local Government Act, 1894, of judicially determining, subject to an appeal to the High Court, questions arising upon those of its provisions which relate to charities. The main question on which the influx of applications to the Board has at present centred, is whether or not a particular charity is ecclesiastical or parochial; but many additional problems must arise for solution, owing to the neglect of the framers of the Act, both to define the terms "Public Purposes," "Parish Property," and "Allotments," and also to provide for the appointment of endow-

ments partially excluded from its operation, as well as for cases where parishes entitled to the benefit of charities have been divided by or in pursuance of it.*

With regard to the administrative work of the Commissioners under the Charitable Trusts Acts, the Report shows that the number of the returns of accounts of charities made to the office, which in 1891, 1892, and 1893, numbered 23,818, 23,272, and 31,325 respectively, has during the past year, risen to 36,588, while 640 charities, of which no record existed in the Reports of the Commissioners for inquiring into charities during the years 1818 to 1837, have been added to the register of unreported charities. The particulars also of 920 Nonconformist chapels, dealt with by orders of the Board in previous years, are for the first time included in the register, and bring the total number of charities recorded on the 31st December, 1894, up to 19,335. Though a certain number of these are of ancient foundation, the large majority are charities which may be classed as modern—a fact which amply controverts the statement, sometimes confidently made, that recent legislation and the proceedings of the Board in carrying out its provisions have had the effect of checking the benevolence of founders. During the past twenty years separate gifts of £1,000 each and upwards have been made to the amount of £8,000,000 for education, church purposes, purposes of Nonconformist bodies, almshouses and pensions, medical relief, hospitals and nursing, distribution to the poor, and other public uses, such as parks, recreation grounds, &c., &c. The number of new charities created in each year and reported, averages about 500, and there appears to have been a tendency towards an increase in this number concurrently with the passing of the Charitable Trusts Acts, the Endowed Schools Acts, and the City of London Parochial Charities Acts, 1883 and 1893, under the last named of which four important institutes for the promotion of technical and general education—the Borough Road and the Battersea Polytechnics, and the Bishopsgate

* *Forty-second Report of the Charity Commission* (1895), pp. 6-10, 21-23.

and the St. Bride's Institutes—were opened during 1894. During the year, also, steady progress has been made in the work of compiling supplementary digests of charities, which, when those of Bedford, Devon, Hertford, Lancaster, and Northumberland have been finished, will have been completed for 35 out of the 52 ancient counties of England and Wales, and which has been further facilitated by the passing of the Charities Inquiries Expenses Act, 1892. In every case of an inquiry by the Commissioners under this statute, a return is presented to Parliament upon every parish in the county, whether found to contain charities subject to their jurisdiction or not; while County Councils and Councils of County Boroughs are empowered to contribute towards the cost of such inquiries—a course already adopted by the counties of Glamorgan,* Anglesey and Flint, and the county boroughs of Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Sheffield. Inquiries with respect to all of these, to the West Riding of York, the county of Merioneth, the Administrative County of London, and the parishes of Richmond Petersham, and Kew, in the county of Surrey, have been begun during 1894, and many of them completed.†

Lastly, under their jurisdiction under the Endowed Schools Acts and the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, 1889, the Commissioners during the past year published 33 draft schemes, with an income of £40,545 for England, and one with an income of £2,500 for Wales and Monmouth, and submitted 32 schemes with an income of £117,954 for England, and nine schemes with an income of £2,500 for Wales, to the Committee of the Council on Education; while the Royal Assent was given to 29 schemes with an income of £134,653 for England, and to nine schemes with an income of £39,082 for Wales, none of the former, and only five of the latter, being laid before Parliament. The

* This is the only county which has, so far, volunteered to contribute the *whole* cost of an inquiry, though each of the five Yorkshire boroughs above mentioned have done so; other counties have contributed only half.—*Report*, 1894, p. 20.

† *Report of the Charity Commission*, 1894, pp. 10-20, 27, 28.

aggregate number of schemes published, submitted, and approved, taken exclusively of schemes under the Welsh Act, considerably exceeds the aggregate of any year since 1882; while the work of inspection of schools, and other endowments regulated by schemes under the Acts, though somewhat restricted, covered the four secondary schools on the Harpur Foundation at Bedford, two schools in Dunstable, three in Cambridgshire, two in Devonshire, one in Notts, three in Suffolk, and eight foundations in London south of the Thames.* During the quarter of a century that has elapsed since the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, schemes have been framed for no less than 902 endowments in England (excluding Monmouth and Wales), leaving only 546 endowments, out of a total of 1,448 endowments in England, known to be subject to the Acts, which have not felt the reforming hand of the Commissioners, and it is estimated that at the rate of progress hitherto maintained, it would take about nine years more to make schemes for the latter.

II. The Select Committee of 1884, while advocating its reform, record their opinion that, "on the whole the country has benefitted greatly" by the labours of the Charity Commission, and it will be evident from the above necessarily imperfect survey of its departmental work, that the steady increase in its business, and the expansion of its far-reaching sphere of action, may not unfairly be regarded as conclusive proofs that it has, in the main, well fulfilled the purpose for which, after several years of careful deliberation, it was primarily established by Parliament over forty years ago. This is a fact which must not be overlooked in considering the proposals for its reconstitution, because, though some of the less important of these relate to the administration of the Charitable Trusts Acts—as to which the Commissioners themselves suggest various legislative changes†—they must be held to be in the main suggested by the existence of

* *Report of the Charity Commission*, 1894, pp. 36, 37; App., p. 147.

† *Report of the Select Committee*, p. v.; *Report of the Committee of the Treasury*, p. 7.

certain obvious defects with respect to its jurisdiction under the Endowed Schools Acts.

Though educational endowments do not constitute more than one-fourth of the aggregate of those dealt with under the Charitable Trusts Acts, and the business connected with them forms but a small proportion of the total transacted by the Commissioners, the jurisdiction, while less extensive in power than that of the Endowed Schools Acts, includes a large number of endowments not affected by the latter, and when the area of jurisdiction is common to the two, exercises a more permanent and pervading influence. It controls trustees and governing bodies at every stage of their work—the disposal or acquisition of school sites, the erection of buildings, the borrowing of money, and the pensioning of masters or mistresses—and it is found that questions of finance are inextricably involved in its operation, failure to observe the educational provisions of a scheme being in many cases attributable to financial embarrassments, from which the endowment can be relieved only by the administrative action of the Charity Commissioners. Its scope may be estimated by the fact that while the repeal of the Charitable Trusts Acts would oblige trustees to have recourse to the lengthy and expensive procedure of the Chancery Division of the High Court, that of the Endowed Schools Acts would merely terminate a particular mode of reorganising educational endowments; and the extent to which it affects endowments for which a scheme has been made under the Endowed Schools Acts, is shown by the fact that down to 1893 the Commissioners had, in the exercise of their ordinary jurisdiction, made as many as 295 schemes amending schemes made under these Acts. In addition to this, the procedure necessary before any scheme can come into operation consists of no less than twelve distinct steps, and—owing largely to the frequent and necessary reference to local authorities—is so protracted that, as stated by Mr. Fearon, Secretary to the Charity Commission, in his evidence before the Select Committee of 1894, "however non-contentious, it hardly ever passes under a year, and

sometimes takes several years to get through." * Lastly, the Education Department possesses no direct influence as regards proceedings relating to schemes submitted to it by the Charity Commission, until a complete scheme, often the outcome of long negotiations between the Commissioners and the locality concerned, is laid before it, and all these anomalies and difficulties appear to be traceable to the two-fold constitution of the Commission. Under the Charitable Trusts Acts, it is an extension of the old Court of Chancery —a judicial body with administrative functions—while under the Endowed Schools Acts, it is the delegate of Parliament, with functions more largely legislative than judicial. Its legislative functions have been affected on the one hand, by their too intimate association with the judicial body, and, on the other, by their comparative independence of the Ministry; and while the Minister, the Vice-President of the Council, possesses only a sort of quasi-responsibility for the schemes he formally approves, the Commissioners experience an increasing difficulty with regard to their endowed schools work, owing to the want of a motive force, only obtainable through closer relations with him.† It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the evidence on the subject taken by the Commission on Secondary Education, appears, on the whole, to show a consensus of opinion as to the desirability of relieving the Charity Commissioners from their jurisdiction under the Endowed Schools Acts.

That this evidence should also exhibit a somewhat bewildering conflict of opinion with respect to the means by which, and the extent to which this should be effected, was also to be anticipated from the number and gravity of the difficulties caused by the composite constitution and functions of the Board. The Select Committee of 1894 are of opinion that the weakness of the Charity Commission, the position of which they consider has become somewhat

* *Report*, ques. 2121.

† *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, pp. 20-26, 93; *Report of the Select Committee*, 1894, p. v.

analogous to that of the old Poor Law Board dissolved in 1847, arises largely from the "jealousy on the part of Parliament of public departments not brought in the usual way under its control;" and, following the proposals of the Select Committee of 1884 on Education and that of 1886 on the Endowed Schools Acts, they recommend the establishment of a Board of Education under a President, to whom the supervision and control of endowments of endowed schools should be transferred.* The Departmental Committee of the Treasury, on the other hand, consider that in matters of the kind dealt with by the Charity Commissioners, "the action of a Board carries more weight with the public than the action of a single individual, with whose personality the operations of his department would inevitably become identified in the public mind;" and "that pressure from localities interested in charities, or from general interests affected by schemes, can be resisted much more easily by a board than by an individual." They are, therefore, of opinion that it is not desirable that the general operations of the department should be placed under a Minister of the Crown, and confine themselves to recommending various changes in its administration.† The Royal Commission on Secondary Education, to whom both these Reports were submitted, reduces the views of the eighty-five witnesses it examined‡ to the four following types:—That the Charity Commission ought to be placed under the Minister of Education, either (1) so far as concerns its powers and jurisdiction under the Endowed Schools Acts as distinguished from the Charitable Trusts Acts; or (2) so far as it has educational as distinguished from legal functions under either set of Acts; or (3) so far as it has concern with educational endowments under either set of Acts; or (4)

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* *Report*, pp. v.-vi. † *Report*, pp. 5-7.

‡ Among these may be noted Sir H. Longley, Chief Commissioner of the Charity Commission; Sir G. Young and Mr. Richmond, Commissioners under the Endowed Schools Acts; Mr. Stevenson, former Parliamentary Commissioner; Mr. Fearon, Secretary to the Commission; Sir W. Hart Dyke; Mr. Roby, Secretary to the Schools Endowment Commission; and the Bishop of London.

simply as a whole. The first of these proposals, which is supported by Sir George Young and the Bishop of London, the Commissioners regard as calculated to hand over the Educational Endowments to the Commission as charitable trusts, while leaving certain important schools without any relation to the educational authority, and thus fatal to effective organisation. The second, advocated by Sir Henry Longley, would, they think, go far towards paralysing the educational authority, especially where it most needed support; while they are of opinion that the fourth scheme, which was strongly urged by Mr. Fearon and Mr. Roby, though it had much to commend it, involved too many issues lying outside their province to be included in their conclusions. Though of opinion that it lies open to the grave objection that it would create two Charity Commissions, necessitating the discussion of many embarrassing questions on the limits of the province of each, they consider that these disadvantages are outweighed by the advantages of the third proposal, which was suggested by Lord Davey, long standing counsel of the Charity Commission; and they therefore recommend the transfer to the new central authority for Secondary Education, which they propose to create, of the work as to educational endowments now done by the Charity Commissioners, but without prejudice to any existing right of appeal to the courts of law from their decisions.

III. Weighty as the conclusions of the Royal Commission must be held to be, it must be remembered that the question of the general administration of charity lay beyond the scope of its inquiry, and that the evidence submitted to it was obtained with the view of subserving the interests of only one of its manifold purposes—that of education. It is, therefore, only natural to find that the chief object of most of the recommendations made by it is to safeguard the interests of educational trusts, by consigning them to the charge of a Ministerial department, irrespective of the effects of this course upon those that are non-educational. This tendency is strikingly illustrated by the suggestion that their administration should be entrusted to the proposed

new educational authority—a proposal, the probable results of which may suggest to some a comparison with the effect on the administration of colonial affairs produced by the delegation, on the eve of the Crimean War, of the functions now discharged by the Secretary of State for War to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Though, however, it was to be expected that at the present time, when the question of education, both primary and secondary, is so prominently before the public, the non-educational functions of the Charity Commissioners, which have never attracted much notice, should be temporarily eclipsed by their educational ones, it will generally be admitted that the former are far too important to be altogether ignored in considering the reconstruction of the department. As already stated, education is but one of the purposes comprised under the definition of charity in the Statute of Charitable Uses,* nor is it the only one which has assumed sufficient importance to necessitate its being placed under the control of a specially constituted authority, and thus removed, practically speaking, from the scope of that definition. "The relief of aged, impotent, and poor people" has now fallen chiefly on the Poor Law authorities. The "repair of bridges, posts, havens, causeways, churches, sea banks and highways" has ceased to be dependent on charitable donations. The State has undertaken the supervision of "houses of correction," and controls "the redemption of prisoners and captives;" and "the aid of poor inhabitants concerning payments of taxes" can no longer be regarded as a charitable purpose. The apprehension of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education as to the dangers of creating a second Charity Commission for educational purposes recalls, moreover, the fact that functions in many respects analagous to those of the Charity Commissioners are already exercised by other specially created authorities, as regards several classes of bodies, which, though not strictly charities, are established for purposes of

* *Cf.*, p. 78, *ante*.

a quasi-charitable nature—by the Friendly Societies' Office with respect to all the various associations of self-help; by the Savings' Bank Inspection Committee with respect to trustee, and by the Postmaster-General with respect to Post-office savings' banks; and by the National Debt Commissioners, who are entrusted with the care of all savings' banks deposits and a large proportion of the investments of friendly societies.

If, therefore, it is desirable, as appears to be generally conceded, to entrust educational endowments, which, as Lord Davey forcibly observes, must be regarded as "a public fund appropriated to education," to the control of a specially created authority, the proposal advocated by him for the complete separation of educational from non-educational charities appears to offer the means of effecting this which is best calculated to further the interests of the latter. While the adoption of this scheme is not likely to impair the efficiency of the Charity Commission, it would increase its powers for dealing with the work of the general administration of charity which has been so largely augmented by the Local Government Act, 1894, and would also give it an opportunity of extending the scope of its operations in two directions in which such an extension seems eminently desirable—the regulation of unendowed charities and the promotion of co-operation between these, the Poor Law authorities, and itself.

The sum spent in what is termed private or voluntary charity has never been calculated, but is estimated to amount to many millions a year, and the increase in the societies which collect and disburse it is one of the most remarkable features of the great philanthropic movement which has advanced so enormously during the last fifty years. Admirable as are the objects of such bodies, their usefulness is impaired by defects, the gravity and extent of which have recently been very clearly exposed in a valuable article in the *Economic Review*.* Like endowed charities

* October, 1895, art. iii.: "The Administration of Charity," by Miss Louisa Twining.

at the close of the last century, such societies are under no obligation to render or even keep accounts, and being, unlike the former, fettered by no conditions of any kind, are absolutely unrestricted in their dealings with the funds placed at their disposal. Though, owing to the integrity of the large majority of their founders, and the necessity of substantiating their claims to support, they do almost universally publish a balance sheet, the bulk of those who maintain them by their subscriptions possess as little control over the administration of their gifts as they have over alms bestowed on a beggar in the street. Created mainly by individual effort, without consultation with other workers as to the need for their establishment, they spring up spontaneously; and as no record is preserved of their number or objects, almost the sole evidence of their existence consists in their appeals to the public by circulars and advertisements—frequently pleading the same claims and as frequently urging the necessity of discharging a portentous debt—the increasing flood of which is beginning to arouse unmistakable signs of a general disapproval of the system. More injurious, however, than any of these evils to the interests of charity, is—what the writer in the *Economic Review* terms the "overlapping of societies"—due to the establishment of fresh ones without any reference to those already existing on similar lines; a tendency which may be illustrated by the fact that the *Church Calendar* of 1894 contains a list of *sixty* societies which have been demonstrated to be advantageously reducible to *fifteen* by means of classification and amalgamation.* Though liberty and independence of action are justly regarded as the essence and glory of English charity, these shortcomings prove that unrestricted liberty, even in the sphere of benevolence, cannot fail to prove injurious to the results of the best-intentioned individual efforts as well as to the community at large. The benefits of limited State control in the case of endowed charities has been abundantly proved; and

* *Economic Review*, p. 4; and *cf.* a paper entitled *Broadcast Benevolence*, Treacher, Brighton.

another illustration of its advantages, still more applicable to those that are unendowed, is furnished by the progress of friendly and other kindred societies under the system of registration established by the Friendly Societies' Acts, which, while allowing societies the full control of their internal affairs, obliges them to conduct them in the manner best calculated to ensure their stability and protect the interests of their members. Facilities are also provided under these Acts for the amalgamation of societies with kindred objects, and it seems hard to resist the conclusion that a similar system of registration under the Charity Commission would very largely enhance the usefulness of unendowed charities, by securing them a legal status and a systematic supervision of their administration, as well as by uniting them in a common organisation.

Lastly, the same "overlapping" which has been noticed with respect to unendowed charities, may be said to prevail in a large measure with regard to the three great branches of charitable administration. In addition to the millions expended annually in private charity, the nation spends £900,000 a year on Poor Law administration, and has devoted to charitable endowments—which show a larger increase, both as regards greatness and variety, during the present half century than during any other similar period since the Reformation—a total sum exceeding £17,000,000. When it is remembered that in every large town and in many country parishes these three costly agencies are working for similar purposes—almsgiving, providing shelter for the destitute, and supplying relief in sickness, &c., &c.—in complete independence of each other, it must be evident that the enormous waste, both in expenditure and in power, thus produced, must continue to increase until some system of united action is substituted for that of competition between them.*

* It should be noted to its credit that the Charity Organisation Society, founded in 1869, has now been carrying on the work of furthering such co-operation in the Metropolitan Poor Law District for over a quarter of a century.

It has been shown that the Charity Commission, in virtue of its history, constitution, and functions, may be regarded as occupying a central position with respect to the Poor Law and unendowed charities, and this fact seems to render it especially well calculated to serve as a basis for promoting systematic co-operation between the three. The primary need for such systematic co-operation appears to be a recognised centre, to which application could be made for all information regarding the administration of charity; and the Charity Commission, which has already rendered so much valuable service of a kindred nature by the publication of its *Digest of Charities*, seems eminently qualified to perform such an office. Such information might, perhaps, be advantageously disseminated by the establishment of Bureaus of Inquiry throughout the country, to which both those desirous of obtaining charitable relief and those wishing to provide it for others might apply for advice, and which might also serve as central agencies for the charitable work of the district. Whatever be the means adopted for carrying it out, however, few will probably contest the desirability of the end. The benefits of co-operation between boards of guardians and voluntary charity have long been acknowledged, and have been recently forcibly pointed out in the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor*. That similar advantages would result from the co-operation of endowed and unendowed charities—such, for example, as hospitals and voluntary medical dispensaries—is equally obvious; and the same may be said as regards endowed charities—such as almshouses and pension funds—and the Poor Law authorities. Though taken together they constitute one of the noblest philanthropic systems ever established by a nation, it must be generally admitted that the absence of any organic connection between endowed and unendowed charities and the Poor Law must tend to impair the results of the work of each, and that that work can only attain its highest value by the establishment of a system of hearty co-operation between them.

ART. VI.—THE MEMOIRS OF LADY EASTLAKE.

Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake. Edited by her nephew, CHARLES EASTLAKE SMITH. Two Vols. Murray.

M. HIPPOLYTE TAINE, in his brilliant and amusing *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, made merry over what he declared to be our insular habit of publishing in two huge volumes the correspondence of our departed worthies as a sort of mortuary honour. We can all of us recall some "modern instances" to which the distinguished critic's sarcasm might apply; but of this we are certain, that no one who has read Lady Eastlake's Letters and Journals will feel anything but gratitude to editor and publisher for a real intellectual treat. Lady Eastlake had a very full and very interesting life: she had a *beau role* and she played it well; she knew everyone of her day who was worth knowing, and she has described her contemporaries and experiences with a brilliancy, gaiety, and point, which we must go to French literature to match. A woman of remarkable gifts and sterling character, she wins your regard both by what she does and by what she is, and if admiration of her talent is the dominant feeling at first, you are conscious, as you close the book, of something like personal affection.

Elizabeth Rigby was born at Norwich in 1809. Her father, Dr. Edward Rigby, was a physician of considerable local reputation; a scholar and naturalist, and an active public man. He was an intimate friend of Jenner's, and was an ardent champion of vaccination when it was first introduced. Agriculture was his hobby, and he was as fond of planting as Sir Walter Scott. The possession of an estate at Framlingham, near Norwich, enabled him to divide his time very agreeably between scientific and bucolic pursuits. His second wife, the mother of Elizabeth, was a Miss Palgrave, of Yarmouth, a scion of a very ancient family. She was a clever woman, full of vigour and vitality, who

retained her faculties to a very advanced age. Her daughter records of her with gratitude that "she never allowed her children to have nerves."

Norwich must have been a very agreeable place of residence, in the early part of the century, for people of easy fortune and literary tastes. At that time all provincial talent was not, as now, swallowed up in the all engulfing whirlpool of London ; and at Norwich, as at Lichfield and Birmingham, there was a distinct literary and scientific movement—a stir of intellectual life, a mental atmosphere—which one only associates now with the society of the capital.

The names of Taylor, Barbauld, and Gurney, are only a few of those which shed a modest lustre on Elizabeth Rigby's birthplace, and from her very earliest childhood she enjoyed the inestimable blessing of companionship with cultured men and women. Dr. Rigby was anxious about the education of his children, and supplied them with every advantage. He died, however, when Elizabeth was eleven years old, after which her mother resided chiefly at Framlingham, and the daughter seems to have been left very much to her own devices in the matter of mental training.

At eight years of age her mother remarked of her that she was "very ambitious." She already showed tokens of that intense love of art which distinguished her whole life. In consequence of a serious illness, she was taken abroad in 1827, and spent nearly three years on the Continent, chiefly at Heidelberg, where she pursued her studies of art, and gained such a knowledge of German, that on her return she was competent to translate a book of the German art-critic, Passavant, on the *Art Collections of England*. In 1832, she spent a year studying art in London, and three years later paid a long visit to Germany, one result of which appeared in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, in the form of an article on Goethe.

The first work of hers that attracted any public notice was the volume of *Baltic Letters*, published in 1841. These letters were originally written to her own family in the course of a two years' stay in Russia with a married sister.

J. G. Lockhart, the biographer of Scott, and one of the first critics of his day, wrote to Murray, the publisher, about the book in enthusiastic terms.

"I wish the lady would score out a few fine words, but beyond these trifles, she is unassailable. I have no doubt she is the cleverest female writer now in England, the most original in thought and expression too; and she seems good besides, which, after all, has its charm even for old sinners like you and me. She is really quite first-rate in her pictures, and her little disquisitions too."

Up to this time it seems to have been doubtful whether Miss Rigby would make art or literature the object of her life. The success of the *Baltic Letters* decided the matter. Lockhart, at that time editor of the *Quarterly Review*, which with the *Edinburgh* divided the empire of criticism, and wielded an influence such as no periodicals have since attained, invited her to contribute to his journal, and sent her through Murray the encouraging message, "Pen against pencil; £1,000 to an orange, say I." But it was not, one may imagine, without a struggle that she made her choice; "my pen," she wrote, "has never been a favourite implement with me, the pencil is the child of my heart."

About this time she became intimately acquainted with Bishop Stanley, of Norwich, and his family; Dean Stanley, and his sister Catherine (Mrs. C. J. Vaughan), became her life-long friends; and she was ever ready to acknowledge what she owed to her intercourse with that remarkable household.

In October, 1842, Mrs. Rigby removed with her daughters to Edinburgh, where Elizabeth's connection with the *Quarterly Review* at once opened to her the doors of the best literary society in the "Modern Athens," which then had an importance as an intellectual centre which it can scarcely be said to possess now. The sunset of Scott's glorious day still brooded over his "own romantic town," and Jeffrey, Lockhart, "Christopher North," and Carlyle, were carrying on the traditions of Scottish genius. By birth, as well as talent, Miss Rigby took her place in the best society of the city, and at once became a personage.

At this time she was 33 years of age, a "strikingly handsome, imperial looking woman," a brilliant talker, gifted with considerable charm and dignity of manner, and a self-possession that never failed. The extracts from her note-books, written between 1840 and 1842 reveal something, not much, of the inner woman. Marie Bashkirtsell would have been an impossibility in the forties; and self-dissection found no favour with healthy-minded young women, such as Elizabeth Rigby pre-eminently was. "It is not in the nature of deep feelings," she writes, "to be always upon the lips." Even in her private note-book she is shy of self-revelation. Her religious sentiment is deep and genuine, but co-exists in these days with a certain narrowness and bitterness towards those of other communions. These notes, like all her writings, are remarkable rather for power of perception and expression, than for depth of insight or of sympathy. Her mind moves actively within certain well-defined boundaries, laid down by the social set in which she lived. Her opinions on religion, on government, on the position of women, on every topic that is beginning to stir the air with whispers of revolution, are those of the Toryism in which she had been trained. Thus the duty of the rich man is to bestow coal and blankets on the poor, and the duty of the poor man is to be properly grateful for the dole, and on no account to nourish any ambitious vision of becoming a dispenser of coal and blankets himself. It is the merest folly to dream of a state of things where the need for such eleemosynary eking out of man's labour shall be needless, for the "poor ye have always with you," and they are for ever to be meekly grateful for the graceful condescension of their "betters." "Woman is made to lean, man to support, and in the goodness of Providence a feeling of happiness belongs to the exercise of these respective propensities."

"The three orders in the Church," she writes, "are as much a portion of inspired doctrine as any other in the Scriptures. . . . . The Bible is not to be hauled over by every ignorant individual. The soundest doctrine is the soundest sense, and how few have much of the latter."

Extracts of this type, breathing a "fine old crusted" aristocrat contempt for all doctrines that make against class privilege, and in favour of equal opportunities for all men, might be multiplied. It is a more grateful task to call attention to the shrewdness and acuteness of her judgment, within certain limits, and to her remarkable descriptive gift. Her sketches of the Edinburgh notabilities of her day are admirable for point and freshness.

"Mr. Carlyle called," she writes, on February 20th, 1844, "bringing with him his wife—certainly a more refined half; but he is an honest true man, a character such as he alone can describe. He is a kind of Burns in appearance—the head of a thinker, the eye of a lover, and the mouth of a peasant. His colours, too, seem to have been painted on his high cheekbones at the plough's tail. He spoke broad Scotch, but his intonation was measured and musical, and his words came out sing-song as if he were repeating them by heart. He talked of Popery, Luther, etc., quite in the 'hero-worship' style; only we quarrelled about Luther, whom he defined as a nice man, and I said he had nothing nice about him."

Most people will agree with Miss Rigby that "nice" is hardly the word for the stormy reformer of Wittenberg.

The following extract from her journal is interesting, not only for its characteristic notice of Turner, but for the reference to the gentleman who afterwards became her husband. She was at the time in London.

"May 19 (1846).—Eastlake, Turner, Landseer, James Swinton, Henry Reeve, John Simpson, Kinglake ('Eothen'), Chorley, and Mrs. Jameson to dinner. Eastlake took me in to dinner, and was most refined and amiable: quite the stamp of gentleman in the utter absence of all anxiety to show it; remembered, too, what we had talked about three years ago. Laughed at my asking him whether he was a grouse shooter. Landseer a very different man—a head of power and strength, with that early grey hair which looks like the wisdom of age and the strength of youth mixed; he is in very 'high society,' but I have seen enough now to know that they care not for smooth manners like their own, but even for vulgarity, if it be but new. Sir F. Palgrave was right in saying that a person who would set up to say rude things would be sure to take in London. 'Eothen' is a heavy, shy-looking, plain little man who stared sufficiently. Mrs. Jameson always hearty and kind.

"May 20.—Out to Turner's. The door was opened by a hag of a woman, for whom one hardly knew what to feel most, terror or pity; a hideous woman is such a mistake. She showed me into a dining room which had penury and meanness written upon every wall and article of furniture. Then up into the gallery: a fine room—indeed one of the best in London, but in a dilapidated state; his pictures the same. The great 'Rise of Carthage' all mildewed and flaking off; another, with the elements in an uproar, of which I incautiously said: 'The "End of the World," Mr. Turner?' 'No, ma'am, "Hannibal crossing the Alps."' Then he uncovered a few matchless creations, fresh and dewy, like pearls just set—the mere colour grateful to the eye without reference to the subjects. The 'Temeraire' a grand sunset effect. The old gentleman was great fun; his splendid picture of 'Walhalla' had been sent to Munich, there ridiculed as might be expected, and returned to him with 7s. to pay, and sundry spots upon it; on these Turner laid his odd misshapen thumb in a pathetic way. Mr. Munro suggested they would rub out, and I offered my cambric handkerchief; but the old man edged us away, and stood before his picture like a hen in a fury."

One rather touching episode in her Edinburgh career was her friendship with "Christopher North," the hero of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. In these days of reprints, by-the-bye, how is it that no one has undertaken to give us the cream of the *Noctes?* With all the dross, there is a vein of true gold in those dialogues which is surely worth disengaging. As poet, critic, and humorist, Professor Wilson was at the height of his reputation when Miss Rigby came to Edinburgh to live. "Cultivate Miss Rigby," Lockhart wrote to him, "she is of the right stuff." So that when she met the distinguished author, a warm friendship sprang up between them. "Professor Wilson is a most remarkable man," writes Miss Rigby, "and would be venerable if his hair were within bounds." She describes him as "looking like a wild man," and talking like "the most polished excellent man." Later on she writes:

"To Professor Wilson's. He really ill with a cold, but in perfection of wit. Talked of himself more for our pleasure than for his own entertainment; said that his brain was too susceptible of fever; complained of occasional nightmares, which were quite as bad as being broken on the wheel. Then he scolded his daughter, Mrs. Ferrier, for ill-treating him, and related imaginary

scenes, which she could not contradict for laughing. . . . He announces to the world that he is very much in love with me, and that if by accident I should be reminded of his age by hearing one of his grandchildren cry, he shall tell me it is only the cat. He sends me the most absurd messages by his married daughters."

Her description of him in a graver mood is very winning, and helps one to realise the charm of which all his contemporaries spoke :

"He is a man in whose company one can't be a minute without hearing something of an original cast. He takes no established forms of manners upon himself, except in so far as true delicacy and manliness require them, and so, also, he makes use of no conventional forms of speech, unless such as are really full of meaning. Everything he says, whimsical as it may be, bears the impress of sincerity; he takes nothing ready-made or remodels what he does. He seems to delight in speaking kindly of his fellow creatures, and as he always speaks the truth, his censure is awful. How ashamed must some selfish, vicious men feel before this virtuous creature."

But the friendship of her Edinburgh days which exercised the greatest influence over her career was doubtless that with Lockhart. She had a great regard for him, and treats with becoming scorn the silly notion, once so prevalent, that he was actuated in writing certain passages of the life of Scott, by a private grudge against his great father-in-law.

"There never was a face," she says, "with so little of the animal in it; the features, too, spiritualised—one hardly knows whether most sharpened by care or refined by intellect; higher still in character than in form, and in that very beautiful; great contrasts of expression, excessive sourness, and ineffable sweetness, the small lipless mouth giving the one, the beautiful soft-lashed eyes the other; an awkward figure and a good walk; dreadful hands, but good action with them. A man sought by everybody, pleasing few, and caring for fewer."

If Lockhart's sympathies were narrow, and this seems to be the explanation of the fact that among his contemporaries he was rather dreaded than loved, he cared deeply for those who commended themselves to his sensitive, exacting nature. Miss Rigby found in him a judicious and kindly critic; he

suggested such subjects to her as gave scope for her pleasant vein of description and light social satire, without demanding the deep thought in which she was deficient. Unfortunately he was himself too prone to a certain recklessness in the use of his literary weapons to check a similar tendency in his contributor, which led her in one famous instance into a serious offence against the ethics of reviewing. In his early youth, Lockhart was celebrated for his gift in the concoction of clever but extremely bitter *jeux d'esprit* directed against those of the opposing Liberal faction, so much so that he gained the nickname of the "Scorpion." One of the cleverest of these, known as the "Chaldee Manuscript," appeared in an early number of *Blackwood*, where it gave great offence to many a worthy Whig. Sir Walter Scott, true-blue Tory as he was, had no sympathy with this style of warfare, though he could not conceal his amusement when he found himself figuring among the other Chaldeans, as "the great magician who dwelleth in the fastness that is hard by the river Jordan," and he made it a condition, before he would accept the author as his son-in-law, that he should give up this form of personal journalism. But the *Quarterly*, even as conducted by Lockhart in his elder and soberer days, had too much of the old leaven about it; and its criticisms were sometimes marked by an inexcusable insolence of tone, as in the case where Keats was bid "back to his gallipots," or in the unfortunate instance of Miss Rigby's review of *Jane Eyre*. In this article she supported her theory that the novel was the work of a man, by a list of little blunders in details of manner and dress (Miss Ingram's "blue crape morning gown" for instance), which, she said, could not have been perpetrated by a woman, or, if so, "only by one who had for some sufficient reason long forfeited the society of her sex." One would think that even fifty years ago there were sufficient examples of the mistakes occasionally made by those who imprudently attempt to portray a way of life of which they know nothing personally, to supply some other explanation of poor Miss Bronte's blunders in etiquette than the outrageous one above quoted. She could not have rea-

lised the cruelty of her imputation on a woman of noble and spotless character, but that did not make it any the more excusable. Apart from this, the article is worth reading, as a specimen of Miss Rigby's light and brilliant style, and of her comfortable social philosophy.

As an illustration of Miss Rigby's descriptive powers, we may quote her admirable description of Edinburgh from one of her journals.

"How beautiful are the lights of Edinburgh, both in the Old and New Towns—the splendid sweep from Cannon Mills up Dundas Street, two graceful serpents of light, with the two fainter lights at George IV.'s statue like their two meeting eyes. The heights and depth of parts of the town are most fully seen thus; lights small and dim glimmer below your feet, and windows large and brilliant shine over your head, receding in higher and higher tiers. A line of stars twinkles high in the heavens; they are the lamps on the Dean Bridge. But all this is nothing to the Old Town, with its sturdy masses of eleven storied houses, scarcely a window of them without its beam of light, the brightness of them declining with every story, till the gas of the first floor, by the time it reaches the eleventh, is exchanged for a glimmer which but makes darkness visible. And then the irregular stars here and there, which tell of the straggling but thickly piled buildings which connect these huge masses, the outline darker only than the sky, looking like a battered fortress with sentinel lights here and there."

She keenly appreciated the humours of the Scottish character, as appears from the following anecdote *à propos* of a well known Caledonian trait.

"The lower orders have the greatest objection to a minister having his 'papers' before him, and any unfortunate individual who, from want of memory or superabundance of timidity, is obliged to steal a sly look at his notes, has little chance of their respect. A lady was discussing the merits of a minister with her gardener, and defending his having used written notes on the score of his memory being defective. 'Some people, you know, Andrew, can't learn by heart.' 'He not learn his discoorse by heart!' answered Andrew in the strongest tones of indignation, 'he not learn—set him up—when I ken the names of twa thoosand herbaceous plants, and he a meenister.'"

In April, 1849, Miss Rigby married Mr. Eastlake, the artist, to whom she had been engaged for three months. They

were old friends, and, as Miss Rigby wrote to a friend, he had "always been the object of her particular admiration for his gentle refined manners and cultivated conversation."

Three weeks after their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Eastlake settled in Fitzroy Square, then a classic haunt of the artistic fraternity; and from that time onward, for more than sixteen years, Mrs. Eastlake continued a full and regular correspondence with her mother and sister. Her husband's character and position would have given her a claim, had she not possessed one in her own right, to enter the best society that London had to offer. She had a very large acquaintance and knew everybody who was worth knowing. Rogers, then in extreme old age, honoured her with his particular notice. She dines with Macaulay, whom she characterises in her summary way as a "happy, honest, sensible-looking man." She goes with Lady Davy to the private view and meets the Duke of Wellington, whose "plump and delicate tinted face" fails to correspond with her previous notions of him. She spends an evening at Devonshire House in "a perfect fairyland" of "marble, gilding, mirrors, pictures, and flowers." "The Duke looks just fit for the lord of such a mansion; he is tall and princely, with a face like a Velasquez Spanish monarch." She has the distinguished German art-critic, Passavant, to stay in Fitzroy Square, and finds him something of a trial as an inmate, till he develops a devotion to the British Museum that keeps him away from breakfast to dinner.

"My husband," she writes, "not being so accustomed as I am to the awkwardness and fussiness of Germans, tries to find out the logic of his way of feeding himself, and hopes he will put on a proper coat when there is a dinner party, as he comes down in a kind of great coat to our dinner."

Very pleasant is the expression of her wifely pride and satisfaction when, in 1850, Mr. Eastlake becomes President of the Royal Academy. She "threatens to walk backwards before him, and to be altogether much more respectful in her manners." On the 5th of November she writes to her mother:

"I will tell you at once that my dear husband returned to me

last night President of the Royal Academy. The honour itself has been accompanied by all that is most grateful to him, and his brother R.A.'s have behaved most nobly to him. Nothing could surpass the urgent manly kindness of Hardwick and Landseer and Leslie and Cockerell, who were themselves the voices for others no less complimentary and determined. I won't be so ungracious as to say he would nevertheless have adhered to his resolution of declining, but the Queen's and Prince's wishes, at all events, finally turned the scale. These were conveyed in a letter from Colonel Phipps to Landseer. It is stated that the Queen and Prince earnestly hoped that the Academy would elect Mr. Eastlake as by far the best person to fill the office. It went on to say that now especially, when our institutions were more scanned, it was of the utmost importance to elect a President 'who should not only practically illustrate the rules of art, but be also a gentleman of erudition, refined mind, and sound theory,' and that none, it was believed, fulfilled these conditions better than Eastlake. The letter was most gratifying, and proved how highly they thought of Landseer that they could address such praise of another to him.

"As far as my husband could tell, there were about thirty-three members present out of the forty. Each is given a paper with the list of R.A.s, and makes a mark against the one he chooses, and puts his paper folded into some receptacle. The chairman, in the absence of a president, the oldest member, Sir Richard Westmacott, then unfolds each paper and reads out the name. My husband had voted for Landseer, two had voted for Jones, and one for Pickersgill; but otherwise, Charles Lock Eastlake was the burden of each. This over, Sir Richard rose and said solemnly, 'Gentlemen, Mr. Eastlake is your president,' on which there was much applause. Then he added, 'I truly congratulate the Academy on having chosen a gentleman of such distinguished attainments, and one who in every way will do us honour.' Then he shook hands with my husband, and after that every one closed round to congratulate their new head. He tells me he felt unnerved till then, but his strength seemed to return, and he addressed the body with a few simple appropriate words of thanks, which nobody can be better trusted to say in perfect taste than himself. So this is over. He did not seek the honour, and now has accepted it in no worldly or ambitious spirit. As for me, it may be salutary that a natural and continuous anxiety for his precious health and comfort under his new dignity should keep in check the worldly gratification I might otherwise feel. He wonders why one who has always shrinkingly avoided notoriety and high place should have it thrust upon him; but I tell him that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor the quiet corner to the humble man, and that our lots in life frequently run across our natures, doubtless for some wise or good purpose."

Mr. Eastlake, or Sir Charles, as he became within a few days after his appointment, found the Queen "radiant with kindness and smiles" when he went to kiss hands, and declared that "a prettier woman in look and manner could not be seen." In 1853, Lady Eastlake accompanied her husband to Oxford, where he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. Allusion was made by the Public Orator to the "conjugem clarissimam," and this, Lady Eastlake tells us, was "the doing" of the Bishop of Oxford, whose guests they were at the time.

Not often, even in the happiest of marriages, are husband and wife such comrades as was the case with Sir Charles and Lady Eastlake. Their common love of art was a bond within which each fulfilled what, according to Ruskin, were their appropriate parts; he as artist, she as the generous and appreciative critic. How admirably fitted she was to understand and value her husband's work may be judged from the letters she wrote while accompanying him on his tours to the galleries of the Continent. Her notices of the Flemish masters at Bruges and Antwerp, of Rubens and Raphael, which we have not space to quote, are as true and delicate in feeling as they are exquisitely expressed. At Vienna, she went under the escort of Sir Charles's valet to visit a collection of armour which was so old that her companion opined it must "come from Minerva." "Seeing my ignorance," says Lady Eastlake, "he explained by saying, 'The old place Mr. Layard was at,' which was near enough." Of Venice she wrote:

"I find the witchery of Venice surpassing all I had heard or expected; its beauty is extraordinary, and though sadness mingles with admiration, as of pity for something so proud and glorious, now brought so low, yet it perhaps increases the spell. There is a perpetual moral present to one's mind, a lesson of the end of all human greatness and vanity. It seems to say that righteousness and justice were not in these wondrous palaces, and that therefore destruction is come upon them. Not that Venice makes the impression of being, or having been, a city erected by human pride or skill at all, but rather culled from the deep by some magician, and now going through a gradual transformation—enough of the Circe left to show how seductive its beauty had

been, but seen now in juxtaposition with all that is most vile, miserable and degrading. If I could compare it with anything in its past glory and its present filth, it would be with a kind of mixture of the old town of Edinburgh and Cologne; while the people in their indolence, their dirt and their quickness, would make excellent Irish. But all comparisons fail. Venice stands alone—a thing never to be believed in till seen, a dream strangely made up of the pictures one has known, but different from all a painter ever did, and which, like a dream, one expects will depart. But be it what it may—let its people cheat, its mosquitoes sting, and its canals stink—it is unique in beauty. . . . These smooth watery streets and squares are unique in effect and motion. . . . We lie back on our cushions and are carried where we list without effort, dust, or noise. . . . We pass one enchanting edifice after another—all different, all beautiful, every mass grand, every detail exquisite. We lie and look under the arches and balconies, seeing how every bracket is sculptured, every soffit of an arch decorated—gorgeous massive lions' heads are level with the water, curious gables in stone finish the corners, every window is a study, every cornice a specimen."

In October, 1854, Sir Charles Eastlake was made Director of the National Gallery, and from this time forth, a considerable part of the year was spent by him and his wife in the quest of "old masters" on the Continent—a quest in which Sir Charles was greatly helped by the knowledge and taste of his wife. She gives lively descriptions of their excitement when they succeeded in unearthing a treasure, and of the negotiations that were necessary before it could be finally captured. Her letters give a strong impression of the incompetence and corruption of the various Grand Ducal governments that then divided Italy. Priceless paintings were abandoned to destruction in half-ruined churches, the rain and snow pouring over them through the holes in the roof, and yet those responsible for this ruin set up cries of spoliation as soon as any overtures were made with a view to their being placed in safer keeping.

In 1859, a change passed over Lady Eastlake's life. Up to this time, she had been singulary fortunate in all the circumstances and relations of her lot. Whatever prosperity and happiness can do for a human character had been done for hers; but every reader of her letters must have felt that up to this point, with all in it that was noble and attractive, it

lacked something. That something, was it not "*ce quelque chose d'achevé que donne le malheur?*" With the death of a beloved sister, the one at whose house she had spent a long period in Russia, sorrow entered into her life, and it came to her as an initiation.

In a letter to her mother she thus alludes to their common grief:

"She did fight the good fight—she, the young, timid, inexperienced and beautiful creature, was transplanted into a barbarous land, where neither form nor practice of religion prevailed, with no friend or relative to help and strengthen her. But she walked straight on, talking little of her faith, always humble, unconscious of the noble example she was giving. . . . Something sacred and unknown is added to us now—the knowledge that one of us has now been laid in the grave and has triumphed over it."

The death of the Prince Consort, in 1861, was deeply felt by the Eastlakes, as he had always been the warm friend and patron of Sir Charles. Lady Eastlake's article in the *Quarterly* was "called by all at Osborne the best thing on the Prince." In 1864, she published the *History of Our Lord as Exemplified in Works of Art*, an important work, begun by her friend Mrs. Jameson, on whose death she had undertaken to complete it. The following year was saddened by the death of Sir Charles Eastlake. He was suffering when he left England in August of that year, and the improvement expected from foreign travel did not show itself. At Milan he became rapidly worse, and after twelve weeks of illness was removed to Pisa, only to die. He was a man of gentle and refined nature, and the closeness of the union between himself and his wife, made the separation, when it came, an incurable wound, an ineffaceable sorrow. Lady Eastlake survived her husband a quarter of a century; she did much good work, made many new friends, and clung to her old ones with an added tenderness; she retained her keen interest in current events, her humour was as lively as ever, her sympathies as ready; but henceforth she had entered the company of those whose best hopes are garnered on another shore than ours. In the little book

Fellowship, which she wrote for the consolation of her fellow mourners, there are none of the conventional platitudes, the "vacant chaff well meant for grain," which sometimes are expected to do duty for Christian comfort. The blank and the anguish of bereavement are not explained away; there is no blinking of the great mystery of pain and loss; the perfect genuineness of the writer is her safeguard here. But there is that confidence which the bereaved mother in Mr. Barrie's masterpiece expresses, when she tells her friend, how, on Sunday mornings, as she sits alone when the others have gone to the kirk, she turns to the chapter which holds her favourite verse, "Thou God seest me." Often she had begun it with a heart sore for her dead boy, asking of Heaven, "Why hast Thou so dealt with me." "But when I come to that verse 'Thou God seest me,' I let the book lie in my lap, for once a body's sure of that, they're sure of all."

In the same spirit Lady Eastlake writes to a bereaved friend:

"All must be well that our Father appoints, but the living faith grows very slowly; all we can do in our anguish is to set our faces straight towards it. God will do the rest in His own time and way."

In 1872, her mother died at the age of ninety-six. Going through her papers she remarks, "There are times when the past comes as near as I feel it will come when this mortal coil is thrown off."

During the years which followed, she edited the works of her husband and wrote a memoir of him, remarkable for the care with which she suppresses all indication of the important share that was hers in Sir Charles Eastlake's life-work. She introduced *Kugler's Handbook of Italian Art* to English readers, contributed to the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly* the articles afterwards published under the title of "Five Great Painters," and continued in the latter journal, with judgment and sympathies enlarged by years, the social studies in which she had first won distinction. One of the most powerful of these is entitled "Drink, the Vice, and the

Disease." Concerning another, "The Englishwoman at School," she wrote to a friend:

"The worms have turned and insist on knowing more and better. Considering that we have no *marriages de convenance*, or polygamy, and that therefore a good many ladies, in default of either resource, are left to starve or maintain themselves, I think they have a right to break through that ideal of feminine helplessness which gentlemen find so attractive, and prepare for the possibility of helping themselves."

In 1892 she wrote, "Time is relentless, and I feel myself nearing the goal, without fear, I may gratefully say." Though she took as keen an interest as ever in "the spectacle of things," though her cordial gracious welcome was ever ready for the numerous friends who came to her daily, her strength began to fail by slow but perceptible degrees. She grew more and more disinclined for any movement, more and more disposed to sit quietly in an armchair. Reading was her great resource. "My time passes quietly, but it is no misfortune to be thrown on books." The overpowering heat of the summer of 1893 exhausted her slight reserve of vital force, and after five weeks, not of acute suffering but of great and trying weakness, she passed away in her sleep.

She was conscious to the last, ready, nay anxious, to go. Her last words, addressed to the clergyman, an old and valued friend, who administered the communion to her, being, "Pray for my release."

"I have had my life," she said not long before her death, "and have had more blessings and what is called success than most people; I have also drunk to the bottom of a very bitter cup, for which perhaps I ought to be thankful. It took me many years to be practically convinced that God chastens those He loves, and *vice versa;* but now there is nothing I more deeply believe."

Certain portions of her letters show that Lady Eastlake had had to face, as every serious thinker must, the discouragement that comes from the slow progress of the kingdom of Heaven within and without us. Not only faith but patience is what we need; patience with ourselves and

with each other; patience while the forces of evil seem to rage unchecked, and men say, some in scorn and some in sorrow, "Where is the promise of His coming?"

"O, that Thy steps among the stars would quicken,
O, that Thine ear would hear when we are dumb;
Many the hearts from which the hope must sicken,
Many shall faint before Thy kingdom come."

The calm and the sanity of Lady Eastlake's Christian life appear in this suggestive passage:

"All spiritual improvement is slow, and all true religion, so I have found, difficult; for if it is not a panacea against all the ills of life, it is not a true religion. Prayer is not meant to remove our outward conditions, but to improve our mental state, to make us love God and man and our enemies more, and when we attain that state we may indeed rejoice. I am happy as to the meeting again. Heaven would not be our true home if we did not find those who constitute our true home here; household affections are sacred here, and must be there, too. . . . . Even with so-called belief, the full meaning of Christ's sacrifice comes but slowly. We can only judge of it by its effects on people's lives, and by their peace and content under great trials."

Few people have been more heartily loved or more missed by their friends than Lady Eastlake. Hers was

"A full rich nature, free to trust,
Truthful, and almost sternly just."

With all her indignation against what seemed to her to make for evil in the tendencies of the day, she was full of generous sympathy, making the best that was possible of those she met, "never bored" by even the dullest of the throng of people who called upon her every afternoon in London, but always courteously attentive and genuinely interested. Her love of art was linked with a true enthusiasm for moral beauty; her fresh and wholesome nature had no affinity with the modern *decádent* cant, now happily somewhat discredited, which preaches the divorce of art from ethics. In the light cast upon her character by the revelation of these volumes, she stands as the accomplished type of a noble Englishwoman.

ART. VII.—THE FUTURE LIFE.

The Christian Doctrine of Immortality. By S. D. F. SALMOND, M.A., D.D., Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Aberdeen. T. & T. Clark. 1895.

CHRISTIAN doctrine does not change with the changing years; but it needs continual re-statement, and that for at least two reasons. In the first place, the Christian Church, with or without a pope, is not infallible, and it tends perpetually to fall away, be it ever so slightly, from the purity and inflexibility of its own standard teaching. Sometimes the defection may be grave and dangerous, sometimes it is so inconsiderable that only a trained eye can perceive it; yet the rift may widen into a chasm under the pressure of advancing tides unless it be closed in time. In the second place, the knowledge of the Church of Christ is not a fixed quantity, and as it widens and deepens, the Church's apprehension of revealed truth deepens and widens also. The knowledge of Scripture, which is readily attainable to-day, was the property of the few five and twenty years ago, and was hardly within the reach even of scholars half a century back. Knowledge of physical nature and of human life has increased during the last two or three generations with unprecedented rapidity, and though Christian doctrine itself does not depend upon the progress of biology or psychology, the Church's apprehensions of its significance and bearings are very decidedly modified "by the process of the suns." There is no part of the whole round of Christian theology—the Christian doctrine of God, of man, of sin, the fact and significance of the Incarnation or of the Atonement of Christ, not to mention other topics —in reference to which the Church has not been called in our own time to enrich her apprehension of the full meaning of Revelation, and correspondingly to frame her utterances concerning themes of such cardinal interest and importance.

This holds good, perhaps in a somewhat special sense, of the Christian doctrine of a Future Life. It is twenty years ago since some aspects of this doctrine were the subject of eager and even fierce controversy. The future punishment of the wicked was debated then by advocates of Conditional Immortality, like Mr. Edward White; by advocates of Eternal Hope, like Dean Farrar; by Universalists, like the late Samuel Cox and Baldwin Brown; and by representatives of orthodoxy from all the Churches. Probably no one was convinced by the mingled logic and rhetoric of the magazine articles and pamphlets which then abounded. But the discussion cleared the air, and neither those who have opposed nor those who have upheld the traditional beliefs of the Christian Church on this subject have written upon it since quite as they would if no such controversy had taken place. Not to dwell upon such ancient history as this, it is but a few months since a writer, eminent in the literary if not the theological world, said that one of the tasks most needed in the Christianity of to-day was to "ethicise eschatology." The phrase used is one of those question-begging expressions, which, as its author probably knew, usually impose upon the unwary. That eschatology needs to be "ethicised" is not likely to be admitted by any intelligent Christian. But the eschatology which is sometimes taught as a part of the Christian doctrine may need to be not only ethicised, but revolutionised, and many of the current representations—hideous misrepresentations as they are—of Christian doctrine need to be swept out of existence altogether. Mr. W. R. Greg's *Enigmas of Life*, for example, is a book still widely read, the copy from which we quote being the eighteenth edition, reprinted in 1891, and in it we read:

"The Scriptural delineations of future torments have four characteristics, all singular enough: they are all physical; they are eternal; they are penal, not purgatorial or reformatory; and they are indiscriminate on all subjected to them." *

* Chapter entitled "Elsewhere," p. 250.

Now the first and last of these statements are demonstrably false, even upon a superficial examination of the subject, whilst the second and third, though unquestionably true when rightly understood, are so stated by Mr. Greg that they are not only, as he says, "almost impossible of credence," but also inadmissible into the circle of doctrine in a religion which bears the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. So needful is it on both sides that Christian doctrine should be clearly understood, adequately stated by its friends, and at least fairly treated by its foes.

The appearance of Professor Salmond's volume is therefore on all accounts to be welcomed. Dr. Salmond is a scholar, as well as a theologian; orthodox, as becomes a Professor in the Free Church of Scotland, but no fossil; a thinker as fully abreast of the times, of modern Biblical and philosophical knowledge, as an editor of the *Critical Review* has need to be. The fact that the book is based upon a series of Cuningham Lectures reminds us that few of the lecturers on any of the well-known foundations have of late dealt with this subject. Dr. Perowne's Hulsean Lectures on Immortality in 1868 were very slight; Professor Jackson's Bampton Lectures on Retribution can hardly be considered in this connection; whilst the Fernley Lecturers who have dealt with the theme touched only upon subordinate aspects of a great question. The field, then, was clear for Dr. Salmond to enter upon it, and the expectations entertained of his work were high. There was the better chance of dealing satisfactorily with the subject that it is not at present the centre of any burning controversy, and it can therefore be dispassionately handled.

Whether Professor Salmond has satisfied the expectations his name had raised is another matter. In bulk, the volume is indeed considerable; it reaches 700 octavo pages. In plan and outline, it is complete within its own appointed limits. The first book of seven chapters describes the "Ethnic Preparation" for Christian doctrine, the religious beliefs on the subject of immortality entertained by Egyptians, Hindus, Babylonians, and other nations. The second

book is appropriately given to the "Jewish Preparation." The third, fourth, and fifth books are occupied respectively with Christ's teaching, general Apostolic doctrine, and the doctrine of St. Paul. The sixth and last book, under the title of "Conclusions," deals mainly with annihilationism and restorationism as alternative doctrines to that which is set forth as the true teaching of Scripture. It is Scripture teaching which Dr. Salmond sets out to determine. He does not undertake "to examine the belief in immortality in its relations either to science or to speculation." Nor does he attempt to deal with "the rational proofs which have been elaborated in support of the hope of a future existence," the interest of which, he thinks, "does not lie in the logic of the case." It is the author's own statement of his work that "no attempt is made to follow out the philosophy of the subject." Readers should be mindful of the old adage and consider the author's end, "since none can compass more than they intend." The examination of Scripture teaching throughout is full, minute and fair, and the conclusions reached by this means appear to us incontrovertible on the part of those who accept Scripture as their guide. As a study in Biblical theology these lectures are invaluable.

Without violating our own canon, however, we think it open to question whether Professor Salmond has strictly confined himself to the subject as defined by himself, and whether some of his delimitations are not so laid down as inevitably to disappoint his readers, and to prevent him from doing justice to his subject. The details which occupy the first 150 pages of the book have very little to do with the Christian doctrine of immortality. If, indeed, the author were prepared to show that Egyptian or Assyrian or Persian beliefs concerning a future life had exercised any considerable influence in shaping the teaching of Christianity, the case would be altered. Their influence, even upon Jewish belief, was exceedingly slight; many would question whether even indirectly the views of surrounding nations left any serious mark upon Judaism. Dr. Salmond's discussions are

learned and interesting, but to introduce them he has departed from the strict limits laid down. On the other hand, he has hardly diverged by a hair's breadth into a field of far greater importance, embracing topics at least as germane to his subject as the contents of the Egyptian Book of the Dead. It is very hard to separate from Christian doctrine, especially in these days, what Professor Salmond calls "the philosophy of the subject"—the bearings, for example, upon it of current theories of evolution and of contemporary speculation, or the natural questionings of the human mind when confronted with any doctrine of the end of all things. A teacher on the great ultimate questions of human life cannot legitimately be content with barely expounding a statement—be it even so sacred as that of Scripture—and bidding his hearers either take it or leave it. Far more questions will be asked, doubtless, than any expositor of Scripture can answer. But in unfolding the Christian doctrine of immortality for to-day, it appears to us that something more than Biblical theology, however excellent and valuable, is required. Professor Salmond may reply that he claims to choose his own subject, and abide within his own limits. We can only say that to us he appears to have transgressed those limits in favour of certain ancient extinct forms of belief, and to have failed in filling up the measure of his great theme, "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," in the very way which more than any other would have commended it to the intellect, the conscience and the heart of the generation whom he especially addresses and especially wishes to instruct.

Having said so much, we leave the unwelcome task of criticising a valuable and suggestive book. The attentive reader of Dr. Salmond's book will find in its earlier pages an admirably prepared account of the religious beliefs which may have been supposed to influence Jewish or Christian teaching concerning immortality. The ineffectiveness—what in Scripture phrase would be called the "vanity"—of these mythological surmises, rather than assured beliefs, appears

most fully when they are most fully examined. At best the idea of a future state was, amongst most of these nations, a guess, "a shadow, a thought, a hope, a poetical fancy to which the tradition of ages had given a sort of reality;"[a] and at the time when Christ came, even this shadowy kind of "reality" had begun to faint and disappear amidst the unbelief and the half-beliefs of decadent Græco-Roman civilization.

The examination into the "Old Testament Preparation" for Christianity brings us into a region more fruitful of results. Not that the Jews were so far in advance of other nations in their views of a future life. In this, as in so many other respects, Judaism stood alone, apart; inferior to its neighbours, as many might think, in civilization and even in religious culture, the very bareness of its creed concerning a future state distinguishing it from the elaborate mythology of Egypt and the shadow-pictures of the under-world characteristic of Assyria and Babylonia. But Judaism was organically connected with Christianity. It was its function to "prepare the way of the Lord," both in what it did and in what it did not do. We quite agree with the views taken by Professor Salmond of the much-debated passages of the Old Testament referring to a future life. It is no disparagement of the earlier dispensation to refuse to read into the wistful longings of Psalmists, and the passionate utterances of Job, the assurance of a personal immortality, the time for which had not yet come. We cannot linger over details, but must content ourselves with expressing full agreement with our author when he says:

"The eye of the Old Testament is fixed on the present and looks clear into it, while it is clouded and unsteady in its view of the future. Yet the faith of the Old Testament is a faith that rises to hope—a hope gradually enlarging its reach and increasing its strength. Other religions live fondly in the past, in a golden age lost in dim antiquity. The Hebrew religion makes so little of its vanished Paradise, that some have stumbled at the fact. It is so essentially a religion of hope, that it scarce

[a] Jowett, *St. Paul's Epistles*, i., p. 81, quoted on p. 156.

glances back upon its Eden, but looks steadily forward to a future which is ever extending its limits."*

This does not imply an assured, still less a definite and detailed hope of what we call Heaven. The attempt to show that Judaism was indebted to Persian or other ethnic religions for ideas concerning a future state has failed. The very limitations of Judaism were characteristic. Mosley has shown, in a striking essay, how much richer, in a truly religious sense, was the blank space in the creed of the Hebrews concerning a future life than the crowded canvas of contemporary mythologies. The spaces left in the earlier covenant were not altogether bare, but they were not to be filled in by the conceptions of a roving fancy or even a devout imagination. No prophet or righteous man of those early days was permitted to see, or could see, the revelation which waited for the fulness of the times. But, meanwhile, prophets and righteous men were preparing the way for that revelation, indicating the lines along which the "bringing in of a better hope" might be looked for.

We need neither over-rate nor under-rate the hopes of Judaism concerning a future state. These hopes were not derived from foreign nations or kindred tribes, who may or may not manifest at certain points correlation of thought or coincidences in expression. Jewish views of a future life were different from those of Egypt and Babylonia and Greece, because their views of God and the soul were different. As Professor Salmond says, "The Old Testament doctrine of God is itself enough to explain the entire history of the Old Testament conception of a future life." He who believes in a living God and a living spirit in man has more than the hope of life everlasting in germ. It is the argument of the sixteenth psalm—I have set Jehovah always before me, therefore I shall not be moved, my flesh also shall rest in safety; THOU wilt not leave my soul in Sheol!

* Pp. 273 and 274. A note refers to Oehler's treatment of this subject in his *Old Testament Theology*. Schultz should also be compared in his discussion of this fundamental feature of Judaism.

It is the argument of a greater than the Psalmist—"He is not the God of the dead, but of the living!" It was necessary that attention should be concentrated upon the foundation, that it should be well and securely laid, before the superstructure was erected upon it. And it becomes those, who glory in the loftiness of their superstructure of revelation, to see to it that the edifice of their religious life is stronger, as well as more imposing, than that of earlier stages. A half-hearted Christian cannot look down upon a spiritually earnest Jew. It is a poor exchange to substitute for a vigorous belief in a living God a shadowy dream of a distant heaven. The Jew too often fixed his hopes upon this world in a material sense, but in this he was sinking below the standard of his own religion. The spiritually-minded Jew, whose trust was in the Lord his God, lacked the form of a creed concerning the future, but possessed its substance. The Christian of to-day may only too easily lose the substance while possessing the form, and miss the heaven of heaven at last, because he has failed to understand the meaning of heaven upon earth.

Christ brought life and immortality to light through the Gospel. It was the light-bringing that was needed. Assurance concerning the future, such as men naturally desire, is not to be attained. Regardless of our own essential unreasonableness, we clamour for ocular demonstration of the invisible. "Nay, father Abraham, but if one rose from the dead, they would repent." The veil which hides the future from mortal eyes cannot be lifted like the curtain of a theatre, to produce the effect of a dramatic *coup*. What is really needed, and what Christ provides, is "the giving substance to things hoped for," which, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews reminds us, is the very essence of faith. Partly through His teaching, partly through His life and works, partly through His death and resurrection, most of all through Himself, the Lord Jesus Christ raised and purified the indefeasible hopes, the quenchless instincts, the ardent longings of men after immortality, and transformed them into a firm faith with an assured basis. Even He did

not provide that kind of "knowledge" concerning the future which the scientific man of the present day considers the only possession worth having. To have furnished it—if it were indeed metaphysically possible—would have been to alter the constitution of human life and to destroy religion. But Christ shed the white light of Divine revelation upon just so much of the future as was necessary for the highest and most complete achievement of the work of the present. Not to furnish supernatural credentials of His mission, not to meet the demand for a sign, not to satisfy natural but illegitimate curiosity, not to draw away attention from the petty details of a transient existence and fix it upon the solemnities of a remote eternity, did the Lord Jesus Christ reveal so much as He did of the august realities of the future life. He lifted the veil in order that the present life might be enriched, its dignity and responsibilities be impressed upon unheeding minds, and that the organic relations between man's present and future condition might be more clearly understood, and the structure of character correspondingly raised and enlarged. The marvel of what Christ taught concerning heaven and hell is perhaps equalled by the marvel of what He did not teach. Only one who possesses perfect knowledge understands how to observe the reticences as well as the utterances of the true teacher. He knows when to be silent, as well as when to speak.

We must refer our readers to Professor Salmond's own pages for an account of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles concerning immortality. His account is long, but not too long. The pathway of exegesis is here impeded at every step. The exponent of Scripture teaching on this subject has to clear the way of many a thorny question and many an ancient stumbling-block before his wheels can run smoothly. It is not to be expected that even the most sympathetic reader—a class in which we certainly desire to be included—can agree with the author in his views upon a score of disputed passages. We find ourselves in complete harmony with Dr. Salmond as regards the main body of his exposition. Here and there we hesitate, as in his explana-

tion of Christ's teaching concerning Gehenna, questioning whether he has given sufficient weight to his own canons concerning the largely figurative nature of our Lord's teaching. Here and there we dissent, as in the exposition of 1 Pet. iii. 18-20, where we find it quite impossible to take sides with those who find in the phrase "spirits in prison" nothing more than a description of antediluvian evildoers. But for the most part we follow with interest and hearty concurrence, as in the very able survey of the Pauline doctrine of the Resurrection. Some features in the latter part of the exposition tempt us to linger, especially as the author emphasises

"one of the chief notes in Paul's doctrine—the vital relation of the present gift of life to the future resurrection, the principle that the former is the pledge of the latter and that the latter is implied in the former, the principle that the life which we now live is a life hid with Christ in God, a life for the whole man, which must triumph over everything opposed to life, whether in the spiritual being of man or in the physical nature through which that being acts."

Here is seen not only the development of the vital germ of Old Testament teaching that life with God and life in God must be eternal, but we find a fresh illustration of the difficulty of excluding "the philosophy of the subject" from a consideration of the subject itself. The very fact that St. Paul is not concerned with what would now be called physiological or psychological considerations, that he cares little about the character of the resurrection-body, and does not base his hopes upon the survival of an immortal soul principle in man, is suggestive. It is the continuance of the *man* that he looks for, nothing short of the redemption of the whole man will satisfy him, or fulfil the conditions which for him are implicit in the salvation which Christ came to accomplish for the race. He anticipated, says Dr. Salmond,

"a consummation which is to be realised in the redemption of the whole man and in his elevation to a condition of existence in which he shall live in the full integrity of his being, and

his body, transformed and glorified, shall be the perfect instrument of a perfect life."

It can hardly be taken for granted, however, in these days that the views of the future life contained in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians form the staple of current thought on the subject. How much of the Christian creed has been fully assimilated by any given generation, so that it has become an actual working belief, is always a question very difficult to answer. We are inclined to think, however, that amongst the portions of the Christian creed which are held in the abstract rather than the concrete, which are amongst the articles which no one is concerned very strenuously to deny, but which few hold with the rapturous assurance manifested by the Apostles, and by many generations of Christians since, will be found the Christian doctrine of Immortality. The simplicity of faith, which anticipated a material heaven, a kind of child's Paradise, is gone. The deeper spiritual conceptions of man's nature and destiny, which ought to replace such elementary ideas, have not yet fully come. We are the children of our own age. It is impossible for thoughtful men to be unaffected by the views of life which prevail around them, and in our day little short of a revolution has taken place in the *Weltanschauung*, the conception of the ordered universe and man's place in it which rules educated society. Without undue concession to the modern spirit, without any disposition to give up a belief in the supernatural, or to accept the question-begging sophism that "miracles do not happen," even Christians will acknowledge that their views of present and future existence have undergone unconscious modification. Christian hopes of the future have not been surrendered. But it has been necessary to bring them into line with the ascertained facts of science and the general trend of the best thought of the time. Revelation has not changed, but all the views of the future life current in Christian circles do not possess the authority of Revelation. And in its treatment of the future life Revelation has left much for the hope and the imagination of the believer. Revelation, when

rightly understood, is far less definite in its declarations than many suppose. When, therefore, we leave the exposition of Biblical teaching, to which Professor Salmond has mainly confined himself, and inquire concerning its bearing upon the thought of our own day, a wide field indeed opens upon us.

We are not now concerned with such thinkers as have virtually given up a definite expectation of personal immortality, whilst retaining their admiration for Christian ethics and their belief in the purifying influence of Christianity in history. The number of these is larger than many would suppose. George Eliot's vague aspiration after a place in the "choir invisible"—and non-existent except in memory and imagination—the thought of whom makes human lives better, represents the highest point attained by many. Matthew Arnold evidently hoped for himself and those whom his recently published Letters show he dearly loved, hardly more of a future than he contemplated for his dachshund Geist, and he laughs at the folly of man who

> "Builds himself I know not what
> Of second life I know not where."

Not only in the person of Eurpedocles does he insist on the combination of epicurean and Stoic philosophy which formed his Gospel, and ask whether it is "so small a thing to have enjoyed the sun," that we need to "feign a bliss of doubtful future date," and in our dreams of its questionable beatitude, "relegate to worlds yet distant our repose." Arnold's views concerning immortality only show that the surrender of a belief in a personal God—of which he made so light, as the giving up of a mere childish anthropomorphism—implies the surrender of much besides. But there are many whose religious position ranks them far in advance of the Positivism of George Eliot or the Pantheism of Matthew Arnold, whose views concerning the future life are, to say the least, hazy and practically inoperative. The pendulum has swung far away from the position in which the sneer at evangelical "other-worldliness" could be found

effective. What with semi-materialistic views of human nature and semi-socialistic attempts at re-construction of the present social order, any theories concerning the future life may be said *manquer d'actualité*, they do not come within the range of the working creed of a large proportion of average Christians. But, as it is often said that a neglect of the duty of Foreign Missions implies a weakness in the Christianity of home Churches, and brings a blight upon them, so even a partial failure in assurance concerning the future injures the tone, the character, and the success of the work of the present life. The loss of the heavenly horizon does not improve our view of that which lies nearer to us and increase our activity in it. On the contrary, our view of the present is dulled and impaired, and our action within our present sphere becomes alternately feverish and languid, instead of being marked by the elasticity and freshness, the constancy and steadfastness of those who are assured that their labour will not be "in vain in the Lord."

In seeking to make our belief in the future life more real and practically operative, we by no means hold that Christian hopes should find their root and basis in the conclusions of science, or what Professor Salmond calls "the philosophy of the subject." The flowers that grow from such roots only will soon wither, the building set up on such a foundation may be easily overturned. But we are not on that account disposed to slight these aspects of a great theme. If Christian thought is to dominate our whole life, we must bring our whole life within the scope of its influence; and if the view of man—body, mind, and spirit—the views of the universe as science reveals it to us, and such views of our present constitution as our best knowledge enables us to attain, are not taken up into and made part of our religious beliefs, we must not be surprised if our religious beliefs remain abstract and largely as if suspended in the air. For example, physiology has little to say which will help us in determining the relation between the χοϊκός and the ἐπουράνιος, the earthly and the heavenly nature, or the natural and the spiritual body. But many of the current

objections to immortality are drawn from physiology, and these can only be met by a true exposition of physiological facts in relation to the possibility of a future life. Bishop Butler did this work effectively enough for the last century, when he met current objections to a future life by an examination into what the death of the body actually does and does not imply. But his examination does not suffice for to-day, with our more complete knowledge of the brain and the nervous system, and it is quite ineffective against the view of consciousness as a mere consistent of nerve-action, put forth by Huxley and Tyndall. It is quite possible to build up an argument as potent against modern materialism from Huxley's own admissions, showing that if in our present condition mind is not independent, neither, on the other hand, is matter independent of mind, that the relation between them is not simply one of cause and effect, and that there is no "presumption," to use Butler's favourite phrase, in the death of the body to lead us to suppose the extinction of mind. But so strong is the sensuous impression produced by the sight of the gradual decay of the faculties and the dissolution of the bodily frame, and so potent is the pressure exercised by the physical science of our time, and certain modes of thought produced by it, that this ground needs to be carefully traversed if a stable doctrine of immortality is to be built up for the present generation.

Again, much of our hope concerning man's future depends upon our view of his present spiritual existence. Destiny depends on character and is implied in it. If man be what some of our modern wise men teach that he is, it becomes impossible to believe in his immortality. A sound spiritual philosophy is needed—not to demonstrate the doctrine of a future life, that it can never do, but—to meet materialistic objections to it and prepare the way for the teaching of Revelation. The objection that personality is a finite phenomenon and must sink back into its infinite ground, has great weight with many to-day, even amongst religious minds. Schleiermacher here cannot travel much

further than Matthew Arnold. It is even esteemed by some a mark of profounder religious feeling to be content to merge our paltry finite life in the majestic infinitude of the All. It seems a true philosophy to say with the "Ancient Sage":

> "For all that laugh and all that weep
> And all that breathe are one,
> Slight ripple on the boundless deep
> That moves, and all is gone."

It needs a deeper philosophy to point out the true nature of personality, as the highest form of life we know; characteristic of God in its highest and fullest sense, characteristic also of man made in the image of God; so that if the impersonal were to triumph over the personal, St. Paul's anticipation would be reversed, and instead of mortality being swallowed up of life, that which is life indeed would pass away to make place for that which is infinitely lower than itself.

Again, too much must not be made of the hints and premonitions of life eternal which belong to man, apart from the Christian revelation; but it does not therefore follow that these are valueless or meaningless. What Dr. Martineau calls the "vaticinations of the intellect," the "vaticinations of the conscience," and "vaticinations in suspense," have their place in a doctrine of immortality. Christianity does not reject these significant hints and presages, but allows them, confirms them, explains them, and fulfils them. They all form part of an argument for immortality, drawn from the present constitution of human nature, which in our estimation is of great importance. That invalid and untenable arguments have been drawn from the soul to prove its immortality, does not detract from the value of the arguments soundly based and carefully drawn. One such is based upon the scale of our present faculties. If it is fair to argue from the nature of Judaism that by its very constitution it pointed forward to a new and better covenant to come, a similar line of proof might be adopted concerning man. There is clear proof that man's

present powers of mind and soul are equal to far more—we might say infinitely more—than the present life allows them to accomplish. It is abstractly conceivable that they *may* have been made in vain — by chance, or by a mindless, purposeless power, or by a fiend who delights in creating exquisite workmanship only to destroy it before its work is well begun. These alternatives are theoretically possible; but it is not open to any one to say that man has full scope here for the powers with which he has been endowed.

"A mind of balanced and finished faculties is a production at once of infinite delicacy and of most enduring constitution; lodged in a fast-perishing organism, it is like a perfect set of astronomical instruments, misplaced in an observatory shaken by earthquakes or caving in with decay. The lenses are true, the mirrors without a speck, the movements smooth, the micrometer exact. What shall the Master do but save the precious system, refined with so much care, and build for it a new house that shall be founded on a rock?" *

Still stronger arguments might be drawn from the constitution of man's heart and affections, and stronger still from his moral nature, and the existence—be the origin of it what it may—of a conscience. "Wherever conscience is," says Dr. Martineau, "there we stand alone in the forecourt of existence, and a moral world cannot be final unless it be everlasting." The poet stands side by side with the philosopher. Not very different is the drift of the well-known lines:

"Gone for ever! Ever? No! for since our dying race began,
Ever, ever and for ever was the leading light of man.
Truth for truth and good for good! The Good, the True, the Pure, the Just—
Take the charm 'For ever' from them, and they crumble into dust."

The strength of arguments of this kind, we venture to think, is increased, not diminished, if current theories of evolution be true—theories, that is, concerning the *mode* in which things have come to be as they are; for beyond

* Martineau, *Study of Religion*, vol. ii., p. 378.

description of mode no theory of evolution can go. If one continuous series of changes, proceeding by infinitesimal gradations, has thus far resulted in the Cosmos we see, is it to be supposed that the carrying on of such series will not lead to results far higher and more glorious? We have seen, so to speak, the evolution of the natural man; does that make the evolution of the spiritual man harder or easier to believe in?

Doubtless all such arguments imply what Dr. Martineau has called a "Master." They do not necessarily imply a Theist's, still less a Christian's, God. Appeal may be made to them, even in the case of sceptics who do not commit themselves to a belief in more than what R. L. Stevenson called the "ultimate decency of things." Unless irrationality is to be written in large letters over human life as we see it, a future life of some kind there must be. So argues in substance Robert Browning in his fine poem, *La Saisiaz*; finer, perhaps, as argument than as poem, though it were hard to say whether, in its composition, imagination or reasoning predominates. Browning rejects all pretty fancies and ingenious analogies which have ere now been held to prove the immortality of the soul, and settles down by poetical reasoning to answer the question—"Does the scope Earth affords of fact to judge by, warrant future fear or hope?" He assumes, for the purposes of argument—with good reason, as is shown—the existence of the soul and God, and then, in a dialogue between Reason and Fancy, wrings out from the present order of things so much, and only so much, testimony in favour of a future life as it will yield to the logic of the spirit. One of the most impressive passages of the poem is that which shows the necessity of our present ignorance, or partial knowledge, if the moral effect of man's probation is to be answered. Browning, after all, leads man only to—hope; and he sums up the description of his own attitude in the closing phrase: "Why, he at least believed in Soul, was very sure of God;" which is another way of saying that the poet had reached the position of the Psalmist, was content to hold fast by

God and his own soul, quite sure that the future, under such Divine ordering, would at last unroll its deep and glorious significance, "exceeding abundantly above all" he could "ask or think!"

A Christian needs not to return to such mere hopes and guesses. But the evidence which goes to establish the Christian position has much better chance of making itself felt with men who have thus deeply probed the significance of the present life. Much of the reasoning of Professor Salmond's interesting book is simply beside the mark so far as a large number of our contemporaries, of high intellectual power and culture, are concerned. They need to be prepared for the teaching of Revelation by the true teaching of Nature. For those who are prepared to see the need of a further Revelation than Nature gives, and receive such evidence as may be fairly demanded and is candidly given, the fundamental hopes and longings of men find full confirmation and response in the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ. It were not a difficult task to show how Christ meets and transcends the hopes and desires of men concerning a future life, partly in His teaching, partly in His work, partly in His resurrection, and partly in the account He gives of that life itself. It is not for us, especially towards the close of an article, to enter upon so high a theme as this. We have led the way up to it thus far, because we think that by this road, rather than by a full account of Babylonian and Egyptian mythology, or even of Hebrew beliefs and hopes, a theologian of to-day can best unfold the true nature of the Christian doctrine of immortality.

But if such an argument is to be truly and conclusively drawn out, the Christian doctrine of a future life must be justly and adequately stated. We are probably speaking for others besides ourselves when we say that such a statement is just now a great desideratum. Caricatures of Christian teaching find only too much warrant in popular ideas and representations, which are not warranted by the statements of Scripture, though they may claim to be based upon them. Our eschatology does not need "ethicising," but it does

need to be purged of accretions and excresences, and to be set forth in "words of truth and soberness." To commentaries upon the Apocalypse, misunderstood and misrepresented, may be ascribed some of these current illusions, and to a lack of proportion in setting forth the teaching of Scripture may be ascribed many more. We hear much nowadays about going "back to Christ" as the fountain-head of teaching; it would be well indeed if Christian preachers made Him more fully their norm and guide in dealing with the life beyond the grave. How much of reserve would then be manifested, where hitherto has been confident assertion! How much of simplicity and power, where there has often been a riot of the imagination which has repelled sober hearers! The sterner aspects of Revelation concerning the future would not be slighted, for none speaks more clearly or severely than the Master where severity is needed, but both the hopes and fears of men are met by the Lord Jesus Christ in quite another fashion from that exhibited by many who have taught in His name.

One or two illustrations only may suffice. Take the best known example of our Lord's teaching concerning the state of the blessed, in which, without parable, with a minimum of symbolic phrase and in the simplest language possible, He sets forth to His disciples the ground of Christian hope and the most attractive prospect of future glory:

"In My Father's house are many mansions; if it were not so, I would have told you; for I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I come again and will receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also."

The passage has lately been expounded in his own unapproachable manner by Dr. Dale, in his little volume on *Christ and the Future Life*. That there is a home of God; that God is Father of Christ and of all men, especially of those who will be His children indeed; that in that many-chambered home there is room for all, of all kinds and orders; that this is sure as the Master's own word can make it; that the character of that new home and new life may

be best understood from the fact that Christ Himself has prepared and is preparing it; that in due course He comes* and takes a prepared people to a prepared abode; and that the sum and substance of the glory of that abode is that He Himself is there! How simple, yet how profound, is teaching such as this. There is nothing inconsistent with it in the teaching of the Apostles or any part of the New Testament; but an abuse of the symbolical language of the Apocalypse has led to the picturing of a different heaven from that of the fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel.

Again, questions are perpetually being put concerning the judgments of that future state, as to who will be included in the number of the blessed, and who in the number of the lost. Those who ask such questions do not always remember that the Master has already given them an answer; one which may, indeed, not be of the kind they expect or desire, but which His disciples are bound to think the best possible at present. In answer to the inquiry, Lord, are they few that be saved? Christ did not merely reply, Strive ye to enter in, though that practical piece of admonition stands in the forefront of His answer. He pointed out, as a study of Luke xiii. 23-30 will show, that while some will be admitted at last into a state of blessedness, some will be excluded. That many whom we should expect to be excluded will be admitted, while many whom men would certainly expect to find amongst the glorified will be shut out; that the order of heaven's hierarchy does not correspond with our earthly ideas of saintship; that judgment yonder depends upon the faithful use of opportunities here; and, by implication, that a knowledge of the principles of judgemnt is for us an undesirable, perhaps an impossible, thing; while earnestness and strenuousness in the working out of our own salvation is all-important. Commonplaces, these? Yet if these simple but far-reaching principles had directed in practice the teaching of Christians, as they are supposed in theory to do, Christian eschatology would now be far more potent as

* There is a significance in the present tense used in the Revised Version, which should not be missed.

a moral force, and far less open to objection and cavil, than it is.

It need hardly be said that sound exegesis of Scripture must form the basis of all Christian doctrine. It is here that Dr. Salmond's work will be found most useful. He shows clearly and convincingly enough what the language of Christ and of His Apostles does and does not legitimately imply. He rules out, by dint of patient exposition of the New Testament, the theories of Universalism and of Conditional Immortality alike. But the Christian doctrine of Retribution needs to be rightly expounded, if, like the rest of Christian truth, it is to "commend itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God." Perhaps one of the most impressive presentations of some aspects of this doctrine ever written, came from the pen of one who set out to condemn Christian doctrine of the hereafter as intrinsically incredible. Mr. W. R. Greg describes in a passage too long to quote, what is meant by the dawning upon the human soul of the piercing light of the Spiritual World, when, the veils of earth and flesh being removed, man comes to see himself as he really is.

"The gulf which has always existed, is recognised and felt at last; corruption can no longer consort with incorruption; the lion cannot lie down with the lamb, nor the leopard with the kid. One flash of light has done it all. . . . What can be more certain, because what more in the essential nature of things, than that the great revelation of the Last Day (or that which must attend and be involved in the mere entrance into the Spiritual State) will effect a severance of souls—an instantaneous gulf of demarcation between the pure and the impure, the just and the unjust, the merciful and the cruel—immeasurably more deep, essential and impassable than any which time or distance, or rank or antipathy, could effect upon earth. *Here* we never see into each other's souls; characters the most opposite and incompatible dwell together upon earth, and may love each other much, unsuspicious of the utter want of fundamental harmony between them."*

Yet what is this but the very pith and core of New

* *Enigmas of Life*, pp. 263, 265. We have separated some sentences in this extract from their context, but not in such a way as to do injustice to the author's meaning.

Testament teaching concerning that great and dire separation in the future state, which is no arbitrary judgment, but the necessary outcome of self-chosen courses and self-stamped character? So with the blessedness of the righteous in that great day. No more striking word is to be found in the New Testament than one of our Lord's which often escapes full recognition—"Then shall the righteous *shine forth* (ἐκλάμψουσιν) as the sun in the kingdom of their Father." What is manifested yonder is but the full exhibition of that which is latent here; the buds have burst into full flower; grace has blossomed out into glory. All the teaching of Christianity concerning the future harmonises with its teaching concerning the present life. It is here, spiritual, light-giving; it propounds no harsh or arbitrary judgments, but it thinks no stern, unwelcome facts. It rests upon the revealed character of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, perfect righteousness and perfect love, eternally and inextricably blended. When this doctrine is rightly apprehended and faithfully proclaimed, it commends itself to the conscience of man; to the slumbering conscience by awakening and alarming it, to the guilty conscience by echoing its condemnation and pointing out the mode of relief, and to the enlightened conscience by giving to it that blended admonition and encouragement which weak and wayward man needs through the whole of his earthly pilgrimage.

Those who desire aid in understanding the teaching of Scripture on these momentous themes will do well to consult Professor Salmond's able volume. They may not find in it all they desire, but which of us can gain the knowledge he desires concerning that which lies beyond the unlifted veil, drawn before our wistful eyes in wisdom and in mercy? But abundant aid is given in these lectures to those who would approach more fully to the mind of the Master, as declared during His earthly ministry on the great question of the relation between the life that now is and that which is to come; and beyond that point, no true Christian disciple need desire to pass on this side of the grave.

ART. VIII.—CARDINAL MANNING.

Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. By EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL, M.R.A.L. Two Vols. Macmillan & Co.

WE can only write an inadequate article on the great subject of the massive volumes which contain Mr. Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*. If we are to write without long delay we must write at once, and occupy the limited space remaining free for our use in our present issue. If we postpone at all, we must needs wait for the other biography to be published on behalf of the Cardinal's trustees and executors, which their unfavourable judgment of the tone and contents of the volumes before us has led them to promise; and that Life cannot be expected very soon. Meantime, as to the interesting volumes which have excited so much hostile feeling and at the same time so much admiration, especially on the part of Mr. Gladstone, there are some things proper to be said which may be fitly and well said without delay.

The work as a whole is ably and carefully done, in parts indeed it is very well written—so that the Cardinal, who seems to have desired to have a lay biographer, who should produce a sort of non-ecclesiastical and unprofessional life of himself, apart from any influence emanating from the Vatican, or even from high Anglo-Roman ecclesiastical sources, might seem on the whole to be justified in his choice by the result. And yet no one, we think, can read the volumes carefully, and in the light of recent Roman Catholic history in England and on the Continent, without coming to the conclusion that if the Cardinal had thoroughly known the man to whom he chose to give his confidences, he would not have selected him to be his biographer. Manning was, before all things, a High Ultramontane, and for him the highest Ultramontanism was a principle so

sacred that it is certain—indeed it is evident throughout these volumes—that the Cardinal intended his biography, for which he had made such large collections, to teach from first to last the vital necessity to the Church of an ecclesiastical head, who should in all matters of faith, and as to all principles of Church government, be supreme, alone, and infallible, as the Vice-Gerent of the Divine Lord and Head of His Body, the Church. It is equally evident that this *Life* is not, in effect, on the whole, written in the interest of the High Ultramontane view. Manning must have expected his biographer to maintain his special principles against those of Newman, whom Manning agreed with W. G. Ward in regarding as the greatest enemy living of his own Ultramontane view, and as a half hearted, half converted, "worldly" Catholic, no better than a Gallican, as great an enemy to the great "present truth" needed for the times as Döllinger himself. But in fact Mr. Purcell, from first to last, writes as an admirer, never as a critic or detractor, of Newman. Manning would have expected his biographer, in a critical and Ultramontane sense, to "curse" Newman, but he "blesses" him altogether. It would seem as if, in gathering together all his materials, all the evidence, and in conversing with all the witnesses, Mr. Purcell, instead of holding to Manning as his hero, had found it necessary to make a central change, in regard to the presentation of the *dramatis personæ*, and to assign, not indeed the largest or most public, but the noblest and most honourable part, to Manning's old friend but great and irreconcilable opponent in all principles of public policy and ecclesiastical temper. We shall presently illustrate what we have now said. So also Mr. Purcell eulogises and exalts Archbishop Errington, against whose anti-Ultramontane principles and his influence in England Manning used every means in his power, with the ultimate result that, instead of Errington, he himself succeeded Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster, against the desire of the English Bishops and Catholics, but by favour of the Pope. Not a word has Mr. Purcell to say as to Errington but what is good and praiseful; not a word in

criticism of his principles or disparagement of his fitness for the great preferment.

That the Cardinal, however, should have desired to have his history written by a lay Romanist, unconnected with curial or hierarchical influence, though at first it may seem strange, is not difficult to understand. After the election of Leo XIII. he ceased to be a *persona grata* at Rome. During the last dozen years of his life, in particular, he became a democratic philanthropist, and in that character he said and did things by no means in harmony with high ecclesiastical feeling either in Rome or in England. He became a popular leader and a power in the democracy, but he isolated himself more and more from men of rank and public responsibility, whether ecclesiastical or political. He renewed, indeed, towards the last, his suspended intercourse with Mr. Gladstone; he regained in some degree his old friendship with him, a short time before the close of the great leader's political career. But he pathetically notes in his journal that he had no intimate friend left, except the prelate who has succeeded him, Herbert (now Cardinal) Vaughan. Under those circumstances, and to insure that justice should be done to him in his independent and isolated position, and especially, as a public man, in his relations to political influences and to philanthropic, to democratic, to national causes, it is easy to understand why he should have desired to have a biographer who was not himself a Churchman in any distinguished or notable sense, but who was a man of ability, industry, and independent character, and would use quite independently the frank information and ample materials furnished to him by himself. On the whole, in this view of the matter, he seems not to have chosen ill, although it so happens that Mr. Purcell agrees with Manning's original opinions, as first disclosed to him, *against* Home Rule, and not with the Cardinal's final revision of his judgment on this question. This revised profession of political opinion and feeling seems to have been the means of renewing the friendship between Gladstone and himself, and to have put him in sympathetic

relations with his "Irish children," although his form of Home Rule creed was so vague and limited as not to appear (at least to himself) inconsistent with the staunch English Imperialism which was one of his most marked personal characteristics. Mr. Purcell also thinks it his duty very emphatically to censure Manning's relations with the "Social Purity" "craze or crusade," and, in particular, with its leader, "whose name," he says, "shall not defile even this unhappy page in the life of an austere and holy prelate." "What a sad and pathetic picture!" he exclaims, "the austere cardinal with a tissue of prurient pictures in his hand and a revolting purity monger at his ear!"

There is a sort of mystery as to the personality of the author of these volumes. His name is not found in the *Catholic Register*; he is certainly not a priest or a Roman Catholic official within the three kingdoms. He holds no University diploma, and his only literary distinction seems to be that he is a "member of the Roman Academy of Letters." He belongs, almost certainly, to an Anglo-Irish, or Irish-English family. His own full name is Edmund Sheridan Purcell, and the name of his brother, the Canon and Rector of Hampstead, is the Rev. A. Dillon Purcell. The Sheridan and the Dillon joined to Purcell in these names suggest a full-blooded Irish-English or Anglo-Irish stock.* On the whole, it may be fairly inferred that Mr. Purcell has not been a permanent resident in England, but has visited England at intervals, especially since it was arranged between Manning and himself that he was to be the Cardinal's biographer. This would account for more than a little that is strange in these volumes. His ignorance on some points would be remarkable, even unaccountable, in an English man of letters, as, for example, his blunders and confusion as to the Stephen family, than which no family is better known or more distinguished among English public men or men of letters. It would account also for the perplexity which he shows as to the

* Since writing the text we have learnt, on good authority, that Mr. Purcell is of Irish-German parentage and has written a Life of Pugin, but has been unknown in English Roman Catholic circles.

English habit, little known on the Continent, of styling and sincerely regarding a man as one's friend, when once a friendship has been cemented, although he may belong to an opposite political or ecclesiastical party, and although between such friends in public life or public plans and counsels there may be the keenest opposition, not unaccompanied at times by strong and biting passages of mutual criticism. Similar to this description were the relations between Manning and Newman for thirty years; yet they wrote to each other occasionally as "friends," just as W. G. Ward never ceased to write to Newman as his friend, though, as himself an extreme ultra-Ultramontane, he regarded him, and did not scruple to speak of him, as the most dangerous enemy of "the to Mr. Purcell, who deals with it as an almost insoluble Church" in England. All this seems scarcely conceivable problem, raising the question of Manning's—but surely, if so, also of Newman's—sincerity or his politic hypocrisy. By an Englishman familiar with the private history of great lawyers like Lyndhurst or Brougham, or ecclesiastical leaders like Dean Stanley or Archdeacon Denison, such points would not be raised into perplexing problems to be argued at solemn length.

If Mr. Purcell had been an English-bred resident in England, he could hardly have made the singular blunder which is found at p. 709 in his second volume, where he says that the personal association between the Prince of Wales and Cardinal Manning on the Royal Commission of Education "led to friendly relations" between them. The Prince of Wales had no connection with the Royal Commission on Education. It is possible that the reference intended may be to the Health and Education Exhibition and Conference at South Kensington in 1884, in connection with which the Prince presided at a distinguished gathering.* The labours of the Cardinal on the Royal Commission on Education

* It has, however, been suggested to us that the reference should have been to the "Royal Commission for the Better Housing of the Working Classes," on which the Prince and the Cardinal were brought into co-operation.

were, indeed, one of the chief public services rendered by him in his later years. Some two years and a half of assiduous attention he gave to the work of that Commission, his distinguished ability and also his fine temper and his urbanity being universally recognised by his colleagues. But Mr. Purcell, who may have been little in England during that period, never mentions the Commission except to make the singular blunder we have noted. The only trace the Cardinal's two years' labours have left on the pages of this *Life* is to be found in four private notes relating to a tract he had written on behalf of Denominational Schools, of which all but one are brief and insignificant, while that one was so peculiarly confidential that it ought never to have been printed, and contained besides some personal references which could not but create offence. That letter, like some others in the volumes, was inserted without the writer's consent being obtained or asked, and contrary of course to the rules of propriety generally, and, indeed, legally recognised, at least in England, as to the publication of private correspondence.

The Cardinal's life, as a Roman Catholic, consisted of two parts—the ecclesiastical and the philanthropic or social. As to the former, his biographer's materials were singularly full and interesting, and he has from these constructed a narrative of extraordinary interest. As to his philanthropic work, the materials, if full justice was to be done, would have had to be disinterred from blue books and newspapers. It cannot be said that this portion of the biography has been well done. Not only is no account given of his work on the Education Commission, but, what is more strange and still more to be regretted, nothing is said about his work on the Commission for the Better Housing of the Working Classes. A sufficient account, perhaps, is given of his mediation on behalf of the Dockyard Labourers, with the needful intimation that when he first took up the cause of the labourers, he was under erroneous ideas as to the financial position of the dock companies and some of the leading dock masters personally. It is not noted that the secret of his greater

zeal and superior persuasiveness in the Dockyard controversy, as compared with the Bishop of London, who is spoken of as turning "fainthearted" after the first and startling disappointment and rebuff from the failure of the men to abide by their original agreement, was that many thousands, even tens of thousands, of the labourers and their families were of the Cardinal's own flock, Irish Catholics; that their priests acted with the Cardinal, and that spiritual forces were thus wielded by the Cardinal which were exclusively at his disposal. Justice is done to the Cardinal's Temperance work.

The great interest of the *Life*, however, lies in the ecclesiastical revelations which it contains. The Cardinal's triumph over Archbishop Errington, his succession to Wiseman as Archbishop, his victories at Rome, including the question of the Cardinalate, and the Œcumenical Council of 1870, at which he undoubtedly played the foremost part and triumphed over the most powerful combination of distinguished adversaries—all this is fully described. The chapter on the Council is a very good piece of work. We are enabled to understand the zeal which consumed the Cardinal, and which, doubtless, was with him a sincere passion. It was zeal for the highest Ultramontanism which inspired him. He believed that on his success depended absolutely the unity, the religious life and energy, the prevalence and perpetuity of his Church. At first it seemed as if all the developments and successes looked for would follow his victories. But the scene, the light, the promise, seem to grow dimmer and feebler as the history draws to its close. Though infallibility and universal supremacy appear to be logically involved in the "Catholic" idea as understood by all Romanists, in the assumptions which underlie Newman's teaching as well as in the teaching of Ward and Manning, yet when the naked sword is lifted out of the scabbard and wielded aloft, when all Roman doctrine, all teaching, all administration is dominated by the claim of infallibility, when the Pope's infallibility takes the form of absolutism and all the administration of the Church is pervaded by that spirit—doubt and discouragement, a sense of oppression and

something like paralysis, a spirit of mechanical formalism, if not of dissent, begin to take hold of the minds even of orthodox votaries. So the infallibilist victory at Rome was followed there by a dislike for the English champion, while in England the comparatively few men of culture in the Infallible Church stood more and more aloof from Manning and his instruments; he lost hold of the intellectual respect even of Roman Catholics, and his only resort was to spread his net over the unlettered multitude, using as a ground bait his democratic professions, and striving at the same time to win them by his self-denying and unwearied philanthropy. After all it may turn out that the decrees for which he victoriously contended will prove to be the *reductio ad absurdum* of Roman Catholicism. It is true that they are the logical outcome of thorough Popery, whether dogmatically completed or popularly regarded; but such a logical outcome may in the end be found to bar the approach of the practical mind to the Ultramontane court and camp, and to point the way for educated "Catholics" towards that nationalisation of the Roman Catholic Church, which Manning so much dreaded as an idea—a fatally heretical idea—but in which lies in reality the only hope of anything like reformation and permanence for the Western Catholic Church of the future.

The Cardinal, champion of pure and high Papalism, not only chilled off from himself the confidence and support of cultivated Roman Catholics in England, but, as we have intimated, he lost caste even at Rome after the death of Pius IX., as is distinctly shown in this biography. One consequence of this was that he felt free in his latest years to question the Papal policy in dealing with the Italian kingdom. The Pope has done all in his power towards laying, if not an "interdict," as he would have done in the middle ages, a disabling embargo upon the constitutional government of Italy. No loyal Catholic is allowed to take office, or does in fact take office, under the Italian Government. No good Catholic votes at a parliamentary election or enters Parliament, and the Government may be taken to

be a free-thinking Government; there is, consequently, no Catholic party in the country. As Manning became in his own country more and more democratically political in his sympathies, he naturally saw and felt with increasing conviction that such a policy as this was a fatal blunder on the part of the Pope. In the eyes of the Pope and his "ruling Cardinals," his opinion on this subject was a serious heresy on the part of the Cardinal, and was inconsistent with the doctrine of the Papal Infallibility. Here, already, the Infallibility dogma recoiled on its great promoter. The Papal interference with the Irish Bishops and the internal government of Ireland on the subject of Home Rule was another item of infallible government and guidance in the political affairs of the world which offended Manning. He was led accordingly so to hedge, define and distinguish as to the scientific meaning and the proper application of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, as to allow him to dissent from the Papal decisions on such questions. Thus, even in his own time and in his own case, the Nemesis was beginning to work, and his own work was beginning to prove itself a *reductio ad absurdum* of the grand and fundamental Papal claims which, against Newman and the English Catholics, against Dupanloup and the greatest French Bishops, against the learned Catholic Bishops and theologians of Germany, he had so ably and so successfully championed. In the battle of dogma against the witness of history and the experience of the ages, Manning had conquered. "The fools," as he boasted, had triumphed over the wise and leisured, the philosophers, and the scholars. In England he had only one powerful supporter, Dr. Ward, wielding the *Dublin Review*. But Ward as we know was a mere abstract thinker: a man of no general culture and almost incredibly ignorant of history. Manning himself knew little or nothing of the Renaissance period of the history of Europe, although he had given much attention to the theology of his Church. He was on terms of familiar friendship with a friend of the present writer, an eminently learned English clergyman, from whom we have received a statement which strikingly illus-

trates the historical ignorance that lay behind Cardinal Manning's imperative dogmatism. Our friend, in conversing with the Cardinal, referred to the iniquities and enormities of the Papacy of the Renaissance period, such as the horrors not only of the Borgia, but of the Carafa, the Ghislieri, the Pamfili Papacies. The Cardinal seemed to be in complete ignorance of these passages of history, and as he heard of them showed not only horror but terror. He said to his Anglican friend, "My only comfort is that I believe in the Holy Catholic Church;" to which his friend rejoined, "But what if it be *not* holy?"*

Mr. Purcell is "a member of the Roman Academy of Letters." and no doubt is in personal subordination to the Roman Court and Cardinals. It is curious that, although generally throughout these volumes, he seems to incline, at least so far as personal admiration goes, towards the "Gallicanising" or "nationalising" school of English Romanists, he is of an opposite temper as to the affairs of his Church in Italy. He feels it to be necessary, distinctly and absolutely, to defend with some elaboration the Papal policy in regard to the Italian kingdom and its constitutional Government against the Cardinal's censure. There is little else in the volume to justify Mr. Gladstone's assumption, in a letter of commendation which Mr. Purcell has sent to the *Times*, that Mr. Purcell writes as an Ultramontane. But at this point the fact that the Index Expurgatorius is kept in working order at Rome may have exercised a subtle influence on the biographer's judgment.

We have intimated that, as between the old English Catholic school, with its Gallican tendencies, as represented by Newman and Errington, and the Ultramontanism of Manning and Ward, the writer of this biography pronounces distinctly in favour of Newman and Errington. Archbishop

* Since the above was written Canon Jenkins, of Lyminge, to whom we refer in the text, has published *Passages of a Correspondence between the late Cardinal Newman and Robert C. Jenkins, M.A.*, which gives, in almost identical words, the statement made in the text. This little pamphlet contains much of interest as to the Cardinals, especially Newman.

Manning, in 1866, endorsed Ward's charges against Newman of "disloyalty to the Vicar of Christ" and of "worldliness." Newman had written to Ward a letter which served Manning as a text on which to found, in writing to his Roman correspondent, Monsignor Talbot, through whom he was accustomed to communicate with the Pope, a serious indictment against Newman's religious opinions. He speaks of his "low views about the Mother of God and the Vicar of our Lord," of the "watered, literary, worldly Catholicism of certain Englishmen." The Cardinal's biographer, however, describes Newman's letter to Ward as "a generous protest in favour of spiritual and intellectual life in the Church against Ward's loud and intolerant dogmatism;" and throughout the biography all his references to Newman are made in the same spirit. So again as to Dr. Errington, titular Archbishop of Trebizond, and, as it seemed for a long time, the destined and inevitable successor of Wiseman in his archbishopric, but who was set aside, we would not and ought not to say through the machinations, but certainly through the earnest opposition and prevailing influence of Manning, who regarded him as being, like Newman, half hearted, Gallican, nationalised, and not a true logical and consistent Ultramontane Catholic. Mr. Purcell describes him as "a man of strong character, simple and upright, and governed by a high sense of duty," and says that "even to moot such a question in Rome as Errington's removal called for the exercise of the highest arts of diplomatic skill," while "to carry it into effect required something beyond skill—audacity." "What," he says, "was unbecoming in Wiseman" to attempt, "might be considered by another, bound by no such ties of delicacy, as a supreme duty." When in the end Manning's arguments, unquestionably powerful arguments, and pressed from the sincerest sense of duty to his Church and regard for the prospects of Roman Catholicism in England, when his arguments and his influence, in the face of almost unanimous opposition from the English bishops and clergy, including Manning's own Chapter at Westminster, of which he was at the time Provost, had finally

prevailed at Rome against the claims of Errington, and when, as a further consequence, to secure which there is not a tittle of evidence that Manning had used any arts of intrigue or any direct influence whatever, Manning was himself designated as Wiseman's successor, Mr. Purcell, in summing up this episode and describing the final results, pronounces a high eulogy on Dr. Errington. His tribute closes as follows: "He nursed no resentment in his heart. He did not even attempt to vindicate his ways or tell his own story. His tongue left no sting or stain behind." As to Manning's share in this critical business, he winds up as follows: "The pith and purport of these communications" —those from Manning to Monsignor Talbot—"reached the ear of Propaganda. Propaganda has a long memory. Manning's mode and method of action was never altogether forgiven or forgotten by the Holy Office. It was even remembered against him at the Vatican Council." In this passage, by the Holy Office is chiefly meant the ruling Cardinals at Rome. The Holy Office has a continuity more or less independent of Papal will and personality.

One of the most marked features in Cardinal Manning's policy was jealousy and dislike of the Jesuits. He did not favour religious orders generally. He regarded the priesthood and the episcopate as sufficient, under healthy conditions, for the well-being of the Church. This was partly because he, the upholder of Papal autocracy for the entire Church, naturally believed also, subject only to the Papal authority, in supreme and effective episcopal autocracy for each episcopal province. Monasteries involve peculiar and more or less exempt jurisdictions. Monasteries had produced great scandals in the past. But, above all, he had an intense antipathy to the Society of Jesus, for reasons which may perhaps be guessed, but which he did not disclose, and to which no clue is given in the *Life*.

"The unfriendly relations," says his biographer, "which subsisted between Cardinal Manning and the Jesuits in England during the whole period of his rule as Archbishop over the Diocese of Westminster is an open secret. But the grounds of his opposition were never divulged; scarcely even hinted at."

Besides other reasons, which may naturally be supposed to have led him to dread their secret, subtle, and far-reaching power, it seems likely that a dislike of their tone and influence, as tending to secularity and worldliness, was one of the motives which actuated the Cardinal in his steadfast unfriendliness. The Cardinal was distinctly opposed to their educational aims and projects. His own plan—in itself a sagacious plan—was to establish a distinct and independent Catholic University College, and himself to hold the chief place in its government. He desired to keep the whole course of education under the influence of the religious spirit, and apart from what he knew to be the atmosphere and influences of the English Universities. For this reason he was opposed to the project of a Roman Catholic College at Oxford, with Newman at its head. He held that the effect of such a College would be to secularise and demoralise the Roman Catholic students, and to "nationalise" the Catholic Church in England. On the project of his "Catholic University" he spent large sums of money, completely impoverishing himself for its sake. But the result was a total and disastrous failure. His choice of an instrument for the organisation of the University was a signal mistake, and proved that he was not always sagacious in his judgment of men or his selection of instruments for his service. Monsignor Capel, though popular and famous at one time, had not the tone or the qualities of an English gentleman, or the accomplishments of a genuine scholar. He proved to be not only inefficient, but extravagant, untrustworthy, and immoral. The University, in his hands, was an ignominious failure, and he himself disappeared from the scene. He was suspended from all sacred functions by the Holy Office, and sought refuge in America. Cardinal Manning's policy in the matter of higher and University education would seem to have been largely reversed by his successor. The Cardinal, we must add, not only made a failure of the Kensington University College, but of the Hammersmith Seminary for the training of priests. These two were the most conspicuous failures—

but, perhaps, the only notable failures—of his Roman Catholic life. As to the University College business his biographer is unsparingly severe.

In this fragmentary review of a vast subject, we must leave quite untouched episodes of supreme importance, including not only the transactions of the Vatican Council, on which much new light is shed, but a great deal besides. We have not even glanced—nor can we glance—at the many points of interest in the first volume, which relates wholly to the career of Manning within the English Church, and raises, not altogether fairly, as we think, some questions as to Manning's ecclesiastical honour and integrity. When the other promised Life appears we may possibly be able to return to the subject. We must, however, make room for that which, of all the intensely interesting letters in the two volumes, seems to us to be the most perfect gem. We refer to a letter of Mr. Gladstone's to Cardinal Manning, written in 1869, *i.e.*, shortly before the Œcumenical Council. If the writing of it had been postponed one short year, how different would have been its tone throughout, and how lurid a forecast would the High Anglican statesman have shadowed forth of the probable future of the ecclesiastical Catholic world! The following is the letter:

"11, CARLTON HOUSE TERRACE, S.W.,
"*16th November*, 1869.

"MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—I have no difficulty in answering you; the state of my speculative mind, so to speak, is not the portion of me that I have most difficulty in exhibiting, and I do it in the familiarity of ancient and unextinguished friendship.

"When I said that there had always been in me a turn towards rationalising, I did not mean to use the term in its technical sense, but only meant it had always been my habit and desire to give to religious doctrine a home in my understanding, so that the whole mind might embrace it, and not merely the emotional part of it.

"It was in the year 1830, I think, that I began to be powerfully acted upon by the writings of Bishop Butler (one of my four great teachers), and I then wrote a paper on his chapter concerning Mediation, the matter of which I still view with interest in no way abated. The tendency to rationalise in this sense has continued, and I wish to encourage it, believing it to be truly Evangelical, Apostolical, and Catholic.

"My first recollection of difference from you was in 1835 or 1836, about a question at 67, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where I had been (with Lord Cholmondeley) to support the bishops, and you to vote against them. My second went deeper, and left a strong mark in my memory. You sent me (I think) a proof sheet of a Sermon about the working of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and the Infallibility of the Church. I thought it by much too absolute, and argued this, more or less, in reply. You kept to your text, and it was what I should call further exaggeration of that already over-absolute proposition, which you embodied in a paper as your immediate vindication for joining the Church of Rome. I saw that paper in 1851, but never had a copy. It seemed to me that in it, you broke altogether away from the teaching of history and experience, respecting the methods of God in dealing with His Church. But I am becoming aggressive.

"I remember well, though not so accurately as you, the scenes at the time of the Gorham Judgment. Suddenly plunged into a vortex of complicated controversies on the relations of Church and State, I was a good deal tossed about; and in 1850, family cares and sorrows wrought me (for I was a kind of spoilt child of Providence) into an unusual susceptibility. But to sum up all in a few words: (1) I view the judgment itself as I did then. (2) I hold firmly by the doctrine of the Supremacy of the Crown, as I then worked it out for myself. (3) I over-estimated the *scope* of the judgment. The Bishop of St. David's is right when he says, such a judgment could not rule anything except the case it decided and, through the Courts, any case in precise correspondence with it. (4) Soon after that judgment the Church of England recovered its corporate capacity, and its voice—a great change which you or I had never anticipated. Then, and before, she lost the most brilliant of her children, that she might have cause to know the meaning of the words, 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit.' All her gloss was rubbed away. Those who have adhered to her, have done it without illusions. In the Edinburgh Discourse to which you refer, I said something about the necessity and difficulty and value of a philosophy of religion, and the master-hope, the master-passion of my soul is to be permitted, when my present work (which cannot last very long) is done, to gather up from off the battle-field of politics all that may remain of my being, and to be permitted by the Divine mercy to dedicate any residue of life to some morsels of that work. I profoundly believe in a reconciliation between Christianity and the conditions of modern thought, modern life, and modern society. While I see that in the common idea and tradition of the time, even in this country, and yet more on the Continent, they are farther than ever from being reconciled.

"In 1839, Lord Macaulay covered me with not ill-natured, yet unqualified and glittering ridicule, because in my imperfect way I had professed my loyal allegiance to two principles which in religion, at least, he appeared to regard as incompatible—freedom and authority. After some thirty years of the blasts of life, I remained rooted as much as before in regard for authority, and even more than before in the value I set upon freedom. It has pleased God, at a heavy cost, to give it the place of a foundation-stone in the being of man, the most wonderful of His known works. The difficulty of training and rearing it aright, I feel; but under no inducement whatever could I, without treason to duty, consent, whether in religion or secular affairs, to its being trodden under foot. And hence, while my creed is what it was, and perhaps even more sacramental, I regard with misgivings, which approach to horror, what may be called sacerdotalism. In this sacerdotalism I recognise a double danger; first, that many elect and tender souls may forego one of the great prerogatives and duties of their nature; secondly, that the just reaction from their excess, co-operating with other causes less legitimate, may yet more estrange the general mass of humanity from God and from religion.

"Lastly, I did not recommend Dr. Temple as a bishop because the Church of England retained him, any more than you would choose Mr. Ffoulkes on a similar ground; but because of his combinations of mind and life for the office, together with the futility or insufficiency of any charge which was (to my knowledge) advanced against him.

"And now, my dear friend, what a flood of egotism you have unwittingly brought down on your devoted head! I must recognise the terms of your letter as most kind and considerate; I do not feel equally certain about my reply. Pardon it, as you have pardoned much before.—Believe me, affectionately yours,

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

It is impossible to read this letter without admiration for the writer's character and aims as well as his intellectual grasp and ability. He had been fascinated by a grand Utopia such as no small Christian and no mere secularist philosopher could be expected to admire. But within twelve months how rudely was his dream broken up, and broken up for ever. The Vatican Council was to Mr. Gladstone a more portentous and revolutionary event for Christendom than the Franco-German war was for France; the two catastrophes occupied his mind at the same time. His pamphlets on "Vaticanism" produced an alienation between Manning and himself, which kept them asunder for years;

nor did the Cardinal's tardy acceptance of Home Rule avail to re-establish—nothing could re-establish—between them their ancient cordial relations. Mr. Gladstone, Lord Acton, and Dr. Döllinger were three great men intent on effecting some hopeful measure of reconciliation between the Anglican Church and the Western Catholic Communion—with a view ultimately to a more comprehensive conciliation which could include also the Greek Church. The Vatican Decrees, at the same time stereotyping and reaffirming all the past dogmas, bulls, and decrees of the "Roman obedience," and also defining and affirming the Infallibility when speaking *ex cathedrâ* of the Roman Pontiff, completely insulated Rome in the midst of Christendom, and hewed out clean and deep a gulf between Rome and Canterbury. How this dark achievement will be turned to the final overthrow of Rome's usurping claims, it is not given to us to see at present.

Manning was a very able and sincere man, he was a genuine philanthropist, and his whole life was religiously consecrated. His "remains," exposed to our view in these volumes, enable us almost to see the man as he was; and thus to see him is to respect him. His journal reveals a high ideal of devotion and self-sacrifice. Personally he was an amiable man and his family letters are charming in their loving purity and goodness. But he was withal a narrow man, no philosopher, not fitted for deep and abstract thought, though he was a "Catholic" theologian of no mean attainments, and a man of great and versatile talent. He was a powerful and adroit administrator; for the time he contributed very much indeed to the development, the unity, and the strength of the Roman Catholic Church in England. Like the rest of the Oxford High Anglicans, he was led to Rome by the principles of ecclesiastical externalism, seeking, and, as he conceived, finding in Rome the unity, continuity, and infallibility of right belonging to the Church of Christ. Till the dogmas of externalism are abandoned High Churchmen will still be drawn Romewards. Mr. Gladstone's ideal having been broken into fragments, and the axis of his universal Catholicism shattered, he seeks

for Christian unity on the apparently lower level marked out by his paper on "Heresy and Schism." But to the real ground of unity, the true foundation of Church life in Christ, taught by St. Paul, the Churches must be brought, if the hopes of Christian union throughout the world are ever to be realised.

At Rome, when the question arises of canonising a man of piety, the Holy Office, it is said, appoints a doctor to gather up and to urge as distinctly and forcibly as possible, all the reasons against the proposed canonisation. This doctor has been described as *Advocatus Diaboli.* In many parts of these volumes, most of all in his preface, Mr. Purcell seems as if he felt it his duty to play the like part. He is austere, censorious, sometimes captious, in his questions and criticisms. But he is nevertheless often carried away by feelings of genuine admiration, as he brings to view, in letter and in journal, the evidences of the Cardinal's pure and noble aims. Throughout his life, and whether Anglican or Roman Catholic, Manning held to the same experimental theology. He was a spiritually-minded man and a man of prayer. Of the early Calvinism which just touched him, but never held him fast, one trace remains to the end—if it be not a trace common to all forms of earnest evangelical experience. Whilst universalistic in his ideas and hopes as to the reality and effects of baptismal grace, he evidently regarded himself as elected for certain forms and passages of work and service, a predestinated instrument of the Spirit of Christ. As to various particulars, we may regard this as a delusion; but there is one redeeming feature, one beneficial effect, connected with his life and influence, which may go, under the Divine overruling, towards counteracting the evil which his errors wrought, and that is the example of spirituality and consecration which he has left to Christians, especially Christian ministers, of every Church. Till the other promised biography is published, it will be impossible to form a complete judgment of the character and work of the great Cardinal of Westminster.

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Works of Joseph Butler, D.C.L., sometime Bishop of Durham. Divided into Sections, with Sectional Headings. An Index to each Volume, and some Occasional Notes; also Prefatory Matter. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. Analogy, &c. Vol. II. Sermons. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1896.

It is a noble sight—that of Mr. Gladstone rounding off his wonderful and wonderfully prolonged life by the publication of this edition of the works of the great master of his Christian training as a student of life and its mysteries, of human nature and its responsibilities, at the great printing-house of his *alma mater*, the Oxford between which and himself there has been so much of love—gathered and scattered, lost and renewed. Augustine and Butler have been, we believe, Mr. Gladstone's two chief teachers in fundamental Christian learning and discipline, as Dante has been his poet-prophet to kindle and inspire his imagination. No other layman, we suppose—scarcely any Church doctor—has ever mastered Augustine's folios throughout, from first to last, as Mr. Gladstone did in his early manhood. No student of theology and Christian ethics, whether minister or layman, has given such an edition of Butler as this which the aged statesman presents to English Christians, and to the world of Christian thinkers, in the two superb volumes which lie on our table.

The work of Gladstone's *Butler*, the printer and the publisher, could hardly, as might have been expected, have been better done. The Clarendon Press is here seen at its stateliest and best. But the care and craft of the editor gives its chief value to this edition. The text has been most minutely and painstakingly revised, in defiance of all the labour involved in the case of the aged student, only just restored to something like effective vision; and to have such an accurate text is the fundamental requirement in such an edition. But, besides that, the "Analogy" has

been skilfully broken up into sections, each section with its heading, so as to assist both the eye and mind of the reader; indices have been provided for each volume, "framed upon a separate perusal and following of the text;" some Notes have been added, in part explanatory and in part illustrative; and an appendix has been added to the second volume, containing several pieces which are either by Butler or associated with his name. We need hardly say that the second volume, with the Sermons, is little inferior in value, and, in some respects, is superior in interest, to the first volume, which contains the "Analogy."

To complete the whole plan, a volume of dissertations is to be added, in writing which Mr. Gladstone is now occupied. All the world will await their completion with deep interest. We gather also that the new volume will contain a biographical sketch. Then we shall have a monumental work indeed. Meantime, we can already say that the history of English letters can show little or nothing more remarkable than this "last fruit" of life's consecration to the service of his fellow men from the hand of the most famous statesman and orator of his nation.

The Book of the Secrets of Enoch. Translated from the Slavonic by W. R. MORFITT, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages. And Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. CHARLES, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1896. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Of the many recent acquisitions which have come to us from unknown recesses, casting altogether unexpected light on the origins of our Christianity, this is one of the most interesting and valuable. The discovery, a good many years ago, of an Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch, was not only very interesting but highly valuable for the uses of New Testament criticism. The present is an altogether different book, and would seem to be not less valuable. This new fragment of Enochic literature has come to light within the last few years through certain Slavonic MSS., which were found in Russia and Servia. By the diligence of Mr. Charles and the Slavonic learning of Mr. Morfitt, by their joint counsels and labours, two MSS. of the book have been collated, a composite and approximately complete Slavonic text has been constructed and translated, and the translation, with learned introduction and notes, is now printed and published in this beautiful volume by the Clarendon Press. The result reflects honour on the University as well as on the learned translator and editor. As to this remarkable book, English scholarship and enterprise seem to have conferred a distinguished

benefit on the students of Apocalyptic literature and of the earliest traces of Christian influences, outside the sacred books of our religion, wherever such students are found.

The original book, of which this Slavonic Enoch in its present form is the representative, was written in Greek about the beginning of the Christian era. It was composed in Egypt by an Hellenistic Jew. It has, of course, exercised no direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. But it contains some striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and furnishes valuable help towards the explanation of some dark passages. It appears to be quoted, among other books of the early Christian period, by the Sibylline Oracles and the Epistle of Barnabas. It was referred to by Origen and used by Irenæus, and some may think that a few phrases in the New Testament show traces of its influence. Altogether, scholars in grain, who care for the early Jewish-Christian literature, will be fascinated by it.

The Book of Chronicles. Printed in colours, with Notes. By R. KITTEL, D.D., Breslau. London: D. Nutt.

The Book of Psalms. (Printed in colours, with Notes.) By J. WELLHAUSEN, D.D., Göttingen.

The two volumes above mentioned form the latest instalment of Professor Paul Haupt's critical edition of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, as prepared by some of the most eminent Biblical scholars of Europe and America. It is polychromatic, *i.e.*, the "documents" of which the several books are in the judgment of the several critics composed, are indicated by the use of colours. The text is admirably printed in unpointed Hebrew, and brief critical notes are appended, more or less justifying the conclusions recorded in the text. In *The Book of Psalms*, the only colour used is red, for the titles, doxologies, and headings, which did not form a part of the original text to which they are attached. In *Chronicles*, Professor Kittel uses dark red for older sources used by the chronicler which are not extant in the Old Testament canon; light red for sections derived from passages preserved in our Old Testament, especially Genesis, Samuel, and Kings. Dark blue is used for subsequent additions to the work, and light blue for the latest additions of all. Overlining "calls attention to modifications of the parallel document at the hands of the chronicler, or of the Midrashic source from which he compiled his work."

The publication of this critical edition of the text of the Old Testament will mark an epoch in criticism. The mechanical assistance given to the eye in enabling a reader at once to discern the construction of a given book, according to the critic's view of it, is considerable and valuable, while the whole work has been prepared and edited with the greatest care. We do not, of

course, assume that the particular views adopted by the contributors to Professor Paul Haupt's edition will prevail. They represent the left wing of the critical army, and it is too soon for these to assume that they have conquered all along the line. But their views are strongly supported and will have to be reckoned with, and this particular mode of presentation is very convenient for the clear exhibition of these critical opinions and for their close examination. The publication is intended only for scholars, but for these, we should say, it is not only valuable but indispensable.

The God-Man: being the "Davies Lecture" for 1895. By T. C. EDWARDS, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton, 1895.

The "Davies Lecture" has been but recently founded, the present being the second lecture of the series. Whatever Principal Edwards writes is sure to be scholarly, thoughtful, and able. This little volume exhibits the writer as a dogmatic theologian; hitherto, he has appeared chiefly as an exegete. The treatment here given to the cardinal doctrine of the Incarnation is worthy of the subject and of Dr. Edwards' high reputation, though of necessity it is brief, and some will find it, on that account, disappointing. The three chapters of which the book consists deal respectively with the subject of the Incarnation in its relation to the Trinity, to Human Nature, and to the Unity of Christ's Person. On each topic Principal Edwards speaks wisely and weightily. He quotes somewhat largely from the great Greek Fathers who have made this subject their own, but his book is not unduly encumbered with references, and its value is greatly increased by the few notes annexed.

We do not quite understand Dr. Edwards' views of the Person of Christ, or the extent to which he is prepared to go in the direction of Kenotic theories. He appears, however, to stand side by side with Canon Gore, whose utterances on this subject in his Bampton Lectures and appended Dissertations, will be fresh in the memory of our readers, and with Principal Fairbairn, in his *Christ in Modern Theology*. These eminent theologians do not favour precisely the same form of Kenotic theory, but they represent a prevailing current of modern theological thought in holding that the "self-emptying" of the Eternal Word in taking upon himself the form of a servant, implied more of self-limitation than orthodox doctrine has hitherto allowed. The subject is too complex and difficult to be argued here, but we may say that Principal Edwards' reply to Dr. Bruce's criticism of Thomasius' theory is too brief and onesided to be satisfactory. Though we are not prepared to accept Dr. Edwards' view, so far as we can follow his very brief exposition of it, we can commend his discussion of a difficult subject as reverent, and, in some respects, instructive. The whole lecture deserves careful study.

The Apostolic Gospel. By J. FULTON BLAIR, B.D. Smith, Elder & Co. 1896.

Mr. Fulton Blair professes to be able to go behind the text of our canonical Gospels, and by means of them to construct the primitive document or "apostolic Gospel" in its original form. It is pure theory that such a document ever existed, and even the all-victorious analysis of modern Biblical criticism would hardly profess itself able so to solve the Synoptic problem as to present the "document" from which all the rest took its rise. Mr. Blair, however, is bold enough to make the attempt. He gives us first an introduction describing his procedure: then the text, occupying about 50 octavo pages in its English form; then more than 300 pages in which he justifies in detail this critical reconstruction of the text of the most sacred of sacred books in the eyes of all Christians. We have no *a priori* objection to Biblical criticism, even in some of its more pronounced forms, so long as it can fairly justify its procedure; it deserves a hearing, and, if rash and extreme, it claims a refutation on the part of those who decline to accept it. After carefully reading, however, those parts of Mr. Blair's book which describe his methods and a considerable portion of his more detailed arguments, we really do not feel called upon to enter into a detailed refutation of his position. And for this reason: Every man who claims at this time of day to take our four Gospels to pieces and reconstruct them, eliminating so largely and allowing only a measure of historical accuracy to a small portion of Gospel history as it has come down to us, must be prepared at the outset to show just cause for his revolutionary procedure. Mr. Blair describes his method as one of textual criticism; but it resolves itself into an examination of the narratives upon the presupposition that they are derived from one primitive source, and a somewhat arbitrary and entirely subjective determination in each case as to what may or may not be admitted as being drawn from that source. This method is certainly not scientific, and as we do not accept the writer's premises, it seems futile to argue with him in detail over his methods and conclusions. That there is a "Synoptic problem" is certain; it *may* be solved some day or other, though we have our doubts whether it ever will be solved as many critics expect. We think it tolerably certain that it will not be solved in the way proposed by Mr. Fulton Blair.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have sent us four volumes of their new series, "Little Books on Religion." They are elegantly bound in cloth, clearly printed upon a long and narrow page, and are issued at the moderate price of eighteenpence. *Christ and the Future Life* is the last and one of the most precious of the many valuable books written by that "master in Israel," Dr. Dale. Stimulating, sympathetic, full of the clearest

and deepest spiritual insight, and singularly terse and succinct in exposition and application, it is the very book on its subject for earnest, thoughtful, busy men in this busy age. It is golden from first to last, while its cheapness is wonderful. The subject of the little book is the most sacred and central teaching of the Blessed Lord Himself. The titles of the short sermons are "Faith in God and Christ," a clarion strain of faith and consolation; the "Many Mansions," an admirable and most touching and encouraging exposition, in two short discourses; "The Way," and "The Way, the Truth, and The Life," and "The Resurrection." The book is worth its weight in gold. Dr. Dods deals with *The Visions of a Prophet*. These studies of Zechariah's wonderland take us right into the heart of the subject, and bring out clearly the abiding lessons of the young Jewish prophet's ministry. There is much clear and helpful teaching here. Dr. Nicoll, the editor, has reserved for himself *The Seven Words from the Cross*, which furnish a starting point for a set of meditations which are profoundly suggestive and soul-stirring. Dr. Alexander Whyte has a congenial subject in *The Four Temperaments*, on which he discourses in that practical yet poetic vein which has made his sermons and lectures at "Free St. George's" such a power in Scotland. The little book is wonderfully stimulating. The section on the choleric temperament is especially valuable. John Watson leads us into the most sacred spot of the earthly ministry, *The Upper Room*. His pages are very rich in food for holy thought. He deals more with the outer surroundings than with the teaching of the Upper Room, but he supplies an environment, an atmosphere, which will bring many a devout soul nearer to Christ, and make them feast with growing delight on His truth and grace.

The Book of Genesis. Edited with Introduction, Critical Analysis and Notes, by G. WOOSUNG WADE, M.A., Professor of Latin at St. David's College, Lampeter. With Two Maps. Hodder Brothers. 1896. 6*s*.

This book is an attempt "to take account of some of the conclusions of recent literary and historical criticism, and to face a few of the questions suggested by such criticism in connection with Christian theology." Mr. Wade boldly treats the first ten or eleven chapters of Genesis as "cosmogonical and racial legends," on a discussion of which it would be "unnecessary to enter if it were not for the resemblance which, in some cases, exists between them and the results of modern scientific inquiry, and, on the other hand, for the influence they have had in moulding theological theories." He even ventures to suggest that it was quite possible that our Lord as man really shared

the popular belief among the Jews as to the Flood. "Ignorance of the truth in regard to such matters may have been part of the humiliation and self-emptying which was inseparable from the Incarnation. As it has been phrased, He may have *condescended* not to know." We have sufficiently indicated the writer's position. There is no lack of evidence of painstaking in his work, but we should be sorry to see such a volume used as a text-book in any college.

Daniel in the Critics' Den. By ROBERT ANDERSON, LL.D. Blackwood. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is a trenchant reply to Dean Farrar's book on Daniel in the *Expositor's Bible*. The writer is a barrister, well known as Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and ventures to apply the experience gained through sifting and weighing conflicting testimony to the investigation of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel. He pays just regard to the immense value of the Higher Criticism in its proper sphere, but can scarcely find words to express his dislike to Dr. Farrar's book. He says scholars will ignore it, but it will furnish "'the man in the street' with a reason for the unfaith that is in him. The narrowness with which it emphasises everything that either erudition or ignorance can urge upon one side of a great controversy, to the exclusion of the rest, will relieve him from the irksome task of thinking out the problem for himself; and its pedantry is veiled by rhetoric of a type which will admirably suit him." The chief points in Dr. Farrar's position are examined with much acumen. The writer shows himself a clear and able reasoner and he succeeds in finding some serious slips in the Dean's rhetoric. He has his own theory as to the explanation of the Seventy Weeks, and it has the rare merit of simplicity.

The Theology of the Old Testament. By W. H. BENNETT, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This volume belongs to the "Theological Educator" series, and Professor Bennett has packed into it the result of much patient and well directed work. He considers the relation of Israel to Jehovah under four aspects as set forth in the events of Jewish history and in connection with the Messianic kingdom foretold by the prophets. On this basis he tries to construct a formal statement of the Old Testament doctrine of Jehovah as the God of Israel and Israel as the people of Jehovah. The material is clearly arranged in brief sections, and everything is simply and concisely stated. Students will find this manual both judicious and instructive.

The Books of the Prophets. By G. G. FINDLAY, B.A. Vol. I. To the Fall of Samaria. C. H. Kelly. 1896. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Findlay's *Epistles of Paul the Apostle* have been welcomed as a very seasonable and valuable manual, far beyond the limits of his own Church. The present instalment of an introduction, conceived on a similar plan, which is to open the student's way to the study of the Hebrew prophets, is distinguished by the same qualities which gave value to his former book. Wide reading, painstaking study, patient and conscientious accuracy, and good, perspicuous writing, give character to the book from page to page. Mr. Findlay's mastery of recent literature on his subject is remarkable. We are not sure that we accept all his conclusions, for he has to deal with questions of tangled perplexity. But we heartily commend his book.

The Problem of the Ages. A Book for Young Men. By the Rev. J. B. HASTINGS, M.A., Edinburgh. Hodder and Stoughton. 1895. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is the best modern book on the subject of Christian evidence that we know. It is written in a style so clear and so interesting that the reader is drawn on from step to step and can scarcely put down the volume. The argument is lighted up by quotations from the poets and by notable testimonies from great thinkers, both past and present. We should like every thoughtful young man to get the book and to master it. He would find that Christianity is no cunningly devised fable, but a revelation for which all previous dispensations laid the foundation, and which approves itself on every side and to every faculty of human nature.

On Sermon Preparation. Recollections and Suggestions by the Bishop of Ripon and others. Seeley & Co.

These articles were originally prepared for the columns of the *Record*, but they well deserve the honour of publication in book form. We do not know a more suggestive set of counsels for young preachers. There is considerable difference of opinion on many points, but this only adds to the interest of the book. Dean Lefroy's method of preparation varies widely indeed from Dean Farrar's; one man believes in divisions, another eschews them altogether, but this variety makes the volume more useful. After all, preachers must adopt the methods which best suit their own gifts, but these pages will stimulate them to fresh zeal in the preparation of themselves as well as of their sermons. The book is expressly intended for young clergymen, but

ministers of all Churches will find it stimulating and suggestive. The frankness with which such preachers as the Bishop of Ripon, Dr. Moule, Dean Farrar, Dean Lefroy and others explain their own methods makes the book a delightful series of autobiographies. It is full of wise sayings, and contains not a few good stories about preachers and preaching. Kingsley used to say, with the little stammer which often gave a charming emphasis to his sentences, "Whenever I walk up the choir of Westminster Abbey to the pulpit I wish myself d-d-dead; and whenever I walk back I wish myself m-m-more dead." What preacher, worthy the name, has not shared Kingsley's feeling?

The Cambridge University Press send us a Reference Bible without Commentary, and with wide margins for MS. notes. It is a convenient volume for daily use, and is strongly bound in cloth; price 4s. 6d. The New Testament and the Old Testament can be had in separate volumes, and the New Testament is also supplied in an interleaved edition. The books which are being used for the Cambridge Local Examinations (Samuel I. and II., St. Matthew, The Acts) and St. Luke are also published in limp cloth, with the same ample margin, for fourpence each. We know no copies of the Bible or of these special books which will be found so useful for students who wish to gather together the result of their own reading in a convenient form. The printer has done his part well.

The Modern Reader's Bible. The Proverbs edited with an Introduction and Notes. By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A. Macmillans.

The aim of the *Modern Reader's Bible* is to exhibit Biblical works as portions of World Literature, with an interest of their own for every variety of readers. Professor Moulton has arranged the Book of Proverbs as Sonnets and as detached gnomes in a way that is wonderfully suggestive and instructive. His introduction and notes are of such real value, and the whole of this little volume is so fresh and so instructive, that we hope all lovers of the Bible and of literature will make themselves familiar with this gem of sacred truth.

One by One, and other Sunday Evening Sermons to an Invalid Daughter. By Rev. JOHN V. B. SHREWSBURY, London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. *2s. 6d.*

This little volume of Sermons will cheer and bless many a sick room. There are advantages and opportunities in dealing with a congregation of one which Mr. Shrewsbury is not slow to avail himself of. His Homilies are homely and personal, but they represent much clear thinking and careful Bible study.

The Expositor. Fifth Series, Vol. II. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895.

This volume is full of interest, and, in spite of able rivals which have come into the field, the *Expositor* continues well to hold its own.

The Critical Review. T. & T. Clark. Vol. V. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The *Critical Review* is the finest repertory of critical thought on high questions of theology and philosophy in the English language. The successive volumes seem to us to grow in interest and power.

Some Scripture Problems and their Solutions. By T. H. ARCHER-HIND, M.A. Elliot Stock. 1896.

A few papers on Biblical subjects such as Baptism for the Dead, the Sin unto Death, and other much-debated questions of Biblical interpretation. A large part of the booklet is occupied by a "Bible History of Satan." This essay, as well as the rest, evinces careful study of Scripture, though there is nothing specially original or able in any of the "studies." We have noticed a few awkward misprints in the Greek.

The Beatitudes and other Sermons. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, B.A., D.D. London: Alexander & Shepheard. 1896. 5*s.*

Many students of the Beatitudes will be glad to read the first seven sermons of this volume. They are always practical, and are full of suggestion as to the tone, meaning, and present day application of these abiding rules of the kingdom of heaven. Dr. Maclaren is careful to trace the development of thought in the Beatitudes, and to show how they are linked to each other. Every sermon in the volume bears the stamp of consecrated thought. The story of Nicodemus is treated in a fresh and helpful way. The confession with which the Jewish rabbi stepped into the presence of Christ was sorely imperfect, "everything about it, pretty nearly, is wrong," but though it was "a great thing for a young rabbi from Nazareth, that had no certificate from the authorities, to find an opening thus into the very centre of the Sanhedrim," our Lord did not hesitate to show how far the rabbi's confession failed to express the facts. There is much food for preachers and teachers here. The language is sometimes rather too homely, and the sermons do not all reach the high-water mark of the great Manchester pulpit, but the volume is full of spiritual insight, as well as beauty and depth of thought. It will be prized by all devout readers.

We are glad to receive from Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Co. a second edition of *Lancelot Andrewes and His Private Devotions*, by Dr. Whyte. Last January we gave a warm welcome to the book, and this new edition is considerably improved by the care of Dr. Whyte and those who have helped him. There is nothing in the whole range of devotional literature to be set beside Andrewes' book. Richard Drake, who translated the Devotions out of the Greek, in which they were first written, says: "Had you seen the original manuscript, happy in the glorious deformity thereof, being slubbered with its author's pious hands and watered with his penitential tears, you would have been forced to confess, that book belonged to no other than to pure and primitive devotion." The confessions, petitions, and thanksgivings only reveal their charm and depth to those who use them daily, as Andrewes did, at the throne of grace. Here we have a perfect portrait of the Bishop, as a man of prayer, living in the sight of God. Next to the Psalms this is the most heart-searching and inspiring private liturgy ever given to the Christian Church.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Lectures on the Council of Trent. Delivered at Oxford, 1892-3. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. Longmans and Co. 12*s.* 6*d.*

These lectures have not enjoyed the master's finishing touches, but they are as profoundly interesting even as those delightful sketches of the English seamen of the sixteenth century, which were recently reviewed in these pages. Mr. Froude considers that it is impossible to magnify the importance of the Council of Trent, a verdict which the thoughtful reader of this volume can scarcely fail to endorse. The history of the Council with its endless squabbles, its secret plottings, its revelations of the perfidy of the popes, is laid bare by a master's hand. Charles V. comes out of this long struggle with honour and credit. He was honestly desirous of securing a reform of the Papal Court, but Paul III. outwitted him. His Holiness was quite willing that the Council should debate theological questions, and it is entertaining indeed to see the eagerness with which the assembled fathers discussed these topics, and the way in which the Legate urged them on, but Paul would not allow them to touch the Papal prerogative or to attempt any reform of abuses. A more instructive and illuminating study of the Reformation,

and the Reformation epoch, has scarcely ever appeared in popular form. Mr. Froude shows that Christendom at first hailed Luther as its champion. His theses, nailed to the church doors in Wittenberg, gave form to the universal discontent and disgust of serious-minded men. "The spark kindled the powder which was lying everywhere ready to explode. That one act opened the lips of Germany, and from all parts there rose instantly the cry of denunciation against the Church administration. Erasmus, the best of witnesses, for he himself stood apart from the movement, testified to the universal delight at what Luther had done. Kings, princes, bishops, priests, some even among the monks themselves, equally applauded. A brave man at last had been found to utter the thoughts of them all. There was no question of teaching any new doctrine, or breaking the unity of Christendom. All honest men knew that the indulgences were a scandal which it was impossible to defend." The historic scene of the Reformer's appearance at the Diet of Worms loses nothing of its impressiveness in Mr. Froude's hands, but Charles V. is really the hero of the book. Devout Catholic though he was, Charles was no lover of Papacy. He was urgent for the reformation of abuses, and was anxious to establish a concordat, which, liberally interpreted, might have given peace to Germany.

How he was foiled by Paul III. and Cardinal De Monte, Mr. Froude clearly shows in these lectures. The Pope was dreadfully afraid of the bishops, who smarted sorely under his constant exactions. The Spanish prelates were especially hard to handle, for they had no love for the Papacy, and were strong in the manifest support of their master, the Emperor. It was an unspeakable relief to De Monte when he could turn the discussions into theological channels where there was less peril for himself and the Pope. The whole story is singularly edifying. But the Council of Trent drank its deepest cup of degradation when the Protestant ambassadors from Germany were introduced to the Assembly. Leonard Badehorn was spokesman. "Surrounded by a ring of scowling faces, the unmoved Saxon described with pitiless sincerity the purpose for which the Council had assembled, and the ill use to which it had been turned by the Court of Rome. Briefly, contemptuously, he alluded to the trick which had been tried with the safe conduct. He protested in his master's name again against the precipitate definitions of doctrine. He appealed to the bishops present to reassert the decree of Constance, that the Pope was subject to the Council, not the Council to the Pope; and he urged them to repudiate the oath which they had been unjustly compelled to swear." This was plain speaking indeed, but it was received in all meekness by the father, and a new safe-conduct was granted, though the Protestant deputies never

came to Trent after all. A believer in the Reformation who clearly recognises its service to the cause of truth and liberty, Mr. Froude is always temperate in his statements, and is careful to draw his material from unimpeachable Catholic authorities. The degradation of the Papacy, and the way in which it reeled to its very foundation during the period here brought under review, are set forth in a way so vivid and so instructive that this volume cannot fail to win readers, and to confirm thoughtful men in their loyalty to Protestantism.

Sir Thomas More. By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON, B.D., Fellow, Tutor, Precentor and Librarian of St. John Baptist College, Oxford. Methuen & Co. 1896. 5*s*.

There is no modern work on More, save Mr. S. L. Lee's valuable contribution to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Father Bridgett's biography, which has made use of all the material now available for students of this period. It is twelve years since Mr. Hutton began to study the life and writings of the great hero of conscience in the days of Henry VIII., and though press of work has often compelled him to lay it aside, he has never abandoned his task. His aim has been to lay most stress on the personal interest of the subject. The history of the times and the discussion of critical questions of theology and history has been carefully subordinated to this aim, and though Mr. Hutton does not claim to be unbiassed towards such a character as More, he finds it very difficult even to fancy himself critical, yet he has sought to tell the story simply, briefly and truthfully, with no extenuation or apology. It was during his student life at Oxford that Colet fell in love with More. "He was now only fourteen, but there seems always to have been all through his life a fascination about More which no cultured man could resist. It was the union of simplicity of manner and purity of soul, with a swift appreciation of the thoughts and a true sympathy for the sorrows of others, of a keen intellect and deep earnestness of purpose, softened by a bright and continual humour." Old Judge More scarcely allowed his son enough money to pay for the mending of his own clothes, but the great Chancellor would often praise this treatment in later days, "affirming," says his grandson, "that by this he was curbed from all vice and withdrawn from many idle expenses, either of gaming or keeping naughty company, so that he knew neither play nor other riot, wherein most young men in these our lamentable days plunge themselves too timely, to the utter overthrow as well as of learning and future virtue as of their temporal estates." After he left Oxford More entered at New Inn, and was in due course called to the Bar. His friend Grocyn was Rector of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry, and in that church

More delivered lectures on "De Civitate Dei." The lectures were very popular. More also gathered a good practice, though he would never undertake a case of the justice of which he was not satisfied. He was appointed reader at Furnival's Inn, where he delivered lectures for more than three years. He daily attended the Charterhouse services, wore a hair shirt next his skin, fasted much and heard mass every day. It is a mistake to say that More was disgusted with monastic corruption. He was throughout life a warm friend of the religious orders, and a devoted admirer of the monastic ideal. The Italian Renaissance, as represented by Pico della Mirandola profoundly affected him. "No example," says Mr. Hutton, "could be more fitting. In that fascinating hero of the Renaissance there was every beauty to attract, every virtue to secure, and every talent to confirm the admiration of such a man as More. Nor was his Christianity cold, unsympathetic, or unreal. His abilities were remarkable even among his contemporaries, and his energy and devotion were as extraordinary." More was powerfully influenced by the Italian humanist, and published a translation of his life and works. At the accession of Henry VIII. the young barrister sprang into fame. "He was of middle height and well proportioned figure, save that through his habit of much writing, his right shoulder became higher than his left. His limbs were well formed, but his hands were a little clumsy—the pictures generally conceal them. His colour was pale, heightened only by a faint bloom; his hair dark brown. His eyes were grey and speckled." He spoke very distinctly and was intensely humorous. Yet "whatsoever jest he brought forth, he never laughed at any himself, but spoke always so sadly that few could see by his look whether he spoke in earnest or in jest." As we turn Mr. Hutton's pages More seems to cast his spell over the reader. The charm of his character, the beauty of his family life, grow upon us as we read this fascinating record. More's literary work, his political life, and his religious life and works are dealt with in three profoundly interesting chapters.

But More's true greatness comes out when we turn to the story of his sorrows. That story has long been acknowledged to be one of the noblest and most touching in our annals, and Mr. Hutton allows it to lose none of its pathos. He thus sums up More's character. "He was a man of very single-minded purpose, laboriously studious and conscientious in public as in private life. Deeply reverent and truly pious, he had yet a keen sense of the follies of his fellow men; but his mirth was that of the humorist, not the cynic. He was sensitive and therefore observant; affectionate and of a beautiful patience. Few men have had more power of inspiring love. His wide tastes—learned, musical, scientific—no doubt helped to win him so wide a fame; but the deepest cause was the beauty of his life. His

character, perfect as it is, is delightful chiefly because it is so natural. There was never in him anything strained or affected, weak imitation of others, or striving after what he could never be. Its beautiful calmness, its even tenor, the peace that always seemed to hang over it, make it easy to forget the troublous scenes in which his life was passed. It was an age of fightings and fears. More passed through the thick of them; and no man, it may be said truly, passed through so unscathed." This is a worthy record of a truly great and truly Christian life.

John Howe. By ROBERT F. HORTON, M.A., D.D. Methuen & Co.

Space would not permit us in our last number to give extracts from this valuable addition to Messrs. Methuen's "Leaders of Religion." Dr. Horton shows how the great Puritan's quiet life at Torrington was brought to an end by Cromwell's command to enter the Court circle at Whitehall, in the capacity of domestic chaplain. The most probable account of the change in his prospects is this:—"The parish of St. Saviour's, Dartmouth, hearing of his fame in the north of the county, possibly not unprompted by Hughes, were anxious to obtain the curate of Torrington as their vicar. It would seem that one Thomas Boon was induced to make favour with the Protector to get this appointment made. And when Howe was in London, in the latter part of 1656, Cromwell signified his wish to hear him at Whitehall, presumably to form some opinion about his merits. It is said that the imperious listener adopted a severe test of the young preacher's power. He gave him a text while the Psalm was being sung, and expected him to extemporise on it immediately. Howe was not in the least disconcerted, but proceeded leisurely by the hour-glass to discuss the subject. He had reached the end of the second hour, and was turning the glass for a third, when the Protector indicated to him that he might stop. The trial sermon was so satisfactory, that, instead of the living of St. Saviour's, Dartmouth, the chaplaincy of Cromwell's house was offered to the preacher." Neal says that "if there was any man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and reward him according to his merit." His choice of the raw young curate of twenty-six was a high tribute to his qualifications, and the Protector was certainly not at fault. "Here was a preacher with rare gifts of exposition and exhortation; a man intense as himself in religious belief, but far more placid and luminous; a man large and tolerant as himself, with a passion for the unity of Christians, and a tendency to dwell on the truths which bring men together, rather than on those which separate them; a man, too, with a cast of mind which lifted him above the distraction of political

events; a man who promised a continual refuge of eternal truths for a spirit sorely worn and hampered with the things of time. Young as he was he was free from the common faults of youth, ambition, and the love of pageantry and state." Such was Howe when he came to Cromwell's Court. We may add Dr. Horton's final estimate of his character and work. "He leaves on us, as was said at the beginning, an impression principally of goodness. He believed there was one law for ministers and people. Both alike must mortify the deeds of the flesh that they might live. 'How dismal when a minister's own breath poisons him, when the very Gospel which he preaches is a deadly odour to him!' Accordingly, his life appears at all times a simple, humble, selfless attempt to follow his Divine Lord. He taught a life of practical holiness, and he lived it. What he preached to the people, he preached first to himself. It is the aroma of goodness, rather than the literary or intellectual qualities, which gives their power and popularity to his writings. The chief Christian grace of love animated all his works, all his personal and public actions. He was a Nonconformist by necessity of conscience, but he loved Conformist and Nonconformist alike by the necessity of Christ. 'We should not be to one another as Jews and Samaritans that had no dealings with one another, or as the poet (Juvenal) notes they were to other nations,

"Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti."

There should be no partition wall through which love would not easily open a way of friendly commerce, by which we should insensibly slide more and more into one another's hearts,' was the burden of his thought. He was constantly reflecting that of every differing party, he knew some individuals who far more excelled him in Christian graces than they differed from him on the particular subject of contention. In this way he retained a bond of sympathy and affection with men who were farthest removed from him. And as Christian love is of all things the fairest and the rarest, his singular proficiency in the possession and the exercise of it gave him a distinction which is independent of his professional or published work. There was not in him a particle of cruelty, of intolerance, of bigotry. That is his great distinction." We hope that Dr. Horton's book will have as wide a circle of readers as the subject, and his loving and careful handling of it, deserve.

Ulster as it is; or Twenty-eight Years' Experience as an Irish Editor. By THOMAS MACKNIGHT. In Two Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Mr. Macknight has spent twenty-eight years in Belfast as editor of the *Northern Whig*—the chief organ of the Liberal

party in the north of Ireland. He writes from an Ulster point of view, as one who has been brought into intimate relations with representative men of all parties, and has had unequalled opportunities for studying the Irish question in every winding of events during the last thirty years. Even before he landed in Ireland, his sympathies with its Catholic millions had been shown by his *History of the Life and Times of Edmund Burke;* and when he went to Belfast he was "as convinced as any Home Rule Liberal can now profess to be, that Irish Toryism and Irish Orangeism, as they are generally understood, were great evils, that the principle of maintaining a Protestant population in Ulster, with exceptional privileges as an English garrison, was utterly indefensible in these times, and that the State Church, as representing a Protestant ascendancy, and the Irish land system, as representing a territorial ascendancy, were no longer tenable."

He was a worshipper of Mr. Gladstone, whose admiration of his "many resplendent qualities, his marvellous intellectual skill, his elevated tone, combining the highest morality with the most acute intellectual subtilty, his unerring industry, his impassioned earnestness, and his many and versatile accomplishments," had been increasing year by year. Even now, though he shares the judgment of Ulster as to Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule measures, he cannot write his name without finding all his youthful enthusiasm revived. "It is on my pen," he says. "It is in my heart." Mr. Macknight sailed for Ireland on the last day of January, 1866, and soon found himself in a new world. He gives an amusing account of a tall and solemn clergyman who travelled with him in the train for Belfast. They stopped for five minutes at Portadown. "Ah," said the clergyman, "there was bad work here. Have you ever read Fox's *Book of Martyrs?*" Mr. Macknight said he had glanced over the work, but had not read it. "Every Protestant ought to read it," was the sententious reply. He avowed himself a Conservative and even an Orangeman, described the Orangemen as the bone and sinew of the people, and when Mr. Macknight said "You are a gentleman of strong convictions," replied, "Very: we have strong convictions in the north of Ireland." When the train approached Lisburn, the clergyman said, "This town, too, was destroyed in the rebellion of 1641. The Huguenots who were driven out of France when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, did much for the linen trade of Lisburn. You can yet see the tombstones of these Huguenots who were obliged to leave their native country. This will show you what the Roman Catholics are." Mr. Macknight could not refrain from saying, "It seems to me that in Ireland you have good memories." Nor could the Irishman be brought to admit that it would sometimes be well to forget.

Such was the editor's introduction to Ulster. He found that Belfast had been growing less of an Irish town and more of an English one. For a great manufacturing centre it is singularly free from smoke, and has nothing of the depressing character of most large manufacturing places in Great Britain. Mr. Macknight has often heard the Scotch excursionists express their astonishment as they entered High Street. "Belfast is very much like Glasgo, maun." In some instances the rejoinder was "I think it looks finer." The valuation of property is now higher than that of Dublin. It has increased three hundred thousand pounds in a quarter of a century. Two thousand five hundred houses are built every year. Its Customs rank next to Liverpool and London. In 1866 the linen trade was depressed, but since then the energy and enterprise of the merchants and manufacturers have opened up other branches of trade, and the growing prosperity of Belfast is now established on a broad and sound basis. Mr. Macknight was soon in the midst of a press of work, and gradually began to understand the special problems of the north of Ireland. He says, "I have written, I believe, at least ten thousand articles on matters more or less associated with Ireland. Day by day I have had to watch the progress of events in that country, and especially from the Ulster point of view. For nearly a quarter of a century of that time I have had to read the correspondence sent in to the newspaper which had to a great extent the confidence of the Liberals, and especially of the tenant farmers and the commercial classes, during all the agrarian and Nationalist agitation. One who has had to pass through his hands so long this immense mass of correspondence for an Ulster newspaper ought at least to know Ulster." Sir Hugh Cairns was Member of Parliament for Belfast when Mr. Macknight began his work. He is rather severely criticised here for want of gratitude and courtesy. He was the son of a Belfast gentleman, and owed a good deal to his fellow townsmen, but, if this record may be trusted, he was something less than generous. We should have liked this book better if these references, which sound somewhat spiteful, had been omitted. Many illustrations are given of the height to which party spirit ran in Belfast. A local bye-law was passed giving the magistrate power to inflict a fine of forty shillings and costs, or a term of imprisonment, on every one who might use sectarian language of a provocative character in the public thoroughfares. "While extreme party passions were at the highest, many zealous Protestants of the better classes were not ashamed to subscribe to a fund for the payment of the fines inflicted for using these defiant expressions by their fellow-religionists, though they saw with much equanimity the poorer Catholics, who had not such wealthy sympathisers, sent to jail for similar sectarian and

political provocations. When a zealous Protestant or a zealous Catholic working man became drunk, his habitual impulse was to commit the offence, which he knew would render him liable to a not inconsiderable fine or weeks of imprisonment. As often happens, the prohibition was accepted as a defiance." A pleasant account is given of Lord O'Hagan, the first Irish Catholic Chancellor. His language was well chosen, and showed much literary skill. The tones of his voice were admirably modulated, and he never wearied his audience. "He never forgot a friend. Always ready to do acts of kindness to others, he always remembered a kindness done to himself. He had an intimate knowledge of the people of Belfast, and warmly associated himself with even their personal affairs." In this he resembled Lord Dufferin. As Mr. Macknight's reminiscences proceed we are introduced to most of the leading figures of Irish politics. A friend of Lord O'Hagan's took a letter of introduction from him to W. E. Forster. "Mr. Forster, as he sat in his chair, looked somewhat rough and uncouth. His clothes did not appear to fit him; they hung about him, and were suggestive of being bought ready-made. When Lord O'Hagan's letter in such complimentary terms was handed to the new Irish Chief Secretary, he read it attentively, and then threw it unceremoniously into his waste-paper basket. He gave something like a growl, and then remarked, 'The people in Belfast behave very badly, they do.'" These, however, were only mannerisms. During the interview the Chief Secretary became very cordial. "A better meaning public man never took the office of Irish Chief Secretary. He was, too, one of the ablest; but he had one defect, which may appear even in this sketch of his conversation. He looked at questions from within and not from without, from what is called the subjective and not the objective point of view. He appeared habitually to be examining political information according to his own preconceived ideas. An open mind such as Mr. Gladstone keeps may be carried to excess and render its possessor liable to the reproach of the Duke in *Twelfth Night* about women generally of lacking retention." The whole history of Home Rule, the rise and fall of Mr. Parnell, the emerging of Mr. Balfour, and other subjects of the deepest interest are dealt with in these vigorous volumes by one who has enjoyed much personal intercourse with the chief statesmen of the time, and has himself played no unworthy part in one of the historic struggles of our century.

History of the Jewish Nation after the Destruction of Jerusalem under Titus. By the Rev. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A., D.D., Ph.D., sometime Grenfield Lecturer on the Septuagint in the University of Oxford. Revised by the

Rev. A. WHITE, Fellow of New College, Oxford. With a Preface by the Rev. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D. Longmans & Co. 1896. 18*s.*

This is the third edition of the valuable *History* published many years ago by the lamented scholar who wrote it. It is an indispensable book, being the only thorough history on its subject in English. But it needed much in the way of addition, and something in the way of correction, to represent the fruits of scholarship during the forty years which have elapsed since the first edition was published. The needful work appears to have been excellently done by Mr. White, whose additions and corrections, whose abridgment also, here and there, seem to have been executed with great diligence, thoroughness and skill, as well as with great modesty.

The Mamaluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt, 1260-1517 A.D. By Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I., LL.D., D.C.L., Author of "The Life of Mahomet," &c. Smith, Elder & Co. 1896. 10*s.* 6*d.*

It was most fitting that the historian of Mahomet and the Caliphate should furnish English students of history with an account of that mysterious Slave Dynasty which for between two and three centuries ruled not only Egypt but vast possessions besides, with no proper laws of dynastic descent, with no care for the sanctity, real or supposed, of hereditary rights; slaves always, and always surrounded by a compact body of slave retainers and supporters, ruling ever by military organisation and power, but often also with wonderful ability and skill. The family, as such, stood in no central relation whatever to this dynastic succession; families, indeed, in either the Christian or any civilized sense of the word, were scarcely recognised in the Mamaluke organisation; and yet they held in bondage a vast part of the East, with all its settled population, and all its wealth. Nominally, they were Mohammedans, but they were of no fixed Mohammedan race, and had often been Christian slaves. The rise, the long predominance, the nature of the organisation, strangely loose yet also wonderfully effective, the decline and final fall of these slave rulers and the slave-caste, without family bonds of connection, which surrounded them, are set forth in this very handsome and splendidly illustrated volume.

Dundonald. By the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE. Macmillan & Co. 1896.

Lord Dundonald well deserves a place among "English Men of Action." A braver man, a more perfect master of his pro-

fession, even our English navy has scarcely ever produced. But for his own foolish conduct in denouncing his superiors his name might have been coupled with Nelson's in the hearts of all Englishmen. As a naval genius Nelson himself hardly stands higher than Dundonald, but his own folly robbed him of his chance of distinction in our own navy, and sent him out as the champion of Brazil and Greece, where he covered himself with laurels, but gained little save glory. He was not only a consummate seaman, but an inventor, who saw that the days of sailing vessels were numbered, and sought by improvement of the newly-invented steam engine to keep the British navy at the head of the navies of the world. "He busied himself alike with the simplification of machinery, with the improvement of boilers, with new designs for screw-propellers, with scientific examination of the best lines for shipbuilding, and, in fact, with every detail in the construction of steam vessels." The old sailor's life was a stormy one, but in his last years he regained his position in our own navy, and won universal recognition as one of the most brilliant strategists and most daring officers England ever produced. Mr. Fortescue's book is full of life and spirit, and furnishes an instructive study in professional ethics. Dundonald's career was almost wrecked by his want of judgment, and Mr. Fortescue is not slow to point the moral.

Outlines of Church History. By RUDOLF SOHM, Professor of Law, Leipzig. Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Professor Sohm's book has gained a considerable reputation in Germany, and Miss May Sinclair has translated it with skill and care. It is a clear and suggestive outline of Church history, bright, fresh, and instructive. The writer shows that he has a good deal to learn as to the real genius of Methodism, see p. 193, but his book is one of the most interesting and informing introductions to the subject that we have met.

Autobiographies of Boyhood, giving brief sketches of William Hutton, Thomas Holcroft, William Gifford, Walter Scott, and Leigh Hunt, is a welcome addition to Blackie's "School and Home Library." The stories are so bright and so healthy, that every boy ought to have them put into his hand.

The Japs at Home. Fifth Edition. To which are added, for the first time, "Some Bits of China." By DOUGLAS SLADEN. Ward, Lock & Bowden. 1895. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The "Bits of China" added to Mr. Sladen's vivid and popular book on *The Japs at Home* are seven in number—I. Shanghai; II. Shanghai, The Native City; III. Hong Kong; IV. Hong Kong in Race Week; V. Canton; VI. Macao; VII. The Chinaman Abroad. A cheaper book could hardly be found.

BELLES LETTRES.

Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley between the Years 1829 *and* 1881. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.A. Murray. 1895.

The *Life of Dean Stanley*, as lately published, occupied two large volumes. Yet it was evident that the biographer's difficulty throughout was to compress his materials, and that much of great interest must have been omitted. The present goodly volume contains some of the excess of matter which, if it had been possible, would have found a place in the biography. It consists of letters and verses. To the letters the editor has prefixed a brief but comprehensive and adequate introduction, explaining the allusions they contain and the circumstances under which they were written. The verses are of unequal merit, but all are interesting and graceful, and biographically valuable. Few of them, however, are likely to hold a permanent place in poetical anthologies or in collections of hymns. Still there are some others, besides the well known hymn on the Transfiguration, which may be expected to retain a place in our hymnology. Of the letters, a large proportion are descriptive of foreign tours, and, though full of picturesque charm and historical illustration, do not lend themselves naturally to quotation, and have little or no biographical value or bearing on recent history or opinion. Several of them were addressed to the Queen, and on that account, although the oblique and formal fashion of their composition stiffens and deadens the style of the writer, they will nevertheless have a special interest for not a few readers. Our gleanings will be gathered from other letters. The correspondence relating to Dr. Arnold's death, though the letters have lent both substance and colouring to the narrative in *Arnold's Life*, has a freshness and pathos as given here, written only in simple narrative for the information of his family at Alderley, which is peculiarly touching. The glimpses we catch of his personal relations with Newman after he went to Oxford are singularly interesting, though they are but glimpses. Like others, he felt strongly Newman's charm. Referring to his first meeting him at dinner, he says that he "was highly pleased," Newman having been "exceedingly affable and agreeable." It cost him a struggle to resist Newman's spell—personal friendliness indeed was maintained throughout. He saw no alternative but either to hold to Arnold or to follow Newman. For several years he seems to have been very reticent, except in writing to such a friend as Vaughan, and was even supposed by

many to be of the Tractarian party, to be a "Newmanite." "The opposition," he says, in a letter to Vaughan, "which it seems to meet from the canonical Scriptures seems so very strong that I am content to lay it on the shelf for the time." This was in 1838. But even so late as 1846, on the occasion of his first visit to Wilberforce at Cuddesdon as his Bishop, he refers to the hurried nature of his visit as preventing him from completely clearing the Bishop's mind of some "impression of his supposed Tractarianism."

In a letter to Mr. Arnold in 1847 he gives an account of Jenny Lind's famous visit to Norwich, when the great singer was entertained at his father the Bishop's house. "Conceive," he says, "a young girl having now for ten years lived in this whirlwind of enthusiasm and applause, and yet apparently not in the least spoiled by it, always retiring to the lowest place, like a servant or a child. At the same time there were a dignity and resolution about her by which one could easily see at what an immeasurable distance all the evil would be kept which must be otherwise constantly in her way. 'C'est un don, pas un mérite?' When my mother spoke to her of her hope that now she was for the future safe, 'Par la grace de Dieu,' she said, 'Oui.'"

In regard to the Prince Consort, on occasion of his death, very touching details are contained in some of the letters. The one that has touched us most is what the Queen said to her bosom friend, the Duchess of Sutherland, "as they looked together at the dead face, 'Will they do him justice *now*?'" So well she knew the stubbornness and the injustice of popular prejudices which had prevailed against her German husband, admirable as he was, and which, though they had begun to abate, were far from removed when the great sorrow and calamity of his death came upon her and upon a nation which only then truly waked up to a sense of the great and admirable qualities of the prince they had lost.

Englishmen seldom, perhaps, do justice to the culture and social attractions of Boston. Dean Stanley was a competent judge on such points, and we will quote his words, taken from a letter to his sister on his last visit to the States in 1878, "It strikes me that the society of Boston is very like that of Geneva, which I have always maintained to be the most civilized in Europe—the same uniform amount of intelligence and cultivation in all the families—all well-conditioned and all intermarried with each other."

No one who knows the *Life* will be content to miss the *Letters and Verses of Dean Stanley.*

A Primer of Tennyson. With a Critical Essay. By WILLIAM MACNEILE DIXON, Litt.D., A.M., LL.B., Professor of the English Language and Literature in

Mason College, Birmingham. Methuen & Co. 1896. *2s. 6d.*

This is really a capital handbook. It is printed on rough paper in good type, and is the best introduction that any one could find to Tennyson's poems. A special feature is the list of dates and bibliography, which includes not only Tennyson's poems and the works that have appeared dealing with himself and his poetry, but even the chief articles that have been contributed to the leading Reviews. Tennyson's father did not live to see his son famous, but he had already pronounced his verdict when Alfred was only twelve. "If that boy dies one of our greatest poets will have gone." Dr. Dixon says: "Tennyson's almost immediate and unanimous acceptance as a poet—a circumstance in itself usually far from prophetic of enduring fame—may be set down as due in part to the versatility of his poetic manner, and in part to the absence of serious rivals. He was fortunate in the possession of many brilliant gifts; he was, perhaps, more fortunate in his birth time, and in the length of days granted him, with faculties unimpaired, and with ample space wherein to establish his monument and enjoy his fame. Of the great poets of the century, but few reached even middle life; for Keats and Shelley and Byron the light was early quenched; Wordsworth and Southey and Coleridge had overlived their poetic prime, and the fruit of public acceptance was once more ripe for plucking. And Tennyson, in whose brain the man of the world was not unrepresented, took the nearest way to fame in that he made appeal, in almost every volume of verse published in his earlier years, to the people as well as the critics. He was the man of the hour, and with no very definite or sagacious opinions to offer, gave expression in his poetry to the prevailing feelings, the prevailing thought of the time. The admiration of the few and the critical was excited by the perfection of his art, the admiration of the many and unsophisticated readers of poetry by the simple and graceful treatment of themes generally themselves simple, frequently English. The few were delighted to find their own thoughts in the delicate and exquisite version of a scholar of perfect taste; the many could not deny that here were poems which never ran on to undue lengths, easily understood, even more easily enjoyed, and praised by all poetical authorities." Dr. Dixon traces the development of Tennyson's genius in his successive poems. He regards *Maud* as a proof of the real range and fertility of Tennyson's lyric power. Lockhart's review of Tennyson's poetry in the *Quarterly* for July, 1833, has never ceased to stir the anger of the poet's worshippers, but in Dr. Dixon's judgment "it may be justly claimed not only as the most effective, but in the poet's own interest the most valuable

review ever written." The supreme excellence of his poetry resides in its flawless perfection of finish. But for that Tennyson would have been a poet of inconsiderable rank. "He became such an artist by assiduous culture of rare native talent, and the criticism of the *Quarterly* showed the young author the indispensable necessity of even sterner artistic governance and stricter self-discipline." Lockhart's severity bore fruit where extravagant praise or undue partiality would have proved less than barren. Tennyson's model in blank verse was Milton, and a most instructive parallel is drawn in this primer between the two masters which no student should overlook (p. 66). "In Memoriam" is marked by a purity of colour in its pictorial passages, and a quieter music than the poet had yet reached. "Tennyson's decorative art, his love of colour for its own sake, lead him at times into what must always seem to the highly cultivated sense extravagances of colour, an over-profusion, a lush luxuriance, and into similar extravagances of sound. To put it briefly, he rarely trusts his thought, as Wordsworth trusted it, to build for itself a natural home of expression. So much an artist was he that Nature could not speak his language, and hence the inevitable word is rarely heard in his poetry." The last chapter (numbered seven instead of six) is a critical estimate of Tennyson's place as a poet. His death almost seemed in a sense to bring the history of English poetry to a close. "He had outlived all the great poets whose inspiration was drawn from the quickening, dilating forces of the first quarter of the century; he had long dominated without a rival the poetic realm in the succeeding and quieter epoch; he had been for fifty years the acknowledged chief of the poet clan, so perfect a representative of English thought, so closely identified with English ideals, as to be looked upon as the natural voice of the nation's noblest spiritual and intellectual life." He stands for all the future as the poetic heir of England's aristocratic, intellectual, and heroic traditions. "No such inheritance remains for his successors. The new is the age of democracy, and its poets must quarry their marbles from the virgin rock; Tennyson built with material that was already shaped and lay ready to hand." After such quotations it is unnecessary to praise this *Primer of Tennyson*. Every lover of poetry ought to read and digest this admirable little book.

A Handbook to the Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson. By MORTON LUCE. London: George Bell & Sons. 1895. 6*s*.

This handbook is intended to serve as a complete introduction to Tennyson for the general reader, as well as for schools and colleges. All the poems have been brought under review,

and an exhaustive index helps the student to find what he needs in a moment. There is a chronological table giving the chief events of the laureate's career, an opening essay dealing with his life, times and characteristics, and notes on all the poems. These are full of suggestions as to the sources from which Tennyson drew his material, and comparisons between his work and that of other poets. There is evidence of much honest work and sound criticism in this valuable handbook, and every student of Tennyson will do well to put it on his shelves.

New Poems by Christina Rossetti. Hitherto Unpublished or Uncollected. Edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Rossetti's tribute to his sister and the almost naive devotion which gleams through his little preface, form an ideal introduction of this volume of poems to the public. He has gathered from notebooks and magazines any verses of his sister's that he could find "such as would sustain her poetical reputation or be of substantial interest as showing the growth of her mind." He has arranged them under four headings—General Poems; Devotional Poems; Italian, and Juvenilia. The Italian verses are in the judgment of Mr. Rossetti fully equal to the English, while the exquisite limpidity of the language adds something to the flow of their music. In poems covering such a stretch of years as these there is naturally not a little inequality. It would have been better to omit some pieces which are by no means equal to Miss Rossetti's reputation, but we can well understand her brother's reluctance to withhold them. There is much in which all lovers of tender and graceful verse will delight. The book is the revelation of a mind and heart daintily pure, brightly humorous and profoundly pious. The lines "On Albina," written at the age of thirteen, have a fine spice of merriment,

"The roses lingered in her cheeks
When fair Albina fainted;
O gentle reader, could it be
That fair Albina painted?"

And the "Forget-me-not" which follows strikes the same note. "Buried" is a good representation of the pensive vein, which is never long absent in Miss Rossetti's poems,

"Thou sleepest where the lilies fade,
Thou dwellest where the lilies fade not:
Sweet, when thine earthly part decayed
Thy heavenly part decayed not.

Thou dwellest where the roses blow,
The crimson roses bud and blossom:
While on thine eyes is heaped the snow—
The snow upon thy bosom."

It is, however, in the Devotional Poems that Miss Rossetti strikes her deepest, tenderest chords. How simple, yet how direct an appeal these lines, "For under a Crucifix," make to the heart.

"Once I ached for thy dear sake,
Wilt thou cause Me now to ache?
Once I bled for thee in pain;
Wilt thou pierce My heart again?

Crown of thorns and shameful tree,
Bitter death I bore for thee,
Gave up glory, broke My will,
And canst thou reject Me still?"

Such a volume as this will be heartily welcomed by all who have learned to delight in Christina Rossetti's poems, and will introduce not a few new readers to a lady who, according to so competent a critic as Mr. Saintsbury, "has no superior among English women who have had the gift of poetry."

A History of Nineteenth Century Literature. [1780-1895.] By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Macmillan & Co. 1896.

A work like this could have been put into no hands more entirely competent than those of Professor Saintsbury. He has the encyclopædic knowledge, the unwearying industry, the critical instinct, and the literary faculty which combine to lift such a volume out of the rank of mere catalogues of literature, and to make it something like literature itself. No living writer is included save John Ruskin, and many names of favourite authors have been omitted, but the limitation of space and purpose abundantly justify such omission. The record begins with Cowper and the writers of the end of the eighteenth century. Then chapters follow dealing with the new poetry, the new fiction, the development of periodicals, the historians, the second poetical period, the novel since 1860, philosophy and theology, later journalism and criticism, scholarship and science, and drama. A closing chapter sums up the results of a century, whose interest for the historical and comparative student is absolutely unique. We may refer to two or three of Professor Saintsbury's estimates in passing. As a poet he says George Eliot "merely put some of the thoughtful commonplaces of her

time and school into wooden verse, occasionally grandiose, but never grand, and her purple passages have the purple of plush, not of velvet. Nor is she very remarkable as an essayist." As a novelist she had "a quite extraordinary faculty of humorous observation and presentation of the small facts and oddities of (especially) provincial life. This old faculty of racy presentation of the humours of life became fainter and less frequent in her later books, which were somewhat lifeless structures." As to Richard Jefferies, Professor Saintsbury shows that he attempted an exceedingly florid style, which sometimes was apt to become trivial, or tawdry, or both. "It is therefore certain that his importance for posterity will dwindle, if it has not already dwindled, to that given by a bundle of descriptive selections. But these will occupy a foremost place on their particular shelf, the shelf at the head of which stand Gilbert White, and Gray." Every page of this history will furnish food for thought, and will help present-day readers to take a bird's-eye view of the literary treasures of our wonderful century.

1. *Frederick.* By L. B. WALFORD.
2. *Persis Yorke.* By SYDNEY CHRISTIAN. Smith, Elder & Co.

1. This is an admirable story. Frederick is Sir William Walkinshaw's younger brother and heir to the family estates. Everybody loves him, but no one thinks much of his mental powers, until Alice Carey, a lovely and high-spirited girl of nineteen, appears on the scene. Frederick wins her heart, and she makes a new man of him. This is really a vivacious story, with much excellent character painting and a wholesome tone about it which makes it quite a bracing moral tonic.

2. We first see Persis Yorke in the early morning, stepping out of a London hospital, where her mother has just died. Mrs. Yorke belonged to a well-known county family, but an unfortunate marriage had cut her off from fireside and fortune. Poor Persis is left to struggle with a gay sister and a profligate father. She has some hard times, but she is a true heroine, and she wins at last the love and happiness of which she is so worthy. The book is bright, wholesome, full of interest, and has many a profitable lesson for young people. Adrian Lyster and his blind father are almost as interesting figures as Persis herself. The three characters are enough to make the fortune of any book, and one feels the better for knowing them.

The Wesleyan Sunday School Union have sent us a parcel of their stories for children, which are beautifully got up with bright backs and many pictures. The prices range from three shillings and sixpence to eightpence. Those who want a vigorous Tem-

perance tale may be commended to Miss Perram's *By Doctor's Orders* and *Chrissie's Faults*, which show the danger of trifling with temptation. *Willie's Secret* will please boys; *Mighty Men* gives some sketches of brave deeds which will stimulate every little reader. Miss Edith Greeves, in her *Banners and Battlefields*, deals with Children's Day and its happy impressions. The tone and spirit are excellent. *The Tempest Cousins*, by Mrs. Robson, and *Three School Girls*, by Florence Spenser, are two of the best books in the parcel. *A Royal Mandate*, by Emily Spratling, tells how a girl who gave up her lover because he was not a Christian found her reward. *Donald's Ambition* is a capital tale for boys. Mr. Forster's *Old Plate's Story* will give children some welcome glimpses of foreign lands, and the short stories in his *Knotty Point* are written by one who knows how to tell a bright and complete tale in two or three pages. *Our Boys and Girls* for 1895 is full of good stories and all kinds of reading for tiny folk.

The Wreck of the "Wager" and Subsequent Adventures of her Crew. Narratives of the Hon. JOHN BYRON and of his Fellow-Midshipman, ISAAC MORRIS. Blackie & Son. 1*s.* 4*d.*

The wondrous stories invented by Ballantyne or Henty look pale beside the unvarnished tale of the actual sufferings and adventures of the two midshipmen a hundred and fifty years ago. The grandfather of Lord Byron was for five years lost to the sight of his friends and shut off from all knowledge of England or Englishmen while he filled up the measure of his privations and sufferings and completed the term of his compulsory banishment. *What Katy Did*, by Susan Coolidge, is another charming story added to this library.

Wilmot's Child, by Atey Nyne (T. F. Unwin, 1*s.* 6*d.*) describes the sunshine brought into a house by a little adopted daughter. Her own father, who had been in prison, returns at last a changed man, having made restitution for his wrong-doing and gathered together a considerable fortune. The book is entertaining, but it has also a good moral running through it.

Mr. T. J. Unwin sends us the second volume of *Good Reading about many Books, mostly by their Authors.* The little book shows what a variety of talent he has been able to enlist in his service, and it gives many glimpses of literary life which are full of interest. The writers are rather too modest; a little more egotism, enough to make them autobiographic, would add to the pleasure and value of this volume.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Valley of Kashmir. By WALTER W. LAWRENCE, I.C.S., C.I.E., Settlement Commissioner, Kashmir and Jammu State. With Illustrations. London: H. Frowde. 1895.

Mr. Lawrence went to the Kashmir Valley in 1889 to deal with the land settlement which the Mahárájá had determined to carry out. The abuses of the old system had been numerous and deplorable and the people were sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs, without rights and subject to numerous disabilities, who bore the ominous name Zulm parast, worshippers of tyranny. They were forced by soldiers to plough and sow, and the soldiers attended at harvest time. They were dragged away from their houses to carry loads to Gilgit, and every official had a right to their labour and their property. It was no wonder that the cultivation was bad, and that the peasants roved from one village to another hoping to find some rest from oppression. Mr. Lawrence has had many opportunities of studying the Kashmiri. He says that the dark side of his character is revealed when he is in the presence of officials. He has had good reason to hate and distrust them, and his only weapon of defence has been deceit. His great yearning is to be left alone to till his fields and weave his woollen cloth. Since confidence has been restored through wise administration the whole country has increased in prosperity. "Land which had no value in 1889 is now eagerly sought after by all classes. Cultivation has extended and improved. Houses have been rebuilt and repaired, fields fenced in, orchards planted, vegetable gardens well stocked, and new mills constructed. Women no longer are seen toiling in the fields, for their husbands are now at home to do the work, and their long journeys to Gilgit are a thing of the past. When the harvest is ripe the peasant reaps it at his own good time, and not a soldier ever enters the village." Since 1890 Mr. Lawrence has decided suits connected with land under a cherár tree in the presence of the assembled villagers. The claimant prefers his suit and the defendant replies. Then the old men of the village and the headmen of the neighbourhood give their opinion, and Mr. Lawrence makes a brief entry which finally settles the claim. No decision has ever been appealed against. The people admire stern determination in their ruler. All they ask is that they may have access and hearing on certain occasions. They are emotional folk, ruled largely by sentiment. They will do excellent work on watercourses and embankments if coaxed, and praised and encouraged with small presents of snuff. They will

do little if paid a full daily wage. The Kashmiri is better off in some respects " than his fellows in India, he has ample grazing for his sheep and cattle, fuel for the winter, good warm clothes, and sufficient manure for cultivation. He is not extravagant, and happily spends little on marriages and similar occasions." The Kashmir valley is perched among the Himalayas at an average height of six thousand feet above the sea. It is eighty-four miles wide by twenty to twenty-five miles broad. Every hundred feet of evelation brings some new phase of climate and of vegetation, so that a ride of thirty miles will take you from overpowering heat to a delightful coolness. The mountains which hem in the valley are never monotonous. Grand forests of pines and firs clothe their sides and mountain streams white with foam dash downwards. " When the great dark forests cease and the brighter woodland begins, the banks of the streams are ablaze with clematis, honeysuckle, jasmine, and wild roses which remind one of azaleas. The green, smooth turf of the woodland glades is like a well kept lawn, dotted with clumps of hawthorn and other beautiful trees and bushes. It would be difficult to describe the colours which are seen on the Kashmir mountains. In early morning they are often a delicate semi-transparent violet relieved against a saffron sky, and with light vapours clinging round their crests. Then the rising sun deepens shadows and produces sharp outlines and strong passages of purple and indigo in the deep ravines. Later on it is nearly all blue and lavender, with white snow peaks and ridges under a vertical sun, and as the afternoon wears on these become richer violet and pale bronze, gradually changing to rose and pink with yellow or orange snow, till the last rays of the sun have gone, leaving the mountains dyed a ruddy crimson with the snows showing a pale creamy green by contrast." Mr. Lawrence's book is full of details as to the fauna and flora, the botany and archæology, the statistics, the religion, the political and physical history of Kashmir. The people are very fond of fish. They know little about birds but they are kind to them. The plumage hunter, so common in India, has not yet invaded this paradise of birds, and the boys do not collect eggs. The annual fairs held at the various shrines are red letter days in the dull lives of the people. They assemble in thousands to enjoy a feast and buy their simple fairings, such as wooden pattens, glass bangles, necklaces, and painted clay toys. Cobblers are hard at work repairing shoes, sweetmeat sellers drive a roaring trade, and alms flow into the shrine where the attendants fight vigorously over the offerings. Mr. Lawrence knows the Kashmir valley and its people as few Englishmen know it, and he has produced a book which is a cyclopædia of information as to everything about the country. Some sections will appeal chiefly to specialists, but the book is full of delights to all lovers of natural history,

and it has a set of sumptuous plates which add to its interest and value.

Ethnology. In Two Parts. I. Fundamemtal Ethnical Problems. II. The Primary Ethnical Groups. By A. H. KEANE, F.R.G.S. Cambridge University Press. 1896.

This volume of the "Cambridge Geographical Series" is an attempt to restate the chief problems of ethnology in the light of scientific research during the last forty years. Since Darwin's *Origin of Species*, special branches of the subject, such as the evolution and antiquity of man, primitive culture, the Stone and Bronze ages, and the origin of civilization have been dealt with by experts like Sir Charles Lyell, Professor Huxley, Sir John Lubbock, Professor Tylor, and Professor Boyd Dawkins. The foreign literature dealing with these questions is exceedingly rich, and the hour seems to have struck for some great synthesis. That task Professor Keane has undertaken. It is the first attempt to deal comprehensively with the whole subject that has been made in the English language, and it will certainly be a boon to students who feel the need of some trustworthy guide amid the entanglements of a confessedly difficult subject. The writer naturally has to speak with considerable dogmatism. "A work speaking with uncertain sound would obviously be useless, or at least of little value, for this purpose. Hence, what might otherwise be regarded as a somewhat dogmatic treatment is here necessarily adopted, even in respect of many perplexing problems which till lately might justly be regarded as moot questions on which it would be rash to pronounce a definite opinion either way. But for those who frankly accept its essential principles evolution is found to be a golden 'skeleton key,' which readily opens the door to many secret chambers, even in the more recondite recesses of human knowledge." The book must be taken as a general statement of the problems of ethnology from an evolutionary standpoint. Taken in this light, it will be found singularly instructive and often intensely interesting. He would be a rash man who ventured to maintain that these conclusions are final. Science teaches us to keep an open mind by constantly furnishing us with new supplies of truth, but it is a fascinating employment to attempt to reconstruct our old doctrines by our new lights. Professor Keane refers to the origin of articulate speech, which, in pre-Darwinian times, was relegated by naturalists to the region of pure metaphysics. Now anthropologists hold that language had a very humble beginning, like man himself, and has slowly improved with the slow improvement of the physical organs, in virtue of which man has become a speaking animal. This text book deals with such problems on every page. The writer maintains that man cannot possibly ascend directly from any of the living

anthropoid apes. He has some physical features in common with each, some different from each, some, and these not the least important, entirely peculiar to himself. Consequently, even on the physical side, he stands somewhat apart from, but yet so near to, all, that his origin can be explained only by a process of natural evolution from a common precursor, or else by direct creation; there is absolutely no other alternative. The supernatural view cannot get rid of evolution, but Professor Keane holds that creation "may be dropped, or reserved for such points, if any there be, which cannot be explained by the natural process." It is not excluded absolutely, as possibly standing behind all living organisms, but only relatively to man. This is a position to which we should be sorry to commit ourselves, but though we cannot accept all Professor Keane's statements, we have found his book full of facts which possess the deepest significance. His chapters on "Paleolithic Man" and "Neolithic Man" are crowded with details as to the course of scientific research into this domain. Still more interesting are the chapters on the physical and mental criteria of race. Colour of the skin, colour and texture of the hair, shape of the skull, projection of the jaw, and other physical characters which distinguish the various races, are handled in a way that is both fresh and entertaining. "Few physical characters yield more uniform results than does the nose, which is normally thin, prominent, long, straight or else convex (arched or hooked) in the higher races; in the lower, short, broad, more or less concave, and even flat. A careful study of this organ shows almost better than any other the co-ordination of parts in the facial features generally. Thus the small flat concave is usually correlated with high cheek-bones and narrow oblique orbits (Mongol); the short with wide nostrils and depressed root, with everted lips and bombed frontal bone (Negro); the short with blunt rounded base and depressed root, with heavy superciliary ridges and long upper lip (primitive Australian and Tasmanian); the large, straight or arched, with regular oval features (Semitic and European)." The second part of the book, which deals with the main divisions of the Hominidæ, the Æthiopic, Mongolian, American, and Caucasian, is perhaps easier reading than the early part, but the whole volume is packed with the results of modern science put in a form so clear and instructive that the work will be a boon to every student.

The Brotherhood of Mankind: a Study towards a Christian Philosophy of History. By the REV. JOHN HOWARD CRAWFORD, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

Mr. Crawford is an enthusiastic writer, who knows what he wants to prove, but is not always alive to the important

distinction between pre-conception and proof. His book professes to be a study towards a Christian philosophy of history; but its interpretation of history is not free from violence, its philosophy is mixed, and its theology is its own. Nor does its title adequately indicate its contents. The brotherhood of mankind is a hope of the Gospel, which points to a period when there will be neither Jew nor Greek, but all international differences will disappear in a universal citizenship. To Mr. Crawford, this is but a dream that lies in the far future, and he is disposed to believe that the nation will ever remain a factor of human life. His theme is consequently limited to brotherhood within a nation, and his purpose is to show that the idea of such a unity is the secret of history, and the central spirit of Christianity.

Such a subject, especially in the wider and more correct form which it assumes on the title page, is of the supremest practical importance. But in some cases it has been treated so partially, that there is a danger lest the progress of the race towards brotherliness should be even hindered by inconsiderate zeal. To idealise the workman, and then to glorify him, is not to represent life as it is; nor does Jewish practice support the opinion, that Jesus chose to be a carpenter because "the calling of a workman . . . is nearer the natural condition of things." The Fatherhood of God holds a prominent place in the theology of Jesus, but it is only by a curious reading of the Gospels that the doctrine of sacrifice can be read entirely out of them. If "there is no communion ever held without an almsgiving," the Church has seriously misunderstood the intention of Christ in ordaining that sacrament. But it is needless to follow out our author through well-meant statements of this kind. It is difficult to determine what, in his opinion, the Church really is, or how it can aid its members in meeting their obligations. It appears to be merely a respectful term for the race, when considered in its relations with God, while the sacraments are said to be but "the external representation of the great fact of human unity."

In his ethical teaching, Mr. Crawford is equally confusing. The conscience he defines as consisting of "a perception of duty, accompanied with an element of pleasure and pain," arising in ordinary life from the approval or disapproval of our fellow men, amongst Christians from the approval or disapproval of Christ. This is Christian hedonism, the claims of which in their right degree are recognised in the New Testament. Elsewhere the words of the greatest of transcendentalists are quoted, "The spiritual progress of mankind is an unmeaning phrase, unless it means a progress of personal character and to personal character." This view is pronounced to be obvious under the present condition of humanity, "as we live now and as we are likely to live on the

earth." Yet all through the book runs a call to the most unqualified altruism, and the author does not shrink from such statements as that "the individual is entirely lost in the duty to mankind," or that "work is perverted from its purpose if it be done with conscious purpose of purity." It is an unpleasant dilemma in which to leave a man. He is for the love of Christ to aim at the perfecting of his own character; and yet if he does so consciously, everything he does is spoilt. It is clearly a mistake to have put forth this book with any suggestion that it was even distantly related to a philosophy.

The religious class again has been for centuries the life and strength of every effective humanitarian movement the world has known; and yet it is written by a member of that circle, that "the religious class enjoy their comforts in selfish isolation, or share them only with their kindred." And so far does our author's teaching seem to have failed in his own case, that upon a great theologian, who like himself, was sometimes wrong in his conclusions and sometimes right, he pronounces the almost "incredible" verdict, "His misunderstanding of this question is enough to disqualify him from being heard in any way as an expounder of Christianity." But with all these faults there is much in the book that is attractive and suggestive. Its aim is the promotion of human unity and goodwill; and if its readers are not convinced that its methods of investigation and of appeal are conducted without mistake, they will be grateful for the energy with which a conception of their own is maintained, and for many a firm phrase and many a telling fact that escape in the process.

Darwin and After Darwin. Part II. Post-Darwinian Questions. By G. J. ROMANES. Longmans & Co. 1895.

It has long been known that the followers of Darwin are not at one amongst themselves. Of late the war has been waxing somewhat hot, and there appears to be little prospect of any speedy or definite issue. The schools of thought which have arisen since Darwin's death are multiplying in number, and those who agree in the theory that natural selection has been the main cause of organic evolution, cannot agree whether it is the sole cause, or if others are present, in what proportion they are influential, or how "Lamarckian factors" are related to the main problem and to one another. Mr. Wallace has been the protagonist of those who contend that survival of the fittest is the one and only principle which has been concerned in the progressive modification of living forms, but of late these views have found a new champion in Professor Weismann, whose theory of the continuity of germ-

plasm and utter denial of the transmission of acquired characters, has given a new aspect to the whole discussion.

The late Professor Romanes was one of the chief opponents of Weismannism in this country. He claims to be a true Darwinian, and repudiates the claim of "pure Darwinism" which his opponents inscribe upon their banner. It is certain that Darwin never taught that natural selection was the sole cause of organic evolution, though he contended that it was the main cause and did very little towards the elucidation of the working of other factors. The present volume is posthumously published. Professor Lloyd Morgan has edited Mr. Romanes' scientific MSS. and found the greater part of the present volume fairly ready for the press. It deals with questions of Heredity and Utility, and the author's object throughout is to show that acquired characters may be transmitted, whether they be due to the direct influence of external conditions on the one hand, or to the inherited effects of use and disuse on the other. This volume is to be followed by another referring to Isolation and Physiological Selection.

On the merits of this controversy we pronounce no opinion, not being competent to do so. It may be questioned whether at present the wisest scientific men can make a definite pronouncement upon it, inasmuch as it is difficult, or perhaps impossible, so to isolate causes as to determine the proportionate influence of each in producing certain biological effects. But we should think it presumptuous to decide between a Romanes and a Weismann, whilst we see clearly the great importance of the issues between them and are greatly interested in the progress of the discussion. Those who are anxious to know more about the matter can hardly do better than purchase Mr. Romanes' book. He puts his points very clearly and with a measure of fairness and candour too rare in controversy. His death in the prime of life is on many accounts to be greatly regretted.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Oxford and London. 1895.

This great work continues to advance with the measured pace which befits its importance and the thoroughness of its execution. Turning to the section which includes the words lying between derivative and development, most of which are of Latin origin, we notice some articles of curious interest, as, *e.g.*, those on deraign, which, from the low Latin *derationare*, to render a reason, passed through the colouring it received from the mediæval custom of rendering all reasons of moment by force of arms to ultimate signification of disposing troops in battle array; on the strange and perplexing compound *derring do*, which we

learn is a mere corruption of "daring to do," taken substantively. *Descant* is the subject of a learned article, in which the relations between plain song, base and double descant are lucidly expounded, and the literary uses of the term copiously illustrated.

In the Fee—Field section, the articles on *fee* and its compounds, as *fee-simple*, *fee-tail*, or on *fellow*, *fetlock*, *feverfew*, *fiddle*, and many others, afford excellent reading for the curious of wordlore. Limits of space do not permit us to notice this work with the detail which it deserves. In general, we can only say that we observe no declension from the high standard which it has hitherto maintained. Higher praise could not be awarded.

2. Vol. III.—*Development—Difficulty.*

Certainly it cannot be pretended that the editor of this work has failed to give the devil his due, seeing that he has consecrated, if the word may be allowed, no fewer than eleven columns to the history, literary and philologic of his Satanic Majesty. Those who are interested in that important personage—and who is not?—cannot afford to dispense with the number which contains this singularly learned and lucid essay in devil-lore. Other articles, notably those on *Dewan*, the Indian term for minister of finance; *Dewitt*, a verb for to murder, coined in the seventeenth century, from the surname of two Dutch statesmen massacred in a popular tumult in 1672; *Dherna*, an Indian term for extortion; and other Indian words, such as *Dhobi* (clothes-washer), *Dhole* (the wild dog of the Deccan), *Dhow* (the well-known Arabian craft), serve to illustrate the manner in which our language is from time to time enriched or corrupted from far-distant sources. More interesting are the articles on the various Greek compounds, such as *Diastole*, *Diastyle*, *Diatessaron*, *Diapeson*, *Diatom*, *Diatribe*; and curious indeed is it to descend from these essays in classical philology to a discussion of the origin and history of the familiar colloquialism *Dickens*, which already appears as a euphemism for the devil in both Shakespeare and Heywood.

As we watch the progress of this great work we find no words adequate to express our admiration of the patient research and manifold learning of which it is the monument.

1. *Strikes and Social Problems.* By J. SHIELD NICHOLSON, M.A., D.Sc., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh. 1896. 3*s.* 6*d.*
2. *Classes and Masses; or Wealth, Wages, and Welfare in the United Kingdom.* A Handbook of Social Facts for Political Thinkers and Speakers. By W. H. MALLOCK. 3*s.* 6*d.* London: A. & C. Black.

1. In this volume Dr. Nicholson deals with some of the most pressing social problems of our day, and deals with them in a

way that is so reasonable and so thorough that the discussion will commend itself to all men of good sense. He knows how to treat these subjects in a way that will appeal to general readers as well as political economists, and we should advise every employer of labour and every intelligent artisan to read this book. He does not hesitate to describe a strike as a peculiar method of doing business. "When a strike ceases to be conducted on business principles, when it is prolonged, not with the idea of gain, but on account of class hatred, or for the propagation of revolutionary ideas, it fails in its primary function, it is not business." The strikers think they can make a better bargain by simultaneous combined action. Dr. Nicholson examines the results of various strikes and reaches the conclusion that a strike is a very bad method of doing business, especially for the men. He has also come to the conclusion that trade unions have reached a point in their development at which they are threatened with serious dangers. A comparison between them and the old English craft guilds suggests many warnings. The attempt to keep up wages at the expense of the consumer, or to force capital to work without profit is a suicidal policy. "If we once lose our markets no amount of strikes will restore them, and if freedom of enterprise is once lost our markets are lost also, and the living wage will dwindle down to starvation point." In dealing with "Labour combinations and competition," Dr. Nicholson shows that if perfect competition could be realised the dream of the idealists of the French Revolution—liberty, equality, fraternity—would be translated into fact. The evils of excessive competition were painfully illustrated in the evils which led to our factory legislation, but "the leaders of the working classes—to judge by recent utterances—have already pushed the principle of combination to the extreme of excess and that of competition to the extreme of deficiency. They think, or they assert, that combination is the one refuge and competition the one destroyer of labour. The vastness of modern combinations and the magnitude of the battles between labour and capital seem to have affected their sense of proportion." Rival statesmen seem to be teaching the people to forget that there are such things as prudence and the other elementary virtues—"self-reliance, industry, foresight and perseverance. The people are taught to believe that the State is the greatest of all combinations and is able to provide everything regardless of individual effort." Dr. Nicholson thinks that all the effective remedies for strikes are to be found in the recognition of identity of interests, and a real grasp of the difference in dispute and of the chances of success in case of conflict. Masters and men must take pains to understand the real conditions of trade if conflicts are to be averted.

There is much judicious counsel in the chapter on "Profit Sharing." It is ridiculous to suppose that this can be a substitute for trade unions. The employés should be left absolutely free to take part in the meetings and policy of the unions, just as the employers should have the right of joining any combination of masters. One of the most suggestive discussions is that on the "Living Capital of the United Kingdom"—the capital fixed and embodied in the people. Sir William Petty and his followers dealt with this problem. "The results, arranged in order, are: Living labour (ordinary), £24,000 millions; living labour (trades and professions), £12,000 millions; domesticated humanity (all kinds), £10,000 millions; professional salaried officialdom, £1,000 millions—in all, a grand total of £47,000 millions." Thus the living capital of the United Kingdom comes out at five times that of the dead capital. The Old Age Pension problem claims a paper to itself, then follow two articles suggested by a voyage around Africa. Here the Professor is able to examine old principles in the light of actually existing conditions. John Locke emphatically called attention to the fact that a very small proportion of wealth is fitted for man's use by Nature alone. A very short stay in the tropics reveals the truth of this maxim. "The brushwood is impenetrable without the labour of cutting paths, and just as, unaided, one might die of starvation on the sea in spite of its wealth of fish, so, unaided, one might die in an African forest in spite of all the abundance of the fruits of Nature." But not only are the gifts of Nature in the tropics fewer than is generally supposed, but the burdens and obstacles, the pests and pestilences, are worse to encounter. These two chapters, dealing with an economist's travels and with the case of the slave trade, furnish spice to a book that is packed with sound teaching put in popular form.

2. Mr. Mallock's book is addressed to practical people who understand the close relations between social and political problems, and wish to have some general knowledge of the main facts which relate to the economic conditions of the masses. In order to make the subject as clear and intelligible as possible the statistics and arguments are illustrated by diagrams and pictures, which add greatly to the interest of the discussion. Mr. Mallock shows that the Socialist's assertion that the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer, and the middle class disappearing, is the exact opposite of the truth. In 1850 there were nine paupers to every two hundred inhabitants, in 1882 only five. The working classes have increassd far faster in wealth than any other class in the community. Under four sections: "How is wealth distributing itself?" "The Minimum of Human Living;" "Wages and the Products of Work;" "The Census and the Condition of the People"—the pressing

social problems of the time are discussed in a way that will open many eyes. All who wish to answer the pessimists and agitators of the day should study this notable little book.

Browning and the Christian Faith. By EDWARD BERDOE, M.R.C.S. Geo. Allen. 1896.

Dr. Berdoe is favourably known to the student of Browning by the "Cyclopædia" or handbook to the poet's works which he has prepared, and by other similar publications. The present volume acquires special interest from the fact that the author tells us that after having been compelled to give up belief in Christianity, he was enabled to regain his religious faith and peace of mind by a study of Browning. This book furnishes a guide to Browning's views on religion, from the point of view of one who holds him to have been a Christian in the full sense of the word. Dr. Berdoe claims to show not only that Browning reverenced Christ as a revelation of God, but that he accepted the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement, and the Christian creed generally. In this we think he goes too far. Browning seldom speaks in his poems in his own person. He has told the public many times that he does not believe in such self-revelation; that if Shakspeare with a sonnet-key unlocked his heart, then "the less Shakspeare he." None the less from a careful study of the poems as a whole, and by making due allowance for the dramatic element seldom absent from Browning's work, a student may arrive at a fairly accurate estimate of his theological position—so far, that is, as a poet has a definite theological position at all. Browning was an earnest Theist and a believer in immortality, and his Theism was marked by a distinctly Christian spirit and colouring. But that he ever would have subscribed such distinctive articles of the Christian creed as the Incarnation and the Atonement, we think extremely doubtful. We have no desire, however, to dogmatise in this matter, and can very heartily recommend Dr. Berdoe's thoughtful and interesting volume to all students of poetry and Christianity. If the author has leaned over much to one side, Mrs. Sutherland Orr undoubtedly went much too far in the other direction, when in her life of Browning she represented him as virtually an Agnostic. The present volume furnishes such abundant quotations from the poems in illustration of the views alleged, that every reader can form his own judgment.

WESLEYAN BOOK ROOM PUBLICATIONS.

A String of Chinese Peach Stones. By W. ARTHUR CORNABY. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Ministry of the Lord Jesus. By THOMAS G. SELBY. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Thinking about it. Thought on Religion for Young Men and Women. By ALBERT H. WALKER, B.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Divine Parable of History. A Concise Exposition of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. By H. ARTHUR SMITH, M.A. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Hero of Rufford. A True Tale. By JAMES A. MACDONALD. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Etchings from a Parsonage Veranda. By MRS. J. E. JEFFERS GRAHAM. 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Young People's Hymnal. With Tunes. Edited by H. ELLIOT BUTTON. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Lion the Mastiff. From Life. By A. G. SAVIGNY. 1*s.* 6*d.*

London: C. H. Kelly. 1896.

Mr. Cornaby has produced a book that may safely be described as unique. Other men have written on China, but this gifted young missionary has brought China to our doors, and shown us its village life in almost microscopic detail. During his furlough in England he has had to answer questions on China by the hour, and his answers are now gathered up in this volume. He was fortunate enough on his arrival in the East to have an intelligent young Chinese friend living under his roof, who proved a veritable walking cyclopædia of anecdote. Every night he told Mr. Cornaby some story which the young missionary jotted down. Hours of recreation were used to increase this stock of tales, and Mr. Cornaby also became a diligent student of the comparative folk-lore of the district, finding many striking correspondences in this fascinating realm between the far East and the West. The opening chapters of the book describe village life with its cormorant fishing and the odd method of feeding the birds. The crane is the favourite bird of the poet, and of it, and other feathered creatures, Mr. Cornaby has many interesting details to give. The opening chapters prepare the reader for the adventures of Seng Teh, who is carried off to the Tai Ping camp at the time of the great rebellion, and has many a stirring adventure. On this thread of incident, legend and story are hung with many a revelation of Chinese modes of thought and life, which will open the eyes of English readers. The illustrations with which the book is crowded are almost as entertaining and instructive as the letter-press. The man who wishes to understand China will find this volume the richest treasure house into which he could enter.

Mr. Selby's volumes of sermons have gained him a high reputation. His reputation will not suffer loss by the publication of this volume, which is not cast into the form of sermons but of

chapters, though it is easy to see that many of the chapters are in substance sermons. Vigour, point, searchingness, and originality, characterise these chapters throughout. No order of time or of development is strictly followed; but the peculiar characteristics of our Lord's Ministry are forcibly presented, and very closely and penetratingly applied. The language is often felicitous, and the chapters abound in happy and telling illustrations. The book is packed with suggestive thought. It is philosophic and meditative rather than purely historical. Leading features of the ministry are selected and opened up in a way that throws new light on many a well-worn theme. The opening chapter on "The Manner and Method of the Teacher," furnishes a good illustration of the style of the work, and "The Teacher Vindicated by his Humility," is a suggestive section. We have also been much impressed by the tribute to John the Baptist in the chapter headed "Legal and Evangelical Greatness," and by the pages devoted to "Christ's Teaching about Heaven." Thoughtful Christian readers will find this book a rare treasure-house of lofty, spiritual teaching.

Mr. Walker knows a great deal about young people, and this first volume of the Wesley Guild Library strikes a full clear note. *Thinking about it* will really help many seekers after Christ. It makes religion attractive, for it never forgets that young people have minds and bodies, as well as hearts. It is manifestly written by one who delights in nature and in books, and it will not only stimulate its readers to watch and pray, but will teach them to consecrate their intellect and heart to God. Many difficulties are met in a quiet way, and the whole book is fresh and suggestive.

Mr. Smith is not only a lay preacher, but also what Isaac Taylor would have called a "lay theologian." His book is marked by such clearness and such quiet reasonableness that it will be a great boon to many who have been tempted to lay aside St. John's visions in despair. Mr. Smith regards the prophecy as a horoscope of the Church's course throughout the ages. Some of these predictions have been fulfilled, some are being fulfilled, and we are taking part in the conflicts of which they speak. This is the view which is advocated in this lucid and sensible exposition. The writer does not allow the thread of his argument to be lost in a multiplicity of details, but contents himself with following out the main lines of the subject. We believe that his little book will help many readers to find new meaning and fresh comfort in the Revelation.

The Hero of Rufford is a story of village Methodism in Lancashire which Mr. Macdonald has done well to preserve. Farmer Bridge and his wife are fine characters, and their long search for light helps a present-day reader to understand the religious state

of England a century ago in a way that more laboured histories would not do. We wish Mr. Macdonald had not marred the effect of his book by dragging in so much irrevalent matter from the "Homilies." The book would have been greatly improved if about a hundred pages had been omitted.

Etchings from a Parsonage Veranda is a series of sketches by a minister's wife. They are full of character, and have a quiet humour of their own which is very pleasant. The little book ought to be widely popular.

The Young People's Hymnal will be very welcome for Wesley Guild meetings, and for occasional use on Sunday mornings. The selection has been made with great taste, and will meet the strong desire for certain hymns which are not included in *Wesley's Hymns*. Mr. Button's experience as editor of other tune books has enabled him to prepare a set of tunes which will give general satisfaction. There is melody and variety here to suit all tastes, and the collection will set the service of song in young people's meetings on quite a new footing.

Lion the Mastiff, written by a member of the Toronto Humane Society, is a novel attempt to teach kindness to animals. Lion and his mother Nellie, are interesting subjects, whilst the "Animals' Convention," at which horse, cow, squirrel, dog, and cat, ventilate their wrongs, is amusing and oddly instructive, for these "dumb creatures" tell us what physic ought to be given them when they suffer from various ailments. The book will supply many a good hint for addresses to Bands of Hope and Bands of Mercy, and children will greatly rejoice in it.

Architects of Fate, or Steps to Success and Power. A Book designed to inspire Youth to Character-Building, Self-culture, and Noble Achievement. By ORISON SWETT MARDEN. With eight Illustrations. T. Nelson & Sons. 1896. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Marden's earlier work, *Pushing to the Front*, ran through more than twelve editions in its first year, and the present volume ought to be quite as popular. It is literally packed with stories from life of boys and girls who have conquered difficulties by dint of unceasing industry. The author claims to have shown that there are "bread and success for every youth who has the grit to seize his chance and work his way to his own loaf; that the barriers are not yet created which declare to aspiring talent, 'Thus far, and no further,' that the most forbidding circumstances cannot repress a longing for knowledge, a yearning for growth; that poverty, humble birth, loss of limbs or even eyesight, have not been able to bar the progress of men with grit; that poverty has rocked the cradle of the

giants who have wrung civilization from barbarism, and have led the world up from savagery to the Gladstones, the Lincolns, and the Grants." The twenty-six chapters deal with the need of real manhood, the use of obstacles, wealth in economy, one unwavering aim, opportunities where you are, the might of little things, and other kindred themes which are full of suggestion and inspiration for the young. Mr. Marden gathers illustrations from every field. He says: "When young Professor Tyndall was in the Government service, he had no definite aim in life until one day a Government official asked him, how he employed his leisure time. 'You have five hours a day at your disposal,' said he, 'and this ought to be devoted to systematic study. Had I, at your age, had some one to advise me as I now advise you, instead of being in a subordinate position, I might have been at the head of my department.' The very next day young Tyndall began a regular course of study, and went to the University of Marburg, where he became noted for his indomitable industry. He was so poor that he bought a cask, and cut it open for a bath-tub. He often rose before daylight to study, while the world was slumbering about him." There are some excellent hints in the chapter on books. "As a rule, the books which will do you most good are those which made you work hardest while reading, which stimulate the brain, and inspire you to nobler purpose. Passive reading is even worse, if possible, than desultory reading; the mind remains inactive, in a sort of indolent reverie; so it is weakened, and in time rendered incapable of that reach and grasp which enables it to master principles, and that power which enables it to analyse and synthetise. Passive reading takes the brain and the snap out of the mind, until the brain becomes languid, lazy, and disinclined to grapple with great principles and hard problems. Reading and thinking are the gymnasia of the mind. One great difference between the American graduates and the graduates from the English universities is, that the latter have not read many books superficially, but a few books well. The American graduate, too often, has a smattering of many books, but has not become master of any." "Whatever you read," is Mr. Marden's counsel, "read with enthusiasm, with energy, read with the whole mind, if you would increase your mental stature." A book like this ought to stimulate every young reader, and it is so full of interest that every boy and girl will delight in it.

The Teaching of the Vedas; What Light does it throw on the Development of Religion? By MAURICE PHILLIPS, London Mission, Madras. Longmans & Co. 1895.

This is a very valuable book published at a moderate price. The analysis of the theology and mythology of the Vedas is careful

and thorough. The conclusion which seems to be fully established is that "the theory of a Primitive Divine Revelation alone is capable of explaining all the religious ideas of the Vedas," and that the theory of Natural Evolution is inconsistent with the facts. In a subsequent volume the author hopes to analyse Hinduism as in this he has analysed Vedism, and to show that later Hinduism is "far more irrational and immoral than the religion of the Aryans in the far-off Vedic age."

Eden Lost and Won. Studies of the Early History and Final Destiny of Man, as taught in Nature and Revelation. By SIR J. WILLIAM DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., &c. Hodder & Stoughton. 1895. 5*s*.

This fascinating volume consists of papers which were originally published in the *Expositor*. In the opinion of the distinguished author, who is a master in science, and also a brilliant writer, and is withal a devout Christian, the time has come when the science of the Earth and of Man should take bolder ground than heretofore, on the question of the validity of the literary and historical criticism which deals so freely with the earlier books of the Hebrew Scriptures. This volume is a valuable contribution towards the work he recognises as so needful.

The Worship of the Romans, Viewed in Relation to the Roman Temperament. By FRANK GRANGER, D.Lit. Methuen & Co. 1895. 6*s*.

This is a book on one branch especially of ancient Roman folk-lore, that relating to religious ideas and to worship. Without accepting the "comparative" theology which seems to underlie this volume, we can speak of it as full of curious erudition clearly and attractively drawn upon, and of interesting suggestions and illustrations. It is a very readable volume.

Les Grands Problèmes. 1. *La Question du Bonheur: 2. Le Bien Social: 3. Le Beau: 4. La Question de l'Ame.* Par Adolphe Francois. Paris: Ch. Noblet. 1895.

This little book is an essay in practical philosophy, not marked by any great novelty of method or theory, but readable in spite of its meagreness. Its four parts deal respectively with the conditions of pleasure, with those of society, with the nature of the beautiful, and with the human soul. The author regards these as related to one another, and passes in order from the simpler personal to the more metaphysical questions. Sometimes he moulds his teaching into the form of crisp counsels or maxims, and sometimes he allows himself a little more latitude.

But he never wearies his reader, or fails to interest him. The book is reverent as well as generally reasonable, its style is clear and vigorous, and the way in which it brings common sense to bear upon controversial and perplexing matters, makes it worthy a wide circulation.

The Universe, or The Infinitely Great and The Infinitely Little. By F. A. POUCHET, M.D., Director of the Museum of National History at Rouen. Illustrated by 270 engravings on wood and four coloured plates. Twelfth edition. Blackie & Son.

This magnificent work needs no commendation of ours. Its high excellence has long been acknowledged by all the best critical authorities. Its price is only 7*s.* 6*d.* Some new illustrations have been added to this twelfth edition, and four beautifully coloured plates. It is the book on science in general for the general reader, and especially for the young. It is a splendid gift-book, for its "get up" is worthy of its scientific and literary merits. In this edition the translation has undergone some revision, and several paragraphs have been re-written to bring the information fully up to the present state of knowledge.

A Primer of Roman Catholicism. By the Rev. CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT, D.D. Religious Tract Society.

Every Protestant should have this shilling manual, by a learned scholar, a trained and standard writer, and a true Protestant. Dr. Wright has done a good work in writing this little book.

Another welcome volume for intelligent amateurs in scientific study, published by the R.T.S., is *A Popular Handbook to the Microscope*, by Lewis Wright, who has before written on Light and Experimental Optics.

Lighthouses: their History and Romance is a cheap, useful, and charming volume, published by the Religious Tract Society.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book grows more complete and elaborate. The volume for 1895 forms one of the best handbooks to the industries and the whole life of the colony that could be found. New articles have been written dealing with special subjects, and the whole of the matter is brought down to date by skilled experts.

From Victoria we received the *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction for the year* 1894-5. There is a decrease of 5,187 in the number of pupils enrolled during the year, but an increase of 2,405 in the average attendance. The report is distinctly encouraging for friends of public education.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 1).—M. Jean Cruppi writes a second article on "The Courts of Assize of the Seine." His special subject is "the jury." The gaiety of the audience gathered to witness a notable trial does not often turn into indecency nowadays. Thanks to wise measures the sandwiches, the champagne, and those who use them, are now excluded from the reserved seats. The hall does not present any scandal, but it always presents an appearance of disorder, smiling and animated. It is a theatre rather than a hospital, and the audience wears an amused and expectant attitude, ready to laugh, to applaud, or to weep, as the drama unfolds itself. M. Cruppi contrasts with this the aspect of the Old Bailey, where a stranger feels from the first that this is a place of public justice, not made for the public, and certainly not intended for the crowd. The Press is present, and controls everything that constitutes publicity. The judge is busy with his notes, which are afterwards submitted to the jury, and furnish at the critical moment a photograph of the oral debate taken by its most capable witness. The judge is never an accuser. If he intervenes it is to explain his rights to the prisoner, or, in rare instances, to remind some one sharply of the absolute respect due to the prisoner at the bar. The advocates reason out their case rather than "plead" in the oratorical sense of the word. One thing marks the difference between the English and the French court. At every instant the discussion at the Old Bailey is cut short by long pauses. The judge, without raising his head, makes a sign with his finger, and the witness who has spoken too quickly stops at once. The judge writes his deposition, and that lasts several minutes. No one speaks a word, and no one grows impatient. That patient debate, with pauses for calm reflection, indicates a search for truth, a little slow, serious, exempt from all attitudinising. The English jury seems fixed in its calmness and serenity by its confidence in the judge. M. Cruppi does not wish to suggest that our procedure should be imitiated wholly or in part in France. England, so useful to understand, is very dangerous to imitate on account of the national characteristics which stamp themselves so deeply on all our institutions. The London audience always has a terrible defect in a Frenchman's eyes; it seems to suffer from *ennui*. In Paris the witnesses are violent and hot-tempered, and the passages of arms stretch out for hours provoking applause or murmurs from the audience. In that over-charged atmosphere all is favourable to the bursting forth of what is called an incident. An incident is any circumstance, often quite trivial, which in that feverish and impressionable atmosphere assumes in a moment immense proportions, and is able, without any one knowing exactly why, to bring out the most unexpected verdict. One feels the incident as one feels an electric shock; one cannot explain it. The more fully the debate becomes logical and well-managed, the more rare will an incident become. Its disappearance will show that the criminal jurisdiction is reaching the point of perfection, and has freed itself from those exterior influences which at present act so prejudicially.

(January 15).—M. de Pressensé writes on "The Monroe Doctrine and the Anglo-American Conflict." He says that President Cleveland was not in good odour with the extreme partisans of the United States when he returned to Washington on December 15 last, after a few days spent in shooting wild ducks. Many people could not pardon him because he had not stayed at home to deal with bigger game. For weeks, or even months, the chronic difficulty between England and Venezuela had assumed, in the opinion of many Americans, an acute form. The problem is one of very old standing, inherited by us from Dutch Guiana. In 1840, a Colonial official of Dutch origin, Sir Robert Schomberg, was sent to study the question on the spot. He traced a boundary which still preserves his name and marks the irreducible minimum of the pretensions of the British Government. M. Pressensé sums up the history of the matter since that time, and shows that the case would have been settled according to the wishes of our Government if parties and

candidates had not wished to appeal, on the eve of a Presidential election, to that form of patriotism which is known in America as "Spread-Eagleism." Mr. Cleveland himself had not scrupled, in 1888, to appeal to partisan feeling by handing back his passports to our ambassador. His message at the opening of Congress at the beginning of last December gave little satisfaction to the Spread-Eagle party, so that the message of a fortnight ago came like a peal of thunder. After dealing with public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic, M. Pressensé says that if the Anglo-Saxon race is the product of two great books—the Bible and Shakespeare—the pure American has three foundations for his view of things—the Bible, the Constitution, and the Monroe doctrine. Mr. Cleveland therefore chose his ground with a clear insight into American feeling, and named his Commission. M. Pressensé sketches the history of the doctrine, and compares it with articles of faith cherished by other nations. The value of the Monroe doctrine varies according to the case to which it is applied. The last sentence of the article, which speaks of our "unsustainable pretensions, our arrogant refusal of arbitration, and our inopportune recrimination" is unfriendly to England, but that is scarcely surprising.

(February 1).—M. Lévy gives an instructive sketch of our Chartered Company and its work in Africa. He thinks that the moment is come for a regular government to take the place of the Company, and compares the Chartered Company to the old East India Company which prepared the way for our Indian Empire. To withdraw the civil and military powers from the great African Corporation might rob it of some of its *prestige* in the outside world, but would really restore its financial equilibrium. M. Lévy gives some particulars about the career of Mr. Cecil Rhodes. His choice of Jameson as his lieutenant is pointed out as a mark of his rare discernment of character, and his utterance at Kimberley after Jameson's defeat to the effect that his political career was just about to begin, is commented on. He had said in November, 1892, that when the African territories were peopled by white men, it would be necessary to insist on self-government. His programme was, at the fitting moment, to transform the government by charter into government by its own inhabitants. Mr. Rhodes is not the man to be turned from his purpose by one defeat. If he is indeed beaten, he will not acknowledge it. The writer of this article thinks that the words of this *diable d'homme*, full as it seems already to an ordinary European, is probably only just about to begin. But he thinks that the Transvaal of the future will not be merely English, but that Frenchmen will find an honoured place in Johannesburg.

(February 15).—M. Leroy Beaulieu deals with the subject of "Boers and English." He landed at the Cape of Good Hope on December 2, last year. The steamer *Damascus*, by which he came from Australia, brought 250 immigrants—miners, carpenters, and artisans of all kinds, who were going to push their fortune in the Transvaal. The same day a packet arrived from England with 500 passengers of every nationality. Cape Town is 250 years old, and has 80,000 inhabitants in its little white houses. The population with its medley of Dutch and French, of Malays, Hottentots, and negroes, is more picturesque than the town. A capital description of Johannesburg is given. Only ten years ago the spot where this town of 80,000 people stands was pasture land. The population of the Boer Republic is almost as much mixed as it is possible to imagine. The Uitlanders, or foreign element, form about two-thirds of the whites. All nations of Europe are represented, but English subjects are in a majority. Australia has furnished a large contingent since the crisis of 1893. Americans, Germans, and Russian Jews, are in force. Nearly all the managers of mines and engineers come from the United States. The number of Americans is between six and twelve thousand; the Germans claim to be twenty thousand strong. They are chiefly engaged in trade. The course of recent events is clearly sketched, and M. Beaulieu shows how disastrous any serious conflict with the Boers would be.

Nuova Antologia (January 1).—Signor Boner writes pleasantly about "The Nativity in Northern Literature," with its Christmas-tree, its yule-log, its carols, and all its happy observances. Wherever one goes in the north,

whether to Moscow or Stockholm, to Berlin or Edinburgh, one finds the birth of Christ honoured in song. Troops of children adore the cradle of our Lord, the churches are illuminated and decorated with flowers. Signor Boner refers to Charles Wesley's *Devotional Lyric Poetry*, to Watts, Longfellow, and to a host of poems and stories for Christmas. The article will give American readers an excellent idea of the customs and literature of the Nativity. Giuseppe Gadda's Political Reminiscences of his younger days, furnish some interesting glimpses of Italy before the fall of the Papal Sovereignty. There is also an instructive article on "The African Enterprise." It began quietly through the acquisition of the Bay of Assab in 1880, and was prosecuted with vigour by the enthusiasm of a few persons, amid the scepticism of the majority, who could not see any way out of the financial embarrassments of Italy save the reduction of the military expense. "G. G." thinks that the results of the last eleven years do not justify the enthusiasm of the few, and go far to show that the sceptics were right. There is no doubt that Italian diplomacy, acting with incontestable ability, and availing itself of the friendly co-operation of the English nation, has secured for Italy and for its commerce a vast region at the Equator. Anyone who wishes to follow the course of Italy in Africa will find this a capital *resumé*.

(January 15).—Signor Arbib traces the history of the African question in the Italian Parliament. He says that the deputies who were recently called to consider the expenditure on account of Africa clearly understood that for many years the question must be inextricably interwoven with the history of Italy. The moment is therefore opportune for a study of the subject from the beginning. Signor Arbib shows in what way and by what intellectual processes the opinion of the Chamber on African questions has been formed, what variations it has had, and in what respect it has always remained firm and unshaken. The project of an African colony arose in the days of the Sub-Alpine Government, and the subject of a Tunisian colony was carefully considered by the Ministers of the Kingdom of Italy between 1860 and 1865. In 1869 the National Chamber of Commerce met at Genoa and insisted that the Government should without delay establish a colony on the coast of the Red Sea. Next year a beginning was made. From this point the history of the question is traced step by step.

(February 1).—The second part of the article on Africa brings the matter down to the present moment, and shows that, although the King has prorogued Parliament and no one can say when it will reassemble, the Chamber will inevitably find itself occupied again with the question of Africa. There is an appreciative notice of the new edition of *Pepys' Diaries*, and a laudatory sketch of Dumas fils and his work. Two articles deal with the Transvaal and the Venezuelan difficulties in a thoroughly well informed and judicious manner. Signor Catellani says that if a pacific solution of the trouble with America is found the admirable calm preserved by our Government and our people will have contributed thereto in no small measure. The Government has manifested no resentment and the people have exhibited a dignified tranquility excellently represented by Sir John Lubbock, who presided at a meeting of the International Arbitration League on the 15th of January at the Memorial Hall. He said that, though it was the manifest duty of all to labour for the preservation of peace, yet it was not possible to doubt that the whole empire would be united as one man if Great Britain was constrained to fight.

(February 15).—Signor Arbib's "Africa in the Green Books" points out that it is not possible to treat such subjects without documentary evidence showing what the persons wrote and said and did who took a conspicuous part in affairs. Parliamentary documents are thus much more than food to satisfy the passing curiosity of contemporaries. They furnish precious material for the historian. Signor Arbib has therefore set himself to furnish a summary of this voluminous literature which brings out the facts with distinctness and shows the ruling ideas of the chief actors. His summary not only throws a vivid light on past events but will help those who study it to understand the present state of things and to foresee what the future of the

African colony is likely to be. The article begins with Christopher Negri, Consul-General in 1837, and traces the course of events to the year 1887.

METHODIST REVIEW (January—February).—One of the brief papers deals with the way to win congregations. The writer thinks that executive capacity in a minister is of great service in this respect. "A large Church is like a great institution or a great railroad enterprise, with many departments, many workers, and many leaders. It has its various organisations, such as the Epworth League, the Sunday School, and the multiplied agencies which have been brought into existence by the Christian Church. In the management of these, executive capacity of a high order is very important. One who can have his eye and hand upon every movement of his Church, who knows when to speak and when to be silent, when to control and when to leave control to others, has a power such as cannot fail to make him eminently useful."

METHODIST REVIEW OF EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH (November-December).—Dr. Atkins writes on "Methodist Unity." He holds that federation is the true policy to aim at. "If by federation we mean to recognise twenty-three, or even seven Methodist Churches, and seek to unite them into one, each retaining its own independent jurisdiction, we have a false premise to begin with, and must end only in confusion. True federation is to recognise the principles that the General Conference is not the Church; that the divisions and subdivisions of jurisdictions which have been made to meet pressing emergencies, and which have had the sanction of authority, are legitimate, and that such divisions have not affected the unity of the Church; and that the Church needs this function of dividing jurisdictions in order to its peaceful and limitless expansion. Then it will be necessary to enact some formal provision for such division, and provide such ecumenical bond of union with some delegated powers of oversight. To this we must soon come, or suffer loss and run the risk of disintegration. Our rapid growth at home and abroad will force us to it. Already there is the germ of a new jurisdiction in India in the Central Conference, which is in part a delegated body, and has more power than an ordinary Annual Conference. Soon it will be necessary to establish there an independent jurisdiction. Japan has been calling for such rights, and many of the labourers on the field think the time has come for it. . . . Some day China will need the same, so will Mexico, South America, Africa, and Australia. The coloured Methodists of this country would be much better off if they were united, and made to feel that they are one of the jurisdictions and an integral part of our common Methodism, with jurisdictional independence. All co-occupancy of territory would then at once cease. A certificate of transfer for a minister, or of membership for a member, would be good in any jurisdiction the world over. Missionary operations would adjust themselves, and much waste of men and money be avoided. Educational enterprises and the Press would come under the influence of the new adjustment."

(January—February).—Dr. Barkervill has an interesting paper on Joel Chandler Harris, who is the chief representative of the Middle Georgia school of American humorists. He is the most sympathetic, the most original, the truest delineator of the manners, the customs, the amusements, dialect, folk-lore, humour, pathos, and character, of this region. *Uncle Remus: His Songs and His Sayings*, which was Mr. Harris's first book, brought him fame at once by its wealth of folk-lore, its accurate and entertaining dialect, its delightful stories, and its exquisite picture of "The Dear Remembered Days." He lives in the little village of West Point, three miles from Atalanta, in a typical southern cottage, enjoying greatly his country life, and the society of friends and children. An extract is also given from Dr. Carroll's Census returns, showing the position of Methodism which, in 1890, had organisations in 2,205 of the 2,709 counties in the United States. The Methodists of all branches have 51,489 societies against 42,909 belonging to the Baptists, the Presbyterians have 13,476, the Roman Catholics 10,276. There are 30,000 itinerant Methodist ministers. Methodist Church property is valued at $132,140,179 against $118,371,366 for the Romanists, who come second.