
A table of contents for the *London Quarterly Review* can be found here:

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CONTENTS.

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1898.

ART. I.—OUR LORD'S KNOWLEDGE AS MAN.

1. *Studies of the Mind in Christ.* By T. ADAMSON, B.D. Glasgow: T. & T. Clark. 1898.
2. *The Conditions of our Lord's Life on Earth.* By A. T. MASON, D.D. Longmans. 1897.
3. *The Principle of the Incarnation.* By H. C. POWELL, M.A. Longmans. 1896.
4. *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation.* By C. GORE, M.A. Murray. 1895.

"DANGEROUS it were," says Hooker, in a well-known but always impressive passage, "for the feeble brain of man to wade far into the doings of the Most High; Whom although to know be life, and joy to make mention of His name, yet our soundest knowledge is to know that we know Him not as indeed He is, neither can know Him; and our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence." Silence is also safest speech concerning the "mystery

of the Holy Incarnation." When once he has confessed without confession that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father, the reverent disciple will be anxious to adore rather than to define and argue; or if he be drawn with Anselm devoutly to enquire *Cur Deus Homo?* in order that he may the more intelligently and fervently praise his Saviour, he will pause long before he seeks to answer the further query—still unanswered and by man for ever unanswerable—*Quomodo?*

It need hardly be said, therefore, that it is with hesitation and reluctance that we find ourselves entering upon the subject which forms the title of this article. It has been pronounced by a highly competent authority "in reality the most difficult problem within the whole range of theology." It may appear to be a mark of rashness and folly to discuss it at all. But further consideration will show that while it is always difficult to speak wisely on such a topic as this, it is sometimes impossible to refrain from speaking altogether. The following reasons may be alleged for our undertaking the enquiry at this moment. (1) Many writers, some of deserved eminence, have recently been engaged upon it and their productions have been widely read, whilst the tendency of much of their teaching is dubious or not a little dangerous. (2) The whole subject of the Person of Christ is being opened up afresh by what are known as Kenotic theories, emphasising the human, and minimising the Divine, nature of our Lord; and in these theories the subject of our Lord's knowledge occupies a very important place. (3) The practical question of Christ's infallibility has been pointedly raised in connection with His use of the Old Testament, and teachers, presumably orthodox, have committed themselves to very questionable positions in relation to it. And (4), whilst dogmatism should be avoided and anything like summary condemnation of able Christian teachers would be eminently out of place, it may be quite possible to lay down certain lines of guidance for those whose minds have been perplexed by many voices on this confessedly difficult subject. It has been said that the decisions of the early

Œcumenical Councils were "danger-signals, not developments," buoys in the channel, beacons on the shore, to warn vessels of sunken rocks. Such signals need to be renewed from generation to generation, and account should be taken of the shifting sand-banks of current opinion, as they at present exist. With considerable diffidence it is proposed here to lay down certain lines or limits within which the truth concerning our Lord's knowledge as man may be presumed to lie.

1. In the first instance, let it be said that we deal now only with those who are prepared loyally to accept the tenets of universal Christendom concerning the Person of Christ, as laid down at the Council of Chalcedon. A confession was there made, to which the vast majority of Christian churches have since then loyally adhered, of "one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood . . . to be acknowledged in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably . . . the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in One Person and One Subsistence." Or, in the language of the later document known as the Athanasian Creed, "Perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting. One: not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by assumption of the manhood into God. One altogether; not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person." It is worth while to repeat phraseology so well known, that we may be reminded at the opening of our enquiry what are the conditions of the problem. If any deny the true Deity or the perfect humanity of the One Personal Lord Jesus Christ, his whole attitude to the subject will be different from that taken in the present article.

2. But it is quite possible for those who desire to be loyal to this fundamental article of the Christian creed, to fail in practice. And that in either of two ways; either by dwelling upon the attributes of Deity so as to overshadow or absorb the manhood, reproducing more or less unconsciously Docetic error; or in trying to secure freedom for the operation of a true and perfect human nature, robbing

the Divine nature of Christ of some of its essential qualities. The former of these errors has perhaps been more or less manifest in many orthodox Christian teachers since the time of Cyril of Alexandria with his famous phrase *μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*. It is of Cyril that so careful a writer as Bishop Westcott says that under his treatment "the Divine history seems to be dissolved into a Docetic drama." In a perfectly intelligible reaction against such a tendency to despoil the Son of Man in order—as it is vainly thought—to honour the Son of God, a number of eminent thinkers of our own time have set themselves to win room for the full play of human faculties in Christ by Kenotic theories, in which He is represented as having "emptied" Himself of so much of His Divinity that little besides the name is left.

3. Thus in reference to our more immediate subject, it is possible so to dwell upon the omniscience which "must" characterise the Son of God as to reduce the manhood of Christ and its significance to what a recent writer is bold enough to call "a mere show, a pretence, an imposition, a failure." On the other hand, an attempt to narrow down, as some have done, the knowledge of the Son of God to that which belongs to some mere inspired prophet, *plus* the consciousness of Divinity, most certainly leads to conclusions, regarding the work of Christ as a Saviour, from which the theorists would, we imagine, shrink in dismay. The question, then, as thus limited, is not Was the man Jesus omniscient? nor, was the Eternal Word in its cosmic relations emptied, after the Incarnation, of that fulness of knowledge which belongs to Deity? But, are we to understand that the One Divine-human Person of the Saviour, in the days of His flesh, was omniscient, as God Himself is omniscient? Was He infallible as a teacher, or did His being made in all things like unto His brethren imply His putting on one side this portion of His Divine glory, sharing only in that high instruction which the Spirit, given to Him "not by measure," imparted? All are agreed that such essential qualities of Deity as righteousness and love could not, even in thought

be laid aside ; all are agreed, on the other hand, that omnipresence is an attribute of the Eternal Glory which the Son of God Incarnate did not possess. Some would ascribe to Him the omnipotence which belongs to Deity, others hold that "it became Him" in love to lay aside Almightiness and use such power only in the working of miracles as was necessary for the purposes of redemption. Can we understand what the Incarnation implied in relation to the knowledge in the mind of Christ ? Is it possible for Divine omniscience and human limited knowledge to co-exist, or is it lawful for us to say that the human was raised by virtue of its union with the Divine without ceasing to be human, or that the Divine in condescending love laid aside its fulness in order to inform and inhabit humanity, for the work of man's salvation ?

Two methods may be used in a reverent attempt to answer this difficult question. The one is inductive, the other deductive ; the one scriptural and exegetic, the other dogmatic. On the one hand, we may examine carefully the Gospel narratives and ask what is the picture of Jesus therein presented ; on the other, we may build up (from Scripture, of course) a doctrine of the Person of Christ and draw conclusions therefrom on the particular subject in hand. Both methods should be employed, and if they are soundly employed, the results will confirm each other. No conclusion reached should be incompatible with the Gospel narrative in its unadorned simplicity and beauty. No generalisation from the instances recorded by the Evangelists should be out of harmony with that view of the Person of Christ which is built up on the wide basis of Scripture testimony. Whichever of the two methods be chiefly followed, the other should be used to prove and check the conclusions in the first instance arrived at.

It is time, however, that we left the generalisations of abstract discussion for the region of the concrete, and illustrated these remarks by reference to the most recent products of theology in this department. We have placed at the head of this article the names of four books, published

within the last two or three years, which fairly represent the work of English theologians, though they by no means exhaust the list of published volumes. We begin with the last, the earliest in point of time, and travel backwards to the first, which is the latest. Canon Gore's "Dissertations" were written, as our readers know, in extension and support of his Bampton Lectures, which, with all their acknowledged ability, gave offence to many Churchmen because of their attitude on this very subject. The lecturer, so far from modifying the strength of his language, in this supplement defended and strengthened it still further. He defines his position thus :

"Within the *sphere* and *period* of His incarnate and mortal life Christ did, and as it would appear habitually—doubtless by the voluntary action of His own self-limiting and self-restraining love—cease from the exercise of those Divine functions and powers, including the Divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience."

Another phrase used as synonymous with "ceased to exercise" is "refraining from the Divine mode of consciousness," while in one place the term "real abandonment of Divine prerogatives" is used, though elsewhere we read that as God, Christ "possessed potentially at every moment the Divine as well the human consciousness and nature." The "real Incarnation," we are told, "involves a real self-impoverishment, a real self-emptying, a real self-limitation on the part of the Eternal Word of God." That in some sense every Christian believes; our question is, whether this self-limitation implied a sinking to the level of such human knowledge as, for example, a prophet, highly endowed by the Spirit, might possess? Canon Gore assumes that Divine attributes in the sphere of knowledge are "incompatible with a truly human experience," and he is not content with the "mere juxtaposition" of Divine omniscience and human limitations which in his opinion renders the prevailing doctrine on this matter unsatisfactory or unthinkable.

Mr. Powell directly controverts the views of Canon Gore

and his school. He points out the dangers attending the extreme Kenotism of so esteemed an exegete as Godet, and seeks to show that Gore's views are only one degree less dangerous to Christian faith. His volume as a whole is very able, and deserves fuller notice than we can here afford it; the following sentences, however, give the gist of his conclusions:

"Although our Lord was at every moment in possession of the omniscience which was His in respect of His Divinity, as well as of the knowledge belonging to His human consciousness, it was not a *homogeneous* consciousness which extended over these two spheres. The Divine sphere lay outside His human mind, being not comprehensible by it; and although His omniscience of course comprehended perfectly the human, that fact did not affect the human consciousness, so as to make it other than it was. . . . How one and the same Person could be simultaneously in two spheres of being, entering perfectly and unconfusedly into what belonged to each, it is indeed hard to conceive. But here we touch at one point upon the mystery of the union of the Infinite with the finite," &c.

In our opinion Mr. Powell's position is open to just those criticisms which Kenotists pass upon what is generally known as orthodox doctrine. It rests upon two fundamental fallacies. The author's theory of knowledge, which he develops at length and with much ability, implies a fundamental incompatibility between Divine and human knowledge, such as in our view would render Incarnation impossible. And his theory of personality, the existence of a bare Ego, apart from all character and characteristics, is in itself untenable, and in its application to this sacred subject robs the union of Divine and human natures in one Person of all its chief significance. If orthodoxy can find no better defence than Mr. Powell's point of view affords, we are not surprised at Kenotic theories becoming popular.

Canon Mason's "Bishop Paddock Lectures" are slight and unconvincing. On the whole, he ranges himself on the side of Mr. Gore, and on this account his views have apparently aroused opposition within his own communion, both here and in America, where the lectures were delivered. His attitude on the subject of Christ's miracles indicates his

general position, viewing as he does "the miraculous powers lodged in the Incarnate Son as an enrichment of His human nature, in its faithful maintenance of a right creaturely dependence upon God and obedience to Him." So also with knowledge. Canon Mason argues at length that the Gospel narratives describe the knowledge of the Incarnate Son as a progressive and increasing knowledge, not only during the years of youth and physical immaturity, but as in later years advancing from a less to a more complete acquaintance with facts. He does not, however, come to close quarters with the difficulties of his subject, and, while his sympathy with many aspects of Kenotism is pronounced, we cannot, in closing the volume, precisely define the author's position.

In all probability it is not far removed from that of Mr. Adamson, a Presbyterian minister, whose recently published *Studies of the Mind in Christ*, says plainly in popular language what responsible theologians have hesitated to express. Mr. Adamson gives up at once the idea of Christ's omniscience. He finds that "omniscience was a thing to which Christ attached no value in the matter of salvation. In fact, He looked on it not only as unnecessary, but even as hurtful and crippling." The combination of powers which Christ possessed was "not a preventative against error." He is "not concerned to deny in our Saviour a mere lapse of memory," though "His insight never failed." Not omniscience, but grace, kept Him from mistakes. His spiritual knowledge was unique, and His discernment of ἐπουράνια, as described in John iii. 12—a passage on which Mr. Adamson largely builds—furnished, so to speak, guiding principles which kept Him from erring in ἐπίγεια. But the amount of this knowledge of heavenly things was "a very minimum of knowledge, perhaps not more than of Himself as Divine;" and, indeed, Mr. Adamson's conclusion cannot be better summed up than in his own words: "Except for the perfection of His holy human nature, our Saviour differed in knowledge from us, whom He had to save, only in the consciousness He had of His own Divinity." Or again,

"The knowledge He had as to Himself was the one supernatural endowment separating Him from all around." The application of this principle to such a subject as our Lord's use of the Old Testament will illustrate its working. Mr. Adamson holds that Christ had no critical methods or intellectual tests to apply to Scripture, but rather that "He used His general intelligence and those spiritual instincts in which He has ever been unequalled and even unapproached." He "used the Book just as any good and intelligent man would," and, so far as intelligence went, apparently possessed no superiority over other men, so that—though Mr. Adamson does not say this—His judgments may be set on one side like those of ordinary men, except in so far as they were dictated by that incomparable spiritual insight which distinguished Him as teacher.

All the writers whose views we have briefly described agree in holding the Catholic creed of two natures in the One Person of Jesus Christ our Lord. But they represent various shades of opinion, from the one extreme that Christ always and everywhere possessed full Divine ominiscience, to the opposite pole of doctrine, that our Lord possessed no more knowledge than is possible to highly endowed manhood, save and except the consciousness of His own Divinity. Now it appears to us plain at first glance that neither of these extreme views is tenable, and neither of them meets the facts of the case or the conditions of the problem. The attempt to prove the co-existence of ominiscience and ignorance in one personality on the ground of the heterogeneousness of Divine and human knowledge, verges closely on Nestorianism, and its premises would make Incarnation impossible. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that a teacher conscious of His own Divinity—only think what is implied in such a stupendous conception—could possess no attribute of Divinity as a teacher, except such as purity of character and spirituality of insight brings with it. Such a theory does not account for a large number of facts in the Gospels, and a writer who propounds it will have difficulty in defending the bare consciousness of

Divinity which he retains against the strenuous assaults of those who are persuaded that Jesus of Nazareth was just such a teacher as he describes, *minus* the one incredible feature that He was God Incarnate. Is it possible to find standing ground between such extremes so that devout Christians may—not understand *how* Divine and human, finite and Infinite, blend in one Personality, for that is utterly impossible, but—continue to hold the ancient faith of the true Deity and perfect humanity in the Person of our Lord, so far as His knowledge was concerned, without laying themselves open to the objections now so freely urged against that position.

The conditions requisite are twofold. As above indicated, any view put forth must be consistent with sound scriptural exegesis, and must not impair in any wise either half of the Church's creed. Now it can hardly be questioned that some of the Fathers of the Church during many centuries did violate the principles of lawful exegesis in their attempt, as they thought, to honour Christ and represent Him as ominiscient even in childhood, and as always perfectly beholding the Beatific vision. John Damascene represents the dogmatic position accurately when he argues,

"if the flesh from the first moment of its existence was united to the Word of God, or rather subsisted in Him and possessed hypostatic identity with Him, how could it have been otherwise than perfectly enriched with all wisdom?"

Hence the language of Luke ii. 52 concerning our Lord's childhood was explained away, and the words of Mark xiii. 32 were perverted to mean not that the Son was ignorant of the time of the judgment, but that the Church—with which Christ is united as Head with members—is ignorant, therefore our Lord represented Himself as not knowing what as Son of God He must have known. Liddon, who was too sound an exegete to allow such unworthy evasions, views this passage as giving the one solitary restriction upon the ominiscience of the Word Incarnate, and he limits Christ's ignorance not only to this particular subject, but to the particular moment of utterance.

"That He was ever completely ignorant of aught else, or that He was ignorant on this point at any other time, are inferences for which we have no warrant, and which we make at our peril."*

But the whole Gospel narrative, beginning with our Lord's childhood, down to His passion and death on the Cross, suggests, what this single verse explicitly bears out, that there were limitations to Christ's knowledge as man. Our space will not allow us to detail the instances, and they are indeed familiar to our readers. But we fully agree with modern writers who urge that if our Lord's mind was every moment flooded with the full light of absolute Divine knowledge, many pages of the Gospels in which He is represented as seeking information, as surprised, disappointed, perplexed, can only be understood as "a Docetic drama," or "pieces of instructive acting," unworthy alike of the Redeemer Himself and the Evangelists, who on this theory effectually mislead their readers in their portrait of the Son of Man.

The Kenotists are right when they plead the tenor of the Gospel narratives and the words of the creed which assert the perfect manhood of our Lord, in order to maintain the "truly human experience" which both alike demand. But they tread on doubtful ground when they argue that this "must" imply such and such an abandonment of Divine prerogatives, just as their opponents go beyond their warrant when they contend that hypostatic union with the Divine Word "must" have rendered impossible any real growth in wisdom during the childhood of our Lord. Both sides are right in what they affirm, unjustifiably dogmatic in what they deny. And the dogmatism in each case arises from the assumption that the alternative position is "unthinkable." But it must be observed that on every theory there is "unthinkable" element, if by the word be meant that which cannot be expressed in terms of human logic. The co-existence of omniscience and limited knowledge in

* Bampton Lectures. *Lecture viii.*, p. 467, Fourth Edition.

the Person of Christ is pronounced inconceivable, but so is that laying aside of omniscience on the part of the Eternal Word, which most Kenotic theories imply. One class of thinkers allow—unintentionally, but none the less really—the manhood of Jesus to be absorbed in the Divinity of the Son of God; the other virtually surrenders Christ's Divinity in some of its essential attributes, in order to preserve His humanity; but neither succeeds in propounding a "thinkable" theory of a great mystery.

Must we then rest here? Is it the only true wisdom to say—

> "'Tis mercy all! let earth adore,
> Let angel-minds enquire no more"?

Ultimately, all finite minds must rest in such an attitude of the soul, and it is well for those who, with Sir Thomas Browne, can say "I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my Reason to an *O altitudo!*" But it is somewhat inconsistent for those who object to the reasonings of Canon Gore on the one hand, and Mr. Powell on the other, to fall back upon the ultimate mysteriousness of the Incarnation, and provide no alternative to the positions which they condemn as incompatible with true Christian faith. Free criticism should be followed by some measure of positive teaching. Not in the vain hope of explaining the inexplicable, therefore, but with a desire to indicate lines within which devout faith may safely rest and move as regards this difficult subject, we essay such exposition of the teaching of Scripture concerning it as commends itself to our own minds.

The several testimonies of the Synoptic Gospels, of St. John, of St. Paul, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whilst differing considerably in point of view and mode of statement, agree in presenting the One Person of our Lord Jesus Christ in two natures, human and Divine. But these are not separate, so that the miracles may be said to have been wrought by the Son of God, while hunger and thirst were endured by the Son of Man. The facts in our Lord's life,

which are narrated by the Evangelists, and the doctrinal statements or implications found in the Epistles, contain these two elements indissolubly blended together, and the picture left upon the mind of the devout student is that of One who was in a unique sense Son of God, yet at the same time most truly and completely man with us men. In making any statement, therefore, concerning our Lord's knowledge, the harmony or balance of this picture—so entirely beyond the powers of unaided man to draw—must not be disturbed. Any language which implies the entire *abandonment* of Divine knowledge, a complete or utter submission to the ordinary conditions of humanity in this respect, fails to meet some of the facts, just as an insistence upon the complete conscious possession at every moment of full Divine omniscience directly contravenes other representations of the Gospels. Christ claims Divine knowledge, not the mere possession of a high degree of inspiration; He makes Himself the centre of His own Gospel; His authority and infallibility as a Teacher are such as no mere highly endowed prophet could claim; while at the same time He submitted to pass through the stages of human growth and development in knowledge as in stature, confessed His ignorance on one point, and constantly acted as one who used ordinary human means of acquiring information on others. Whatever theories be fashioned by theologians, these are the facts, if Scripture testimony be accepted—facts which orthodox or heterodox Docetists on the one hand, and heterodox or would-be-orthodox Kenotists on the other, fail adequately to recognise.

The standard passages in the Epistles which are usually discussed in this controversy are quite in harmony with the above representation. There is nothing in any of them which can be legitimately used to prove either an emptying of the Divine nature so that any of its essential qualities were actually surrendered, or such a use of the plenitude of Divine attributes as to interfere with the exercise of human faculties and the limited conditions of human life. The standard passage, Phil. ii. 6—8, when rightly understood,

appears to us to present in short compass precisely this position. For clearness sake let its teaching be thus presented :*

a. The Person described, the antecedent to the pronoun "who," is the Pre-Incarnate Son of God.

b. He was by nature in the "form" of God, possessing all the essential qualities of Deity implied in the word μορφή.

c. Still continuing in that inalienable possession, He did not think the being on an equality with God (τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ) a prize to be grasped and retained at all costs : He was willing to resign all of outward majesty in state and condition which belonged of right to Him.

d. So far from exhibiting any clinging to outward majesty and the signs of equality, He emptied Himself of the state of being ἴσα θεῷ and took upon Him the form (implying all the essential qualities) of man, and was made in the outward and visible likeness of men, wearing the σχῆμα or fashion of human existence.

e. Not only so, but even in this condition He humbled Himself, not only to endure the unspeakable lessening of glory implied in assuming our nature, but so far as to become obedient to death, even the death of the Cross.

It is well understood that almost every point of this exposition is disputed, but the above paraphrase seems to give the best meaning. If this be so, and if other great Christological passages, such as 2 Cor. viii. 9, Col. i. 15-20 and Heb. i. 1-3, are interpreted in harmony with it, a scriptural basis for examination is furnished. Nothing like

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* It is perhaps hardly necessary to refer here to Dr. Gifford's masterly monograph on this passage published under the title of *The Incarnation* (1897).

abandonment of essential Divine qualities is implied, but the temporary abandonment of glory and outward status is, and such measure of Divine self-limitation is asserted as was needful for the embodiment of the Eternal Word in human flesh, so that a truly human life in its essential conditions might be experienced. In such self-limitation there is nothing unworthy of the Divine excellence. Many of the Church Fathers, with ideas of a metaphysical rather than an ethical Deity before them, appeared to think that such limitation in love was impossible. Therein we hold that they were mistaken and that modern teachers like Godet, Fairbairn and Gore are right. But when the latter use any terms which imply absolute abandonment of what Dr. Fairbairn calls "physical" attributes, including omniscience among them, then they not only come into collision with positive Scripture teaching, but take up a position in relation to the Eternal Word which appears to us as dangerous as it is inconceivable. So long as Canon Gore claims only that the facts imply "refraining from exercise" of omniscience, or what was by earlier writers styled "quiescence"—the term κρύψις, or concealment, usually opposed to κένωσις, is not altogether happy—we entirely agree with him. The choice of an appropriate word is not easy, yet much depends upon it. "Suspension" perhaps goes too far in one direction, and the Fathers were right who denied that there was "loss" of this particular attribute of Godhead. But on the other hand, if it be contended that as regards the Person of the Incarnate Lord there was no "change," "diminution," "alteration" of the omniscience in the full meaning of the term and of its full exercise, they appear to us seriously to err in another direction.

Does not the truth, so far as it can be expressed in human language, appear to be this? The Eternal Son of God, in becoming incarnate, abandoned none of His inalienable and eternal attributes. His cosmic functions continued without intermission or change. But it pleased Him to enter into such relations with humanity, so to take upon Him our nature—impersonal, except in virtue of its union with Him-

self—so to "become flesh," that as Incarnate, He held in abeyance and refrained from the full exercise of His omniscience ; laying aside in the region of knowledge, as in the region of power and of presence, all such use of His attributes as would interfere with His living a truly human life, and so with the great purpose of human redemption. Mere "juxtaposition" of omniscience and ignorance in the same personality does not meet the conditions of the problem. There must be true union or the Incarnation loses its significance. But "abandonment" is not necessary for union ; self-limitation in the sense above defined suffices for the great purpose in hand and meets the facts described in the Gospels and the doctrinal statements of the Epistles, while it does not impair the true Divinity of our Lord.

The chief objection urged against this view is its inconceivability. How, it is asked, can the Omniscient refrain from the exercise of omniscience ? How can one at the same time know and not know ? It is urged that we can readily understand restraint in the exercise of power, but not of knowledge. Doubtless in a sense this is true, and in answering the question *How ?* as we have acknowledged, the ultimate mystery is impenetrable. But it is no deeper, and no greater inconceivability is implied, in the position taken above than in any of the other theories we have examined. And we unquestionably may conceive, according to our measure, not completely, but sufficiently for the reasonable exercise of faith, of Incarnation on the basis above described. Dr. Bright, of Oxford, has made a special study of this subject, and his language may be quoted as better than our own.* The passage Phil. ii. 6, he holds

" confines the *Kenosis* to the sphere of Christ's humanity. Within those limits He dispensed with manifestations of His Divine majesty, except on occasions and for special ends. As a rule, He held in reserve, by a continuous self-restraint, the exercise of Divine powers, and accepted the conditions of human life with all its sinless infirmities. He willed to think and feel

*See his Sermons on the Incarnation, and *Waymarks in Church History*, page 393.

humanly through organs of thought and feeling which, being human, were limited, and on which He did not ordinarily shed the transfiguring power of what Cyril called His 'proper' or original φύσις, although, whenever He taught, He spoke as the absolute Light of men."

Such self-limitation, though incomprehensible by us in relation to omniscience, because we cannot understand what omniscience implies, is not entirely inconceivable. Within the sphere of the finite, it is possible for one who possesses knowledge willingly to refrain from its use, while it lies dimly in the background, behind consciousness, a reserve on which it is possible to draw. Mr. Ottley, in his work on the Incarnation, uses the illustration of the ruler of a great empire playing with his children, and putting himself for the time being on a perfect level with the little ones. Such an example of voluntary self-limitation through sympathy may not take us very far towards solving an insoluble problem, but it may well be used as pointing out the direction in which the solution lies. The inexplicable union of mind and body in the constitution of human nature might help us further, for only a portion of human knowledge is capable of being conveyed in human speech. The sunshine which floods the landscape with glory passes through a coloured window; only a portion of it can so pass, and only that portion may for a while be used, without limiting the potency of the rays without. Only some of the vibrations of the ether reach our eyes in the form of light, only some of the undulations of the atmosphere reach our ears as sound, but we do not make the capacities of our ears and eyes the measure of possibility in the domains of sound and light.

It will be understood at once that analogies of this sort are analogies only, and none of them will bear being closely pressed in their application to the lofty theme before us. They are used not as satisfying to the reason, but as helping the imagination, and as showing that in the thought of a reservoir of knowledge—if the phrase may be permitted—present in the mind, but lying for the most part behind consciousness, there is nothing irrational or essentially

inconceivable. If only some approach to this state be found occasionally in human experience, it is enough to aid faith in her apprehension of the unique co-existence in Christ of finite ignorance and omniscience limiting its own exercise in love. It may be too much to say, as Mr. Powell does, that knowledge needed to be "communicated" from the Divine to the human nature of Christ; this savours of Nestorianism. The phrase "translated" from the Divine to the human consciousness, used by an able writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, is perhaps little better. Yet it is almost certain that these words represent an important truth, viz., that in the ordinary course of His life and ministry our Lord submitted Himself to conditions of knowledge which were needful for the carrying out of His work of man's redemption, whilst in the background of consciousness lay stores of knowledge, possibilities and faculties of apprehension and insight, upon which He forebore to draw, and which needed a process of transference which we should require to be omniscient in order to understand. It is in this sense that it was possible for Him as a child to grow in wisdom; that in His ministry, while He possessed superhuman foresight, He had not before Him past, present and future as if outlined upon a map; it was this which made it possible for Him to say, "Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father," and which gives significance to His prayer of anguish, "If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me!" But the veiled light of knowledge, like the veiled greatness of His power and the veiled glory of His majesty, sometimes gleamed through the covering in which for the most part He had for love's sake enshrouded it. As once upon Hermon, His clothing as well as His countenance was transfigured, and His very robes were white and glistening, "so as no fuller on earth could whiten them;" so from time to time it is given us to see that the knowledge of this unique teacher did not merely consist of the rare insight of spiritual genius, or the superhuman enlightenment which might on occasion be granted to a prophet, but was the

knowledge of the Eternal Son, comparable to that of the Eternal Father, nothing short of Divine. And always, in the utterances of Him who was bold to say, not merely I reveal truth, I declare truth, I impart truth, but "I am the Truth," the mystery of His sacred Person gives weight, authority, and the stamp of a Divine certainty to all His teaching, so that of Him as of no other it can be said, the words which He has spoken unto men, they are spirit and they are life!

In closing, let it not be thought that the subject which has engaged our attention is merely speculative and void of practical importance. We have sought to avoid mere speculation and the condemnation which belongs to those who "intrude into things they have not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind." It is the meaning of Scripture which we have tried to unfold, in protest against interpretations put forward by teachers whom we respect, but whose doctrine appears to us to be questionable or even dangerous. False reverence should not bar the way to free enquiry or leave the path of enquiry open only to a few of one school of thought. Some of the practical bearings of this question are such as these:

1. The infallibility of our Lord is bound up with sound teaching in regard to it. True, Mr. Gore expressly reserves this point, but other writers do not, and Mr. Adamson definitely states that Christ's spiritual insight was not a preventative against error, and that lapses of memory and the like human infirmities are not to be wondered at, if they occur in His teaching. Fallibility, like peccability, is excluded by the very hypothesis of the Incarnation. If Christ be very God of very God, it is a contradiction in terms to conceive Him as capable either of erring or sinning. Yet this fact need not shut out the reality of temptation, or the reality of a growth in knowledge. But, as has been frequently said, infallibility is not omniscience, and it does not follow that all history and all science were always present to the mind of the Master when he stood up to teach. In His use of the Old Testament we may be well

assured there is no error or misleading statement, yet it does not follow that He had unrolled before His mind the detailed history of every book, with its author and the circumstances of its composition, when he taught the Jews the inner meaning of the Law, or the truth concerning David's Son and David's Lord. On the other hand, if the Kenotic theories of Godet, Fairbairn and others be correct, it will be difficult to defend the infallibility of Christ as a teacher against prevalent modern criticism.

2. Again, the reality of our Lord's manhood, and His sympathy with men are involved. It cannot be denied that some views of the Person of Christ, which have obtained in the Christian Church, have removed Him so far from human sympathies, that, as Canon Gore says, there is danger of men's going "to seek sympathy from on high in some other quasi-deified being." That is the explanation of Mariolatry. St. Paul met it by anticipation in the Epistle to the Colossians, the argument of which cuts at the root of all such errors by showing the sufficiency of Christ as a Saviour, because He is God-man, as truly human as He is Divine. The same thought largely pervades the Epistle to the Hebrews. "In him dwells the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Fulness of Divine grace and truth it is that abides in the Saviour, but it dwells σωματικῶς, in veritable union with a human nature "of reasonable soul and bodily flesh subsisting." Explain away the latter part of this text by insisting upon the full presence of Divine omniscience in the details of the life of Christ, and the human Saviour disappears from view, and it must be said "ye have taken away my Lord, and I know not where ye have laid Him."

3. True views of God and man respectively are bound up with a right understanding of Scripture teaching concerning our Lord's knowledge. That is a subject too large to broach at the end of an article. But it may be said in a word that all teachers, on the one hand, who maintain the heterogeneousness and therefore the incompatibility of Divine and human knowledge, as well as those on the other hand who, in order to vindicate the reality of human knowledge in

Christ, find it necessary to exclude Divine knowledge altogether, fail to understand God's immanence in creation at large, and the very grounds upon which the doctrine of Incarnation is based.

We end where we began. Reverence is the first condition of profitable thinking on this subject; reticence, or due reserve of language, is the first duty of speech in relation to it. But the desire to understand as far as possible the teaching of Scripture and to express in the most appropriate words the principles which underlie that teaching, is not only permissible, but laudable. And in our own day, as in the early ages of the Church, the prevalence of speculation makes it needful for some to speak who would rather have been silent, that it may at least be understood what Scripture does *not* say. But the one essential characteristic of the Christian disciple, whether himself a teacher or a learner, is the ready mind, the willing heart and teachable spirit, prepared in all things to sit at the feet of the One supreme and infallible Teacher of men, who spake as never man spake. For only of a Divine-human teacher can it be said that He is the Light of the world, and that whoso follows Him shall not walk in darkness, but have the light of life.

ART. II.—BRYCE'S IMPRESSIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Impressions of South Africa. BY JAMES BRYCE. Author of "The Holy Roman Empire," "Transcaucasia and Ararat," "The American Commonwealth," etc. With Three Maps. London: Macmillan & Co. Limited. 1898.

THIS is a very able work. It is not a narrative of the superficial events of travel simply; it is a sagacious, discriminating discussion of questions of the highest importance relating to the history, the development, the

present condition, the future welfare of South Africa—a part of our globe on which the eyes of the whole civilized world have been recently fixed. Broad outlines of the physical character of this vast country are here filled in with vivid descriptions of natural scenery. The native races are portrayed with insight and sympathy; the chequered story of European immigration in its relation to the soil and to the natives is faithfully told; the condition of the colonies, republics, and protectorates, the phases of life peculiar to each, and their inter-relations are clearly set forth, those regions which have been brought in recent days under European administration receiving special attention. The resources of South Africa are carefully estimated; while the prospects of social and material advance, the probable relations, in the centuries to come, of the white and coloured people to one another, and the *rôle* which this land may be called on to play in the world-drama, are the subject of much interesting speculation. The causes of the Reform rising and the Jameson raid are examined with strict impartiality. The work of the Christian churches is heartily commended, and the missionary is pronounced to be the principal factor in the education and civilization of the Kafirs. Visits are described to ancient ruins like those of Zimbabwye, to famous battle fields like Majuba Hill, and to the kraals of renowned chiefs like Moshesh and Khama. No town of importance is overlooked, while a great part of South Africa is traversed. The writing is a model of ease, clearness, and force, and we are carried on from page to page with unflagging interest.

The configuration and climate of South Africa have determined its economic progress and the lines of European invasion. The salient features may be briefly stated. There is the strip of varying width on the sea-board of the Indian Ocean, extending from Cape Town to Beira—a strip with few harbours. Where the land in the vicinity of the sea is not malarious swamp, the soil is rich, bearing a tropical vegetation, often of great luxuriance, but the climate is unhealthy for the Europeans whom the trade

of the seaports attracts. At the rear of this low-lying marshy belt is the Quathlamba range of lofty mountains, stretching away to the Zambesi, and, some sixty miles from the coast, rising to 8,000 feet. Natal, and part of Cape Colony, though on the eastern side of the mountains, are, on account of their elevation, as they slope upwards from the Indian Ocean, free from virulent malaria. In Basutoland some of the peaks attain a height of 11,000 feet, and are snow-clad. Beyond the Quathlamba range is the vast table-land that spreads out north-west and west, comprising seven-eighths of the surface of South Africa, and being from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level. Much of it is pleasant undulating prairie, with many a rugged hill-crest overlooking lovely vales, but by far the greater part of it is parched and sterile, and sparsely inhabited. The air is crystal-clear and exhilarating. The rainfall, except in the neighbourhood of the mountains, does not exceed thirty inches in the year ; in the north of Cape Colony and the western part of Bechuanaland, it is seldom more than four or five inches. Here the country is monotonous desert. Everywhere rivers are few, and useless for navigation, even the larger streams being for three-fourths of the year mere trickles of mud, or a chain of stagnant pools. The dryness of South Africa is one of the reasons why its exploration proceeded so slowly. There are no waterways for boats, and travelling by ox-wagons at the rate of some twelve miles a day, in a land of immense distances, where grass was scarce and frequent halts were necessary, was a tedious mode of locomotion to which few cared to submit.

It is well known that the dryness of the climate, and the elevation of the interior, make South Africa a remarkably healthful country. The exhausting heat of the day in summer is compensated by the delicious coolness of the night. East winds, too, prevail, keeping down the temperature and adding to the salubrity. Sun-helmets, indispensable in India, are discarded, and yet sunstroke is uncommon. Excepting certain fatal districts on the coast, and in the lower parts of the Transvaal, swamp fever is not

the scourge it is in many hot countries. The British dominions in the north and west are practically free from it. Of course, river valleys here and there, like those of the Limpopo and Notwani, healthful enough in the dry season, become dangerous after inundations; and wherever there is wet ground, even at high elevations, fever hides and claims its victims, as, for instance, in Pretoria, which lies in a humid basin, though 4,500 feet above the sea. But on the grassy plains and breezy uplands, and on the elevated stony veldt, the dryness and purity of the atmosphere ensure immunity from this pest of equatorial and tropical lands. Chest diseases are all but unknown among the older European population.

South Africa is not the hunter's paradise which it was when explorers first occupied it. Then it had no equal in the world for the variety and profusion of its wild creatures. Roaming over its surface were graceful antelopes (thirty-one species), rivals of the winds of the wilderness for fleetness; elephants, lions, leopards of fearful symmetry; the stately giraffe, the beautiful zebra, the fierce gnu, the unwieldy hippopotamus, the rhinoceros, and many others. But with few exceptions they are no longer found in their old haunts. The fiery rain of the rifle, more terrible than the devouring prairie conflagration, has swept away countless herds of them. Only the baboon and the crocodile seem to defy the bullets of encroaching and inconsiderate man.

South Africa has a diversified flora, which possesses striking affinities in the south-west with the flora of South-western Australia, and in the south-east with that of India. The number of species in proportion to the area exceeds, it is said, the number found in any other part of the world. It is not possible in this short article to present ever so concise a summary of the vegetation. We can but give a few conspicuous features. The Cape Town district, cut off as it is by the wastes and precipices of the Karroo from the great plateau and the tropical regions further east and north, has a distinctive flora. "The heaths, for instance, of which there are said to be 350 species in this small area, some of

extraordinary beauty, are scarcely found outside of it." Dense "scrub," interspersed with trees of thorny mimosa, seldom exceeding from twenty to thirty feet high, prevails over the greater part of the immense dry table-land. Forests are rare. Those that exist are preserved and administered by a Forest Department. They are found along the south coast of Cape Colony and Natal ; the trees are of small habit, seldom running up to more than sixty feet. Among them are exquisite flowering species, whose gay blossoms intertwine with those of climbing plants, festooning old gray branches, and adding a bright beauty to forests that lack the majesty which gigantic monarchs of oak and pine give to the woodlands of the northern hemisphere. There is a good deal of timber on the undulating plains and low hills of Bechuanaland, in adjacent parts of the Transvaal, and in Matibililand ; but, as a rule, it is poverty-stricken, owing to the dryness of the soil and the frequent grass-fires, which injure young trees and stunt their growth. Further north, the aspect of the woods is improved by the occurrence of sweet-scented trees

"with glossy leaves and small white flowers, some with gorgeous clusters of blossoms. These are particularly handsome. One, usually called the Kafir-broom, has large flowers of a brilliant crimson. Another (*Loncho-carpus speciosus*), for which no English name seems to exist, shows lovely pendulous flowers of a bluish lilac, resembling in colour those of the *wistaria*. The third is an aboraceous St. John's wort, which I found growing in a valley of Manicaland. All these would be great ornaments to a south European shrubbery."

In mountainous Manicaland the trees assume grander proportions, but the forests are limited in area. The absence of wide stretches of woodland in South Africa is a heavy misfortune. They are wise who are introducing quick-growing Australian trees into the Transvaal and the South African Company's dominion. For such timber will enlarge the rainfall and prevent it being so rapidly absorbed. Already the eucalyptus groves that embower Pretoria and Kimberley, and the oaks that add their charm to the

neighbourhood of Cape Town, bear witness to the fact that immigrant trees have a salutary mission to a country as well as human immigrants.

Each political division of South Africa has its own particular aspect, resources, and relative importance. Cape Colony is as a whole neither a country for corn nor for pasture. Its south and west coast lands produce wine and wheat; the higher tracts behind these, with their burning days and cold nights, and breezy brightness, are virtually desert, a browsing place for sheep and goats; on the Basutoland border, 4,000 feet above the sea, there is a considerable rainfall, and the grass is abundant. In the valleys tillage without irrigation is carried on. Natal has an almost tropical climate on the sea-board, attributable in part to the warm Mozambique current which washes it. Sloping upward from the ocean is a delightful country, well watered and well wooded, with wide pastures, a suitable home for Europeans, and perhaps the richest and fairest part of South Africa. German South-west Africa is, with the exception of its far north, "an enormous wilderness" of 322,000 square miles. Much of Portuguese South-east Africa is a land of teeming fertility, but the excessive heat and deadly malaria render it uninhabitable for Europeans. Passing from these maritime countries, there is first the Orange Free State, a territory nearly as large as England, consisting of a section of the great plateau. It is from 4,000 to 6,000 feet high. Forests are absent, but there are magnificent stretches of undulating pasture-land, where, during two-thirds of the year, grass is plentiful; and, in the south-east there is excellent corn land. Here a sturdy people, nourished physically on sheep, venison and pure air, and mentally and spiritually on the Bible and old-fashioned theology, lead a placid life in the fear of God. The entire population is less than that of the English county of Hertford. There are nearly two natives for every white man; the natives have no civil rights. The South African Republic exhibits the same general features as the Orange Free State, except that it has large areas of "sour veldt," and is

not so free from malarious districts. "No one would think it worth fighting for so far as the surface goes; and, until fourteen years ago nobody knew that there was enormous wealth lying beneath its surface." Bechuanaland on its eastern side is "deemed one of the best ranching tracts in South Africa, for the grass is green and sweet, and water can usually be had for digging for." Trees, not of any great size, give a touch of beauty to a landscape otherwise dreary and monotonous. Its western side is the thirsty waste called the Kalahari Desert, where antelopes still find a refuge from the hunter. Rhodesia is of immense size. It is generally a country of swelling downs, but of rocky heights and thick brush in the south, where, during the recent unhappy war, the Mashona Kafirs bravely defended themselves in natural strongholds. Northwards, sinking away from the central highlands towards the Zambesi, is a region of deeper soil which is destined to welcome the plough, to fold in its warm embrace the "corn of wheat," and to wave with golden harvests for the millions of the mother country. Eastern Mashonaland is a land of rivers and brooks of water. The soil is rich; the rains are fairly copious. Nature is here full of beauty. Trees of many varieties crowd the valleys, and, dotted about on open spaces, give a look of English homeliness to the scene. The climate, Mr. Bryce assures us, "is pleasant and invigorating, for nowhere do lighter and fresher breezes blow, and the heat of the afternoon is forgotten in the cool of the evening."

From what has been said, the reader will gather that the landscape of South Africa, over a great part of it, is not altogether a paradise of natural beauty, though it has many a lovely spot. Lakes and running streams, with richly wooded margins, the grandeur of cloud-piercing mountains and wide expanses of lovely park-like country are unusual. Instead of them we often have "a parched land where no clear brooks murmur through the meadows, no cascade sparkles from the cliff, where mountain and plain are alike brown and dusty" during the greater portion of the year. However much the European traveller may enjoy the sun-

shine and the dry keen air, the want of greenness and the uniformity of the aspect impress him almost painfully. Yet Mr. Bryce introduces us to many of the spots of exceptional loveliness to which we have referred. In Basutoland there is mountain scenery comparable to the finest parts of the Swiss Alps.

"There are gleams of singular beauty, some wild and rugged, some clothed with rich pasture. The voice of brooks, a rare sound in Africa, rises from the hidden depths of the gorges, and here and there torrents plunging over the edge of a basaltic cliff into an abyss below make waterfalls which are at all seasons beautiful, and when swollen by the rains of January, majestic."

From the mountain summits there are enchanting prospects "combining wide stretches of plain in one direction, with a tossing sea of lofty peaks in another." The flowers, too, call forth the delight of the traveller.

"A more rich and varied Alpine flora than dotted the pastures all around I have seldom seen. The flowers had those brilliant hues that belong to the plants of our high European mountains, and they grew in marvellous profusion."

Several which Mr. Bryce found were new to science. Manicaland derives a unique charm from its bold granite peaks. Some of them rise in smooth shafts of apparently inaccessible rock; others form long ridges of pinnacles. The valleys are full of timber, and the contrast of soft outline and warm colour, with the grandeur of soaring altitudes and sheer declivities add beauty to sublimity.

Colour and silence are the distinguishing characteristics of South African scenery. The most monotonous landscape is redeemed by a certain warmth of tone that satisfies and delights the eye. The pallor of limestone countries is unknown here; the hardest greys of the granite are royally decorated with golden and ruby-velvet traceries of lichen; basalts, porphyries, and red sandstones enrich with their tints the wide prospects; and

"though the flood of midday sunshine is almost overpowering, the lights of morning and evening touching the mountains

with every shade of rose, crimson, and violet, are indescribably beautiful."

As to the silence of these primeval solitudes, to some persons it is awful, creating an overwhelming feeling of loneliness and sadness; to others it is uplifting, stimulating thought, giving to it breadth, and impressing the mind with "the self-sufficingness of Nature, the insignificance of man, the mystery of the universe."

Mr. Bryce devotes one fourth of his volume to the history of South Africa. The three native races, Hottentots, Bushmen, and Kafirs are dealt with in their relations to one another, and to the four European races, English, Dutch, Portuguese, and Germans. The careers of great Kafir chieftains like Tshaka, Kafir wars, tribal institutions and religion are described. The story of the progress of the white population from the arrival of the early Portuguese and Dutch navigators in the sixteenth century down to the recent invasion of the Transvaal, with its turbulent episodes, its blunders, its racial strifes, and its empire building, is disentangled and traced with exact knowledge and masterly skill, with dispassionate judgment, with unwarped and unfearing honesty. This part of "Impressions of South Africa" is of special value. We are thankful that it has fallen to the lot of so competent and fair-minded a writer as Mr. Bryce to produce this history, at once succinct and complete, of the development of European power and influence in South Africa. We cannot do more, however, than note a few important points.

The Kafirs alone of the native races are destined to play a leading part in the future of South Africa; and this is owing largely not only to the inherent vitality of the Kafir race, but to the ability and foresight of their greatest chiefs. Mr. Bryce acknowledges the genius of Tshaka, whose intellectual force was only surpassed by his boundless ambition, who out of the war-wasted remnants of many tribes, out of a scattered herd of savages, created a mighty nation, building up a regular military system, forming regiments of perfectly drilled warriors, discarding ancient implements of war, and

arming his bravos with new weapons fitted for close conflict. This despot carried devastation, slaughter, and terror over all neighbouring districts, consolidated the Zulu monarchy, and changed the face of South-east Africa. Even skilled British troops found in the Zulus formidable foemen, worthy of their steel. But the organization of the Kafirs generally was not that of a military despotism, but was tribal. The chief was obliged to defer to the sentiment of his people as expressed in the council of the head men of the nation. The old customs had great weight, and the voices of the old men usually prevailed in counsel; but the prestige of birth, the strongest of all sources of influence among heathen peoples, gave, no doubt, to the chief an authority practically unlimited. The wizard was the arm of the unscrupulous chief, striking down often secretly by poison, or stealthily by the club of the assassin, persons whose wealth or power made them objects of cruel rapacity or jealousy. The wizard has ever been the enemy of the missionary, and the bane of the natives. His power is now steadily on the wane.

The Portuguese were sole masters of South-East Africa for a century dating from 1505, but mere lust of gold blinded them to wider issues of empire, and reduced the sum of their permanent influence on the country and its inhabitants to insignificance. The Dutch are of different mettle. Finding in the Cape a convenient place of victualling for their vessels engaged in the East Indian trade, they landed here in 1652 a body of settlers, who built a fort and cultivated the ground in order to provide vegetables for ships-of-call. Thus, out of a "kitchen garden" has grown the Dutch dominion in South Africa. Losing in time close touch with the distant mother country, and being replenished by French immigrants of Huguenot stock, castaways of faith and liberty, they came at length "to feel themselves a new people, whose true home lay in the new land they had adopted." This is the foundation of the Africander sentiment, now a main factor in the life of the country. How they grew discontented with the rule of the Dutch East India Company; how they

slowly occupied with their sheep and oxen the wide stretches of scanty pastures beyond, living in tent-wagons, leading a lonely nomadic life, becoming first-rate marksmen, developing independence, dogged aggressiveness, courage and shrewdness, loving the rude plenty, the freedom and tranquility of their life of solitude a thousand times more than gold or material comforts, keeping their religion aflame by Bible reading and family worship, maintaining, through all, an almost incessant struggle with the bushmen, and, as they advanced eastward, with the more formidable Kafirs —all this is told by Mr. Bryce with rare historic skill. After the handing over of the Colony to British rule in 1814, there unfortunately arose the causes which, leading to the "Great Trek" in 1836, eventually resulted in the establishment of Dutch dominion. Into these causes we cannot enter minutely, but they resolve themselves mainly into those inevitable colour and race questions which ever since have agitated the people of South Africa,—namely, the vindication of the human rights of the native, the enactment of laws to protect him from harsh treatment, the abolition of slavery within British territory, and the consequent loss, by the Boers, of their property in men. It is pathetic to see these sturdy Dutchmen, rather than submit to authority against which rebellion would be futile, gathering their flocks and herds together and going out into the wilderness, where they may do as they list, unvexed by the meddlesome Anglo-Saxon Pharaoh. Pharaoh did not pursue them; and this new Israel proceeded to subdue, or drive out, the savages of the wilds, and to found the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic; the former dating its independence from 1854, the latter from the Sand River Convention in 1852—both by the act of the British Government. The Orange Free State, which contains a large admixture of English blood, has ever since retained its independence, and has been at peace with the British Colonies and the Imperial Government. The fortunes of the Transvaal Republic, where a purer Boer stock exists, have been distracted by internal feuds and by unceasing quarrels with the blacks.

It is impossible for us to trace, even in outline, the course of events between 1852 and 1897. We must refer our readers to Mr. Bryce's pages for the discussion of such subjects as the material prosperity of Cape Colony, and the events that led up to the granting of responsible government in 1872; the frequent Kafir wars, their causes, and their effect in retarding the increase of European population; the growth of Natal, which had been made a Colony in 1856; the annexation of Basutoland in 1868; the discovery of diamonds in 1869, which revealed unthought of and fabulous wealth, and brought into the country a multitude of adventurers, thus marking a turning point in the history of South Africa; Lord Carnarvon's proposals (doomed to failure) in 1875 of a great South African Confederation; the Zulu war in 1879, so disastrous to our arms at first, but resulting in the breaking of the power of Cetawayo; the virtual collapse of the Transvaal Government in 1877, and its annexation to the British Crown; the revolt of the Boers in 1880, following on serious blundering on the part of the British Government; Majuba Hill, and the restoration of sovereignty to the Transvaal in 1881.

There is much reason to doubt the wisdom of the restoration of the Boer sovereignty, just referred to. Mr. Bryce brings, as usual, his impartial judgment to bear upon it, and comes to the conclusion that the course taken by the British Government was the right course; notwithstanding that hopes cherished at the time have turned out to be illusions, that the Boers have failed to "appreciate the generosity of the retrocession," and "the humanity which was willing to forego vengeance for the tarnished lustre of British arms," and have shown only contempt where they were expected to manifest gratitude. We are not prepared to question Mr. Bryce's judgment. A strong country is the stronger for its magnanimity, whether it be appreciated or not; and greatness is more noble in forbearance than in revenge, especially when, as in this case, the brave foe is as insignificant as it is provokingly proud and insolent. But we cannot wonder that, in view of the events of the last

few years in the Transvaal, many Englishmen still resent the concession of independence to the Boers, and especially the method in which the concession was granted—this concession having more profoundly affected the welfare of the people of South Africa than any event that has happened since the "Great Trek" of 1836.

It was at this crisis that Stephen John Paul Kruger emerged. He was chosen one of the triumvirate of the bankrupt Republic, and soon became the leading spirit. He displayed from the first boldness undismayed by scanty State resources. He pursued a policy of extension, projecting and carrying out treks northward into Mashonaland, southward into Zululand, and westward into Bechuanaland. He believed in a great future for his Republic, and it was to be a Dutch country. Later events have proved him to be a man of consummate ability. Simple in his tastes, without culture, a child of nature, moulded by her hand into rare strength of character, with little breadth of outlook, subtle rather than merely shrewd, "an old-fashioned Puritan in dogmatic beliefs and social usages," a patriot "hating all foreigners and foreign ways," resourceful, firm to doggedness, fearless to recklessness, dignified if somewhat bluff in his relations with the highest of the earth, exercising his prerogative of mercy with a stern sense of the seriousness of crime done against the honour of his country, "typifying the qualities of his people, and strong because he is in sympathy with them," he has shown himself a good match for the trained *experts* of statescraft. He dislikes change—he said to Mr. Bryce, "When we have found an ox who makes a good leader of the team, we keep him there, instead of shifting the cattle about in hope of finding a better one." He has, of course, the defects of his qualities. His love for his countrymen degenerates into inability to see what is due to his citizens or other races. He is exacting and oppressive in his treatment of Uitlanders, not because he regards them as standing in the way of his ambitions or selfish aims, but because he believes they will, if not kept under, subvert the Republic, which is to him and

his people a God-given inheritance, a sacred trust, to be guarded and held intact for their successors. The alien may reap harvests of gold and build cities; but he is ever to be the Canaanite in the land.

The discovery of gold, in 1885, in the conglomerate beds of Witwaterstrand formed an epoch in the history of the Transvaal. There was immediately a large influx of adult males. In 1895, roughly speaking, they numbered 100,000, a figure considerably in advance of the whole Boer population. The Republic, in unwonted alarm, proceeded forthwith to protect itself by restricting the electoral franchise, and refusing reforms. On the grievances of the Uitlanders and their fateful consequences, it is no part of our design to enter. But we may hope that President Kruger, who has just been once more elected to guide the fortunes of his country, may favour those wise and moderate counsels which alone can save his Republic from being absorbed, before many years have elapsed, by the mighty empire under whose *ægis* it even now exists. A vivid picture of the Rand mines is given by Mr. Bryce. Fifteen years ago the spot where Johannesburg now stands was a scanty pasturage where the meditative ranchman tended his cattle. To-day it is the home of a population "filled with eagerness, and feeling the strain and stress of an industrial life" like that of our great cities. The Rand mining district is forty-six miles long. The mass of ore is enormous; the reefs are as rich at the greatest depths reached by boring as in the upper levels. The annual export of gold amounts to the value of about £8,000,000. About 70,000 Kafirs and 9,000 whites are employed, the former receiving in wages £2,500,000, the latter £1,800,000. Johannesburg

"is a busy, restless, pleasure-loving town, making money fast and spending it lavishly, filled from end to end with the fever of mining speculation. . . . The English and Colonial element compose seven-tenths of the white population, the American and German about one-tenth each, while Frenchmen and other European nations make up the residue. There are hardly any Boers or Hollanders, except government officials."

It was in 1889 that a royal charter was granted to the

British South African Company. Up to the time of the Kafir outbreak astonishing progress had been made in Mashonaland. Places where the brick-built house hugs crazy wooden structures, and make-shift shelters of corrugated iron, cannot be considered attractive. Still, the sudden rise of an English town, like Buluwayo, where two years before there was nothing but the squalid huts of savages, gives "a delightful sense of the power of civilized man to subjugate the earth." The land was being sold off in farms; gold reefs were reported in many directions; immigrants were flocking in, when the fire of discontent, which had been smouldering among the natives, burst out. Mr. Bryce puts his finger on the causes. They were the ten shilling hut tax, the sale of native lands and the ejection of those who lived on them, the cattle murrain, forced labour, and the insane removal of the mounted police to Pitsani, which created the opportunity of the blacks. On the war itself and its effect on the permanent settlement of the country we must not linger.

To Fort Salisbury, 280 miles distant from Buluwayo, Mr. Bryce proceeded by coach. The town is built at the foot of low wooded hills. It is more advanced than Buluwayo. There are lamps in the streets, and pretty bungalows in the suburbs. The white men of those towns and ranches are, Mr. Bryce asserts, orderly and law-abiding. "Saloons" and "bars" are conspicuous by their absence. "The twin deities of gambling and drinking" are not worshipped. As to the future of Mashonaland our author has little faith in its extraordinary productivity in gold, but thinks it has bright pastoral and agricultural prospects. A settled white population may here enjoy a reasonable measure of prosperity, but the blacks will remain as the most numerous element, and will do the manual labour.

The final section of "Impressions of South Africa" treats of "some South African questions," and is a valuable contribution to the solution of many perplexed and intricate problems. It discusses amongst other subjects the significance of the relative number, influence, and rights of the

black and white races; the social condition of the coloured people, and the strong dislike of them which marks the Europeans; Christian missions and their priceless value; the characteristics of Dutch and English society, with politics, literature, and education; the constitution and government of the South African Republic; and the economic outlook of the entire country in relation to pasture and tillage, minerals and manufactures. The closing chapter on "reflections and forecasts" is highly speculative, but contains much worth pondering.

One remark seems to be called for, in conclusion, on the significance of the fact that the black population so immensely out-numbers the white; the former reaching from six to eight millions, the latter being about 750,000. It is not probable that "in time immigration and natural growth of the white population will reduce this disproportion." The increase of the coloured people keeps pace with that of the white. With fecund vitality united to huge preponderance on the one hand, and with superior intelligence and enterprise on the other, it is not likely that these races will "extrude or absorb one another." The question of supreme interest is—how will these races, so far removed in ideals, in mental development, in sympathy, yet dwelling so closely together, adjust themselves to one another? Can a political system which is democratic as regards the Europeans be safely made democratic as regards the Kafir and other South African stock? If not, will it still be possible to preserve an electoral majority of whites? Can the natives be excluded from perfectly equal rights everywhere merely on the score of colour? These are among the questions that will press more and more urgently with every succeeding year. They cannot be shelved. The natives are the workers of the community; they are thus indispensable to their white neighbours. They are eager for instruction and cannot long remain ignorant. Not a few of them, who have received careful training, manifest intelligence at least equal to that of the average white, and are no longer characterised by the instability and improvidence which mark the

savage. Many undoubtedly will acquire wealth, and will form, even as things now stand, a large black element in the electorate. They are, generally speaking, well-disposed towards the races which they regard as their superiors. They are submissive and peaceable. Now, looking at all this, is it not clearly the duty and the wisdom of the dominant peoples of South Africa to restrain, and to conquer, that deplorable hostility towards the natives which Mr. Bryce was distressed to find in all circles, except those of highly-placed officials and missionaries; to cultivate more humane and brotherly feelings, and to do all that is possible to prepare the great Kafir race for the responsibilities of citizenship which may be delayed and denied for a while, but which the future is certain to confer? Let the whites safeguard the private rights of the black; let them see that he has his fair share of the land; let them educate and train him for useful labour, and Christianize and civilize him. For whatsoever is sown now will be reaped in due season.

ART. III.—THE MAKING OF A GREAT PREACHER.

C. H. Spurgeon's Autobiography. Compiled from his Diary, Letters, and Records. By his WIFE and his PRIVATE SECRETARY. Vol. i., 1834-1854. Passmore & Alabaster.

MR. SPURGEON discounted his own biography. He himself told the story of the chief stages and passages in his life as no one else can possibly hope to do. To careful readers of the *Sword and Trowel* this volume contains little that is absolutely new, and the editors have not adequately supplemented the record or brought out facts and dates with sufficient distinctness. For such reasons its claim to be "the Standard Life" will scarcely be allowed by well-informed readers. Yet, after all deductions

have been made, the first volume of this work forms a memorable sketch of the making of a great preacher. It brings the country lad up from his rustic congregation to fill a metropolitan pulpit before he is twenty years old, and launches him on that course of popularity and influence which he followed to the end of his honoured life.

As a study of development, we are inclined to agree with the *Sword and Trowel* that "the great charm of this work, to all who loved and still love C. H. Spurgeon, is the fact that, long ago, *he* planned it, and, as far as he was able, prepared the material for it." We learn from the introduction that

> "in the occasional intervals of comparative leisure that he was able to snatch from his busy life's labours, and mainly in the bright sunshine at Mentone, he recorded many of the principal incidents in his wonderful career. As each one was completed, he used joyfully to exclaim, 'There's another chapter for my Autobiography;' and had he been spared long enough, he would doubtless have given to the Church and the world a full account of his life as it appeared from his own standpoint."

There is certainly abundant material in this volume for those who wish to trace Spurgeon's preparation for his life work. All the lines of future development were laid before he stepped into the pulpit at New Park Street for what history will describe as one of the most wonderful ministries of all ages. Other men surpassed Spurgeon for depth of thought and sublimity of style and diction, but few preachers ever surpassed him in simplicity, in freshness, or in power. The fact that he limited himself to certain themes makes his freshness the more astonishing. The Church of Christ owes Charles Haddon Spurgeon a great debt, and it will best repay it by such a study of his life as may reveal the secret of his influence and help others to contiuue the work to which he so nobly devoted his gifts.

The Spurgeons trace their descent from a family of refugees who left the Netherlands to settle in Essex. They were probably poor weavers, but Mr. Spurgeon rejoiced in their loyalty to the truth. "I had far rather," he said, "be

descended from one who suffered for the faith than bear the blood of all the emperors in my veins." Charles Haddon was born on June 19th, 1834, at Kelvedon, in Essex, where his father was a small shopkeeper. The father afterwards went to Colchester, and for sixteen years took Sunday duty at an Independent chapel in Tollesbury. He had a large family, and often wore a shabby coat that he might have means to educate his children. When Charles was old enough to leave home he went to live with his grandfather at Stambourne. The old man had settled there in 1810 as pastor of the Independent church. James Spurgeon was a man of sturdy character and marked individuality, but he was beloved by all his neighbours. He was on intimate terms with Mr. Hopkins, the rector of the parish. His grandson says

"they preached the same gospel, and without surrendering their principles, were great friends. The Bible Society held its meetings alternately in connection with the Church and the Meeting-house. At times the leading resident went to church in the morning, and to chapel in the afternoon; and, when I was a boy, I have, on Monday, gone to the Squire's to tea, with Mr. Hopkins and my grandfather. The glory of that tea-party was that we four, the three old gentlemen and the little boy, *all ate sugared bread and butter* together for a treat. The sugar was very brown, but the young boy was very pleased, and the old boys were merry also. Yes, Stambourne had its choice pleasures."

In this country parsonage the boy became familiar with a preacher's cares and joys. He was put on Sunday mornings into the best parlour, where his grandfather sat preparing his sermon. *The Evangelical Magazine*, with its portrait of some reverend divine and a picture of a mission station, was given him, and he was told to be quiet. If this exhortation failed he was warned that his grandfather would not be able to preach should his attention be distracted, "and then, oh! then, what would happen if poor people did not learn the way to heaven!" The little chap had already enough of the future preacher in him to make this argument irresistible, and his grandfather was quietly left to his

meditations. Another story of those days shows that the boy had quite as much character as his old relative. When he was very small he was allowed to read the Scriptures at family prayer.

"Once upon a time when reading the passage in Revelation, which mentions the bottomless pit, I paused, and said, 'Grandpa, what can this mean?' The answer was kind, but unsatisfactory: 'Pooh, pooh, child, go on.' The child, however, intended to have an explanation, and therefore selected the same chapter morning after morning, and always halted at the same verse to repeat the enquiry, hoping that by repetition he would importune the good old gentleman into a reply. The process was successful, for it is by no means the most edifying thing in the world to hear the history of the Mother of Harlots, and the beast with seven heads, every morning in the week, Sunday included, with no alternation either of Psalm or Gospel; the venerable patriarch of the household, therefore, capitulated at discretion, with 'Well, dear, what is it that puzzles you?' Now the child had often seen baskets with but very frail bottoms, which in course of wear became bottomless, and allowed the fruit placed therein to drop upon the ground; here, then, was the puzzle—if the pit aforesaid had no bottom, where would all those people fall to who dropped out at its lower end? —a puzzle which rather startled the propriety of family worship, and had to be laid aside for explanation at some more convenient season. Questions of the like simple but rather unusual stamp would frequently break up into paragraphs of a miscellaneous length the Bible-reading of the assembled family, and had there not been a world of love and license allowed to the inquisitive reader, he would very soon have been deposed from his office. As it was, the Scriptures were not very badly rendered, and were probably quite as interesting as if they had not been interspersed with original and curious enquiries."

One little chamber in the Parsonage had had its light blocked out to avoid the odious window tax, but it contained books which made it a gold mine to the boy. Here were enormous folios which he could hardly lift. Here he

"first struck up acquaintance with the Martyrs, and especially with 'Old Bonner,' who burned them; next with Bunyan and his 'Pilgrim;' and further on, with the great masters of Scriptural theology, with whom no moderns are worthy to be named in the same day. Even the old editions of their works, with their margins and old-fashioned notes, are precious to me. It is easy to tell a real Puritan book, even by

its shape and by the appearance of the type. I confess that I harbour a prejudice against nearly all new editions, and cultivate a preference for the originals, even though they wander about in sheepskins and goatskins, or are shut up in the hardest of boards. It made my eyes water, a short time ago, to see a number of these old books in the new Manse. I wonder whether some other boy will love them, and live to revive that grand old divinity which will yet be to England her balm and benison."

Many other incidents which might be quoted from these pleasant pages show what a congenial home Stambourne proved for the future preacher. The way he "killed old Roads," a member who had begun to frequent the public house by breaking in on him in that unhallowed retreat with the startling question, "What doest thou here, Elijah? sitting with the ungodly; and you a member of a Church, and breaking your pastor's heart? I'm ashamed of you! I wouldn't break my pastor's heart, I'm sure," is a fine illustration of the boy's zeal and resource.

James Spurgeon's congregation loved a good sermon. The elders of the flock would say, "Mr. Spurgeon, I *heard* you well this morning."

"'I thought,' says his grandson, 'the good man had *preached* well, but their idea was not so much to his credit; they judged that they had *heard* him well, and there's something in the different way of putting it; at any rate, it takes from the preacher all ground of glorying in what he has done."

The congregation had no patience with anything but the Gospel, and were great authorities on matters of doctrine or experience. After Charles Spurgeon began to preach, some one told him "I heard your grandfather, and I would run my shoes off my feet any day to hear a Spurgeon." Another said, that to hear the old man once "made his wing-feathers grow a foot. He could mount as eagles, after being fed with such heavenly food." A devout working man bore a noble tribute to his pastor: "He was always so experimental. You felt as if he had been inside of a man."

When Charles was about ten years of age the Rev. Richard Knill came on a visit to Stambourne. He stayed at the

Manse, and soon made friends with the bright lad. He talked to him of the love of Jesus and the blessedness of trusting and loving Him. Before he left he took Charles on his knee at family prayer and made his famous prophecy: "This child will one day preach the Gospel, and he will preach it to great multitudes." Then he went on to express his persuasion that the boy would preach in Rowland Hill's chapel, and begged him when he did so to give out the hymn:

> "God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform."

In his early days in London Mr. Spurgeon was asked to preach in Surrey Chapel, and did not forget the hymn.

It was a sore grief to Charles when he had to leave his grandfather and return to his home at Colchester. The old man and the boy were congenial spirits, and one felt the parting almost as much as the other. For the next four years he was sent to a good school in Colchester where he made rapid progress. He was well taught, and his old tutor reported that he mastered most of the subjects, doing specially well in Latin and Euclid. In 1848 he went to a Church of England school at Maidstone. Three clergymen came in to teach the scholars, but the youngsters did not profit greatly. One of them was asked how many Sacraments there were. "Seven," was the answer. When that was denied, he said, "Oh, sir, there is one that they take at the *h*altar!" Spurgeon could not resist the temptation to interrupt. "That's hanging, I should think." Even the clergyman could not repress a smile at this sally. One of these visitors gave Charles the first impetus towards Baptist views. As the boys were being examined in the Catechism, he suddenly said, "Spurgeon, you were never properly baptized." When Charles replied that he had been baptized by his grandfather, he was told that he had "neither faith nor repentance, and therefore ought not to have received baptism." "Why, sir," said the future advocate of believer's baptism, "that has nothing to do with it! All infants ought to be baptized." But the clergyman

pointed out that the Prayer Book declared faith and repentance to be necessary before baptism, and went on to show that all those spoken of in the Bible as being baptized were believers. The following week the conversation was resumed. Charles admitted that his teacher was right, but would not allow that sponsors ought to be accepted as a guarantee for the faith and repentance which the child was to render in future years. The boy resolved that if ever Divine grace should work a change in his heart he would be baptized. The clergyman who had such an influence on his future life was Canon Jeffreys, of Hawkhurst. While at Maidstone Spurgeon attended the services of the Church of England. His experience led him long afterwards to tell the students at the Pastor's College,

"there is an ecclesiastical twang which is much admired in the Establishment, a sort of steeple-in-the-throat grandeur, an aristocratic, theologic, parsonic, supernatural, infra-human mouthing of language and rolling over of words. . . . Who does not know the hallowed way of pronouncing 'Dearly-beloved brethren, the Scripture moveth us in divers places?' It rolls in my ears now like Big Ben, coupled with boyish memories of monotonous peals of 'The Prince Albert, Albert, Prince of Wales, and all the Royal Family. Amen.'"

The reason why the lad was sent to such a school was that the master, Mr. David Walker, was his uncle. The boy enjoyed much freedom, and once greatly offended his teacher by pointing out an error in an arithmetical problem that he was working on the blackboard. His uncle complained that it was derogatory to his dignity to be corrected before his pupils, but the scholar maintained that it was not right to let the mistake pass without mentioning it. After that incident Charles was often allowed to take his book and study beneath an old tree by the river Medway.

Not long after he left school he found Christ in the Primitive Methodist Chapel at Colchester. For five years he had been under conviction for sin, and had passed through an experience which dwarfs that of John Bunyan, as related in his *Grace Abounding*. Bunyan was "but a child, about nine or ten years old," when he began to feel

that distress of soul which he described with such power. But after a time his terrible dreams left him, and his pleasures cut off the remembrance of them as though they had never been. Spurgeon's period of distress began soon after he was ten, and for five years he was groaning for deliverance. His experience was the more impressive, because he had lived a sheltered life.

"Through the Lord's restraining grace, and the holy influence of my early home-life, both at my father's and my grandfather's, I was kept from certain outward forms of sin in which others indulged; and sometimes, when I began to take stock of myself, I really thought I was quite a respectable lad, and might have been half inclined to boast that I was not like other boys—untruthful, dishonest, disobedient, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, and so on."

It may be quite true, as Lord Macaulay says, that Bunyan has been treated with gross injustice by some of his biographers. "Bell-ringing and playing at hockey on Sundays, seem to have been the worst vices of this depraved tinker. They would have passed for virtues with Archbishop Laud." But Bunyan himself confesses that from a child "he had but few equals (especially considering my years, which were tender, being few), both for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the holy name of God."

Yet, though Spurgeon had been kept from open sin, he soon saw the impurity of his heart and life. He thus describes that revelation:

"All of a sudden, I met Moses, carrying in his hand the law of God; and as he looked at me, he seemed to search me through and through with his eyes of fire. He bade me read 'God's Ten Words'—the Ten Commandments—and as I read them they all seemed to join in accusing and condemning me in the sight of the thrice-holy Jehovah."

He seemed always to be running against the law and breaking it. If he opened his mouth he spoke amiss. If he sat still there was sin in his silence.

"I could not rest while in the grip of the law. If I wanted to sleep a while, or to be a little indifferent and careless, some

one or other of those ten commandments roughly aroused me, and looking on me with a frowning face, said, 'You have broken me.' I thought that I would do some good works; but, somehow, the law always broke my good works in the making. I fancied that if my tears flowed freely, I might make some recompense for my wrong doing; but the law held up the looking-glass, and I soon saw my face all smeared and made more unhandsome by my tears."

If he could have had his own way his very helplessness would have driven him to excess and made him turn his back on religion. But a godly home preserved him from such a course. Meanwhile, the agony of conviction became intense.

"When I awoke in the morning," he says, "the first thought I had was that I had to deal with a justly angry God, who might suddenly require my soul of me. Often, during the day, when I had a little time for meditation, a great depression of spirit would come upon me, because I felt that sin,—*sin*,—SIN, had outlawed me from my God. I wondered that the earth bore up such a sinner as I was, and that the heavens did not fall and crush me, and the stars in their courses did not fight against such a wretch as I felt myself to be."

This experience is described with terrible power in this autobiography. We are bound to say that at certain points it appears to us over-realistic, and it is made more awful by illustrations which certainly would not have occurred to a boy's mind. Yet it is, considering the youth of him who passed through it, the most terrible description of conviction for sin that we have ever read. Look at this sentence:

"When I was for many a month in this state, I used to read the Bible through, and the threatenings were all printed in capitals, but the promises were in such small type I could not for a long time make them out; and when I did read them, I did not believe they were mine; but the threatenings were all my own."

The boy earnestly sought relief from his burden. He would have gladly gone on pilgrimage, or done penance, could he have found rest. He tried to improve himself, but, according to his grim phrase, "I found I had a devil within me when I began, and I had ten devils when I left

off." He visited all the chapels in Colchester, yet, for him, no preacher had any message of light or peace. One text of Scripture, however, cheered him. He lived upon it for months, and believes that it saved him from "the commission of suicide through grief and sorrow. It was this sweet word, 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.'" He might, no doubt, have found the light sooner had he opened his heart to his parents or his grandfather; but his reserve kept him from taking this wise step. He was, however, deeply impressed by hearing his mother assert that she had never known a man say he had sought Christ, and Christ had rejected him. "And," she added, "I do not believe that God would permit any man to live to say that." Her son thought that he could say this, but he resolved to seek once more. He was soon able to rejoice in Christ. He adds his testimony to that of his mother.

"I have heard many wicked things in my life,—I also have heard men swear and blaspheme God, till I have trembled; but there is one thing I never did hear a man say yet, and I think God would scarcely permit any man to utter such a lie; I never knew even a drunken man say, 'I sincerely sought God with full purpose of heart, yet He has not heard me, and will not answer me, but has cast me away.' I scarcely think it possible, although I know that men can be infinitely wicked, that any man could utter such an abominable falsehood as that. At any rate, I can say I never heard it."

On January 6th, 1850, light broke upon the boy's mind and heart. A snowstorm came on as he was going to a place of worship. He found that he could go no further, and turned down a side street to the little Primitive Methodist chapel. Only twelve or fifteen people were present, and the appointed preacher did not come. A very thin man went up into the pulpit and took for his text, "Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth." Mr. Spurgeon says he was really stupid, and was obliged to stick to his text, for the simple reason that he had little else to say. The good man, however, had a gift which a greater preacher might envy. He harped on one string.

He showed the simplicity of the method "Look"; he drew all eyes to Christ—

"Look unto Me; I am sweating great drops of blood. Look unto Me; I am hanging on the cross. Look unto Me; I am dead and buried. Look unto Me; I rise again. Look unto Me; I ascend to Heaven. Look unto Me; I am sitting at the Father's right hand. O, poor sinner, look unto Me! look unto Me."

When he had gone on thus for about ten minutes he seemed to have exhausted his matter. He fixed his eyes on the stranger sitting under the gallery and addressed him:

"Young man, you look very miserable, and you always will be miserable—miserable in life and miserable in death—if you don't obey my text; but if you obey now, this moment, you will be saved."

Then, lifting up his hands, he shouted, as only a Primitive Methodist could shout, "Young man, look to Jesus Christ. Look! Look! Look! You have nothing to do but to look and live." The hearer saw at once the way of salvation. He looked until he could almost have looked his eyes away. The cloud was gone, the darkness was past. The Sun of righteousness arose, the days of his mourning were ended. When he returned home they said, "Something wonderful has happened to you," and the whole family was soon rejoicing in his joy.

One day of pardoned sin proved a sufficient recompense for the whole five years of conviction. The peace seemed richer because of the fierce struggle through which the youth had been led. There were no doubts about acceptance, or about the reality of the change. Having passed through the terrible conflict victoriously, its very bitterness became a perpetual armoury for him.

"Full often have I found it good, when I have talked with a young convert in deep distress about his sin, to tell him something more of his anxious plight than he knew how to express; and he has wondered where I found it, though he would not have wondered if he had known where I had been, and how much deeper in the mire than he. When he has talked about some horrible thought that he has had, with regard to the

impossibility of his own salvation, I have said, 'Why, I have thought that a thousand times, and yet have overcome it through the help of God's Spirit!'"

This was the most important part of Mr. Spurgeon's training as a preacher. His own experience was in itself a university course; a revelation of the depths of sin and the marvels of grace, a search light exploring the recesses of the conscience and heart. It was drawn upon constantly to the end of his ministry, and much of his power as a winner of souls was due to that agony of conviction.

Spurgeon was only fifteen and a half at the time of the memorable service in the Primitive Methodist chapel, but his maturity of thought and judgment were really astonishing. About five days after his conversion he began to find that evil was not dead in his heart. On the following Sunday he went to the same chapel hoping to get guidance. The text was "O wretched man that I am: who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" "There," he thought, "that's the text for me." The minister began with the unfortunate sentence, "Paul was not a believer when he said this;" and added the still more palpable misstatement that no child of God ever did feel any conflict within. The hearer was struggling sorely against sin, though conscious of his sonship, and knew well that St. Paul wrote the Seventh of Romans when he had long been an Apostle of Christ. The man's meaning was clear enough. He held that St. Paul was describing his experience when under conviction for sin, but the lad made no allowance.

"I took up my hat, and left the chapel, and I have very seldom attended such places since. They are very good for people who are unconverted to go to, but of very little use for children of God. That is my notion of Methodism. It is a noble thing to bring in strangers; but a terrible thing for those that are brought in to sit and feed there. It is like the parish pound, it is a good place to put sheep in when they have strayed, but there is no food inside; they had better be let out as soon as possible to find some grass. I saw that that minister understood nothing of experimental divinity, or of practical heart theology, or else he would not have talked as he did. A good

man he was, I do not doubt, but utterly incompetent to the task of dealing with a case like mine."

This is only one instance of the self-sufficiency of the youthful critic, and it is a pity that the riper judgment of the writer did not expunge this ungenerous verdict. But it is characteristic of the man. The position which he took up on believer's baptism illustrated the same phase of character. Within a month of his conversion he was settled as usher at a school in Newmarket. He longed to have fellowship with the people of God, but failed to obtain an interview with the minister of the Congregational Church he wished to join. Having called on four successive days without meeting the pastor, he says, "I wrote and told him that I would go down to the Church meeting, and propose myself as a member." When he was duly enrolled he refused an invitation to the Lord's table because he had only been baptized as an infant. He says, "I consider the 'baptism' of an unconscious infant is just as foolish as the 'baptism' of a ship or a bell; for there is as much Scripture for the one as the other." This is Mr. Spurgeon's attitude towards the opinion and practice of his father and his grandfather. The fact that infant baptism was the universal custom as early as the end of the second century was probably unknown to him in those days, nor did he know what has been abundantly proved, that the Baptists themselves did not practise immersion in this country till about 1641.

On May 3rd, 1850, the youth was baptized by a Baptist minister at Isleham, in the Fen country. He says:—

"My timidity was wasted away; it floated down the river into the sea, and must have been devoured by the fishes, for I have never felt anything of the kind since. Baptism also loosed my tongue, and from that day it has never been quiet."

One chapter in this volume is entitled "A Defence of Calvinism." Mr. Spurgeon says:

"Well can I remember the manner in which I learned the doctrines of grace in a single instant. Born, as all of us are by

nature, an Arminian, I still believed the old things I had heard continually from the pulpit, and did not see the grace of God. When I was coming to Christ, I thought I was doing it all myself, and though I sought the Lord earnestly, I had no idea that the Lord was seeking me. I do not think the young convert is at first aware of this. I can recall the very day and hour when first I received those truths in my own soul—when they were, as John Bunyan says, burnt into my heart with a hot iron; and I can recollect how I felt that I had grown on a sudden from a babe into a man—that I had made progress in scriptural knowledge, through having found, once for all, the clue to the truth of God."

Three months after his conversion he writes, "Arminianism does not suit me now." His crude misconception of Arminianism is startling. What a confession that is, "I thought I was doing it all myself." If we may speak on behalf of Arminians, they would be ashamed even to dream that any change in the heart is possible without the grace of God. Mr. Spurgeon is equally uncompromising as to the "Calvinistic and Christian doctrine of special and particular redemption." He can actually print this statement:

"If Christ on His cross intended to save every man, then He intended to save those who were lost before He died. If the doctrine be true, that He died for all men, then He died for some who were in hell before He came into this world, for doubtless there were even then myriads there who had been cast away because of their sins."

St. John must bear the onus of this charge, since he speaks of "propitiation for the sins of the whole world," but the condemnation of those who died in their sins before atonement had been made, and that of those who now reject the great salvation, both depends on the use they make of such opportunity as they possess. God is ready to save, and has provided means by which He can pardon every true penitent. The salvation is offered freely to all, but not irrespective of conditions. It is simply an outrage for Mr. Spurgeon to make such a travesty of the opinions of those who differ from him as to say:

"that Christ should offer an atonement and satisfaction for the sins of all men, and that afterwards some of those very men

should be punished for the sins for which Christ had already atoned, appears to me to be the most monstrous iniquity that could ever have been imputed to Saturn, to Janus, to the goddess of the Thugs, or to the most diabolical heathen deities."

Mr. Spurgeon has no sympathy with the

"most atrocious things spoken about the character and spiritual condition of John Wesley, the modern prince of Arminians. I can only say concerning him that, while I detest many of the doctrines which he preached, yet for the man himself I have a reverence second to no Wesleyan; and if there were wanted two apostles to be added to the number of the twelve, I do not believe there could be found two men more fit to be so added than George Whitefield and John Wesley."

Mr. Spurgeon discusses the accusation that Calvinism is a licentious religion, and holds that if those who have made it knew the grace of God in truth, they would soon see that there was no preservative from lying like a knowledge that we are elect of God from the foundation of the world. Yet if we turn to a later page in this volume we find this confession:

"In my first pastorate, I had often to battle with Antinomians, that is, people who held that, because they believed themselves to be elect, they might live as they liked. I hope that heresy has to a great extent died out, but it was sadly prevalent in my early ministerial days."

Those were days when Calvinism was widely and strongly taught, and we cannot resist the inference that the doctrines have a tendency to lead men to sin.

Mr. Spurgeon says "I do not think I differ from any of my hyper-Calvinistic brethren in what I do believe; but I differ from them in what they do not believe." He holds that God predestines, and yet that man is responsible.

"It is only my folly," he adds, "that leads me to imagine that these two truths can ever contradict each other. I do not believe they can ever be welded into one upon any earthly anvil, but they certainly shall be one in eternity."

This is the key to Mr. Spurgeon's theology. His hyper-Calvinistic friends had at least the merit of consistency, whereas he was really by turns both a Calvinist and an

Arminian. This was perhaps his strength as an Evangelist, but it does not add to his reputation as a theologian.

After a few months at Newmarket young Spurgeon went to Cambridge to assist his old Colchester tutor, Mr. Leeding, who had started a private school there. He preached his first sermon in a cottage at Feversham. He had understood that his companion was responsible for the sermon, but discovered on the way to the village that he would have to be the preacher. He gathered up his courage and spoke from the text: "Unto you therefore which believe, He is precious." To his great relief and delight he got through his task without breaking down or without lack of ideas. When he was about to announce the closing hymn, an aged voice cried out, "Bless your dear heart, how old are you?" His very solemn reply was, "You must wait till the service is over before making any such enquiries. Let us now sing."

At sixteen he had found his vocation. On Sundays and week-days he conducted services in the villages around Cambridge. In October, 1851, he became pastor of a little church at Waterbeach, six miles from the University. The people could not support a minister, but they gave their boy preacher £45 a year when he was compelled to resign his usher's duties. He had to pay twelve shillings a week for his two rooms, so that his allowance would not have supported him had it not been eked out by generous gifts of produce. He says

"I do not think there was a pig killed by any one of the congregation without my having some portion of it, and one or other of them, when coming to the market at Cambridge, would bring me bread, so that I had enough bread and meat to pay my rent with, and I often paid my landlady in that fashion."

Waterbeach was one of the worst villages in England. Many an illicit still was at work, and "in connection with that evil, all manner of riot and iniquity was rife." But the whole place was soon turned upside down. The little thatched chapel was "crammed, the biggest vagabonds of the village were weeping floods of tears, and those who had

been the curse of the parish became its blessing." Robbery and villainies of every kind came to an end, drunkenness almost ceased, and in the evening nearly every house in the village had family prayer. No days in Mr. Spurgeon's memorable life were more blessed than those at Waterbeach. Soon after he began work there he was strongly advised to enter Stepney Baptist College. An interview was arranged for him with Dr. Angus, but Mr. Macmillan's servant showed the youth into a room and never told the doctor that he had called. Dr. Angus waited in another room and had to go off to London without seeing him. The young preacher was not a little disappointed at the moment, but had reason a thousand times afterwards to give thanks that his steps had been turned into another path. His true college was his village pastorate, for there he gained that experience in the pulpit which laid the foundation for his future facility as a preacher. His last outline sermon as pastor there is numbered 365, and shows a marked advance on the first preached also from the same text. He had become thoroughly at home in the pulpit. He was not above a witticism, and once startled his sleepy afternoon hearers by shouting with all his might "Fire! Fire! Fire!" Starting from their seats, some of his hearers asked where it was, and received the well-worn answer, "In hell, for sinners who will not accept the Saviour." Scarcely less important than his preaching was the insight which he gained into the lives of his flock. He had a passion for souls, and watched over old and young with unceasing vigilance. The people repaid his love and zeal with touching kindness, and many a quaint prayer was offered on his behalf. One old man prayed in public that the boy-pastor might be able "to swallow bush-faggots cross-ways." Mr. Spurgeon did not understand the petition at the time, but he afterwards learned that a man cannot speak out boldly for God till he is compelled to swallow his troubles. Then he will grow to be a man in Christ Jesus, who will proclaim with power to others the truths he has tried and proved in his own experience.

In 1853 Mr. Spurgeon was asked to speak at the annual

meeting of the Cambridge Sunday School Union. He came first, and was attacked somewhat savagely by the two senior ministers who followed. One of them was very personal and almost insulting. He said it was a pity boys did not adopt the scriptural practice of tarrying at Jericho till their beards were grown, before they attempted to instruct their seniors. Spurgeon was not cowed by this rebuke. Having gained permission from the chairman, he reminded the large audience that those who stayed at Jericho were not boys but full-grown men; and added, that the true parallel might be found in a minister who had disgraced his calling, and needed to go into seclusion till his character had been to some extent restored. He had, unwittingly, given an exact description of the man who attacked him. Mr. George Gould, of Loughton, was present, and was so much impressed by the incident, that he urged Mr. Thomas Olney, one of the deacons of New Park Street Chapel, Southwark, to secure the young preacher as a supply for their vacant pulpit.

On November 27th, 1853, Mr. Spurgeon had walked over from Cambridge to his Sunday duties at Waterbeach, and was sitting in the "table-pew," when a letter, with the London post-mark, was handed to him. It was an invitation to preach at New Park Street. He passed it over to the deacon who sat near, saying, that it must have been intended for a Mr. Spurgeon who preached somewhere down in Norfolk. The deacon shook his head and replied, that he was afraid there was no mistake, as he always knew that his minister would be run away with by some large Church. "Had it been Cottenham, or St. Ives, or Huntingdon, I should not have wondered at all; but going to London is rather a great step from this little place." Next morning the young pastor wrote a very frank reply, telling his London correspondent that he was only nineteen, but that if so desired he would take the pulpit on December 11th. He spent the Saturday night before this eventful Sunday, at a boarding-house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, where the young gentlemen lodgers entertained him with wonderful

stories about the divines of the Metropolis; their matchless oratory and their noble congregations. They little dreamed that the rustic who wore a huge black satin stock and used a blue handkerchief with white spots, would soon be a mightier power than any of these celebrities. Next morning he walked to his service,—"wondering, praying, fearing, hoping, believing,—I felt all alone, and yet not alone." The sight of New Park Street Chapel made him amazed at his temerity; but the congregation was small, and he felt that, by God's help, he was not yet out of his depth. He had liberty in preaching, spent the day with warm-hearted friends, and returned to his lodging feeling that Londoners were not flinty-hearted barbarians, as he had supposed.

"My tone was altered; I wanted no pity of anyone, I did not care a penny for the young gentlemen lodgers and their miraculous ministers, nor for the grind of the cabs, nor for anything else under the sun. The lion had been looked at all round, and his majesty did not appear to be a tenth as majestic as when I had only heard his roar miles away."

New Park Street pulpit had been filled by some of the leading Baptist ministers of the provinces during the vacancy, but they had delivered philosophical, dry or learned discourses, which were not appreciated by the people. "They were so starved, that a morsel of Gospel was a treat to them." They at once arranged with the young preacher to give them three Sundays in January. Before the third came he had agreed to fill the pulpit for at least three months, and on April 28th he had definitely accepted the pastorate.

Sheridan Knowles, the actor and dramatist, asked the students at Stepney College if they had heard the Cambridgeshire lad, who had preached two Sundays at New Park Street.

"He is only a boy," he said, "but he is the most wonderful preacher in the world. He is absolutely perfect in his oratory; and, beside that, a master in the art of acting. He has nothing to learn from me, or anyone else. He is simply perfect. He knows everything. He can do anything. I was once lessee of Drury Lane Theatre; and were I still in that position, I would

offer him a fortune to play for one season on the boards of that house. Why, boys, he can do anything he pleases with his audience! He can make them laugh and cry, and laugh again, in five minutes. His power was never equalled. Now, mark my words, boys, that young man will live to be the greatest preacher of this or any other age. He will bring more souls to Christ than any one who ever proclaimed the Gospel, not excepting the Apostle Paul. His name will be known everywhere, and his sermons will be translated into many of the languages of the world!"

This was a great tribute and a bold prophecy, but events soon began to justify it. The young pastor's hands were held up by a praying people.

"Every man seemed like a crusader besieging the New Jerusalem, each one appeared determined to storm the Celestial City by the might of intercession; and soon the blessing came upon us in such abundance that we had not room to receive it."

The preacher was appalled by his success, and would gladly have returned to his village obscurity. The curtain was rising on his life work, and he dreaded what it might reveal.

"This depression," he says, "comes over me whenever the Lord is preparing a larger blessing for my ministry; the cloud is black before it breaks, and overshadows before it yields its deluge of mercy. Depression has now become to me as a prophet in rough clothing, a John the Baptist, heralding the nearer coming of my Lord's richer benison."

The prayers of his people and the blessing which rested on his work soon helped him to win confidence. He cultivated extemporaneous speaking in his Monday prayer meeting, restricting himself to simple, homely talk about the elements of the faith. He recognised that it was of no use to rise before an assembly and hope to be inspired upon subjects of which one knows nothing, but he fell back on the thoughts of the day, the reading of the week, or the ideas suggested by the hymns or prayers.

"The thought of a man who finds himself upon his legs, dilating upon a theme with which he is familiar, may be very

far from being his first thought; it may be the cream of his meditations warmed by the glow of his heart. He having studied the subject well before, though not at that moment, may deliver himself most powerfully; whereas another man, sitting down to write, may only be penning his first ideas, which may be vague and vapid."

These revelations of the preacher's method show on what a solid basis Mr. Spurgeon built up his marvellous facility as a speaker. Strange stories were told about him. He was represented as sliding down his pulpit hand-rail, and that at a time when the pulpit was fixed in the wall, and was entered from behind! Long afterwards he wrote: "Many of the tales told about me, even to this day, are not only without a shadow of truth, but some of them border on blasphemy, or are positively profane."

New Park Street Chapel soon became utterly unable to contain the crowds who flocked there. It was enlarged in 1855, and a schoolroom erected with windows which could be let down to allow those seated in the school to hear the preacher. The cholera epidemic of 1854 had brought a heavy strain on the young pastor, but his ardour in the visitation of the sick deepened his hold on the affection of the people, and he was soon the most popular man in London. During the enlargement of his chapel Mr. Spurgeon preached in Exeter Hall to overflowing congregations. When New Park Street Chapel was reopened it proved far too small for the evening congregation, and the Surrey Music Hall, in Walworth, was secured for the evening service. In October, 1856, the first meeting was held to consider what steps should be taken to erect a great Metropolitan Tabernacle.

These events we hope to trace in a later article, but it will be seen that the first volume of this Autobiography shows how the greatest preacher of the century was prepared for his life-work. His matchless voice, his dramatic power, his inexhaustible fertility, his unwearying industry, his ripening experience of the things of God, all contributed to make him what he was. No man ever lived who was

more loyal to Divine truth, more faithful to the doctrines of grace, more instant "in season, out of season," in seeking to win men for Christ. At Waterbeach, Deacon Coe says, he preached "like a man a hundred years old in experience." He had already learned to make every thing contribute to his pulpit preparation. When asked where he got all the knowledge he put into his sermons, he replied: "Oh, I take a book, and I pull the good things out of it by the hair of their heads." His popularity was soon the wonder of London. Thomas Binney described him as a young man who, at twenty-four hours' notice, could command a congregation of twenty thousand. "Now, I have never been able to do that, and I never knew of anyone else who could do it." Seven thousand people drawn together every Sunday for thirty years, and two thousand five hundred published sermons make such a record as the world has never known; and whatever hard things Mr. Spurgeon said of the Arminians and their teaching, the Calvinists do not reverence or love him and his work more highly than their Arminian brethren, who claim a good half of Mr. Spurgeon's teaching as a glorious illustration of universal redemption and free grace, and attribute not a little of his success to the fact that the man's heart was far bigger than his creed.

ART. IV.—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1600—1800.

1. *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent.* By GEORGE BANCROFT. Ten Volumes. Boston. 1866.

2. *The English in America.* By J. A. DOYLE, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. Three Volumes. Longmans. 1882.

3. *Some Verdicts of History Reviewed.* By W. STEBBING, late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Murray. 1887.

4. *The English Colonisation of America during the Seventeenth Century.* By E. D. NEILL, Consul of U.S.A., Dublin. Strahan. 1871.

5. *Religion in the United States of America.* By the Rev. ROBERT BAIRD. Blackie & Son. 1844.

6. *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* By S. D. McCONNELL, D.D., Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia. Sampson Low. 1891.

7. *Bishop Asbury.* By the Rev. FREDERICK W. BRIGGS, M.A. Wesleyan Conference Book-room.

8. *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield, B.A.* By the Rev. L. TYERMAN. Two Volumes. Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

9. *Sketches of New England Divines.* By the Rev. D. SHERMAN. New York. 1860.

WE wish to present a brief sketch of the development of religious liberty in America, with some notices of its religious life and the chief exponents thereof. The civil development is too closely associated with the religious to be left out of the account, and we must, therefore, touch upon the early history of the separate

colonies and the mode of their settlement. Of New England we have already treated in an earlier issue.* The Middle and Southern States had not the same homogeneity as the Northern, yet they admit of effective grouping. While Massachusetts stands as the representative of the Northern, New York holds the same position for the Middle, and Virginia for the Southern, members of the great commonwealth.

Virginia was the earliest serious attempt at British colonization. Its settling occupied the greater part of an ordinary lifetime, from the first expedition in 1585, undertaken by Sir Richard Grenville at the instigation of Sir Walter Raleigh, to that which sailed from the Downs on New Year's Day, 1607, under the auspices of the newly-formed Virginia Company. Disaster attended every expedition, and even the last-named only escaped extinction by a sort of miracle. The elements of success, indeed, were wanting. The locality chosen, or rather lighted on, was unsuitable. The swamps at the mouth of the James River were detrimental to health. The habits of the settlers did not conduce to prosperity. The greed of the Company which had sent them out was as short-sighted as selfishness always is. Its chief agent was instructed "to discover a lump of gold, a passage to the South Sea, or some of Raleigh's lost colonists." Not a word was said about building houses, clearing ground, or growing corn. As a consequence, out of 490 persons forming the new settlement in 1609, only 60 were left when Sir Thomas Gates arrived with a new shipload, and in another week these would have died of starvation. Instead of disembarking, Gates took the miserable survivors on board and set sail, with intent to abandon the undertaking as hopeless. Before he reached the mouth of the river he was met by Lord Delaware, who had come out with more settlers and plentiful supplies. The departing vessels were at once put about, and all returned to Jamestown, the rude collection of huts to be known in history as the birthplace

* January, 1897.

of the American Republic. Delaware had brought a code of government, compiled from the martial laws that obtained in the Low Countries, then under the yoke of Spain. He did not himself enforce it stringently, but his successor, Sir Thomas Dale, who arrived with 300 emigrants in the course of 1611, began to rule the settlement with military rigour. Its aim, indeed, seemed scarcely higher than that of "a slave-gang administered for the benefit of the Company in England." "We may well wonder," says Mr. Doyle,* "that such a community should ever have cast off the taint of its origin, and have risen, mainly by its own efforts, into a higher and better life."

In 1619 changes were made in the directorate of the Company, resulting in an earnest attempt to improve the condition of the colony. Twelve hundred persons were sent out the same year, half as private settlers or servants, half at the expense of the Company. But clouds still rested on the enterprise. The death of Powhatan, an old chief who had kept the Indians on friendly terms, ended the truce between savage and settler. A general massacre was planned, and only timely notice from a friendly native averted entire extermination. As it was, 347 of the English perished.

Civilized nations also cast envious eyes on the new settlement. French incursions were successfully resisted, but Spanish intrigues with the "high and mighty Prince James" were not so easily warded off. Court cabals were aided by factions within the bosom of the Company. Charges were preferred at home, both against it and the colonial administration. A Commission was appointed to enquire into the affairs of Virginia, and in 1623 an order of the Privy Council was issued, announcing the King's purpose to resume the charter and govern the colony himself. In vain was Parliament appealed to. The matter was referred to the law-courts, and the patent declared null and void. The principal argument was, that "the privilege of transporting the King's subjects to Virginia might in time

* *The English in America.* Vol. I., "Virginia."

depopulate the realm, and transfer the whole English nation to the dominion of the Company."

Thus early began that usurpation of royal prerogative which in after years wrought such baneful effects. No religious differences lay at the root of this struggle. In Virginia the Church of England was established from the first, and conformity to it was exacted with great rigour. The absolutism of the monarch was the generating cause of disaffection, and the sentiment gathered strength from year to year.

The subject is well illustrated in the planting of Maryland. In 1632 Lord Baltimore received from Charles I. a grant of land, north of that actually occupied, but overlapping by more than 100 miles the territory included in the original Virginian patent. The elements were thus provided for a very pretty quarrel. The fact that Lord Baltimore was a Catholic lent piquancy to it. To Popery the Church principles of those days were as repugnant as to Puritanism. The remonstrances of Virginia were, however, unheeded, and the colony of Maryland was founded, the name being given in honour of Charles' Queen, Henrietta Maria. Its history presents the first example of a purely proprietary settlement. Lord Baltimore, the second of the name, became, by the gift of Charles I., the owner of the territory. Despotic power lodged by a Protestant prince in the hands of a Catholic noble offered a poor guarantee for freedom. But the settlers were not all Catholics, and none of them were serfs. Before the code of laws drawn up by the proprietor could arrive upon the scene, they had framed a form of government for themselves. When the code came, it was rejected in a popular assembly by 37 votes to 18. Gradually, a representative government was adopted; and as neither the time nor the place permitted enforcement of the Catholic religion, toleration for all beliefs was the order of the day. Hence the strange fact that Protestants, who forsook the northern colonies and failed to obtain a location in Virginia, were driven to take shelter under the wing of a Catholic community. About the

beginning of the 18th century the Church of England was established here.

The settlement of the Carolinas is interesting as an experiment in strictly feudal government. The project took shape in the time of Charles II. Shaftesbury was its initiator, and John Locke framed the constitution. The paper enactments of the eight proprietors never passed into actual law. South Carolina fared better than North, but both became Crown colonies indistinguishable from the rest except for their bad pre-eminence in the slave-trade. For this the warmer climate was the excuse, but the real cause doubtless was the part taken in the planting by Barbadoes, which had two negroes for every white inhabitant, a proportion maintained in South Carolina to this day. "If slavery had been confined to Virginia and Maryland, it might have died out in the eighteenth century. In Carolina it became a corner-stone of the political system."[o]

The interest of the Middle States centres in New York. The settlement of New Netherland, as it was first called, took place just after the United Provinces had shaken off the yoke of Spain. That gallant little nation was then at the height of its prosperity. The world seemed hardly large enough for its commerce. While its merchants traded in the East as far as Japan, and made alliance with the Emperor of Ceylon, its ships also braved the frosts of the Arctic Circle in search of a new route to China, and in 1616 passed for the first time outside the island which forms the southernmost spur of the American continent. In the same year reports reached Holland of further discoveries in North America, in the region of the Delaware River. The news quickened the spirit of enterprise, and led to settlements both on the Delaware and on the Hudson, farther north. In 1621, three years after the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Dutch West Indian Company became possessed of what is now the central portion of the United States, and was endowed with immense franchises. The

[o] Doyle, p. 529.

next half century witnessed unlooked-for changes. England disputed with Holland the empire of the seas, as Holland had previously disputed it with Spain and Portugal. The reversion of the world's commerce passed largely into the hands of this country. It thus came to pass that New Netherland, after having in 1655 absorbed New Sweden—a colony on the Delaware, founded by Gustavus Adolphus—was itself absorbed by the British colonies in 1662. In our next war with the Netherlands the province again passed under Dutch rule, but at the close it was finally surrendered to England (1674) in exchange for Surinam.

In honour of the heir to the English throne, the names of New Netherland and of New Amsterdam, its chief city, were changed to New York. One portion of the province, from the Hudson to the Delaware, was given by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir S. Carteret, and from the birthplace of the latter was called New Jersey. The portion previously known as New Sweden was retained, with the designation of Delaware, under the jurisdiction of New York. The acquisition of these States gave England an unbroken seaboard from Portland to Savannah, a distance of ten degrees of latitude. Throughout the new territory, with the exception of New Jersey, the change of masters brought with it very little liberty. No popular representation was conceded. The governor, a royal nominee, with his subservient council, was omnipotent, and "factious republicans" had to submit.

The region with which the name of William Penn will be for ever associated had yet to be added to the Middle States. It was acquired by purchase from Charles II. toward the close of his reign as an equivalent for a debt owing to Penn's father, and its boundaries were fixed by amicable arrangements with the Indians on the west, and Maryland on the south. This colony from the first offered an asylum to the persecuted of all denominations, where civil and religious freedom might be peacefully enjoyed. On a neck of land between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, distinguished for the firmness of its soil, its pure springs

and salubrious air, Penn laid, in 1683, the foundations of the infant city of Philadelphia, destined a century later to be the birthplace of American independence and of the Union.

Although Penn was the sole proprietor of this territory, he declined all revenue and all prerogative, save a limited veto on the decisions of the council. The council itself, the magistrates, and the subordinate officials, were all elected by the people or their representatives. The latter were even at liberty to subvert or modify at pleasure the framework of the constitution. While Locke's charter for Carolina, designed in his imagination for an immutable immortality, never gained a practical embodiment, Penn's model for Philadelphia remains unchanged in its essential principles to this day.

The Revolution of 1688, which placed William and Mary on the throne of this realm, was fraught with momentous issues. But it did not mean for the colonies what it meant for Great Britain. For them the spirit of absolutism only passed from the Sovereign to the Parliament. The colonial charters were not held more sacred than the office of the monarchs that had granted them. So the eighteenth century opened with the adoption of maxims which could not but provoke stout resistance. One example may be given. Wool being at home a staple industry, colonial competition would inevitably "sink the value of lands." Hence the following parliamentary enactment:

> "After the 1st of December, 1699, no wool, or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the produce or manufacture of any of the English plantations in America, shall be loaden upon any horse, cart, or other carriage, to be carried out of the English plantations to any other of the said plantations, or to any other place whatsoever."

This policy was continued by every administration. "Should our sovereign authority of legislative and commercial control be denied," said the elder Pitt seventy years later, "I would not suffer even a nail for a horse shoe to be manufactured in America." Yet Pitt was at that time the strongest champion of the rights the colonies contended for

prior to their separation. The ideas of the age were, no doubt, illiberal. That may extenuate, but cannot excuse, the violation of the eternal laws of truth and righteousness, which are limited to no age and no country. Meantime, by the assiento or contract of 1713, Great Britain secured for itself exclusive control of the African slave traffic with the Spanish Indies, and engaged to transport annually, for 38 years, 4,800 "Indian pieces," *i.e.*, negroes, paying a duty per head of 33½ escudos. Our only satisfaction in view of such a statement is that if we at one time sought a monopoly in the "execrable sum of all villainies," we also at a later date set a better example to our kindred across the seas, and to all nations, by abandoning the slave trade and by abolishing slavery.

To return to the colonies. Among other causes tending to fan the flame of desire for fuller liberty, religion furnished its own unquenchable impulse. The extent to which the population of the States was made up of refugees from Protestant or Popish persecution is perhaps not generally understood. Next to the Puritans of England, the Scotch must be reckoned as chief contributors, particularly during the reign of Charles II. His despotic measures were not confined to England. The restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland was a more serious matter even than the Act of Uniformity for England. Torture, fines, imprisonment, banishment, and death were the penalties of attendance at "conventicles." Godly men were hunted down like wild beasts and gibbeted like criminals upon the highways. This state of things lasted for nearly thirty years. No wonder that prelacy was indelibly associated in the Scottish mind with despotism and irreligion. Many fled to America, and the emigration thus begun continued at intervals for more than a hundred years. At first New Jersey and then Pennsylvania became their asylum, whole families of poor labourers and many servants accompanying the wealthier sort.

Next in order must be ranked the Huguenots. Both before and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

emigration to America took place on a large scale. Acts for the naturalisation of French Protestants were passed by Maryland in 1666, by Virginia in 1671, by the Carolinas in 1696, and by New York in 1703. As early as 1656 they were so numerous in New York that public documents had to be written in French as well as English. By 1708 they had become, next to the Dutch, the most numerous and wealthy part of the population. New Rochelle, sixteen miles from New York, was settled solely by Huguenots from Rochelle in France. Of them a Princeton Professor says:

"Their only place of worship was in New York. They had taken lands on terms that required the utmost exertions of men, women and children among them to render tillable. They were, therefore, in the habit of working hard till Saturday night, spending the night in trudging on foot to the city, attending worship twice the next day, and walking home the same night to be ready for work in the morning. Amid all these hardships they wrote to France to tell what great privileges they enjoyed."

As in England, the Huguenots were a great blessing to the land of their adoption.* German emigration to America began in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The first comers were sufferers from the devastations committed by the French under Turenne throughout the Palatinate. Persecution continued what war and rapine began. All the Middle and Southern States profited by this immigration. The great bulk of these Germans were Protestants, and their standard of morality was high. Their descendants are by far the most numerous of the Americans who are not of the British stock. The first Bible printed in America was Luther's version.

Even Poland sent its contingent. According to a current tradition, a Count Sobieski, descended from the hero who routed the Turks in 1673 and chased them from the walls of

* Canada would have been their natural resting-place. But the policy of Richelieu and Louis XIV. struck at the foreign possessions of France as well as at her home lands, and warned all Protestants off Canadian soil.

Vienna in 1683, led a colony of 200 Protestants to New Jersey. The name, corrupted into Zabriskie, is still retained by a highly respectable family.

The valleys of Piedmont also contributed their quota. Before the voice of Cromwell was lifted in their behalf, many had left their country, and were indebted to the charity of Holland for a free passage across the seas.

Georgia, the last of the thirteen colonies incorporated before the War of Independence, was designed as a refuge for the distressed of all nations; and among these were numbered many Moravians, with a company of whom John and Charles Wesley sailed to Savannah in the autumn of 1735.

Thus all the colonies were largely and some of them exclusively composed of the victims of oppression, almost justifying the strong statement of the historian Bancroft, "Tyranny and injustice peopled America with men nurtured in suffering and adversity. The history of our colonisation is the history of the crimes of Europe."

The whole pressure of these new forces must have been in the direction of civil and religious liberty; but neither form of that liberty was understood as it is understood to-day. We have seen how civil life was hedged about by many and grievous restrictions in the greater part of the States. Religious life was similarly hampered. In Virginia the connection between Church and State ran on parallel lines with Massachusetts, substituting Anglicanism for Presbyterianism. The people were assessed for the building, furniture and maintenance of the churches; and also, though with less stringency, for the stipends of the clergy. They were required under penalty to attend the Anglican services, while Nonconformists were denied the rights of citizenship. In 1642, an offender against some of these laws was pilloried for two hours, with a label on his back setting forth his delinquencies; next, he was fined fifty pounds; and, last of all, imprisoned during the Governor's pleasure. It took a century to establish toleration. In New York intolerance reigned supreme. Not a schoolmaster

was permitted to exercise his vocation without a license from the Bishop of London.

Despite these drawbacks, the colonies were from the first pervaded by a strong religious influence. The colonial era may be divided into four periods. During the first, from 1607 to 1660, religion flourished greatly. Virginia had its early fathers, no less than New England. Such men as Hunt, the first chaplain, and Whittaker, the first Episcopal apostle to the Indians, were fit compeers of Brewster, the first Puritan elder at Plymouth, and Eliot, the first Presbyterian apostle at Boston. Nor were the labours of such men without a rich blessing. Days of fasting and prayer were frequently observed. Religion was felt to be the supreme concern. And there was a hopeful prospect, too soon overcast, of successful evangelisation of the Indians.

The second period, from 1660 to 1720, was a time of trouble, arising from disastrous wars with the natives, internal dissensions, and disputes with the mother-country. The light of truth grew faint and dim, and morality proportionately degenerated. The fathers had gone to their rest, and the sons did not inherit their faithfulness and zeal. Yet there were many bright exceptions. Increase Mather (son of Richard, the progenitor of a long line of eminent men), and Cotton Mather, his son, carried on the good traditions of Massachusetts. Pierpont, one of the founders of Yale College and father-in-law of Jonathan Edwards (the reputed author of the articles of the "Saybrook Platform," drawn up in 1708 for the better maintenance of discipline) was the devoted pastor of the Church at Newhaven. Dr. Blair, long the Bishop of London's Commissary for Virginia, obtained the charter of William and Mary College in 1692, and became its first president. Dr. Bray, the Commissary for Maryland, though mistaken in his endeavour to secure an Act of Uniformity for that colony, did good work in the direction of reform, and enjoyed the distinction of being the founder of two important societies, by which both England and America benefited—that for the Promo-

tion of Christian Knowledge (1698), and that for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), the oldest missionary society.

On the whole, however, throughout the second period the Colonial Churches shared the spiritual decline resulting in this country from the Restoration and in Europe generally from the devastating effects of the Thirty Years' War.

The third period, from 1720 to 1750, witnessed a return of spiritual prosperity. It was the time of the Great Awakening. Of this movement Jonathan Edwards in its earlier stages, and George Whitefield in its later, were the chief instruments. Its origin was antecedent to, and independent of, the Evangelical Revival in this country.

Jonathan Edwards, born in 1703, the same year as John Wesley, from his youth an ardent seeker after God, and a student of great promise at college, was, in 1727, ordained at Northampton as a colleague of his grandfather, Stoddard, then in his 84th year. Stoddard himself had been for 55 years a laborious and successful minister, but had long advocated an arrangement—subsequently known as the Halfway Covenant—which sanctioned the admission of unconverted persons to the Sacrament, on the plea that it was to be regarded as a converting ordinance. The consequence had been a lamentable laxity both in the spirit and practice of the people.

With the appointment of Edwards, a deepened interest in religion began to manifest itself, and in 1732, three years after the death of Stoddard, signs were not wanting of the hold Edwards's ministry was taking on the mind of the community. Early in 1735 the religious interest became general in New England. All this took place three years before the reception of Evangelical principles by John and Charles Wesley, and while they were still, as members of the Holy Club at Oxford, held under bondage to religious ritual and routine. Whitefield, also, at this time was a humble servitor at Pembroke College, Oxford, groping painfully after spiritual light.

The work of God just referred to was, comparatively, local and temporary. What gave it universality and permanence was the inrush of light and power due to the Methodist Revival, with George Whitefield as its early harbinger and Wesley's itinerants as its later organisers and apostles.

Georgia was the first to receive Whitefield in 1738. But though already filled with the power of the spiritual life, he was not as yet acquainted with the doctrine of justification by faith. Returning to England in the autumn of the same year, he was led to embrace that great truth, and shared with the Wesleys the reproach of expulsion from the churches for preaching it. Returning to America in 1739, his extraordinary mission on that continent began. Philadelphia was the appropriate starting-point of that wonderful ministry beyond the seas, which was to occupy half the remaining years of his life. His first open air sermon was preached under the same elm tree beneath whose shade Washington first drew his sword in favour of liberty. Soon, all the thirteen colonies were open to his labours. Everywhere crowds hung upon his lips; everywhere opposition was aroused and vanquished; everywhere churches were quickened, pastors blessed, and multitudes saved. Dr. Abel Stevens, in his *History of Methodism*,* thus sums up the results of his work :—

"The 'Great Awakening' had commenced before his arrival, but it was comparatively local, and its visible interest at least had mostly subsided. Edwards and some of his ministerial associates were yet praying and writing respecting it in New England; and the Tennents, Blairs, Finley, Rowland, and others were devotedly labouring, in detail, in the Middle States against the moral stupor of the times; but Whitefield's coming at once renewed the revival and gave it universality and unity. He alone of all its promoters represented it in all parts of the country; and, at every repeated visit, renewed its progress. In the South he was almost its only labourer. His preaching, and especially his volume of sermons, read by Morris, founded the Presbyterian Church of Virginia, for, before that period, there was not a Dissenting minister settled in that colony.

* Vol. i., pp. 378-80, 1878.

"In the Middle States Whitefield's labours had a profound effect. He was an apostle to Philadelphia; he rallied around him its preachers, and stimulated them by its example. In New Jersey and New York he exerted a similar influence; and the frequent repetition of his visits through about thirty years did not allow the Evangelical interests of the Churches to subside. The numbers in the synod of New York more than trebled in seven years after his first visit.

"In New England the effects of Edwards's labours were reproduced and rendered general by Whitefield's frequent passages. One hundred and fifty Congregational churches were founded in less than twenty years, and it has been estimated that about 40,000 souls were converted in New England alone.

"The effects of this great revival, of which Whitefield had thus become the ostensible representative, have been profound and permanent. The Protestantism of the United States has taken its subsequent character from it, and the Holy Club at Oxford may be recognised as historically connected with the Evangelical religion of all this continent.

"The effect of the Awakening on the character of the ministers was one of its greatest results. Since that period the Evangelical character of the American pastorate has not as before been exceptional, but general. Its influence on the discipline of the Church was also one of its most important blessings. It banished the Halfway Covenant, which had filled the Eastern Churches with unconverted members. It made personal regeneration a requirement among the qualifications of the Christian ministry, and it introduced that general and profound conviction of the essential spirituality of religion and the necessary independence of Church and State, which soon after began, and has since completed the overthrow of all legal connection between the two in this country. It gave origin to Princeton College and its distinguished Theological Seminary, and also to Dartmouth College; for both were founded by Whitefield's fellow labourers, and the Methodists of England contributed their money to both."

The fourth period of the colonial era, from 1750 to 1775, which included the last twenty years of Whitefield's life, was one of great public agitation. In the earlier portion of it the Seven Years' War was raging between England and France, and in this the colonies took their part. One result was the conquest of the Canadas, which were secured to England by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Then followed the period of colonial dispute with the mother country, ending in war and independence. Our review of the history has shown

that the causes of the revolt lay far deeper than the enforced taxation which precipitated it. Those causes had been at work from the beginning, and had their common foundation in the deep misunderstanding of the times as to the true meaning of civil and religious liberty. Not that the misunderstanding and the blame of undue haste and reprehensible measures are to be found only on one side. Excesses were committed in the name of liberty in America, as in France twenty years later. True, the fierceness of the American struggle was not to be compared with that of the French Revolution, and the issues in the two cases were widely different. Yet the fact that a body of 50,000 Loyalists emigrated from the States to Canada and New Brunswick on the conclusion of peace, shows that, even in the minds of contemporaries whose interests were the most deeply involved, there was another side to the question. Even when the Convention met that decided to proclaim independence, none knew beforehand how the vote would go, so divided at that time was the sentiment of the leaders themselves. We do not say this with any desire to reflect on the American patriotism that still keeps up the Fourth of July with the same fervour as Thanksgiving Day, the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. We would only point out what the subsequent history of this country proves, that a true liberty has been found compatible with loyalty to the person of a Sovereign ; and what every candid mind will acknowledge, that it is the Christian duty of the Anglo-Saxon nations on both sides of the water to minimise differences, to forget past grievances, and to cultivate the good fellowship that becomes men of the same blood and of the same faith.

The influence on the Churches of the struggle with England could not but be disastrous. What is most important, however, in view of later developments, is that the seeds of Methodism, in its Wesleyan form, were sown and took deep root before the actual breach with this country. The humble founders of the first Methodist Church in New York were Barbara Heck and Philip Embury, who

emigrated from Limerick about the middle of the century. They belonged to a company of "poor Palatines," whom Wesley had visited and evangelised in Ireland shortly before their removal to America. In the ten years between the first Methodist service in 1766 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Methodism had time to establish itself. There were at the latter date nearly five thousand members, eleven circuits, and twenty-five preachers. During the eight years of the war with England these numbers more than trebled. This fact is the more surprising when we remember the difficult position of the English-born preachers. Loyalty to the British throne, previously a duty, had become in the eyes of true patriots a crime. As a consequence, all Wesley's itinerants, except one, returned home, and that one had to remain in concealment for two years. There were, however, enough American-born preachers to carry on the work. And in 1784, the year after the independence of the United States was acknowledged, American Methodism became, with the sanction of Wesley, an independent organisation. The one English preacher, Francis Asbury, invested by Wesley, through Coke, with the powers* of a primitive bishop, took the lead of the new organisation, and during a wonderful ministry, extending over the next thirty-two years, carried its banner through all the gradually developing territories of the American Republic.

Methodism did not enter New England till 1789. Jesse Lee was its pioneer. The Arminian Gospel was not welcomed in the Calvinistic Goshen, but it was needed there. The modifications introduced by Jonathan Edwards into its stern theology had not preserved its people entirely from doctrinal degeneracy. The contest between lifeless formalism and Evangelical fervour had not been everywhere successful. There were still Churches in which the Sacrament was thrown open to all baptised persons without any

* Not the title; that was assumed afterwards in the natural course of things.

question being asked. There were still pastors who substituted the platitudes of morality for the truth as to the Divine Son and the Divine Spirit. The Divine Persons themselves were robbed of their honour, and their very existence was denied. By such steps as these Harvard College, the pride and glory of the early colonists, became a stronghold of Unitarianism. This reaction against extreme Calvinism would probably have been much more disastrous throughout New England, but for the vitalised Arminian theology of which Jesse Lee was the herald.

But in extent of labour, skilled generalship in debate, and self-sacrificing devotion to his Master, Francis Asbury will always rank as the apostle of American Methodism. To him more than to any other man it is owing that the Methodist Episcopal Church takes the lead of all Protestant Churches. Together with its offshoots, American Methodism is to-day the strongest and most numerous body of Christians in the country. The united membership of six millions appears to fall below the nine millions of Roman Catholicism. But it must be remembered that with the latter communicants and adherents are practically identical, whereas in any Protestant denomination for every communicant there may be reckoned four, if not five, adherents.

Next to the Methodists come the Baptists, while the Presbyterians who, with the Congregationalists, were the first in the field, take the third place. The Protestant Episcopal Church is the lowest in rank of those whose membership exceeds half a million.

All are now voluntary Churches, raising their own revenues and supporting their own ministers without aid from the State. This change has worked beneficially in every instance. But it would be a mistake to suppose that it followed, immediately and naturally, upon the Declaration of Independence. On the contrary, it was a process that extended over half a century. It was accomplished, not by any act of Congress, which had no power in the matter, but

as the result of a struggle in each individual State. The first to effect the change was Virginia, the home of Episcopacy; the latest was Massachusetts, the home of Congregationalism. The last ties in the latter State were not sundered till 1831, when the united forces of Methodists, Baptists and Episcopalians carried the measure in three successive sessions of the legislature in the face of strong Presbyterian opposition, headed by such men as Lyman Beecher (father of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe).

The difficulties in the way of adjustment to the new order of things were greater in the Episcopal Church than in any other. That venerable system, established in America in 1607,* had never had a resident bishop. Its Northern and Southern representatives were not at unity with regard to the proper course of action. The South was for drastic reforms, the North for as little change as possible,† the Prayer-book furnishing the grounds of the difference. With this was connected the difficulty of obtaining ordination from the English bishops. When two of the Southern clergy had secured this, there was the difficulty of uniting with the Northern clergymen, who, in the meantime had been ordained in Scotland by non-juring bishops, whose orders were not recognised by their English brethren. At last the union was effected, and so the "Protestant Episcopal Church" came into being. Its freer constitution seems to have been the model for the disestablished Irish Church, and for the Colonial Churches generally. Its internal working has been fairly successful. But this result has only

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* Its claim to be the oldest Church in North America must give place to that of Roman Catholicism, which had services in Florida so early as 1585. A High Anglican, therefore, would have no difficulty in deciding what communion it was his duty to join—unless his duty varies with parallels of latitude.

† The explanation of this phenomenon—the exact opposite of what was to be expected—is that the Northern representatives were converts from Presbyterianism, and, like most converts to a new system, more zealous in their attachment to their new principles than the old adherents. These converts had been connected with Yale College, a defection opposite to that of Harvard; but at Yale the breach was more quickly healed.

been attained by abandoning the two principles of subjection to the State and exclusive government by bishops. The trend of doctrine is not, however, in the Low Church or Broad Church direction. Rather, as in Ireland, it has been distinctly High Church. The denominational title, stumbled upon rather than selected during the formative period, must be a thorn in the flesh to American Ritualists.

Whenever the question of Church reform or reconstruction comes up for debate in this country—and it is even now before us—the experience of America will be of service. The difference must be admitted between an old and a new country, and between a wealthy and fully organised Church and an impoverished and neglected one. But the fact remains that the experiment of State-Churchism failed in America. It failed twice over, in the imperfectly developed Episcopacy of Virginia, and in the highly organised and splendidly endowed Presbyterianism of Massachusetts. It failed with ritual, and it failed without ritual. It failed under a regime of aristocratic planters, and it failed under a regime of hard-headed traders and hard-handed agriculturists. It failed, not because of its Churchism, but because of its State-Churchism. The American Church-historian is himself the strongest assertor of this, and the most zealous advocate of the freedom enjoyed by the community to which he belongs. His arguments may not apply with equal force to existing arrangements in this country, but they have a pertinence and point which all interested in the subject will do well to heed.

Viewed politically, socially, commercially and religiously, the American Commonwealth is to be regarded as the grandest monument of colonising energy the world has ever seen, and as a dominant factor in the future history of mankind. To proclaim it perfect would be, not appreciation, but flattery. Any return compliment, addressed to ourselves, we should equally condemn, if it were equally unqualified. The ideal State does not exist, and will not until the earth has brought forth a race of ideal men.

But there are features which place the Great Republic in

the front rank of Christian nations. The dark blot of slavery has been wiped out in the blood of its bravest sons. The homage to religion is such that, while in this country attendance at a place of worship by an artisan almost counts as a disgrace among his fellows, in that country non-attendance counts as a disgrace. The respect for woman in that democratic country is far in advance of that of European countries, which look back with pride to the ages of chivalry. And ideas respecting the use of wealth—as distinct from its acquirement—while in some minds open to the charge of extravagant and ostentatious expenditure, in others are of the loftiest order. Witness their characteristic and splendid beneficence in hospitals, parks, colleges and churches, amounting this last year, in large sums alone, to a total of thirty-three million dollars.

The great desideratum in the relations between this country and America is a deepened sympathy, springing from a fuller knowledge. Our colonial policy in the olden days cannot be defended. But let the history of the past sixty years be set over against the previous two hundred and fifty. And let the ties of a common blood, a common speech, and a common religion bind into a magnanimous unity the two great sections of the Anglo-Saxon race.

ART. V.—THE KLONDIKE.

1. *Through the Gold-fields of Alaska to Bering Straits.* By HARRY DE WINDT, F.R.G.S. With a Map and 33 Illustrations. Chatto & Windus. 1898.

2. *The Gold-fields of the Klondike.* By JOHN T. LEONARD. With Maps, Diagrams and Illustrations. T. Fisher Unwin.

3. *The Pioneers of the Klondike.* Narrated by M. H. E. HAYNE, of the N.W. Mounted Police. Illustrated by Photographs. Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1897.

"THROUGH the Gold-fields of Alaska" is the work of a great traveller. It contains much that is interesting about the countries through which he passes, their physical features, their material resources and their people. It is a narrative of adventurous exploration, with many exciting episodes, and with a unique and well-nigh tragic experience among the Tchuktchi Indians on the Russian coast of Bering Sea. Mr. De Windt has an eye for the picturesque, and he presents to his readers in graphic and beautiful language the scenes of loveliness and grandeur that often refreshed and charmed him during his long and fatiguing journey. A genial and sympathetic spirit illumines this record of indomitable pluck in hours of peril, and of almost serene patience under irritating and trying experiences of an extraordinary nature. The two other volumes named at the head of this article are in a different category. Mr. Leonard's *Gold-fields of the Klondike* is a handbook of gold-mining as carried on in this region. It is full of useful information for the gold-seeker as to methods of mining, climate, routes, equipment, etc., and it gives some account of the discovery of fabulous wealth on the Klondike. We cannot say that we admire its glorification

of affluence. *The Pioneers of the Klondike* is of value chiefly for its delightful illustrations of the scenery of the Yukon, and for the glimpses it supplies of the work of the Canadian Mounted Police in this wild land.

Klondike, in British Territory, sixty miles east of the American boundary, was practically unknown until the autumn of 1896. It was too unimportant to be printed on ordinary maps. If found there, it was called Chandik. The name is a corruption of two Indian words "Thron-duick," meaning *plenty of fish.* Mr. De Windt's description of his visit to the Klondike in 1896 shows the region before it leaped to fame.

"About noon on July 5th, the sight of human habitation, once more gladdens the eye, and a low line of log shanties appears on the right bank of the river. The natives of this village subsist almost entirely on salmon, which during certain seasons abound in the vicinity, so much so that 'Plenty of fish' is the literal translation of the name given to this settlement by its Indian founders. Just below the village, a small river flows into the Yukon from the east. The water looks so deliciously clear and pure that we fill the water-bucket and then proceed in search of food, which is indeed the primary object of our landing."

Moose meat, dried salmon, and some flour are procured. The wigwams are clean, the traveller remarks, the young "braves" are away hunting, and the sole topic of interest for the old men and maidens is not nuggets—there are no nuggets as yet—but fish; and "the name of Thron-duick is chiefly associated" in Mr. De Windt's mind "with clean Indians and a good square meal." This was written on the eve of the great gold discovery, of which the outside world was to remain in ignorance for a year.

In the summer of 1897, Klondike suddenly became famous. On July 15th, the steamer *Excelsior* arrived at San Francisco from St. Michael, Alaska. She had on board fifteen passengers who had made their fortunes in the Klondike district. Two days later the steamer *Portland* arrived at Seattle with sixty-eight passengers from the same region, not one of whom brought less than five thousand

dollars' worth of gold, some having as much as a hundred thousand dollars' worth.

"They told of having thawed out frozen gravel in the cold Arctic winter, of washings yielding as high as one hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars to the pan of 'dirt,' of poverty changed to riches, of hardship requited by opulence, of great suffering from poor fare and a rigorous climate, but large returns to all who worked."

The gold was brought in oil-cans, jam-tins, in pieces of blanket, and even in old newspapers, and the fact was blazed abroad that this million dollars' worth of gold was only a sample of what remained behind, that, in the months of January, February and March, 1897, the Klondike district yielded £1,000,000 sterling as the result of the work of less than five hundred men.

It must not be supposed that gold had not been found previously in this part of America. The whole of the North-West Territory and of Alaska was known to be richly auriferous, from Sitka to the Arctic circle, and from the Mackenzie River to Bering Sea. Gold quartz had been worked in several places. In 1888, Mr. William Ogilvie, who was conducting a Government survey for the purpose of determining the line of 141° west longitude, which separates Alaska from Canadian Territory, predicting the development of the North-West Provinces, said,

"I think it may with confidence be asserted that rich finds will be made both of coarse gold and gold-bearing quartz. It is not likely in the nature of things that such a vast extent of country should have all its fine gold deposited as sediment. If this is not the case, the matrix from which all gold on these streams has come must still exist, in part at least, and will soon be discovered and thus enrich this otherwise gloomy and desolate region."

Alaska up to 1897 had already yielded in gold £8,000,000 sterling. Thus "Seward's Ice Box," as it had been satirically named, was in a fair way to realise the dream of that far-seeing statesman, who said, on his death-bed, that the purchase of Alaska from Russia was the greatest work of his

life. In 1886 Cassiar Bar, on the Lewes River, was opened, and a party of four took out £1,200 in thirty days. Steward River was estimated to have yielded in 1885 and 1886 over £25,000. Forty-mile Creek found employment for four hundred miners from the last-mentioned year. The Yukon basin, as a whole, produced in 1894 gold amounting to the value of £75,000. All this was now to be eclipsed by the discovery in the tributaries of the Klondike.

The discoverer was George Cormack, an "old timer" on the Yukon, who, after a varied career as surveyor, storekeeper and coal miner, married a "squaw" wife of the Tuketh tribe, and was now living in Thron-Duick, the village of which we have spoken, at the junction of the Klondike and Yukon. He had been engaged in fishing and drying salmon, but, hearing from the Indians of large gold deposits, he commenced, in August, 1896, to "prospect" in Bonanza Creek, a tributary of the Klondike, and was abundantly rewarded. With the crudest apparatus, he obtained in eight days gold worth £240. The news of the discovery spread quickly over the North-West, creating fierce excitement amongst the mining population, many of whom were getting only a bare living. Mr. Hayne, who was at Forty-mile City when the news reached it; gives a graphic account of the earliest "rush." Cormack, with an Indian, had dropped down the Yukon in a canoe from Klondike to Forty Mile, a distance of fifty miles, to reveal to a few select friends his good fortune. Next day, August 21st, he legalised his claim of five hundred feet along the edge of the gold-bearing creek. The day after it was found that nearly every miner in Forty Mile had departed for Bonanza during the previous night. Soon these were followed by others from all the Yukon mining camps. The whole population amounted to only a few hundred white men. There was, therefore, no overcrowding. Three hundred and fifty claims were staked out during the ensuing winter. "There was more than room for everybody, though everybody went in; and there were not enough men to do the work." They had nearly a year's start of succeeding adventurers. Other dis-

coveries followed on Cormack's. Cobb, a Harvard graduate, found an affluent of the Bonanza "studded with gold," and he named it El Dorado. In December bed-rock was reached here on Claim 14, with fabulous results. Pans as rich as 500 dollars were taken. Other tributaries of the Klondike were tried and proved to be of great value.

Some illustrations of "marvellously rich strikes" may be given, and these are vouched for by Mr. Joseph Ladue, founder of Dawson City, or by the authors of the books on which this article is based. Alexander McDonald took out 94,000 dollars from a forty-four foot patch of ground, two feet thick, in twenty-eight days. He was assisted by three men. Thomas Flack and three others sunk a hole eighteen feet deep in El Dorado Creek, and struck on a belt of gold-stuff four feet wide. They took out five dollars worth of gold to the pan daily for many successive weeks. The material which they discarded before they reached the streak was literally full of fine gold, though they did not know it. It was bought up by some capitalists who made fifty thousand dollars each out of it. Some of the miners during three winter months of 1896-7 made as much as 175,000 dollars. Clarence T. Berry obtained 130,000 dollars, and his claim is not one-tenth worked. We might fill pages with similar instances. Let it not be supposed, however, that these are highly coloured travellers or miners' tales, containing only a modicum of truth, for official reports confirm them. Mr. William Ogilvie, to whom we have referred as holding the responsible post of Dominion Surveyor, and who, in addition, is a magistrate, and is well-known throughout the North-West Territory as general arbitrator in mining disputes, in one of his latest reports, says: "Since my last (report) the prospects on Bonanza Creek and tributaries are increasing in richness and extent, until now it is certain millions will be taken out of the district in the next few years." After giving some remarkable figures, he adds, "Enough prospecting has been done to show that there are at least fifteen miles of this extraordinary richness, and the indications are that we shall have three or four times that

extent, if not all equal to the above, at least very rich." Governor McIntosh, of the North-West Territory, while deploring the folly of the thousands who are rushing in without proper means of subsistence, speaks in terms even more glowing than those of Mr. Ogilvie, basing his remarks on "data of an official nature." "In my judgment," he says, "the yield of the Canadian Yukon will exceed 10,000,000 dollars in gold." There can be no reasonable doubt of the great wealth of this region. Quartz containing gold in paying quantities appears to be abundant. Some of the lodes on the Yukon which have been tested are worth, according to Mr. Ogilvie, from £20 to £100 a ton.

In the spring of 1897, there was a general stampede from all the mining centres of Alaska, as well as from places further afield. "Men who had been in a chronic state of drunkenness for weeks were pitched into boats as ballast and taken up to stake themselves a claim." The out-going steamers from San Francisco and Seattle for St. Michael, near the mouth of the Yukon, were crowded with adventurers, many of whom were mere striplings from the office-desk, utterly unequal to a life of privation and toil in a land where nature, in mail of solid ice, jealously guards her treasure from the hand of man. But this gold madness made these, and multitudes of others, whose only equipment for gold finding was the passion to be rich, deaf to the warnings of old travellers as to the perils of difficult inland routes, where treacherous waterways, and all but inaccessible mountain passes, menace the life of the inexperienced and the physically feeble. The consequences of such rashness will not be known until the warm spring unseals this land which winter closes against the world. But it can scarcely be doubted that privation, disaster and death have laid heavy toll on those going into the country, as well as on those who have arrived there. The Yukon is a comparatively easy way; but, "the overland route," to quote Mr. Leonard,

"is beset with dangers which may well appal any but the stoutest hearts, and will tax the strongest constitutions, and

the chances of death are ever present over a considerable part of the journey."

We fear that the present winter has repeated, with aggravations of its own, the sorrows of last winter. Poverty, or even scarcity of money, was then unknown. The only scarce thing was provisions.

"One man," we are quoting Mr. Hayne, "had more than a flour barrel full of gold-dust, and would willingly have paid half of it for a square meal. Things reached such a pass that men never knew where they would get their next meal. With fabulous stores of wealth, they had just to sit down hungry and wait as patiently as they could for a steamer to come with food. The utter mockery and vanity of riches—and riches only—has probably never been more strikingly demonstrated."

Klondike is a land of many discomforts. For nine months of the year the community is completely cut off from the rest of the world. It has no food resources of its own. Nothing is imported during the winter season; it is thus absolutely dependent for provisions and other necessaries on the supplies brought in the summer. Starvation is the most serious of all its perils, which gold cannot avert. Mr. De Windt fears that there is terrible suffering at present.

"I am now informed," he says, "by the highest authority in Washington, that *the last sack of flour was sold in Dawson City* on September 10th last. Since that date no supplies have reached the place, and Dawson is now unapproachable until June or July."

Yet this does not deter thousands more from preparing to enter the Klondike as soon as the passes are open, or the Yukon is free from ice. It is not improbable that with the present year all serious difficulties in relation to means of transport and to food supplies will have been removed. But only men of sound physique and great endurance should emigrate to a country so remote and so rigorously exacting as this. Mr. Leonard speaks plainly to would-be emigrants.

"If you are a professional man, your training will do you no good. An ounce of physical culture is worth ten pounds of

classical or scientific training, so far as placer mining is concerned. The requisites are a sound body, a strong and willing arm, and a brave heart. Add to these industry, perseverance, temperance and a cool head, and a man is well equipped for the journey and the life at the end of it. The weaklings, the easily discouraged, and the roysterers would do well to stay at home. Those who go for pleasure will find that they have gone to the wrong place. Life on the Yukon is a hard experience at the best."

Dawson City, the metropolis of the Klondike, lies on the east bank of the Yukon, just below the mouth of the Klondike river. It is as yet a city of tents and shanties, with a few trading warehouses. Last June it had a population of 3,000, but this is now largely increased. It resembles other mining camps in appearance, except that it is a little less squalid-looking than most of them: less lawless, too, owing probably to the fact that the professional desperado has not yet arrived, and to the vigilance of the Canadian Mounted Police. The population consists chiefly of hard-working miners and those who cater for their wants. The minimum coin, or rather value, in use is "four bits," or fifty cents. It is the price of the smallest articles. Gold-dust is the usual currency, the inevitable scales for weighing it out standing on every store counter and "saloon" bar.

"The 'saloons' issue chips which are good at the bar or in gambling. The miner brings in his sack and leaves it behind the bar, saying, 'Give me five hundred,' or whatever number of chips he thinks he requires. When he wants his gold again, he returns the unused chips."

The "saloons" are low places, the resorts of worthless men and loose women, and much carousing goes on; but the saloon-keeper is distinguished by the grace of honesty. His customers' gold is as safe as if it were in the cellars of the Bank of England. Many of the miners eschew these establishments. A large proportion of these men are industrious, and are straining every nerve to help the old folk at home, or the mother and children, or some loved one on "the outside," as they designate the *extra*-Klondike world. Mr. Ogilvie is anxious to bring the liquor traffic under more

effective control, and to make it impossible for "any loafer who can gather money enough to secure a few gallons and a few glasses" to set up a "saloon," as he can now do. Mr. Leonard pays a high tribute to the few married women who have ventured with their husbands into this inhospitable land. These brave women are a blessing to the settlement. Some of the most fortunate miners are married. The wife cannot

"locate a claim in addition to her husband's, but the aid which she extends in giving the home atmosphere, even to a lonely hut on the confines of the Arctic Circle, is as good as a gold mine."

The daily excitement of Klondike is created largely by the tidings of fresh discoveries of gold in neighbouring "gulches" and creeks. Immediately on the receipt of such news, a stampede begins. Mining implements and provisions are shouldered, and a group of restless, and often inexperienced, adventurers set off to the scene of the newly-found "pay-gravel." Many of these *escapades* are ill-considered and end in disappointment and disgust, but, at least, they break the iron monotony of the mining camp. So complete is the isolation from civilization that the arrival of a newspaper or a book causes a stir only second to the unearthing of a new gold streak. The will of a millionaire was never read with more avidity by his heirs than is the stale news of the old country by these men, who hand round the precious sheet from shanty to shanty till it is worn out. Literature is scarce in Klondike, but soon, no doubt, there will be a circulating library, a newspaper, and a Bret Harte to chronicle and sing the strange life of the miners, many of whom soon grow haggard and droop in the fierce race for wealth. The most notable feature of the camp, Mr. Leonard says, is the rigid honesty and truthfulness that have so far prevailed. Gold sacks representing thousands of dollars in value are thrown under counters unweighed, or lie exposed in the miners' huts, yet no act of robbery has stained the rough life of this backwoods' community. Crimes of violence are rare. This may be largely owing to the regulation

that makes it illegal to carry fire-arms. As to the religious element, it cannot be said to be prominent, but religious services are conducted by the Church of England and the Roman Catholics. The latter have long had missions among the Indians of the Yukon, and Mr. De Windt has many a kind word to say for their agents and their work. No Protestant can do other than wish them God speed in an enterprise that calls forth the most heroic self-sacrifice.

The Klondike country is well wooded. This adds to the beauty of the summer landscape, and is a fortunate circumstance for the miner, who is obliged to use a great deal of timber for mining purposes and for fuel. The trees are chiefly spruce, hemlock, birch, alder and cotton wood. There is a great variety of wild berries. Cranberries, blueberries and dewberries, red currants and raspberries are found in rich profusion, and form part of the food of the Indians. The fauna contains numerous fur-bearing animals, though many of them are becoming rare. Yet this is the home of bears and beavers, of land otters, of foxes of several species, including the beautiful silver fox, the red fox and the cross fox; of wolves and wolverines; of the Canadian lynx, the mink and the marmot, and others. The salmon attracts the brown bear from his native tundra to the river side to fish, where he often falls a prey to the Indian hunter. Moose and caribou deer and mountain goats are shot on the hills. There is also a rich air fauna. In default of a better list of birds, we quote Mr. Leonard, an amateur ornithologist evidently :

"The snow-birds and winter wrens of the United States live in Alaska in the summer. Of the more than sixty species of the family of American warblers which are seen in the States when the cherry and apple trees are in bloom, fully half pass on by easy stages so as to reach the Yukon country with the warm weather. In fact, this northern region is their birthplace, and it is here their nests are built, their nuptial melodies sung, and their prettiest plumage displayed. The grosbeaks, bobolinks and other favourite American birds utilise the Yukon district as a summer resort, giving beauty and melody to the

surroundings. Humming birds are especially numerous. The bald and the grey eagle are occasionally seen in the interior. Water fowl breed in all the waters of the Yukon."

The climate is characterised by great extremes. In January, 1896, with fine clear weather, the thermometer registered 60° below zero. Mr. Hayne saw it once as low as 73°; but the mean temperature during this month is about 11° below zero. In the winter of 1889-90 the mean temperature stood below freezing point for 168 days. The lowest temperatures were 59° below zero in January and 55° in February; the greatest continuous cold being registered in February, when the daily mean for five consecutive days was 47° below zero. These figures are taken from a Report prepared under the direction of the United States Government. The winter sets in in September with overwhelming snowstorms. If the traveller be caught in these he has little chance of escaping with his life; but the severity of the climate has been much exaggerated. The wind, which in Canada makes a temperature less severe unbearable, is absent here. Mr. De Windt knew two men who wintered in the Yukon in a thin canvas tent without serious discomfort. The winter days are short, the setting sun following the dawn after a swift two hours' flight. The nights are often glorious with the splendours of the aurora. The transition from winter to summer is magical in its rapidity. In March there are uncertain signs of thaw; in May, with prolonged hours of sunshine, the Yukon awakes from its silent sleep as with a noise of discharging artillery; the miles and miles of heaving, tumbling, whirling blocks of ice, as seen from the high banks of the river, present a superb display. Ten days later, the last vestige of winter has vanished. The days are now twenty hours long, with twilight the remaining four; the temperature rising to 80° Fahr.; the nights are cool and pleasant.

Great as are the extremes of temperature, the climate is not insalubrious. As is usual in mining camps, such diseases as scurvy and rheumatism are common, owing to the lack of fresh meat and vegetables and exposure to wet

and cold; and the men suffer from dyspeptic complaints and debility, brought on by badly cooked food and overheated dwellings. But malarial fevers and infectious maladies are practically unknown. The brief, fierce summer brings with it a maddening scourge of mosquitos of more than ordinary voracity. This is the most grievous trial of this land of gold.

The mining in the Klondike is what is called "placer" mining, as distinguished from quartz mining. Placer mining is seeking for gold in river deposits; and the placer claim is thus authoritatively defined:

"Ground within defined boundaries which contains mineral in its earth, sand, or gravel; ground that includes valuable deposits not in place, that is, not fixed in rock, but which are in a loose state, and may in most cases be collected by washing or amalgamation without milling. . . . Placer gold, in its various forms, is the waste of gold in ledges, separated and ground by volcanic, glacial, or hydraulic action, and finally deposited in alluvial soil, sand, or gravel."

The method of placer mining is to sink a shaft to bedrock, the depth varying from four to twenty feet. Then tunnels are driven in various directions to the limit of the claim. The work is laborious, for the ground is frozen hard during the greater part of the year. The Yukon miner thaws the surface with wood fires, and removes the soft earth to the depth of a foot or two; again he builds and lights his fire and digs out the thawed soil; repeating this process till he gets below the reach of frost, and can drive his "levels." Here, sheltered from the ice-laden blasts, he burrows in search of the precious metal by the light of his dim lantern. The earth is heaped up on the surface to await the coming of the summer, when the gold can be washed out. When the warm weather arrives and the snow departs, the washing process commences:

"The primitive mode is to use a pan, which is large enough to hold two shovelfuls of 'dirt' and allow for a bucketful or so of water. The 'dirt' is washed by letting that which rises to the top drain off. The pan is shaken gently, water added as required, and the washing is kept up until the most soluble

portion has washed away. Finally, a gleam of yellow is seen at the bottom. The pan shows 'colour.' After the colour shows, the final washing is given and the coarse gravel picked out. The 'dust' secured is put away in the sack."

Other appliances more scientific are being introduced with the development of the mines. These are described by Mr. Leonard in his useful book.

We have reached the limit of our space and cannot now discuss the question of the probable future of this country. But there appears to be no reasonable ground to doubt that the Klondike is a land of immense wealth; and that under the wise and stringent rule of the Canadian Government, and in consequence of its prompt action, many of the evils threatened by a sudden inflow of population into an inhospitable region will be averted, though it is certain that much immediate suffering will result from overcrowding and insufficient food. The well-informed authors whose books we have reviewed say it is madness for anyone to venture on gold-seeking here who has not, in addition to the physical fitness we have referred to, at least £300 in his pocket when he reaches Dawson City.

ART. VI.—JOSEPH ARCH.

Joseph Arch. The Story of his Life told by himself, and Edited, with a Preface, by the COUNTESS OF WARWICK. Hutchinson & Co. 1898.

THE striking volume introduced to us by Lady Warwick possesses the twofold interest of a personal narrative and an historical record. It is at once the story of a life and the history of a movement. The life depicted is that of a typical but by no means ordinary Englishman, and the movement, brief as it was, and circumscribed, and only partially successful, was thoroughly typical of our time. It

was also extraordinary in its freedom from features which have marked and marred too many of the social movements of the century; and this it chiefly owed to the character of the man who was its heart and soul. In her admiration of the man, and in her no less genuine and generous sympathy with the movement, Lady Warwick has unconsciously exaggerated both the extent and the effects of the "Peasant Revolt." The Agricultural Labourers' Union, formed in 1872, and now extinct, was never a really national movement, nor were benefits secured by it so large and manifold as here described. With a little allowance, however, her ladyship's estimate may be accepted.

"I know," she says, "of no movement, working always within the four corners of the law, which accomplished so much in so short a time. For what are the facts? A Warwickshire peasant, at first alone and unaided, started and led an organisation which revolutionised the condition of the agricultural labourer."

And we may follow her without reserve as she adds:

"In the Union the legitimate discontent of the agricultural labourer found its legitimate outlet. The labourers were crying for a man to lead them, to organise them, to voice their needs. The time was ripe and the man came; fortunately he was an honest and law-abiding one. One trembles to think what might have happened if the movement had been in less capable hands."

This was not the first time in our history that the spirit of revolt and revolution was controlled and guided into lawful channels by the spirit of religion acting through a steady head and a considerate heart. Nor will it be the last time that a social movement will be saved from violence and ineffectiveness by the restraining influence of that combined sagacity and piety produced by Christian teaching, and displayed by this shrewd peasant preacher of the Methodist Church. The attitude and action of the noble lady who has edited these pages is also of happiest augury for the time to come. But for her ladyship they would not have been written, and the English-speaking world would have lost a racy and instructive, if perhaps too self-complacent, and, in

places, acrimonious book. The editor has been careful, she informs us, not to over-do her work, preferring to let the author speak for himself in his own way. As a rule, it is a rather rough blunt way; but, with all his self-assertion and class feeling, Mr. Arch is seldom vulgar, and not often rude. Beneath the frank, rough vigour of his speech, it is easy to discern the kindly feeling and the radical good humour of the man. In his closing pages, he looks forward to the coming combination of all classes to promote the general good, and much regrets he will not live to see it in its glory. "I see the beginning of it, though. And here to my mind is one sign of it—that the noble lady whose name adorns the title-page of this book should have displayed such generous and unprejudiced impartiality as to edit the Life of Joseph Arch."*

Mr. Arch's family has been connected for many generations with the county and castle of Warwick. He is proud to have been born in "Shakespeare's county in the very heart of old England." He is also proud of his ancestors. Three generations of them sleep in Barford churchyard. Some of them fought at Edgehill by the side of Cromwell. The cottage in which he was born, and in which he still resides, has been occupied by his family for upwards of 150 years. His grandparents, while in the service of the Earls of Warwick, saved the sum of £30, with which they bought the freehold. This famous cottage and its little garden plot has played a great part in the lives of the more recent members of the family, giving them a foothold without which they would not have been so well able to maintain their stand in times of persecution and distress. Mr. Arch has good reason to remember "that old stocking out of which the cottage came."

His father was a sober, industrious agricultural labourer, a quiet, inoffensive man, but, when put to it, he could be stern and firm. He refused to sign a petition in favour of the Corn Laws, for instance, even though it came to him

* In a footnote Mr. Arch adds: "I want this to stand; I don't want it edited out."

"properly hall-marked by the local magnates." His mother, who had been a nurse and laundress at the Castle, and who communicated to her son her self-reliance and aggressive energy, was "a Dissenter by nature and from conviction," and frequently came into conflict with the village powers. With the parson's wife especially she waged incessant war. The consequence was "my parents never received a farthing's worth of charity in the way of soup, coals and the like." When that lady insisted on the labourers sitting on one side of the church and their wives on the other, Mrs. Arch said, "No, 'those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder'; and certainly no woman shall." On another occasion this "would-be lady pope" decreed that all the girls in the village school should have their hair "cut round like a basin." Mrs. Arch again put down her foot, vowing that her daughters should "never have their hair cut in such an unsightly way. She fought the battle inch by inch and won it in the end. But the parson's wife never forgave her for it."*

* Mr. Arch's critics dwell upon the "unspeakably trivial" character of these and similar instances of oppression, but they little know the bitterness engendered in the hearts of English peasants by these petty social tyrannies. "A Warwickshire Vicar," writing to the *Standard* (January 28th, 1898) frankly acknowledges that the "suspicion, dislike and distrust" of the labourer towards the clergy had been only too well founded. "All the good works of the clergy (he says) evoked no gratitude, but they were regarded as bribes given by the clergy to induce church-going and obedience in other matters to his spiritual and temporal pastors and masters; and I am afraid there was only too much reason for his viewing matters in this light. Disobedience only too often, as in the Arch case, was met by the withdrawal of all these charities. It is difficult for us to realise how much this meant to the man maintaining a family on twelve shillings a week, when all necessaries cost twice as much as they do now. To have all these things taken away for no moral offence, but simply for following his own conscience, was felt to be a galling tyranny; and, though labourers were afraid to say anything, a feeling of bitterness was growing deep and strong, all the more when friends came back from the towns and told the villagers of the liberty enjoyed everywhere else. Mr. Arch only put the match to the train ready laid. The village revolt was quite as much a revolt against the parson as a revolt against the farmers. One of the first outward signs of recovered freedom was the abstention of the hitherto faithful labourer from church-going. He had found liberty, and this was the first way in which he showed it. He came to church through fear of the parson, and as soon as he lost his fear he dropped his church-going."

When Mr. Arch was born (in 1826) English agriculture was flourishing. During the first nine years of his life wheat sold on an average at 57*s.* a quarter, barley at 31*s.*, oats at 21*s.* The labourer, however, did not share in this prosperity. Arch the elder seldom earned more than from eight to ten shillings a week. But for his wife's laundry work the family would frequently have been in straits. There is no denying the significant fact that, as Lady Warwick notes, "when wheat was dearest and land most valuable the lot of the labourer was at its worst." Looking back upon those days, Mr. Arch says, "I can see my good mother cutting the barley bread for us with tears in her eyes because there is so little of it for the children who are so hungry." Fresh meat was seldom seen on the cottager's table; even bacon was a luxury. Tea was six or seven shillings a pound, sugar eightpence, and other provisions proportionately expensive. Flour was too dear for the labourer to buy, and potatoes were almost as great a rarity as wheaten bread. So great were their privations that the rural poor were often driven to steal the turnips from the farmers' fields. Every other man you met was a poacher. Mr. Arch does not severely blame them. Law-abiding as he is, and always has been, he cannot find it in his heart to condemn men at the point of starvation for these venial deeds. Nevertheless, he is becomingly proud to remember that, thanks to the ever fruitful bit of garden ground, his parents were preserved from desperation and from petty larceny.

"They had a long, tough fight of it, but they kept their heads up; they stole from no man, nor did they take alms from any one; they never sank down to the level of the thief and the pauper. . . . Numbers of people used to go to the rectory for soup, but not a drop of it did we touch. I have stood at our door with my mother, and I have seen her face look sad as she watched the little children toddle past, carrying tin cans, and their toes coming out of their boots. 'Ah, my boy,' she once said, 'you shall never, never do that. I will work these fingers to the bone before you have to do it.' She was as good as her word. *I never went to the rectory for soup.* . . . The horrors of those times are clearly and vividly before my mind's eye even

now. It is as if they had been burned and branded into me. I cannot forget them."

Another of his earliest recollections made a profound impression. When the adults stayed to Communion, the children were sent out of church. One Sunday, wondering what went on inside, young Arch peeped through the key-hole.

"What I saw will be engraved on my mind until the last day of my life. That sight caused a wound which has never been healed. My proud little spirit smarted and burned when I saw what happened at that Communion Service. First, up walked the Squire to the Communion rails; the farmers went up next; then up went the tradesmen, the shopkeepers, the wheelwright, and the blacksmith; and then, the very last of all, went the poor agricultural labourers in their smock frocks. They walked up by themselves; nobody else knelt with them; it was as if they were unclean—and at that sight the iron entered straight into my poor little heart and remained fast embedded there. I said to myself, 'If that's what goes on—never for me!' I ran home and told my mother what I had seen, and I wanted to know why my father was not as good in the eyes of God as the Squire, and why the poor should be forced to come up last of all to the table of the Lord. My mother gloried in my spirit."

The boy had not much education. He went to school when he was six and left before he reached the age of nine. But he had an admirable schoolmaster of whom he speaks with grateful praise. And as a pupil he was apt and quick, and well prepared to learn by reason of the no less admirable training he received at home. In a classic passage on his mother's influence, Mr. Arch reveals to us the secret of his early love of literature and of that vivid homely English which imparts a charm to every page of his biography:

"She was a great admirer of Shakespeare. She used to talk about him very often, and she was well versed in his works. She would read bits aloud to me of an evening, and tell me tales from the plays. On Sundays she used to read the Bible to me in the same way, and tell me stories from it. Shakespeare and the Bible were the books I was brought up on, and I don't want any better. I have heard and read a good deal since then, but I have never come across anything to beat them."

On leaving school the lad was sent to work first as a crow-scarer, then as ploughboy and stableboy, his wages gradually rising from two to nine shillings a week. It was a life of hardship, but not destitute of humorous enjoyment as he recalls it.

"Many a time and oft in the dark and early hours of the morning has little Joe Arch, the ploughboy, trudged up the lane 'creeping like a snail unwillingly to work,' with his satchel on his shoulder, containing, not books, but his food for the day. This would be a hunch of barley bread, with occasionally an apple baked in paste of coarse wheat-meal. Apple-dumpling day was a red one in my boy's calendar. When I had such a dainty bit in my bag it seldom stayed there many minutes. . . . 'Just to have a look at it, and to see if it is as big as mother generally makes them,' I would say to myself. Then I would turn it about and admire its size. From handling the dainty to tasting it was a sure process. 'I'll have one little bite—only a nibble,' I would say. When I got my tooth into that dumpling Adam with his apple was'nt in it; it was a case of once bitten soon gone.' Then I would hurry on to make up for my dawdling, with only the hunch of barley bread in my wallet, the joys of the dumpling behind me, and before me the day's drudgery with perhaps a thrashing thrown in."

But the days were not all drudgery. "Nature's feast of changing beauty" was spread all around him, and although he did not think about it at the time, he now can see how he enjoyed and was impressed by it. Nor was the boy without ambition. As he grew, he tells us, he determined to excel. He put his heart into his work, and in the evenings he resorted to his books. He made himself "an all-round man." Nothing manual was alien to him. Ploughing, mowing, hedging, ditching, carpentering—he could put his hand to anything. And he was always eager to adopt improvements. A new style of hedge cutting was introduced into the county. Arch at once adopted it, and became so expert that he won a prize which made him the "champion hedge-cutter of England." Like Crabbe's aged labourer

> "He once was chief in all the rustic trade;
> His steady hand the straightest furrow made
> Full many a prize he won, and still is proud
> To find the triumphs of his youth allowed."

Mr. Arch is somewhat reticent with respect to his religious experience, but it appears that in 1840, when he was fourteen, Nonconformist services were started in Barford by a few lay preachers from the neighbouring towns. The youth was soon attracted by their lively ministrations, and, in course of time, became a local preacher in his turn. He tells us that he has walked many thousands of miles in this service, and it was doubtless in the pulpits of the Wesleyan and the Primitive Methodist churches that he attained to his remarkable facility of public speech. On his home life also Mr. Arch is rather reticent. It would have been much to his credit if in one particular he had been still more reserved. The one blot in his book has reference to his married life. Soon after coming of age he married a woman who, "though not the woman my mother was," and who, though not sharing his intellectual tastes and social ambitions, was, nevertheless on his own showing, much too good a wife and mother to be treated with such callousness and want of taste as that with which her portrait is here drawn.

"She was a good, clean wife and a good mother; she looked after my father well; she was always attending to her home and to her family; but she was no companion to me in my aspirations. . . . Then she could never bear my going away from home to work. It was natural, I suppose, but it was foolish. She meant well and she did well, as far as she was able; she was a good, honest woman, who acted up to what lights she had."

Mr. Arch was now a master mower and hedge-cutter, employing many men and travelling with them through the Midlands and South Wales. Wherever he went he found the English labourers "an inert mass of underfed, overworked, uneducated men, stuck fast in the Slough of Despond. Practically they were voiceless, voteless, hopeless. I realised this, and I pondered over all I saw and heard as I ranged far and wide over the country on Shanks' mare." For more than twenty years the future leader pondered the condition of his fellow labourers and meditated plans for the

amelioration of their lot. Long before he took specific action his mind had been made up that nothing but union and organisation could deliver them from servitude and pauperism, but he would not take the initiative. By thrift and enterprise and cultivated skill he had raised himself above the level of his class; but, although his heart went out to them, he was determined that the call to form a Union should come from the labourers themselves. At length the summons came, as he believes from God as well as man.

The call from man came unmistakably. One wet morning in February, 1872, while he was "doing a bit of carpentering," three labourers came from Wellesbourne to ask him to come over and help them to form a Union. But the story must be told in Mr. Arch's words:

"I was busy at home on a carpentering job—I was making a box. My wife came in to me, and said, 'Joe, here's three men come to see you. What for, I don't know.' But I knew fast enough. In walked the three; they turned out to be labourers from over Wellesbourne way. I stopped work and we had a talk. They said they had come to ask me to hold a meeting at Wellesbourne that evening. They wanted to get the men together and start a Union directly. I told them that if they did form a Union, they would have to fight hard for it and they would have to suffer a great deal; both they and their families. They said the labourers were prepared both to fight and suffer. They could not be worse; wages were so low, and provisions were so dear, that nothing but downright starvation lay before them unless the farmers could be made to raise their wages. Asking was of no use; it was nothing but waste of breath; so they must join together and strike, and hold out till the employers gave in. When I saw that the men were in dead earnest, and had counted the cost and were determined to stand shoulder to shoulder till they could squeeze a living wage out of their employers, and that they were the spokesmen of others like-minded with themselves, I said I would address the meeting that evening at seven o'clock."

In the evening he was there, but as he rose to speak to them beneath the now historic chestnut tree, instead of a handful of people, as he anticipated, he found two thousand eager faces turned up to him.

"By this time the night had fallen pitch dark; but the men got bean poles and hung lanterns on them, and we could see

well enough. It was an extraordinary sight, and I shall never forget it, not to my dying day. I mounted an old pig-stool, and in the flickering light of the lanterns I saw the earnest upturned faces of these poor brothers of mine—faces gaunt with hunger and pinched with want—all looking towards me and ready to listen to the words that would fall from my lips. These white slaves of England stood there with the darkness all about them, like the children of Israel waiting for some one to lead them out of the land of Egypt. I determined that, if they made a mistake and took the wrong turning, it should not be my fault, so I stood on my pig-stool and spoke out straight and strong for Union."

Nor was the call from God less patent to the leader's mind. With all the confidence of one inspired, and in the language almost of his Roundhead ancestors, he writes,

"I know that it was the hand of the Lord of Hosts which led me that day; that the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth raised me up to do this particular thing; that in the counsel of His wisdom He singled me out, and set me on my feet in His sight, and breathed of the breath of His Spirit into me, and sent me forth as a messenger of the Lord God of Battles. So I girded up my loins and went forth."

At a second meeting, held a fortnight later, Mr. Arch struck the keynote of the agitation in a sober, salutary speech. He told them in the plainest terms that if they had recourse to violence he would not lead them. He would be "a peaceable Wat Tyler of the fields," but "no riotous leader of the riotous." They were going to stand up for their rights, and were determined to have them, but they were going to act as law-abiding citizens, not as red-handed revolutionaries. They were to form a Union, ask for higher wages, shorter hours, better houses, and to strike if these things were refused. The Union soon became a force in the land. In less than two months it counted 50,000 members. After many strikes and locks out it was able to record substantial victories. Wages for a time were raised. After ten years' agitation the agricultural labourer was entrusted with a vote. At the next election Mr. Arch's "donkey cart upset the Bentinck coach" in North-West

Norfolk, and the village crow-scarer took his seat in the Imperial Parliament.

Mr. Arch's experiences in the House of Commons have not been very remarkable, nor need we follow him in his minute, unedifying history of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in the days of its decline. In separate chapters such subjects as "The Game Laws," "Emigration," "The Land and the Labourers," "The Causes of Agricultural Depression," are treated from the labourers' point of view. On all these questions Mr. Arch is well worth hearing even when we are most conscious that there is another and a wider point of view. At times he speaks at random, and at times with needless but with not unnatural acerbity; but as a rule he writes with force and raciness and manly common sense. On the subject of emigration he is opposed to a policy which would drain England of the brain and sinew of her population. His views on the land question are not dissimilar to those which we have advocated now for more than forty years—cheap and easy transfer, the security of tenure for both farmer and farm labourer, variety in size of holdings, &c., &c.

Of the future of the rural labourer Mr. Arch speaks hopefully. In the evening of his life he cannot help contrasting the opportunities and facilities now enjoyed with the hardships and disadvantages of his early and his mid career.

"When I began, the agricultural labourer had nothing; now he has the political telephone of the vote, his Board Schools, his County Councils, his Parish Councils. I say that here are the means of betterment and progress ready to his hand if he will but use them with discretion and with manly independent judgment."

He recommends the young men to "get on to a bit of land and make the very best of it." But he is not in favour of State Aid, much less of Land Nationalisation. He is opposed to Socialism in all its forms. He is all for order, freedom, self-reliance, mutual help, and hopes much from the combination and co-operation of all classes and all nations which he prays for and foresees. In this, it hardly need

be added, his wide-minded and large-hearted editor agrees. Appealing in behalf of Hodge to men of influence in every class, she writes:

"It is their duty to help him to help himself and others, to respect himself and others. He must be helped to develop the material resources at his disposal. Adequate education, elementary and technical, is what the agricultural labourer now needs most of all. . . . Those who have local influence should see that an efficient technical school is within reach of these children, be they boys or girls. . . . Allotments, small holdings, dairies, poultry-yards, gardens, bee-keeping, pig-keeping, and so forth, as well as various local industries and crafts, should be fostered. . . . The houses of the labourers also, alas! too often need improvement. . . . Co-operation, on the basis of mutual good-will, is what is wanted, for in this way we may come to a better understanding of each other's needs, know one another better and help one another more. . . . But everything depends on individual effort; the man must help himself if he is to help others. Surely the career of Joseph Arch, who fought his way up from the plough-tail to a seat in Parliament, is an apt illustration of this truth; and he won his fight, be it remembered, without any of the advantages which surround the agricultural labourers nowadays, and which he was so largely instrumental in securing for them."

ART. VII.—FRANCE AS IT IS TO-DAY.

France. By JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. Two Volumes. Macmillan & Co. 1898.

MR. BODLEY has chosen a subject which is attracting unusual attention in these days of the Dreyfus scandal and the Zola trial. "Political France after a Century of Revolution" is the central theme of his volumes, and he has earned the right to rank as an authority by seven years of unceasing labour. He went to France in May, 1890, and for seven years did not spend seven weeks out of the country. It soon became clear that uninterrupted residence

in France was the one means of accomplishing his self-imposed task. In earlier days the French provinces had often attracted him, and he was familiar not only with the usual haunts of tourists but with less familiar ground, from the industrial region of the north-east to Poitiers and Angouleme in the west, where the phylloxera is more dreaded than the ravages of any human invaders. Cardinal Manning rightly compared Mr. Bodley's work to "writing the history of a kaleidoscope." He spared no pains to qualify himself, making a series of tours through the provinces in order to study the life of various classes, and gain an insight into the conditions under which the people live. The memory of the first journey still forms a series of pleasing pictures in his memory. Studies of the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race in our colonies and in the United States had not unfitted him

"to appreciate more restful adventures amid an older civilization. Even now," he says, "when I know the French provinces as few foreigners can know them, the familiar scenes of daily life which meet the casual view give me pleasurable sensations as keen as when I was a passing stranger. A bishop blesssing little children in the aisles of his cathedral, a group of white-coifed peasant women in the market place, or a red-legged regiment swinging through a village to the strains of a bugle-march, has now for me not merely the sentimental or picturesque interest of former days. I know, indeed, that the lives of many of these people are neither ideal nor idyllic, but I recognise now in these provincials, with all their failings, the true force of France which keeps her in the front rank of nations, in spite of the follies, governmental and otherwise, committed in her beautiful capital.'

He visited Monseigneur Perraud, the learned Academician at Autun, where he was living in the old palace of the Dukes of Burgundy, and enjoyed much helpful intercourse with Mr. Hamerton, then resident in the neighbourhood. Mr. Bodley next passed to Le Creuzot, where he was the guest of M. Schneider, the owner of the great iron-works and ordnance factory. Here he carefully studied the conditions of existence in a mining and industrial centre, inspecting the schools, the workmen's dwellings, and the

organisations for the encouragement of thrift. He next found himself an inmate of a rural château in the hill country of the upper Loire. His host was the Vicomte de Meaux, a cultivated historian who had served in two of Marshal MacMahon's cabinets, and was married to a daughter of Montalembert. From this quiet retreat he moved on to Lyons, where he met many of the chief men of that great provincial capital. Its civic hospitals, savings' banks, enterprises for housing and feeding the poor, and its religious establishments "make Lyons one of the most interesting places in Europe—the practical arts being perfected by a population which contains contending elements of mystical fervour and of revolutionary turbulence." Next year Mr. Bodley returned to Lyons, and also visited Marseilles, where he stayed long enough to gain some insight into the life of its composite population, and then crossed to Algeria to examine its peculiar system of administration. In 1892 Mr. Bodley spent three months in the Haute Savoie, enjoying much pleasant intercourse with his neighbour, M. Taine. Paris was still his head quarters, but he found that a foreigner living there could scarcely escape the influence of conflicting coteries.

"Paris still contains the material for the most attractive society in the world, but unhappily so disorganised, so split up into sections, and so modified by the pleasure-seeking cosmopolitan element, that socially the brilliant city is losing its character of a great metropolis. The fashionable class has no relations with the governing class, and the men of genius, wit and intellect have little dealings with either. Here and there the border-land between the various groups is indistinct, but generally speaking, fashion, politics and culture rarely meet on common ground. If a stranger express his regret at this state of things he is told that it is inevitable; the triflers reprobate the morals of politicians; the politicians disparage the mental faculties of the fashionable; the workers and thinkers who, in spite of the others, maintain the prestige of France, more quietly disdain both categories, which, between them, have destroyed the great glory of French society, the Salon. Moreover, in Paris one sees too many newspapers, and as publicists of the boulevards are wont to revile in rude language their fellow-countrymen who do not agree with them, the enjoyment of an unlicensed press is apt to distort a stranger's ideas of the people of the land."

Mr. Bodley found it expedient to escape from this distracting environment and turned his steps to Nice, which had special interest as a "Chef-lieu de Departement." He was well repaid, for while he was there M. Henry, the accomplished agent of the Republic, actually issued a proclamation forbidding "all public officials, from the clergy to the magistracy, to attend the New Year's reception of the mayor, as the elect of popular suffrage had affronted the representative of centralised authority."

Such wanderings were essential to Mr. Bodley's success in his self-imposed task. He entered into the life of the people, turning to profit his daily experience as a householder and taxpayer. Closer acquaintance with France showed that acute and contagious pessimism had laid hold on "every portion of the nation excepting that which goes resolutely about its daily work without troubling to think whether France is ill or well governed, or what is the precise nature of her prestige among the powers of Europe." The progress of civilization in France has not led to such congestion of population or such hopeless misery as we find among the poor of English cities, and pessimism is unnatural to the French temperament. Nor are the reverses of 1870 responsible for this spirit. Mr. Bodley attributes its steady growth to the parliamentary system which is irretrievably discredited in France. The temperament of the French people is not the sole cause of this failure. Parliamentary organisation is thwarted by centralisation, the defects of which it has aggravated instead of remedying. French political writers see that the general result is unsatisfactory, and feel that the only hope of improvement lies in a leader to whom the nation would delegate powers which are now entrusted to its parliamentary representatives. The defamatory clamour of newspapers in town and country, which assert that all Frenchmen in authority, whether politicians, diplomatists, judges, or ecclesiastics, are tainted with vice or even branded with crime, demoralises the nation. Even a sober-minded critic like M. Jules Roche, sums up the experience of twenty years of undiluted

Republican rule in the verdict: "We are the worst governed country in the world; or I will say, so as to hurt no one's feelings, one of the very worst." M. Jules Lemaitre, who is not a disillusioned politician, asserts that France is in full decadence, and is going to its doom with open eyes, for "never was a wretched nation more conscious of the ills which afflict it." "For twenty-seven years," he adds, "it has been a doubtful pleasure to be a Frenchman."

Mr. Bodley holds that these statements are a grievous exaggeration. The traveller often brings away an idea that things are better managed in France than elsewhere. If you did not look at a newspaper or talk about politics you might live in France for years without knowing that any one thought it badly governed. "No Frenchman ought to despair when he contemplates the orderliness, the diligence and the thrift of the majority of the nation." The upper classes of Parisian society, with their pleasure-seeking frivolity, have done much to extend the pessimism of modern France, but there are other phases of the national life which are truly admirable.

"Apart from the mass of the people, with their excellent qualities of stability and diligence, there are three great but dissimilar bodies in the nation, the virtues of which counterbalance the ill done by the conspicuous classes whose words and deeds fill the newspapers. These are the army, the university and the clergy. The virtues fostered by them, which are not practised by the political and fashionable classes, nor inculcated by the popular press, are a high sense of duty and a respect for authority, combined with unobtrusive hard work and vigorous abnegation. The entire manhood of the nation passes through the ranks of the army, and, grave as is the economical aspect of compulsory service, which takes from their training at a critical period the apprentices in every art, craft and science, since Europe has to be a military camp, the army of France may be regarded as a national institution of beneficial influence. The officers usually set an example of devotion to their duties, avoiding luxurious pretensions even in rare cases where they are rich, and a close study of garrison life has helped me to understand the general affection in which the French soldier is held, whatever his grade. The respect for the uniform, no doubt, is greatly due to the martial instinct of which few Frenchmen are destitute; but for the practical enjoyment of

that sentiment every French family pays in kind, and as, moreover, the peasant and the tradesman have a fervid horror of war, the universal popularity of the army speaks well for the general effect of military discipline on the nation."

The university is the technical term for those engaged in secondary and superior education under the Ministry of Public Instruction. These Professors are an admirable force of refined, learned and devoted men who pursue their work with conscientious care, rarely seeking commendation outside their academic circle. Mr. Bodley regards the Roman Catholic Church "objectively, though not from the point of view of M. Renan," but he endorses the brilliant critic's verdict, "I have never known any but good priests." The country clergy represent the best features of the French peasantry, from whom and from the minor bourgeoisie they are exclusively recruited. They are ill paid, laborious and virtuous.

"The parish priests of France, than whom there is not a more exemplary body of men in any land, illustrate the better qualities, refined by discipline, of those great categories of the people which constitute the real force of the nation."

In estimating the prospects of peace, Mr. Bodley maintains that there is not a single instance on the face of the globe of two nations having a cordial feeling for each other due to their intimate acquaintance. The real strength of the Franco-Russian alliance lies in the complete ignorance which the two contracting nations have of each other. A war between England and France would be the greatest misfortune, Mr. Bodley thinks, which could afflict the human race. For the first time since the Norman Conquest three generations have passed since our armies met in battle array. There never was an epoch in all those centuries in which old campaigners could not boast a scar received in battle between the two nations. All good and wise men will hope that such a happy state may long continue, and Mr. Bodley's work ought to contribute to that end by helping its readers to estimate the French character

and understand the workings of its constitution and parliamentary system.

Modern France is the work of Napoleon. The soldier of fortune stepped on the scene where philosophers, lawyers and politicians had failed, and saved the Revolution from dissolving the French nation in anarchy. "The whole centralised administration of France, which in its stability has survived every political crisis, was the creation of Napoleon and the keystone of his fabric." He organised the administrative system of the Departments and founded the University, which still remains the basis of public education.

"The Civil Code, the Penal Code, the Conseil d'Etat, the Judicial System, the Fiscal System, in fine, every institution which a law-abiding Frenchman respects, from the Legion of Honour to the Bank of France and the Comédie Française was either formed or reorganised by Napoleon."

This is the framework which still holds French society together.

Mr. Bodley asks how far France has been faithful to those principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" which formed the device of the First Republic. When an accused person is brought before a magistrate he finds that all the forces of the police have been at work to get up evidence against him, whilst the *juge d'instruction*

"in his interrogatories, uses the craft of a skilled expert to drag damaging admissions from the mouth of the man, bewildered with the isolation of captivity, sometimes browbeating him with threats, sometimes inventing the fiction that an accomplice has proved his guilt."

The prolonged tolerance of such a system in a nation where universal suffrage is supreme and the freedom of the press in denouncing institutions is unbridled license, shows that the idea of liberty has a peculiar and special signification in France. The Revolution, despite its boasts about the emancipation of the human race, has robbed France of the liberty enjoyed by many other countries. The *Journal des Débats* regards the sectarian intolerance of

the later Jacobins as a greater menace to liberty than the pretensions of the Church. In England tolerance is promoted by the multiformity of sects and creeds. M. Paul Bert and the anti-clerical party showed that "their conception of liberty did not include the enjoyment of freedom by their adversaries."

The following incident came under Mr. Bodley's own notice. A postmaster of a town in the Vendée was sent for by the Sous-préfect, who said :

"It is reported that you are a constant attendant at church on Sunday; more than that, you always take a book with you; and a man who follows the service with a book must not be surprised if he is put down as a clerical. Besides, there are your daughters; the eldest, who is being educated at the convent, sings in the chapel choir, and her sister makes the collection at the parish church. Now all these facts are noted against you here in your *dossier*, and I think it fair to warn you that you are getting the reputation of being a clerical."

The postmaster consulted his Curé, who told him that he ought not to sacrifice his chance of promotion for non-essentials.

"Leave your prayer-book at home," he advised, "if it offends the anti-clericals, tell the good sisters not to let your daughter sing in the convent choir, and I will find another of our young friends to take the place of your second girl in making the collection here on Sunday."

Instances of similar intolerance might be quoted from almost every department. At Dôle in the Jura the people hold a commemorative service every winter for those who fell in the Franco-German war. One year the mayor issued a placard inviting the people. "Our pious souvenirs," he said, "will go beyond the tomb to show our fellow townsmen that we do not forget them." The freemasons of the town council saw in this language a clerical manœuvre to make official "the deplorable superstition of a life beyond the tomb," and an expurgated placard was posted over the other. Nor must it be forgotten that it is the minority which thus tyrannizes over the majority. The President of

the Republic must never pronounce the name of God in any public utterance for fear of offending the free-thinkers; and when M. Félix Faure went to Reims to unveil a statue of Joan of Arc, though the only association of the maid with Reims was that she brought Charles VII. to be crowned in its cathedral, the President dare not set foot in it, and delayed his arrival in the city till the religious service was over. The Chief of the State

"makes an official tour in Brittany, where, Republican or Royalist, every man is an ardent Catholic, yet though spending a Sunday in the cathedral town of Quimper, and welcomed at the Préfecture by the Bishop, he may not gratify the pious population of Cornouailles by attending service in the shrine of St. Corentin for fear of the criticisms of the anti-clerical press in Paris."

The Tsar of Russia read the nation a timely lesson in religious decorum. His first public act in France was to proceed with pomp to a service in the Russian Church in Paris, and he also attended Notre Dame with the President of the Republic as his polite attendant.

The curious conception which the Revolutionary minority has of liberty and the inability of Parliament to check its pretensions, may contribute to induce the French nation to try a new experiment in government to inaugurate the new century.

France is equally disloyal to the Revolutionary principle of equality. The fiction is that titles borne by French subjects have no existence, yet any citizen may assume a title with perfect impunity. There is an almost unlimited multiplication of titles at the will of the wearers. Equality

"is a virtue which prevents a right-minded Republican from acknowledging a superior, while not diminishing his right to exact due deference from his inferiors. It is not only the public servants of the democracy who enjoy the obeisance of their subordinates. A Parisian tradesman who talks to his customers, whatever their rank, with gracious and familiar ease, would, on returning to his fireside, be scandalised if his domestics addressed him in the second person, as a servant would speak to his master in England, where equality is not an official doctrine."

Still more instructive is the chapter on "Fraternity and Patriotism." In home affection the French set us a fine example. The love of a mother is the life-long religion of a Frenchman. The tenderness of fathers and mothers for their children is almost excessive. Parents are not left chargeable on the parish; there is no technical equivalent for our "wife-beating," for Frenchmen are, as a rule, the most humane of husbands. Yet

"there is a nation to the members of which Frenchmen are more revengeful than to Germans, more irascible than to Italians, more unjust than to English. It is to the French that Frenchmen display animosity more savage, more incessant, and more inequitable than to people of any other race."

This ferocity dates back to the Revolution when "every lethal weapon was lawful to use, and all ties of racial kinship were to be ignored." The Commune was unquestionably an outrage on society, yet the retaliatory ferocity meted out to the offenders was "so ruthless, so exuberant, and so indiscriminate that Europeans in modern warfare only inflict the like on barbaric races."

French patriotism is territorial rather than racial. It is a passion for the soil of the mother country, not for its people. The expatriated Frenchman is consumed with a yearning to return to his own land. Mr. Bodley ascribes this in part

"to the amenity of France as a land to live in. There is indeed no portion of the earth's surface so favoured by nature. Its climates are genial, the products of its picturesque soil are as rich as they are varied, and its offspring are endowed not only with the instinct of making the best use of them, but with the means of enjoying them, which a wide dispersion of wealth permits."

The national thrift makes every Frenchman a capitalist. The fact that down to a low social level few brides are married without dowry shows how widely wealth is diffused among all classes. These advantages as a land of residence "restrain its colonizing forces, and tend to restrict the genius of the French race to a tract of European ground no larger than that which it filled two centuries ago." A small

supplement to the revenue of his modest heritage will enable a Frenchman to support a family. He is thus eager to swell the army of State functionaries. The excessive division of property makes peasant proprietors limit the number of children. France has profited little by the vast improvement in means of communication which have marked this century. Her steamers carry out few sea-going travellers save reluctant functionaries and more eager soldiers, the chief agents of French colonization. Our British patriotism, inspired by race rather than locality, makes us "rulers and rovers of the widening world," whilst the Frenchman away from France is an object of commiseration to all who know him.

The American spoils system has no counterpart in France. Fewer changes are caused by the election of a new President than by the choice of a new Ministry. The President presides over meetings of the Cabinet and national solemnities; ambassadors and diplomatic envoys are also accredited to him, yet were he to repair to a national function in a gilded coach or wearing a brilliant uniform, he would be accused of meditating a *coup d'état*. He is thus constrained to review the troops in a costume which Parisians associate with a humble wedding feast. The French public delight in nodding plumes and gold lace, and will make a hero of a secondary figure in a pageant if he thus catches their fancy. That was the origin of the Boulangist legend in 1886, "when the democracy of the capital turned its back on the notarial decorum of M. Grévy to hail the glittering uniform which a showy charger bore down the Champs Élysées at the head of the garrison of Paris."

M. Casimir-Périer resigned office because he could not endure the gross libels on his character in the public journals. The popular House showed no disposition to protect the Chief of the State from outrage. In M. Faure we have a member of a class, unfortunately rare in France, the successful and intelligent man of business who takes an active part in politics. His agreeable presence, and the

unaffected delight with which he fulfilled his duties, soon made him a popular hero, though he belonged to the bourgeoisie as his predecessor had done.

The question whether France is likely to see another Revolution is discussed by Mr. Bodley with much sagacity and ample knowledge. The vast majority of the French people is peaceable and industrious, so that the chief menace to the present regime is to be feared from the fitful discontent of the turbulent of Paris and of certain industrial centres. The best form of government is that which can deal most effectually with this section of the population. Here a Republic has one great advantage, for "its head is a removal accessory and not a vital organ." If only the French could rise above their "ever-smouldering desire for a hero to worship and a master to submit to" the Republic would be an ideal regime.

"This latent instinct is the weakness of the Republican system; for it will not only kill it one day, but, meanwhile, it so alarms its defenders that they use all the force of governmental machinery to crush men of parts who seem apt to win popular favour. It was thus that Gambetta found the way to the Presidency barred for him; yet, by cutting short his career, his enemies nearly secured for France a worse fate than his dictatorship; for the people's desire to be governed was not buried with him, and but for his death General Boulanger would never have inspired a legend. The narrow escape which the country then had makes the guardians of the Constitution take excessive precautions in overshadowing honourable achievements likely to win popularity; and the spectacle has been witnessed in Republican France of a General, returning home victorious after a colonial war, treated as though he were afflicted with an infectious disease certain to disseminate contagion, and therefore to be kept from the sight and touch of his fellow-countrymen."

The French Senate is stagnant. It seems like a debating society in which elderly men of education meet to recite "essays on abstract, legal or historical subjects, with an occasional reference to the topics of the hour." Its true utility lies in the fact that it can reject a measure sent from the Lower Chamber, and give that restless and fickle body

time for reflection, though the Senate does not resist if the deputies seem to be supported by the country.

The Chamber of Deputies is elected by universal suffrage, and Mr. Bodley thinks that England might learn many lessons from the simple method of registration adopted. The lists are revised gratuitously in each district by a commission of three persons, without the intervention of lawyers. The lists themselves are written, not printed. Certain electoral frauds are facilitated by this system, but half-a-dozen vigilant electors could easily expose these abuses. The political indifference of the French electorate is one of the chief dangers of the country. Bordeaux has considerable political prominence. It was the last stronghold of Boulangism, and this gave rare interest to the elections of 1893, yet Republicans, Monarchists, Socialists and Boulangists could not bring to the polls fifty-five per cent. of the electors. Three years later, when a retired ambassador contested a seat, the prosperous and industrious classes allowed a Socialist to snatch the prize by a little more than a quarter of the votes on a register of twenty thousand. It is right to add that the poll is fixed for Sunday, which, after their morning prayers, the Bordelais spend in unalloyed recreation. In a southern town, Mr. Bodley visited a wood-carver famed throughout the region for his skill. His wife kept his books as well as the house; his comely daughter had just married a young cultivator of the neighbourhood, who had completed his military service:

"This roomful of contented people contained the materials that promote the prosperity and real glory of France—industry, thrift, family sentiment, artistic instinct, cultivation of the soil, cheerful performance of patriotic duty, and collaboration of woman in the plan of life—all impregnated with an air of the old Latin civilization, oftener manifest in humble spheres than in the class which ought longest to have preserved it."

Mr. Bodley asked some question about the rumoured retirement of the local deputy, but his enquiry only elicited the phrase, "I do not take any part in politics, monsieur." Politics were, according to his judgment, no occupation for

steady and industrious people. The words have very often been repeated to Mr. Bodley in other places.

The result of such indifference is seen in the character of the men chosen as deputies. Only one out of the 582 elected in 1893 had a political reputation outside France. That was M. Léon Say, for whom no place was found in any of the twenty Cabinets which governed the country in the last fourteen years of his life. Deputies who had gained any reputation in previous Chambers were impartially rejected by the electors, to whatever groups they belonged. When the Chamber meets it elects its president, who receives a salary of £3,000, and is lodged in the Palais Bourbon. During an exciting debate he stands on his feet, addressing "interjectory remarks" to those who interrupt the orator. He requires

> "the muscular agility of a town-crier or of the conductor of an unruly orchestra as he sways his paper-knife and agitates his bell with vain supplications for silence. This constant altercation with the House does not tend to impassiveness."

The deputies are divided by lot into eleven bureaux, which make a preliminary examination of all projects of law. Each bureau chooses two members to the "Commission of Initiative," which decides whether a project is of sufficient importance to be taken into consideration by Parliament; and three members to the Budget Commission. This is the great Committee of the French Chamber. It receives the suggestions of the Minister of Finance and then sets to work with resounding parade to consider the whole subject. It divides itself into sections, such as Interior, War, Marine and Education, and is armed with inquisitorial powers over every department of the State. If a young deputy can persuade his bureau to nominate him he regards his fortune as already made. The ambitious and irresponsible deputy, who has prepared a report on some department for the Commission finds it easier to advise expenditure than retrenchment, and

> "millions of the national wealth are thus squandered by each Parliament on the creation of superfluous posts in a land already

overburdened with functionaries, and on public works designed only to advance the local popularity of their promoters. The majority offers no opposition, as deputies vote with reciprocal comity for one another's prodigalities. The Government makes little effort to restrain them, as Ministerial responsibility before the electorate for extravagance is unknown in a Parliament where the party system has no place, and where half a dozen Cabinets succeed one another between two general elections. The Senate, indeed, annually emits an academic groan over these practices, but rarely risks its calm by using its power of veto."

The nation, despite its wealth, industry and thrift, must seek relief from the ever-swelling burden laid on it by a fatal system of finance.

No minister is allowed to stay long in the great administrative posts. The Ministry of the Interior is regarded with special jealousy, and though M. Constans held the redoubtable portfolio for three years, his very strength and success aroused such distrust that his career was wrecked. The Constitution which France adopted in 1814 separates the Executive from the Legislature. There is no responsibility of ministers to Parliament. The Constitution permits ministers to be chosen in the Senate or in the Chamber, but there is no obligation to select them thus. In practice, only the three portfolios of war, marine and foreign affairs are ever given to those who are not senators or deputies, yet these are three of the most important posts. It is never certain that the improvised majority which upsets a Government will retain its unity of action for a week, and save in times of acute excitement, such as when the Tonkin question proved fatal to Jules Ferry, or when the Panama scandals roused a storm of indignation, the fate of a Ministry is regarded with complete indifference.

"It is not merely the frivolous cosmopolitan society of Paris, with its disdain for the Republic, nor cultured circles which have no taste for politics; it is the man in the street and the democracy generally that the fall of a Ministry fails to move, and the newsvendors in the kiosks declare that during a ministerial crisis the sale of journals does not perceptibly increase in the capital."

Radical ministers do not seem more likely to govern the country ill than Opportunists or Moderates. No Ministry lives

"long enough to leave a distinctive mark on legislation. With the exception of the re-organisation of the army, which was a national work inspiring patriotic unity, the only great policy ever carried out in the history of the Republic was the organisation of elementary education in the first days of the Grévy Presidency, which the change of Ministries did not interrupt; and though the secular and gratuitous principle imparted to it was an article of the Radical programme, it was supported by Republicans of every group, who thus retorted on the clericals for their efforts to overturn the Republic."

When a Ministry falls the Chief of the State consults the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber. Various politicians are sent for until one consents to form a new Cabinet. The first attempt is generally unsuccessful, but at last a Ministry is got together. Places are sometimes found in the new Cabinet for members both of the majority and the minority in the division which produced the crisis. The salary of a French minister is £2,400 a year. All the ministers have sumptuous lodgings allotted to them, but some wise men, like M. Méline, who prefers the security of his own home, never set foot in these gilded saloons save to hold an official reception. Every minister has Cabinet rank.

"Considering who the majority of the ministers are, and what has been their previous training, they acquit themselves with remarkable success; that is to say, they get through their brief terms of office without serious mishap."

Opponents of Louis Napoleon used to cry "only let us found a Republic, and then you will see the moral reform we shall effect in France." The Wilson scandal and the great Panama disclosures are a strange comment on that boast. The party system, which Mr. Bodley regards as the strongest purifying agent in parliamentary government under extended suffrage, is unknown to France, and the indifference of the electors as to the conduct of their deputies removes a strong motive to follow the path of integrity. Nor does

the Republic compare favourably with the Empire as a public guardian of decency.

"Tolerance of the unseemly has made sensible progress. Books of the class which in those days were read by stealth, are now exposed for sale in the windows of the boulevards, and the word *pornographic*, then only familiar to the curious in the literature of the eighteenth century, has come into common usage to connote a class of journal as unmistakably as others are designated Reactionary, or Radical, or Clerical. The illustrations of such papers, exposed for sale in the streets, are of a character which would have insured their seizure by the police under the Empire; and here the Third Republic may be charged with having sinned actively as well as passively, for there is at least one instance of its ministers having decorated with the Legion of Honour the editor of an organ of blackmail as well as of lubricity."

When M. Bérenger tried to restrain the exposure in the public streets of pictures and inscriptions from the view of which women and children ought to be protected, he brought upon himself a shower of contumely not experienced by any of the Panama culprits, nor did the Government give him any support.

The last section of Mr. Bodley's work deals with "the Group System." The study is peculiarly interesting, in view of the fact that France is "the land of political surprises, where lost causes come to life again." A party discredited to-day may to-morrow be active and acclaimed. The Royalists have had many opportunities of recovering lost ground, notably when Gambetta's death removed the only popular figure of the Republic and the Comte de Chambord's death cleared away the most unpopular claimant for the monarchy. The follies and mistakes of the Comte de Paris and his followers exterminated the monarchical sentiment, and to-day the prospects of the restoration of a Parliamentary Monarchy are remote. The growth of the Socialist vote is a symptom of discontent. Rural France is being depopulated. The census of 1896 showed an increase of 175,000 in five years, but this was more than due to Paris, which had 200,000 more inhabitants than in 1891. In nearly three-fourths of the departments

population is decreasing, and the rural areas send away their sons to the great cities or the country towns where they form an active element of discontent. If the Socialists were united and bent on the reorganisation of Society, social and fiscal changes would be imminent. They have, however, "no steady doctrinal aim, but are ready to join any movement which will lead to fighting in the street." The attitude of the Paris mob during the recent Zola trial shows that the Socialist democracy would welcome any military dictator who could bring about a Revolution. France wants a strong ruler. Gambetta seemed its appointed master, but he was snatched away by death; Boulanger lacked nerve for the *rôle* which the populace would have thrust upon him. "An emperor, as chief of a Republic, far from being an anomaly, might, under favouring circumstances, solve the unravelled problem of the century."

ART. VIII.—A UNIVERSITY CHURCH.

The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford. By T. G. JACKSON, R.A., Architect. With many Illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1897.

NO church in England, save Westminster Abbey, has more various interest than St. Mary's at Oxford. Those whose ideas of a University town are associated with such colleges and buildings as are now to be seen at Oxford, find some difficulty in imagining a University with no architectural magnificence, and perhaps with no buildings that could absolutely be called its own.

"The stately sweep of the High Street of Oxford, where college succeeds to college and church to church on a rising scale of splendour; the famous 'Backs' of the colleges at Cambridge; the glories of Merton, New College, Magdalen and Christ Church; of the unrivalled Chapel of King's and the

Great Court of Trinity, seem to our English notions the material necessary to the constitution of a great University, without which it would be a mere disembodied abstraction."

Foreign universities have few buildings and little architectural beauty. To travelled Englishmen they seem but ghosts of Universities—mere accidental collections of lecture-rooms, schools and museums with no visible bond of union. The ancient University of Bologna is lodged in what was once a private palace. Paris can boast of a collection of colleges or Lycées, but the best of them are dull and dingy, the rest mean and ugly. M. Viollet-le-Duc describes them as

"old buildings, cramped and airless, with no verdure round them, or else built with deplorable stinginess, melancholy inside and out, storey piled on storey, building close to building, displaying to the students nothing but bare and black walls, close and damp courts, sombre alleys, everywhere poverty with her sad expedients, seeming destined to make the students who have to pass eight or ten years of their youth there regret the paternal roof."

Paris down to the time of the Revolution had a group of buildings not unworthy of her renown as the greatest seat of learning north of the Alps, yet even then the buildings were convents rather than colleges; foundations attached to the great monasteries in order that their novices might receive the advantages of a University training.

St. Mary's church was, in the Middle Ages, the heart of Oxford University.

"Scarcely any event of importance occurred of which it was not the scene, scarcely any movement towards the development of University life which did not originate within its walls. Here the Parliament of the University met in Convocation, disputations were held and degrees conferred. Here hung the bell which summoned the clerks to arms, when the tocsin of St. Martin's at Carfax pealed forth to rally the citizens for a fray. Hither were the mayor and burgesses forced to come in penitential guise yearly on St. Scholastica's Day to attend a solemn mass and make offerings for the souls of the clerks who had been slain on the fatal 10th of February, 1354. Here, too, was

begun the formation of a public library, and from the few parchments which were here chained to desks or locked up in chests, has grown one of the greatest libraries of the world. Hither, too, as time went on, were transferred the chests containing the slender worldly goods of the University which had been first entrusted to the safer custody of the monks of Frideswyde's. During the Middle Ages, besides being the official Church of the University, St. Mary's was also its Senate House, its Divinity School, its Library, its Court-house and its Treasury. And, though the secular and educational functions to which it once ministered are now provided for elsewhere, St. Mary's is still, as the Church of the University, the scene of the one outward and ceremonial expression of her religious life."

A church dedicated to St. Mary stood here in Saxon times, for in the Domesday record we find that Count Albert had "a church and three houses, of which two are adjacent to the Church of St. Mary." In the reign of Henry II. it seems to have been a Deanery held by John of Oxford, afterwards Dean of Salisbury and Bishop of Norwich, who supported the king in his struggle with Becket. As the schools of Oxford grew into a University they established a close connection with St. Mary's. It would appear that the old Saxon church was rebuilt in the twelfth or thirteenth century. To it was added the tower, which is still standing, and, a little later, the old Congregation House and Adam de Brome's Chapel. No remains of the two first churches are now standing above ground, though a few scanty relics, found in various excavations, are preserved in the cellars of the new Town Hall. Mr. Jackson says that the proper architectural history of St. Mary's begins with the stately tower and spire which are the eye of Oxford. The lower part of the tower belongs to the Geometrical period of Decorated Gothic, and corresponds in its character with the "Angel Choir" at Lincoln, which was begun in 1255 and finished in 1280.

"But as the tower rises its severity becomes softened; the belfry windows are of a simple, interlacing form which belongs to the end of the style, and in the pinnacles and niches grouped round the base of the spire the points of the arches and the trefoils in the gablets begin to curve into delicate ogees, very slightly expressed indeed, but enough to mark the transition

from Geometrical to flowing Decorated. The same tentative deviation is observed, for perhaps the first time, in the Chapter House of Bishop de la Marche at Wells, about the year 1300, and the transition is completed in the work of Alan de Walsingham at Ely, from 1321 to 1349."

The rebuilding of the church in the twelfth or thirteenth century probably corresponds with the more regular constitution of the University. It had, as yet, no buildings or property of its own. Students lodged and were taught in private houses hired from the burghers, or at the convents, whilst public meetings and ceremonies were held in churches. The townsmen were often put on their good behaviour by a threat of the removal of the University. In 1208 the students actually dispersed to Reading, Paris and Cambridge until the townsfolk were brought to their knees four years later. In 1262 discontented Oxford and Cambridge men almost founded a University at Northampton ; and in 1334 the northern students at Oxford betook themselves to Stamford, and had to be brought back by the king.

"In their poverty the scholars possessed a weapon which they lost as soon as they began to encumber themselves with lands and buildings. The departure of three thousand residents meant ruin to the townsmen; and this, together with the interdict under which they were often laid at the same time, or excommunication by the Bishop of Lincoln, the official patron of the clerks, generally reduced the citizens to speedy submission, and brought about the further curtailment of their privileges and the advancement of those of the University."

Degrees were granted and Convocations held in the church of St. Mary's. An old statute gives a lively picture of the scene when the clerks flocked thither at the sound of the bell to discuss some important question. At the summons of the Senior Proctor a "black congregation," a meeting of Regent (or teaching) Masters in Arts, in their black robes, met in the Congregation House to hear the Articles that were proposed to the great congregation or Convocation of Regents and non-Regents. Next day this assembly met in the church. The Bedell shouted :

"*Ad loca, ad loca;* let non-Regents stay in the Choir; Theologians in the Congregation House ; the Canonists in St. Anne's

Chapel; the Physicists in St. Catherine's Chapel; the Civilians in St. Thomas's, and the Proctors with the Regents in the Chapel of the Glorious Virgin."

Each faculty thus discussed the question until the Bedell cried: "*Intretis, Magistri, intretis,*" and all trooped back to the choir. The vote was not taken till the fifth day. The Chancellor sat in the choir with the Theologians on either hand, next to them the Doctors of Medicine on his right and the Doctors of Civil Law on his left, then the other Doctors, and the Artists, except the Proctors, whose place was close to the Chancellor.

"The scrutineers stand in the midst and declare the resolution of the non-Regents, and the Senior Doctor of each faculty declares that of his brethren, the Chancellor himself speaking for the Theologians if he be present and Senior. Last of all the Senior Proctor speaks for the Faculty of Arts, and unless that faculty exercises its prerogative of vetoing the measure, the Chancellor declares it carried or rejected according to the majority of the faculties voting."

These scenes seem strangely out of keeping with the character of the place. But in the Middle Ages secular assemblies were held without scruple in religious buildings. The Chancellor of the University held his Court in St. Mary's, probably in the Lady Chapel after that was built in the fourteenth century. This Court had jurisdiction over the students, and dealt with all matters between a clerk and a townsman, save cases of manslaughter or maiming. The townsmen complained that the court unduly extended its powers to tailors, barbers, writers, parchment makers, and their families, so that it was found necessary to limit its scope to those who personally attended to the scholars or their clothing. The Chancellor could compel citizens to mend the pavement and clean the streets opposite their dwellings; he fixed the rents of houses let to students, saw that weights and measures were just, and fined those who sold bad meat, fish, or wine. The Mayor and Bailiffs were bound to arrest offenders, and when they ventured to move the pillory to a new place they were promptly excommuni-

cated by the Chancellor. They met him at St. Mary's, and agreed to move the pillory six feet nearer Bocardo, on which the excommunication was removed.

Strange scenes rise before us as we study the acts of the Chancellor's Court. Townsmen are punished for deeds of violence, a scolding woman is sent to prison, tavern keepers are "enjoined to sell a sufficiency of beer, and to carry it round the town for sale, and they swear on the Gospels that their beer shall be good and wholesome." The Vicar of St. Giles' is bound over to keep the peace, has to pay two shillings, and surrender his club. "The 'Organ-player' of All Souls is committed to prison for adultery, but his bitter tears procure his release three hours later!" The heads of houses appear in the throng of culprits, and seem to have been as hard to control as townsmen and gownsmen.

The church was in daily use as a school. During their first year the students had to dispute and respond in the porch or the parvise over it till they received a testamur to certify that they had answered the questions *in Parviso*, whence perhaps comes our "Smalls," or "Little go." A student celebrated his success by a feast, and several statutes were needed to control, or even to suppress these riotous rejoicings. A sumptuary limit was set.

"Sixteenpence if one Sophist 'ascended;' two shillings, two; two shillings and sixpence if three; three shillings and fourpence if four, not to be exceeded without special leave of Chancellor and Proctor, under pain of imprisonment."

The Sophist had to dispute in the porch at least once a term until he took his Bachelor's degree. At the end of his fourth year, the final disputation, the Determination, took place in one of the schools. It was preceded by a Latin sermon, preached before the Determiners at St. Mary's, on Ash Wednesday, and they had to attend service there every Saturday morning throughout Lent. The feasts given by the new Bachelors made Lent the chief season of frays between town and gown. After three more years' study, the Bachelor was ripe for his Inception as Master of Arts. This

took place in July, at the solemn ceremony called the Act. The final disputation for inceptors in Theology was held at St. Mary's. When the new Masters were to be received, mass was celebrated in the choir, then the Chancellor took his seat on a platform erected at the east end of the nave. The principal Master with whom the candidate had disputed, who was styled the Father, placed a book in the hands of the inceptor as an emblem of his license to read or lecture, invested him with the cap as an emblem of his magisterial authority, and gave him the kiss of peace. The inceptor, wearing the black robe of a Regent Master, read aloud a passage from Aristotle, or some other approved author, and propounded two questions to the Regent Master who had last incepted. "At the close of the disputation he determined the question with a single argument, and declared himself satisfied with the answers of his seniors." Then, kneeling down, he swore obedience to the statutes, bound himself to wear the habit of his degree, and never to recognise any University in England save Oxford and Cambridge, nor to lecture at Stamford. A doctor incepting in Theology was placed by the Father in the professorial chair, and there presented with a cap, a book, a gold ring, and a kiss.

The statutes ordered that a religious service should be held at St. Mary's at the beginning and end of each academical year. "Since all things are done well if their beginning be befitting and pleasing to God, and where Christ is not the foundation there cannot be a superstructure of any good work." On the first day of "general resumption" after the Feast of St. Michael, a mass was said

"'de Sancto Spiritu' that the Lord of His grace may order and direct their beginning, and peaceably guide and adorn their progress; and on the last day of the last term they shall celebrate a Mass 'de Trinitate,' and 'a thanksgiving.'"

A chantry priest was appointed in the reign of Edward I. who said prayers daily in St. Mary's, and the first University

librarian was also a chaplain who had to say three masses each quarter *de Sancto Spiritu* and *de requie* for benefactors, living or dead, to the Library or other University uses.

Every Bachelor of Divinity was required to preach a sermon in Latin before the University at St. Mary's. And every Sunday in term, except on certain festivals, there was to be a Latin sermon. Two collators prepared a list of preachers for the year and gave notice to each two months before his turn came. Dispensations could only be given in full Congregation and serious fines were exacted for failure. In the Bidding Prayer before his sermon the preacher had to mention the names of special benefactors to the University, such as Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort and the founders of chests and other endowments for academical purposes. Mr. A. J. C. Hare tells* how he set up till twelve one Saturday night preparing "the Bidding Prayer" for Stanley, who was to preach the Act Sermon next day at St. Mary's. It was

"immensely long," he says, "as the *whole* of the founders and benefactors have to be mentioned. Imagine my horror when, after the service, the Vice-Chancellor came up to Arthur and demanded to know why *he* had not been prayed for! I had actually omitted his name of all others. Arthur said it was all the fault of 'Silvanus.'"

Jowett also during his term as Vice-Chancellor left his mark on this part of the service by joining in the Lord's Prayer which followed the Bidding Prayer. Up to his time the preacher had said it alone, but it has now become the custom for the congregation to repeat it after the preacher.

On June 20th, 1444, Henry VI. writes to remonstrate with the University for their laxity in enforcing the statute as to preaching,

"for asmuch as We be enformed that the sermons in latin which ever before this tyme, save now of late daies, have be custumably kept in ye same Universite, be now gretly discon-

* *The Story of my Life*, vol. ii., p. 158.

tynued to the gret hurt and disworship of y^e^ same, We therefore, desiring right affecturusely the increse of vertu and cunning in oure said University, wol and commande you straitly, th^u^ ye with ripe and suffisant maturite advise a sure renede in th^u^ party, by y^e^ which such sermons may hereafter be continued and inviolably observed, wherein ye shal do unto Us right singulier pleisir."

A careful register was kept of University sermons. Doctors of Theology preaching on the first Sunday in Advent and on Septuagesima Sunday, as well as all Bachelors of Theology, were required, under a penalty of two shillings, to furnish the Proctors with a copy of their sermon within a week of its delivery. This was lodged and registered in the University Library for the use of students in Theology, and other graduates intending to preach. We live in an age of helps for preachers, but it is evident other generations also had their eyes open.

The Statute of 1311 ordered that all examinatory sermons were in future to be delivered "in the church of the Glorious Virgin, in which the preacher had received his degree of Master of Arts." This was a blow to the friars who wished to perform the exercises for degrees within their own walls. They were in ill odour at Oxford because they had used recommendations from royal and important personages to extort degrees in an irregular manner, and had brought the University into disrepute by their unscrupulous zeal in persuading youths to enter their convents. A Statute of 1358 complains that

"the common voice and experience shows that the nobles, gentry and people generally of this realm fear to send their sons, or relatives, or others who are dear to them, to be instructed at the University in tender youth when they were best fitted to learn, lest the brothers of the Mendicant Order should allure, and entice these children not yet sufficiently endowed with the spirit of discretion into their Order of Mendicants."

The Order of 1311 was regarded by the Dominicans as a direct affront. They maintained that their church was more fit to dispute in and more quiet to preach in than St. Mary's, and appealed to both king and pope to support them.

Oxford now witnessed a pretty quarrel. The Dominicans instructed their Proctor to present an appeal, but the Chancellor flung it contemptuously in the mud. Brother Lawrence forced his way in to a General Congregation at St. Mary's and began to read the appeal, but he and his witnesses were ignominiously thrust out of the church. He offered a copy of it at the door, but this was refused. The friar was not yet beaten. Gathering people from the streets as witnesses, he stepped to the south side of the church where he found an open window, and climbing on a tomb-stone near by read his appeal so that the Masters inside might hear it. Then he nailed a copy to the church door and went his way with a crowd of junior scholars, servitors, and manciples uttering anathemas at his heels. The University ultimately allowed incepting Bachelors to preach one sermon, not an examinatory one, in the Dominican church. With this doubtful benefit the friars had to be content.

St. Mary's was also the bank of the University, where funds or "chests" provided by charitable persons for the maintenance of poor students were kept. In the *Communis arca* was stored the silver gilt cross exacted from the Jews of Oxford as an atonement for an outrage they had committed. Other chests were added as funds increased. Regular guardians were appointed to keep the keys. In the fifteenth century there were at least twenty-four chests, those that held charity moneys being known by the names of their founders. These sums amounted to about two thousand marks, and when money was lent to help a student his pledge was deposited in this pawnbroker's chest.

In 1324 the rector of St. Mary's was Adam de Brome, almoner of Edward II. He obtained a royal license to found "the House of the Scholars of St. Mary at Oxford." Two years later, in order to strengthen this foundation, De Brome surrendered it to the king, who founded it in his own name, gave it a code of statutes, appointed De Brome Provost, and endowed the college with the rectory of St. Mary's. The college had to provide a vicar to conduct

the services, for St. Mary's has always been a parish church. In those days the colleges had no private chapels, but worshipped in their parish churches. The scholars of Oriel, which name soon supplanted that of St. Mary's College, were required to attend the church every Sunday and great festival. They sat in the choir robed in surplices, and took part in the procession if there was one. Early in the reign of Richard II., the college transferred to St. Mary's numerous relics belonging to St. Bartholomew's Chapel at Cowley, which had been given to Oriel in 1328 by Edward III. These included a rib of St. Andrew, the skin of St. Bartholomew, St. Edmund the Confessor's comb, and St. Stephen's bones. A great outcry was raised by what was called the theft of St. Bartholomew's skin, but the college wished to increase the fame of its church, and this was the quickest and surest way to gain that end.

St. Mary's and its churchyard were the scene of many a brawl in those olden times. During the great riot of 1297 the clerks and their friends came to the church with force of arms, beating and maltreating all whom they found there. Thomas Attechurch, of Iffley, who had business at the Saturday market, died under his assailants' hands; Thomas, son of Nicholas, the burgher, was dragged to the high altar, and there "beat, wounded, and evilly used." Brawls were so frequent that it became a serious matter to bring the Bishop of Lincoln to Oxford to effect the "reconciliation" of the polluted edifice. The Pope was therefore requested to permit the Abbots of Oseney and Rewley to perform this episcopal office. Like a sensible man he forbade meetings in the church or churchyard, under penalty of excommunication. The authorities were not prepared to accept this decision, and therefore the bull lay quietly unused at Oriel. It was first brought out nearly twenty years later, when William de Hawkesworth, Provost of Oriel, was elected Chancellor by the Northerners. The Southern men chose John Wylliot, and burst into St. Mary's, where Convocation was being held, called out their adherents, dispersed the University meetings, and interrupted the religious services.

Hawkesworth was attacked on his way to St. Mary's, but when he produced the Pope's bull his opponents were compelled to hold their meeting elsewhere. Party passion proved stronger than respect for the Papacy. In the following May, when the Chancellor was to be elected, Wylliot's party entered St. Mary's, and "there, with clamours and shoutings, cried him up to be their Chancellor, and on those that did oppose him they laid violent hands, beat, kicked about, and cudgelled, till some were sorely wounded, and others in a manner killed." Royal Commissioners were sent to enquire into the riot, but the aspect of the scholars was so resolute that it was not found expedient to remove Wylliot from his place.

Five years later, on February 10th, 1354, the most formidable fray that ever took place at Oxford, broke out between town and gown. Halls and inns were sacked, and forty scholars killed. The citizens were helped by two thousand rustics, who forced open the west gate, and poured into the town with a black flag, shouting, "Slay, slay! Havock, havock; smite fast; give good knocks!" Clerks were scalped in derision of their tonsure, men who were "mortally wounded, and walked holding their entrails in their hand," were haled to prison, the friars were beaten as they carried the Host through the town, and their crosses were dashed into the gutter. The mayor was put into prison for this day's work, and £250 had to be paid by him and the burgesses as compensation. The bishop laid the town under an interdict, which was not removed till three years later, when the mayor, bailiffs, and sixty substantial burgesses were required to attend mass at St. Mary's for the souls of the slain scholars. After the Gospel was read they had to offer a penny each on the high altar. Forty pence were given to poor scholars by the proctors, and the residue went to the curate of St. Mary's. The townsmen approached the church through a jeering mob of students, and the Chancellor found it necessary every year to forbid them to "offer violence or annoyance to any laic of the community of the town of Oxford, either while going to the mass, taking part in it, or

returning therefrom." It was not till 1825 that the last trace of this public humiliation was swept away.

Oxford sympathised warmly with Wyclif and the Lollards, and when Archbishop Arundel, who had set himself to root out heresy, came to hold a visitation in 1411, he found St. Mary's Church fortified and barred against him by a band of scholars armed with bows, swords and bucklers. He was bluntly told by the Chancellor that he could not be received as a visitor, and replied by laying the church under an interdict. The Proctor set his Grace's authority at defiance, for he had the doors opened, the bell rung, and mass celebrated as usual. After a long dispute the University submitted, and the Archbishop gave a handsome present of books to the library at St. Mary's.

The choir and the nave with its aisles were rebuilt during the reign of Henry VII., in the last stage of our native Gothic art. Since that time the only additions have been the vestry, the south porch, and the building occupying the site of St. Catherine's Chapel. This third church of St. Mary's witnessed some memorable scenes in the history of the English Reformation. In 1512 Thomas Manne, who had been convicted of Lollardy, recanted here and carried his faggot before the cross in the next public procession; in 1521 the clockmaker fixed a condemnation of Luther to the dial at St. Mary's; in 1536 a Cambridge Master of Arts was sent to St. Mary's to recant and bear his faggot, in order to awe the students among whom Lutheranism was spreading rapidly. In Edward the Sixth's reign crowds flocked to hear Peter Martyr preach the Reformed doctrines in St. Mary's. Then followed the historic scenes connected with the trial of Cranmer. He was brought before the Commissioners in St. Mary's, where tradition says that the poppy heads of the choir stalls were cut down to allow a stage to be erected for his trial. He stood staff in hand before his judges whilst the charges were read, then he was allowed a few days to prepare his defence. When he had been marched off to Bocardo, the city gaol, Ridley was brought in. Latimer followed. Seven times, he said, he had read

over the New Testament, and yet he "could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow bones, nor the sinews of the same." The disputations that followed were held in the schools, but on April 20th, 1554, the three bishops were again brought to St. Mary's to hear their doom. The reading of the sentence was suspended that a last appeal might be made to them, but they replied, "Read on, in the name of God, we are not minded to turn." The three condemned men made a noble protest against their sentence, then they were marched away from the church.

After long imprisonment and a new trial, Cranmer was brought to the stake on March 21st, 1556. His companions, Ridley and Latimer, had suffered martyrdom the previous October. The Archbishop had recanted, and expected that he would be made to bear his faggot to the stake and there informed that he was pardoned. But Queen Mary had instructed Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, to preach a sermon from which Cranmer should discover that recantation had not saved him. The morning was wild and stormy, so that this sermon was delivered in St. Mary's instead of at the stake. As Cranmer crossed the threshold of the church the choir began to sing the "Nunc dimittis." He was led to a stage erected beside a column opposite the pulpit. His mean and ragged gown was swept by his long, silvery beard, an old square cap covered his head. Turning to the column, he poured out his heart in prayer till Dr. Cole entered the pulpit. Then he learnt that he must die, but was comforted by assurances of Paradise and the memory of martyrs and confessors who had borne their agony with joy and patience. The tears flowed down Cranmer's face as he stood there lifting his hands to heaven or casting them in shame to the ground.

As the people were beginning to leave the church Dr. Cole made his historic mistake.

"Brethren, said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you. I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; that you would

openly express the true and undoubted confession of your faith."

Cranmer entreated the people to join him, and kneeling down recited the prayer he had prepared for that hour. Then he made his profession of faith, closing with that noble peccavi which still rings through the old church. The great thing that troubled his conscience more than any other thing that he ever said or did in his life was humbly confessed, and the hand that had offended in writing contrary to his heart was condemned to be first burned. Froude compares Cranmer's speech to Samson's final exploit which brought more terrible slaughter on his enemies than all the deeds of his life. Astonishment sealed the lips of the company, but at last cries of "Traitor, dissembler, liar" broke out. Cranmer was pulled down from the stage, but passed with a firm step and a smiling countenance to the doom which had now become an atonement as well as a martyrdom.

Ten years later, in 1566, the Virgin Queen came to Oxford and spent four hours listening during three successive afternoons to the Latin disputations arranged for her entertainment in the nave of St. Mary's Church. She herself made a Latin speech which concluded, amid thunders of applause, with the words "Votum meum hoc erit, ut me vivente sitis florentissimi, me mortua beatissimi." Her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, stood by her chair in St. Mary's and many smiling asides passed between them. A few yards away lay buried Amy Robsart, who had been found dead at Cumnor Hall six years before. Her funeral sermon had been preached by Dr. Babyngton, Dudley's chaplain, who spoke of the poor lady as "so pitifully murdered," and forfeited for ever the favour of his patron.

Laud, who was elected Chancellor of the University in 1630, set himself to introduce stricter discipline. He directed Convocation to enforce the use of Latin in the sermons and prayers at St. Mary's at the beginning of term. He had already ordered that the Sacrament should be celebrated in the chancel and not in the body of the church.

The practice of spreading linen cloths on the stall desks in the chancel, and bringing round the bread to the congregation as they kneel in their places, probably dates from this time. Laud's chaplain, Dr. Morgan Owen, erected in 1637 the porch at St. Mary's at a cost of £230. A statute of the Virgin, crowned and holding her child in her arms, was placed in a niche over the archway of this porch and gave great offence. It figured in the long string of accusations at Laud's impeachment. One passer by was reported to have knelt, and another to have prayed as they passed the statue. One of Lord Say's troopers in 1642 fired at this figure, the first shot breaking off the Virgin's head, and the second the head of her child.

Meanwhile the University had been erecting suitable buildings for itself. In 1639 Laud writes, "We have now left only the Friday Court at St. Marie's Church, and I hope that will not dwell there long." Archbishop Sheldon's theatre was opened in 1669, and to it the Act Exercises and the conferring of degrees were transferred, so that St. Mary's only kept the University sermons. On Sundays and festivals the University attended worship there in its corporate capacity. The University has always felt itself responsible for the repairs of the building, and this has proved no light charge on its purse.

St. Mary's has many close links to the Wesleys. Pacing one of its aisles on a summer evening in 1725, John Wesley won his first convert. He and this young gentleman had slipped quietly away from some company to see the funeral of a young lady whom they both knew. Wesley begged his friend to let him have the pleasure of making him a whole Christian, to which he knew that he was half persuaded already. He reminded his friend that he could not do him a greater kindness than this, as both of them "would be fully convinced when they came to follow that young woman." Eighteen months later this friend died of consumption. The good impression made that night in St. Mary's proved abiding. By-and-by Wesley stood in the famous pulpit. In 1733 he preached there that sermon on "The Circum-

cision of the Heart," of which he said in 1765 that it contained his mature thoughts concerning salvation from sin, and loving God with an undivided heart. Charles Wesley describes the sermon which John preached the next year as his brother's "Jacobite sermon," for which he was "much mauled, and threatened more." Wesley had, however, shown his manuscript to the Vice-Chancellor before he preached, so that he came off with flying colours. After his return from Georgia he appeared in the pulpit of St. Mary's in 1738 and 1741. His last sermon there was delivered on Friday, August 24th, 1744. The Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors, and most of the Heads of House were present; some of them stood up the whole time, and never took their eyes off the preacher. Strangers who had come to the races swelled the congregation. Charles Wesley and his friends, Mr. Piers and Mr. Meriton, walked with the preacher to St. Mary's, and formed part of his company. His sermon, a glowing description of scriptural Christianity, seems irresistibly attractive and affecting. Its appeal, "Ye venerable men, who are more especially called to form the tender minds of youth," must have made the Heads of Houses search their own conduct and motives, whilst the youth of the University were not forgotten by this master of assemblies. Wesley says, "I am now clear of the blood of those men, I have freely delivered my own soul." The Vice-Chancellor sent the beadle for Wesley's notes, which he sealed and forwarded immediately. The preacher admired the wise providence of God. "Perhaps few men of note would have given a sermon of mine the reading, if I had put it into their hands; but by this means it came to be read, probably more than once, by every man of eminence in the University."

The Poet of Methodism preached his greatest sermon on "Awake, thou that sleepest," before the University, on Sunday, April 4th, 1742. John Wesley desired a few friends in London to meet him in prayer about two, the time when the service was held at Oxford. He says, "We continued herein much longer than we at first designed, and believed

we had the petition we asked of God." The pulpit from which the Wesleys preached, a very plain, movable pulpit of wood, which usually stood in the centre of the nave, has long since disappeared.

It was St. Mary's pulpit that gave Newman his unique position in the earlier days of the Oxford movement. As vicar of that church his sermons were singularly practical and heart searching.

> "They showed," says Dean Church, "the strong reaction against slackness of fibre in the religious life; against the poverty, softness, restlessness, worldliness, the blunted and impaired sense of truth, which reigned with little check in the recognised fashions of professing Christianity; the want of depth both of thought and feeling; the strange blindness to the real sternness, nay, the austerity of the New Testament."

Those four o'clock sermons created a new atmosphere. Principal Shairp says, "Sunday after Sunday, year by year, they went on, each continuing and deepening the impression produced by the last." In Advent and after Easter, Newman gave lectures in Adam de Brome's Chapel, where the Heads of Houses still assemble before a University sermon, and the volumes which grew out of these lectures greatly influenced the course of thought in the Oxford movement. Keble's assize sermon on *National Apostasy*, which Newman always regarded as the beginning of the movement, was preached in the historic pulpit on July 14th, 1833. Isaac Williams was Newman's curate at St. Mary's, but the relation between them was "a curious mixture of the most affectionate attachment and intimacy with growing distrust and sense of divergence," and at last Williams resigned to escape the strain.

Charles Marriott, whose portrait has been so lovingly sketched by Dean Church and Dean Burgon, was sometime Vicar of St. Mary's, and Burgon himself, as interesting a character as Marriott, must be added to the long roll of noteworthy vicars and preachers connected with the great University church.

Mr. Jackson's aid fails us in tracing these later stages of

the history, for his volume only brings the record down to the early years of Charles the Second. Nor does he give us the list of vicars which we should have liked to have. But his main object was to deal with the architecture of St. Mary's, and every one who reads this part of his book will feel himself passing over the building under the guidance of one of our greatest living experts, whose anxieties about the fabric and desire to do justice to the church and to the University are manifest in every stage of his work. The sumptuous printing, binding and illustration of this volume make it a worthy memorial of one of the most famous churches in the world.

ART. IX.—THE CRISIS IN THE WEST INDIES.

Report of the West India Royal Commission, 1897.

THE statements in the Queen's Speech with regard to an International Conference on Sugar Bounties, and the introduction of legislation for "relieving the immediate necessities of West Indian sugar cultivators, and assisting them to tide over the present crisis," show that the Government has displayed a promptitude in acting on the Report of the West India Royal Commission very rarely exhibited in the treatment of such documents.

This promptitude is as welcome as it is unwonted, for the Report clearly shows the necessity for immediate action, if the West Indies are to be saved from the ruin that is impending over them. The sugar-cane industry is, in the opinion of the Commissioners, "threatened with such reduction in the immediate future as may not, in some of the Colonies, differ very greatly from extinction, and must seriously affect all of them, with the single exception of Grenada, which no longer produces sugar for export." The crisis must pro-

bably be reached in a very few years, and the sympathy expressed by the Commissioners with the planters and the large population of all ranks who are suffering, and seem destined to suffer still more severely from the decay of the depressed and failing industry on which they are dependent, will be largely shared by their fellow subjects throughout the empire.* The West Indies are some of the oldest and, in the early part of the present century, were perhaps the most prosperous and important of our colonies, and the beauty of their scenery, and their romantic and eventful history, serve to increase the interest and pity aroused by their present misfortunes. They are also associated with one of the most striking movements of the age, for the crusade against slavery, which has during the present reign extended to the whole world, began in 1834 with its suppression in the West Indies, and the vote by Parliament of twenty millions sterling as compensation to slave owners—a sacrifice made by the Mother Country in order to improve, not the material, but the moral welfare of the colonies, and to abolish a system which offended public morality at home. Lastly, they have a special claim on readers of this REVIEW, from the fact that Wesleyan Missionary enterprise may be said to have begun in Antigua, where Mr. Gilbert, Speaker of the House of Assembly, was led by the influence of Wesley to found a Methodist Society in 1758. It was the success of this society, which had then eleven hundred negro members, that encouraged Dr. Coke, the real father of Wesleyan Missions, after visiting the island in 1786, to initiate a movement which has resulted in the establishment of missions in Honduras, the Bahamas, Antigua, Jamaica, St. Kitts, St. Vincent, Barbados, Trinidad, British Guiana, Hayti, and San Domingo—a total of 74 stations, with 111 ministers, and 50,365 members. It may therefore be of interest briefly to review the history and economic condition of the West India Colonies; and to examine the prospects of the sugar industry, the consequences of its

* *Report*, pp. 7, 17, 69—71.

threatened failure, and the measures to be adopted in view of this only too probable contingency.

1. The West Indies owe their name, according to Adam Smith,* to the fact that Columbus, whose discovery of the New World originated in an attempt to find a western route to the eastern seas, believed, on first sighting them after crossing the Atlantic, that he had reached the farther coast of the Indies. For more than a century after their first discovery by him in 1429, the Spaniards retained undisputed possession of the whole ring of islands; but they settled only on the larger ones and those lying nearer to the continent, rarely visiting the smaller ones save to carry off their inhabitants as slaves, and at the present day the two British colonies which retain the strongest impress of their occupation are Jamaica at one end of the curve and Trinidad at the other. It was not till 1516 that English ships first visited West Indian waters under the explorers Cabot and Perte, who were followed by Hawkins as a slave trader in 1563, by Drake as a privateer in 1570, by Grenville and Oxenham, and last, but by no means least among the great names of the Elizabethan age, by Sir Walter Raleigh, the unsuccessful explorer of Guiana. The French found their way to the West Indies in 1528, and the Dutch are said to have planted themselves on the coast of Guiana in 1580. St. Kitts, probably the oldest of our colonies,† received its first English settlers in 1623, and in 1625 parties of English and French landed there on the same day for the purposes of formal colonization, and shortly afterwards divided the island between them. Two years later they entered into a treaty, one of the clauses of which provided that if hostilities should break out between England and France, the colonists of St. Kitts should not make war on

* *Wealth of Nations*, chap. vii.

† Newfoundland also claims to be the oldest colony, but, though formally annexed to Great Britain by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, it was not colonized till 1610 and 1623, and then with only the slightest success, and it was not finally assured to this country till the Peace of Utrecht in 1703.—*Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, by C. P. Lucas, B.A., vol. ii., p. 49.

each other, "except they have been expressly commanded to do so by their princes"; an arrangement, apparently, not unfrequently adopted in an age when war and peace between two nations in Europe did not necessarily mean war and peace in the West Indies, and treaties did not always extend to the West Indian possessions of the contracting powers.

From St. Kitts the English colonists spread to Nevis, Bermuda, Antigua and Montserrat, and the French to St. Lucia, Grenada and Dominica; while the Dutch settled in Tobago in 1632, and in Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, in 1648. English, French and Dutch colonization, however, unlike that of Spain, which was carried on directly under the Crown, began with grants to private proprietors or chartered companies, and the progress of their settlers, who were traders and agriculturists rather than gold seekers like the Spaniards, was for a long time greatly retarded by the courageous resistance of the Carib inhabitants, and to a still greater extent by the strength of the Spanish power. The ultimate downfall of that power was undoubtedly due mainly to the buccaneers—freebooters of all races—English, Welsh, Dutch and French—who were held together in staunch loyalty to each other by revenge for Spanish cruelty and resentment for Spanish monopoly. The savage excesses which so often marked their exploits belong to the darker records of West Indian history—the horrors of the slave trade; the herding of political offenders, such as Scots captured at Worcester, Monmouth's English followers taken at Sedgemoor, and Irish Roman Catholics with European convicts; and the kidnapping and transportation from Bristol or St. Malo of innocent people, mostly children, to supply the needs of the planters. Fighting was the business of their lives, and though they made the beginnings of a colony in the Virgin Islands and elsewhere, they were essentially lawless, and gradually disappeared as each island in turn received some form of settled government. Many and grave as were their faults, however, the buccaneers were the uncompromising champions of free trade in the New World, and by the end of the 17th century they had

succeeded in driving every Spanish trader out of the West Indian seas, and thus prepared the way for the gradual advance of British colonization.* Barbados, supposed to have been so called after the bearded figtrees found on the island by its first discoverers, was settled in 1625, and, unlike most of the neighbouring islands, has always remained in the possession of Great Britain. Jamaica, the first permanent annexation of an integral part of Spanish America by another European power, was conquered by Cromwell's troops in 1655; while Trinidad was taken by Abercrombie in 1797, and British Guiana in 1803. Most of the smaller colonies were settled, abandoned, and re-settled whenever war broke out in Europe, but when the peace of 1814 finally terminated nearly two centuries of conflict between the European powers, Great Britain had conquered almost all the West Indian Islands.†

Some of the most valuable of these conquests were afterwards restored to their owners, and the British West Indies now comprise eight colonies within the tropical area, which extend through 20 degrees of longitude and 15 degrees of latitude, from British Guiana in the south-east to Jamaica in the north-west, a journey from the latter to the former by mail route occupying eight days, inclusive of a two days' detention at Barbados. In two of these colonies—British Honduras and the Bahamas—sugar is not produced in any quantity, and they were therefore not visited by the Commissioners. Those which form the subject of the Report, each of which has a separate form of government, are—Jamaica: the Leeward Islands, comprising Dominica, Montserrat, Antigua, St. Kitts-Nevis, and the Virgin Islands; Barbados; the Windward Islands, comprising Grenada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia; Trinidad and Tobago; and British Guiana.‡

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* Long, in his *History of Jamaica*, book i., ch. xi., s. 6, says that it is to the buccaneers that we owe the possession of the island.

† *Cf.*, *The Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, by C. P. Lucas, B.A., vol. ii., sec. ii., p. 32, *et seq.*

‡ It will be seen from the map that the continuity of the curve, territorially considered, is broken by the position of Hispaniola, divided into

The total area of these six colonies is 116,451 square miles, only slightly less than that of the British Isles; their total population is 1,684,607, or about that of Wales. The total value of their annual trade is nearly £14,000,000 sterling; and, though the United States is the nearest, and therefore, in one sense, the most natural market for West Indian produce, more than 50 per cent. of it is with the Mother-country. All of them have hitherto been almost purely "sugar" colonies, and sugar, molasses and rum may still be regarded as practically the only agricultural products of British Guiana, St. Vincent, Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis. In Grenada, however, the sugar industry has entirely and in Dominica almost completely died out, its place being taken in the former island by cacao, and in the latter by cacao, limes, coffee and fruit; while in Trinidad it has in some years been equalled by cacao, and in Jamaica it is now largely overtopped by fruit, dye-woods, coffee and pimento. With the exception of gold, which has in recent years been exported in considerable quantities from British Guiana, and asphalt, obtained from the well-known Pitch Lake of Trinidad —an industry which, though insufficient to support any considerable portion of the population, is a valuable source of revenue to the Government—the West Indies may be described generally as devoid of mineral resources, nor is there any prospect of establishing manufactures on any considerable scale. They are, however, eminently suitable for the growth of special tropical products, such as sugar-cane, cocoa, coffee, logwood, nutmegs and various descriptions of fruit, of which the most important are bananas, oranges, cocoanuts and pineapples. They also produce in abundance all such articles of food as are yielded by cultivation in the tropics; and in the interior of Guiana and in some of the islands cattle and horses can be profitably reared, though stock rearing appears never likely to be of more than local importance. Their true wealth, as

the two Republics of Hayti and St. Domingo, and the Spanish colony of Porto Rico between Jamaica and the Virgin Islands.

Dr. Morris points out in his very able Subsidiary Report, thus lies in the products and resources of a rich and fertile soil, which, combined with an advantageous geographical position, a salubrious climate, abundant rains, varying altitudes and a large and increasing population, only require suitable development in order to place them in a much more advantageous position than they at present occupy. Out of more than twenty million acres of land suitable for bearing crops, only about a million and a half acres—a little over 2 per cent. of the total area and only a little over 7 per cent. of the estimated cultivable area—are now under cultivation.

"In British Guiana alone," to quote Dr. Morris, "there is an area of country equal to two Ceylons quite untouched. . . . To Trinidad we could add the wealth of the Straits Settlements, and with the resources of the unworked soils of Jamaica we might emulate the prosperity of at least four colonies the size of Mauritius."*

The neglect to utilise these natural advantages is mainly due to the dimensions attained by the production of sugar and rum, on which the prosperity of the West Indies in former times chiefly depended, and which dwarfed and almost extinguished every competing industry. Despite their deterioration in value, the products of the sugar-cane, the total value of which in 1896 was about three and a quarter millions sterling, still form by far the larger portion of the total exports of native produce; and the proportion between its exports of such products and its total exports may be taken practically to indicate the extent to which the welfare of each colony would suffer from a failure of the sugar industry. British Guiana, Barbados and all the Windward and Leeward Islands—except Grenada, Dominica and perhaps Montserrat—may be said to have no other exports; and while in some islands, such as Barbados, Antigua and St. Kitts, sugar production could not be completely replaced by any other industry, its replacement even where it is pos-

* "Planting Enterprise in the West Indies," Colonial Papers, 1883, p. 147.

sible—as in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and to some extent in Montserrat and Nevis—would occupy a considerable period and entail much displacement of labour and consequent suffering.*

2. As has been already indicated, this staple industry of the West Indies has during the last fifteen years been subjected to an increasingly severe depression which has now rendered sugar-cane cultivation, for the time being, altogether unprofitable. This depression cannot be attributed to extravagance in management, imperfections of manufacture, or inadequate supervision arising from absentee ownership; and, although in recent years cane disease has shown itself in some of the islands, the West Indies appears to be, practically, as well suited as ever for the production of sugar. It is, for instance, stated by Dr. Morris, that "the skilful cultivation of the soil, and the high character of the processes of extraction and manufacture, place British Guiana amongst the most progressive of the cane-sugar producing countries of the world;" and that, though the soil of Barbados, which is cultivated in the most careful and systematic manner, has borne regular crops of canes for a longer period than probably any other part of the world, "its capacity for yielding sugar-cane is still as good as that of any other country."† The unprofitableness of the industry is solely due to the great fall which has taken place during the past fifteen years in the prices of sugar, molasses, and rum. Between 1882 and 1896 the price per cwt. of refined sugar has fallen from 29.14*s.* for lumps or loaves, and 28.03*s.* for other sorts, to 14.75*s.* and 13.33*s.* respectively, and that of unrefined sugar from 21.15*s.* for beetroot, and 21.09*s.* for cane and other sorts, to 10.34*s.* and 10.85*s.* respectively. In addition to this, the value of Demerara rum has declined from 2*s.* 4¾*d.* per gallon in 1891 to 1*s.* 0½*d.* per gallon in 1896, and that of molasses, which in Barbados a few years ago was as high as 40 cents. a gallon, and in

* *Report*, pp. 2, 3, 4, 69, 73; Appendix A., 81-2.
† *Report*, Appendix A., pp. 84, 96.

Antigua not much lower, has now fallen to 6 cents. a gallon or even less.*

This fall is mainly attributable to the great increase in the production of sugar, which rose from 3,799,284 in 1882 to 7,474,000 tons in 1896, and which, owing to the discovery of improved processes and the invention of new machinery, has been accompanied by a progressive economy in the cost of manufacture. The most important feature in this increase, as far as the West Indies are concerned, lies, however, in the fact that is has been chiefly in beet sugar, which is alleged to be the dominant factor in regulating the price at the present day, and which has been stimulated by the grant of bounties, varying in amount from £4 10*s.* a ton in France, to £1 5*s.* and £1 15*s.* on new and refined sugar respectively in Germany. Between 1882 and 1886 the total production of European bounty-fed sugar increased from 1,783,200 tons to 2,137,351 tons, while in 1895-96 it is estimated to have been more than 60 per cent. of the total production of sugar of all kinds dealt with in the great markets of the world; and the immediate effect of this increase has, on each occasion, been a heavy fall in the price of sugar, and great depression in the West Indies. In August, 1896, Germany and Austria doubled the rates of bounty, and in May, 1897, France increased them by an amount varying from £1 12*s.* to £1 18*s.* per ton, thus producing a slow but continuous fall in price, which must have discounted much even of the large addition to the French bounty. The West Indian sugar industry therefore suffers, as is pointed out by Sir Henry Norman, not only from the actual bounty now given, but also from the absolute uncertainty as to its future amount, which has helped to shake its credit; since even if British cane sugar could be produced at a smaller net outlay than bounty-aided beet sugar, the bounty would then probably be soon increased to an extent which would completely neutralise the benefit for which the West Indian producers

* *Report*, pp. 4, 5, 69. The profits on rum are also seriously affected by a surtax on rum, which the Commissioners consider to be unsound in principle and of which they suggest the abolition, pp. 15, 16.

had laboured.* In the United States, where the sugar industry is protected by a high import duty, and promises in time, in the opinion of some authorities, to supply all the home consumption, some of the State Legislatures offer a bounty on the production of beet sugar, while the tariff law has added about 50 *per cent.* to the tax, previously 40 per cent. *ad valorem*, on West Indian sugar. New fields for the production of sugar are also being opened up in various parts of the world—in Egypt, in Russia,† in Argentine (where a Bill has recently been passed to give direct bounties on the export of sugar), and in Queensland, where the Government encourages the investment of capital in the sugar industry by guaranteeing the interest and principal on debentures not exceeding £500,000, issued for the construction of factories. Though the fall in prices arising from this competition and increased production tends to stimulate consumption, and though the demand for sugar is increased by the growth of population, the development of this demand is restricted by the high taxation levied on sugar in many foreign countries, amounting in Germany to £10 and in France to £24 per ton, with surtaxes on foreign sugar, and there appears to be no prospect, under existing conditions, of any considerable or lasting rise in price. "The causes of the depression," to quote the Commissioners, "may be described as permanent, inasmuch as they are largely due to the policy of foreign countries, and there is no indication that that policy is likely to be abandoned in the immediate future," and the consequences of the failure of the sugar industry, which must result from the continuance of this depression, can hardly fail to be of the most serious character.‡

Such a failure would immediately be followed by a great want of employment for the labouring classes, and a still

* *Report*, p. 73. The Commissioners received unanimous evidence that the sugar industry in the West Indies has no credit, p. 9.

† See the *Imperial Institute Journal* for March, p. 75, for some interesting particulars as to the growth of the sugar industry in Russia, extracted from the Foreign Office Report on the Agriculture of Odessa.

‡ *Report*, pp. 5—7, 9, 69.

further reduction in the already reduced rates of wages. Owing to the decline in the public revenue, the Governments of some of the colonies would be unable to meet the absolutely necessary expenditure, including interest on debt, whilst additional outlay would have to be incurred in providing for the population by emigration or otherwise, and the standard of living would be reduced to a lamentable extent in all colonies largely dependent on sugar. A striking illustration of the condition to which such colonies may be reduced by a colapse of the sugar industry, is already afforded by Tobago, where it has been decaying for many years, and now appears to be on the verge of extinction. In spite of its fertile soil, its healthy climate, and the industry of the labouring class, a considerable proportion of the population is driven, permanently or temporarily, to other islands in search of work, and the revenue is barely sufficient to meet the necessary expenditure on the cheapest and simplest form of government. The condition of the roads, to the 120 miles of which it has been absolutely impossible to devote more than £300 per annum, is described by the Commissioner of the Island, in his Report for 1894, as "deplorable," and he had been obliged to ask the Secretary of State to sanction a loan of £10,000, in order to re-make some of them, to open three or four tracks through Crown Lands, and to effect a few repairs to public buildings. Though none of the colonies, except Grenada, where the production of sugar has entirely ceased, would escape the effects of the threatened crisis, Jamaica and Trinidad have other resources; while Dominica, the sugar exports of which now only form 15 per cent of the whole, has already made considerable progress in the development of other industries. Those which are likely to suffer most are British Guiana, where the problem to be dealt with might prove to be one of exceptional difficulty, Barbados, St. Vincent, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, and probably St. Lucia. Lastly, in British Guiana more than a third, and in Trinidad fully two fifths of the inhabitants are either natives of India, imported at great cost to enable sugar cultivation

to be carried on, or the descendants of such immigrants, and the necessity for keeping faith with, and repatriating those of them who had and wished to take advantage of the right to a free passage—a usual condition in engaging Coolie immigrants—might involve a large expenditure from the public funds, since it would be impossible to levy the cost upon the sugar estates.*

3. The remedies suggested by the Commissioners for averting the dangers threatening the West Indies are :—the restoration of the sugar industry to a condition in which it can be profitably carried on ; the substitution for it, where necessary. of other agricultural industries ; and the adoption of subsidiary measures calculated to prevent or alleviate the impending distress, such as the retrenchment of public expenditure, and the promotion of emigration, and of all schemes designed to maintain the well-being of the population.

Of these remedies, the first is the only one which, in the opinion of the Commissioners, could completely effect its object ; but it is also, unfortunately, the one which is by far the most difficult of application.

The West Indian sugar producers, who maintain that their produce could successfully compete with beet sugar if the competition were carried on on equal terms, urge that the bounty system should be abandoned by foreign Governments, and that, if that relief cannot be secured, countervailing duties should be imposed on beet sugar imported into the United Kingdom. Many of them contend that such a step would lead to the abandonment of the bounty system—a view supported by the Chairman of the Commission, Sir Henry Norman, who is of opinion that no measure brought under the notice of the Commissioners "seems to afford such a good prospect of helping the sugar industry in the West Indies as the imposition of countervailing duties." The majority of the Commissioners, however, though they think that the loss to the British

* *Report*, pp. 7, 8, 26, 34, 39, 50, 108.

consumer, if it were the only matter to be considered, might reasonably be accepted, in view of removing the disadvantages under which the West Indian producers at present labour, consider that it would be impossible to estimate the rise in price resulting from the imposition of duties, or to rely upon its being of such a permanent character as to save the West Indian sugar industry. They point out that the question is complicated by the facts, that bounties, varying very much in amount, and subject to alterations from time to time, are granted on different systems in different countries, and that certain countries having standards of value—silver rupee or inconvertible paper—which have depreciated relatively to the gold standard of the West Indies, can maintain the production of sugar when prices are falling longer than those having a gold standard. For these reasons, and having regard to the inconvenience to trade, the inexpediency of raising questions connected with the interpretation of the most favoured nation clause which might, perhaps, weaken its force, and the danger of abandoning what has hitherto been regarded as the settled policy of this country, they were therefore unable to recommend the imposition of countervailing duties.*

It was also suggested to the Commissioners that bounties should be granted on sugar produced in the West Indies. The adoption of this proposal would, however, at once raise difficulties in connection with sugar produced in India, Queensland, Mauritius and other British possessions, while, as the Government of that country has already imposed countervailing duties on bounty-fed sugar, it would also entail the levy of such duties on West Indian sugar in the United States, which is at present its chief and best market. Past experience in other countries has, moreover, shown that bounties when once given are not easily withdrawn, and that, as they have a tendency to defeat the object with which they were granted, there is a continual pressure to have them increased, and it is therefore not surprising to

* *Report*, pp. 8, 10—13, 72—74.

find that the Commissioners were obliged to reject this suggestion.*

A reduction, were it possible, in the cost of production would at first sight seem a far more promising mode of restoring the sugar industry to a condition of prosperity, but there appears unfortunately to be little or no scope for improvement in this direction. Improved processes of manufacture and the invention of new machinery have already largely reduced the cost of production, but even the best equipped and most favourably situated estates suffer from depression, and in the present precarious condition of the industry the prospect of profit is not such as to induce capitalists generally to supply the funds for introducing new and costly machinery in those parts of the West Indies where the old processes are still followed. Wages and salaries have already been reduced and no further economy can be expected in this respect. Experiments which promise in time to be successful have been conducted in some colonies in the hope of obtaining improved varieties of sugar-cane, and in British Guiana,† where, however, experiments are hampered by lack of funds, it has for the first time been shown that the sugar contents of the cane can be increased by the same methods as have produced the greater sugar contents of the beet. They have not yet, however, been carried out on a sufficiently large scale, and, assuming their success, such experiments can in no case produce results in sufficient time to materially alleviate the distressed condition of the industry. It appears to be now generally recognised that the production of sugar is most economically carried on in large central factories, the management of the cultivation of the canes being conducted separately from that of the manufacture of sugar, and the Commissioners recommend that the Governments of any colonies which are disposed to introduce it and where sugar cultivation is likely to continue, should encourage it by providing means of communication between

* *Report*, pp. 13, 14. † *Report*, Appendix A., p. 86.

the cane-growing tracts and the central factories. The factory system, however, has not proved universally successful,* and its introduction in the West Indies would be, at best, an experiment requiring ample time for development. The best, if not indeed the only, effective remedy for West Indian sugar depression would be the abandonment of the bounty system by continental nations, which would probably enable a large portion of the sugar-cane cultivation to be carried on successfully, and would also reduce the rate at which it would diminish. Though the days of very large profits from the sugar-cane industry have now apparently passed away, there are numerous places in the West Indies where large and well-equipped factories have already been, and others where such factories could be, established, while some of the islands, as, for example, Barbados, possess special advantages for carrying on the sugar-cane industry. To all such places the abolition of the bounty system—though it would probably fail to restore the prosperity of colonies not specially adapted for the production of sugar—would prove an incalculable benefit, and the Commissioners recommend that Her Majesty's Government should aim at this object, which is "worth some sacrifice," provided that it be really effective and would not involve evils disproportionate to those which it is desired to remove.†

It is earnestly to be hoped that, by means of a conference of the European powers which they are endeavouring to arrange, Her Majesty's Government may be enabled ultimately to carry out this recommendation of the Commissioners. This is, however, a hope on the realisation of which it would obviously be extremely unwise to rely, and the application of the other remedies for West Indian distress recommended by the Commissioners, while it could hardly fail to prove beneficial even if sugar bounties are abolished, would appear to be imperatively demanded if they are not.

* It has, for instance, been attended with unsatisfactory results in Santa Cruz, Martinique and Guadaloupe.

† *Report*, pp. 8, 9, 14—17, 69.

The danger of depending, as is the case in the West Indies, on a single industry makes it clearly necessary that "other and profitable industries" should be substituted for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, which, where it can be profitably carried on, ought, as recommended by Dr. Morris, to be confined to the best lands only. Nearly all the West Indian colonies, the rich natural resources of which have, as already stated, only been utilised to a small extent at present, appear to be admirably adapted to the introduction of such industries. British Guiana, the Crown Lands of which appear to be exceptionally rich and fertile, is eminently suitable for the growth of coffee, cacao, spices, rice, and fruit, and there are extensive savannahs in the interior where cattle can be raised. In Barbados the fisheries appear to be well worthy of further development, and wattles, a species of acacia, the bark of which yields a considerable percentage of tanin might be grown on the waste lands in the interior of the island, and the existing cultivation of grasses for fodder purposes might be considerably extended. The soil and climate of Trinidad and Tobago render them suitable for the production of most tropical staples; while St. Lucia, not one fourth of the area of which is beneficially occupied at present, is well adapted for the growth of cacao, coffee and ginger, and in some districts cattle-raising might be carried on with success. Dominica has 80,000 acres of Crown Land—an extent approaching the half of its total area—which are well suited for cultivation, and largely covered with forests containing trees of great value for building purposes, but which have never been developed; while in Montserrat, where the action of the Montserrat Lime Juice Company has had a very beneficial effect in starting new industries, the absence of suitable facilities for shipping the produce is the only obstacle to starting a trade in fruit and vegetables. In Antigua the conditions are extremely favourable to the cultivation of pine apples, which is practically the only minor industry of the island, but the development of which is hindered by the want of knowledge on the part of the

cultivators, and of suitable communication with the port of shipment. St. Kitts-Nevis, where there is no industry but sugar, could produce coffee, limes, arrowroot, tobacco, fibres, and nearly all the West Indian fruits. Jamaica possesses a large extent of land suited for the cultivation of nearly all tropical and sub-tropical plants; and the circumstances of St. Vincent so closely resemble those of Jamaica that it is probable that most of the products found profitable in the latter would be equally successful in the former. The fruit trade between Jamaica and New York has already attained considerable dimensions, and the Commissioners are of opinion that a similar trade might be established in some of the other colonies, the ultimate extension of which, if it were possible, to London, where it would be free from the operation of hostile tariffs, would be of very great value to the whole West Indies.*

The botanical establishments in the larger colonies, such as Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, have already rendered considerable assistance in improving agricultural industries, and that of Jamaica, where, for more than a century, valuable economic plants have been systematically introduced and distributed through every part of the island, has during the past twenty years received over £100,000 from the Government. Small establishments, called botanic stations, have, on the advice of the Director of Kew Gardens, been recently established in the Windward and Leeward Islands and Barbados with distinctly promising results. The Commissioners recommend that, in order to assist the cultivation of new products, a special public Department of Economic Botany should be established in the West Indies, under which the various existing botanic stations, which should be reorganised on the lines found so successful in Jamaica, should be placed. To carry out this scheme, a memorandum as to the details of which, by Dr. Morris, is contained in Appendix A of the Report, will however require funds beyond the present resources of the smaller islands, and the Commis-

* *Report*, pp. 25—28, *passim*; Appendix A., pp. 81—144, *passim*.

sioners therefore recommend that the cost should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer for ten years. They also recommend that an annual grant of £1,000 should be given for experimental cultivation of sugar-cane, and an equal sum to meet the cost of rewards to successful cultivators, and to assist elementary schools in teaching agriculture, and that where higher schools exist £2,000 should be granted yearly for providing instruction in scientific agriculture. In order to assist trade in local products and to enable labourers to move freely to the best markets for labour, they recommend that a cheap and frequent steam service should be established between certain of the islands, and that the steamship companies thus employed, as well as those carrying fruit from St. Vincent and Dominica to New York, should be subsidised by the Home Government to the amount of £10,000 annually. The total annual cost of these recommendations would amount to £27,000.*

If the sugar estates are thrown out of cultivation, the mass of the population employed upon them as labourers will be forced to emigrate or to support themselves by cultivating small plots of ground on their own account. That population is mainly of negro blood, but there is also in some colonies a strong body of East Indian immigrants and their descendants, and both the negro and the coolie, by whom the cultivation of the sugar-cane has been almost entirely carried on, like to own small patches of land and take a pride in their position as landowners. The existence of a class of small proprietors is a source of both economic and political strength, and the Commissioners are of opinion that no reform affords so good a prospect for the future permanent welfare of the West Indies as the settlement of the labourers on the land as peasant-proprietors, and that it is in many places the only means by which the population can be supported in the future. They therefore recommend that the Governments of the different colonies should endeavour to promote this object, and that grants should, where required,

* *Report*, pp. 18—21 67.

be made, conditionally, by the Imperial Exchequer, to assist them in doing so, as well as for promoting emigration dealing with East Indian immigrants, making roads, relieving distress, and enabling colonies to avoid bankruptcy.*

The Commissioners also recommend the grant of a loan of £120,000 for the establishment of central factories in Barbados; of a sum of £60,000 for clearing off the floating debts, representing accumulated deficits in St. Lucia, Montserrat, Antigua, and St. Kitts; and, as their revenue does not equal their expenditure, of an annual subsidy for five years or more to these islands and to Dominica. Special grants amounting to £30,000 are also recommended for enabling the Government of St. Vincent to take possession of some of the existing sugar estates and to allot them to negro cultivators, and that of Dominica to open up communication with some of the most fertile and accessible lands which are at present uncultivated. The total amount which the Imperial Exchequer is asked to provide is thus about £580,000, and a further expenditure, at present unestimated but which might be very great, may have to be incurred in relieving distress, especially in British Guiana and Barbados, where the population is comparatively large, in promoting emigration, and in supporting and expatriating East Indian immigrants.†

These are large demands, but, apart from the nature of the relations existing between a mother-country and such dependencies as the West Indies, there are special circumstances which impose a strong obligation on the Home Government to meet them.

The black population of these colonies was originally placed in them by force as slaves, and the race was kept up and increased under artificial conditions maintained by the British Government. The condition of the people at the

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* *Report*, pp. 17, 18, 67, 68.

† *Report*, pp. 67, 68, 70. The various grants summarised are—£27,000 for ten years, £270,000; £20,000 for five years, £100,000; £90,000 in immediate grants, £90,000; £120,000 loan to Barbados, £120,000—total, £580,000.—*Report*, p. 70.

time of emancipation was due to British action or to that of European nations, for the results of whose policy Great Britain has made herself responsible, and we could not by emancipating them divest ourselves of responsibility for their future. They must for generations remain dependent on British influence for good government and the maintenance of such progress as they have hitherto made. We, therefore, cannot abandon them, nor will the fact that the profits of trade and cultivation cease to attract white men to or to retain them in the colonies, diminish the force of our obligations to them. In addition to this, the failure of the sugar industry which they are beginning to feel, is due to the protective policy and the bounty system of foreign countries, which, by cheapening sugar outside those countries, has largely benefitted the British consumer. The fact, therefore, that the British people have not only gained, but continue to gain, probably more than two millions sterling yearly from this result of the bounty system, is a strong reason why they should be generous in discharging the obligations of the Mother-country to those dependencies which suffer from it. The Commissioners justly observe that it is thus impossible for Her Majesty's Government to take a narrow view of the question, and the indications as to legislation regarding it given in the Queen's Speech, referred to at the beginning of this article, afford good ground for hoping that such legislation will be found to embody their recommendations.*

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* While this article has been passing through the press, the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Chamberlain, has, on March 14th last, agreed to a preliminary vote of £120,000 "to defray the charge for sundry Colonial services, including certain grants in aid."

ART. X.—AN EYE WITNESS ON KOREA.

Korea and her Neighbours. A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country. By Mrs. BISHOP (ISABELLA L. BIRD). Two Volumes. John Murray. 1898.

NO product of Mrs. Bishop's facile and graceful pen can have appeared more opportunely than the work now before us; none can have supplied information more interesting with regard to a little-known country, or can have been more honourable to the writer's unusual powers of observation, and to the calm good sense that reinforces them. It is possible for this lady to unveil scenes of destructive ill-government and oppression, and even to recount the history of a peculiarly detestable State crime, without being betrayed by any womanly passion of wrath or pity into unfairness and exaggeration, or into ignoring the fatal determining causes of a deplorable piece of iniquity. This rarely intrepid woman explorer has no sympathy with the "shrieking sisterhood," no inclination to emulate its excesses of speech and opinion; she sees so clearly, she states so calmly what she sees, she draws such tranquilly just inferences from her experience of facts, that the temper of her mind may fairly be called judicial.

Her opportunities for exercising these valuable powers in the case of *Korea* have been exceptional, as Sir Walter C. Hillier, "late H.B.M.'s Consul-General for Korea," testifies in his prefatory remarks.

"She has been honoured by the confidence and friendship of the King and the late Queen in a degree that has never before been accorded to any foreign traveller, and has had access to valuable sources of information placed at her disposal by the foreign community of Seoul, official, missionary and mercantile; while her presence in the country during and subsequent to the war between China and Japan, of which Korea was, in the first instance, the stage, has furnished her the opportunity of recording with accuracy and impartiality many details of an

episode in Far Eastern history which have hitherto been clouded by mis-statement and exaggeration. The hardships and difficulties," pursues the Consul-General, "encountered by Mrs. Bishop during her journeys into the interior of Korea have been lightly touched upon by herself, but those who know how great they were, admire the courage, patience, and endurance that enabled her to overcome them."

Something of these qualities is plainly to be traced in her manner of describing her rough travelling experience, which indicates a surprising cheerfulness and tolerance ; even in narrating the most unpleasant episodes, wherein the insolence of Korean aristocrats combined with Oriental contempt of womanhood for the annoyance of an unoffending stranger, she betrays no temper and no disgust. "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner," and the intimate knowledge Mrs. Bishop had acquired of the singularly vicious social and political system that has been ruining Korea, left her apparently incapable of feeling surprise at its detestable results.

It follows that her book constitutes a historical document of considerable importance and interest for students of the doings and destiny of that Far East, once so involved in fantastic mystery, and so remote from the interests and the sympathies of Europe, but now becoming daily of greater consequence to the Western civilizations, which the peoples of the ancient Orient are, perhaps, too willing to emulate, and even to imitate, after long remaining aloof from them in a hostile attitude, determined partly by contempt and partly by not unwarranted suspicion and apprehension. For good or for evil, Europe has broken down the strong wall of division that fenced off Eastern Asia from the newer and more aggresive empires of the West, and she must pay the price of her daring intrusion ; it is, however, of the highest importance that she should know what that price is likely to be, and what the character and the tendencies of the half unknown old-world regions, whose destinies are henceforth blended with her own.

From another point of view, Mrs. Bishop's evidence is of great value ; she writes as an unimpassioned, honest, im-

partial observer of "missionary work in China and Korea." It is too true that, as Sir Walter Hillier reminds us, descriptions of such work

"are too often marred by exaggerations of success on the one hand . . . and harsh and frequently unjust criticisms on the other . . . Speaking from my own experience," he continues, "I have no hesitation in saying that closer enquiry would dispel many of the illusions about the futility of missionary work that are, unfortunately, too common; and that missionaries would, as a rule, welcome sympathetic enquiry into their methods of work, which most of them will frankly admit to be capable of improvement. But . . . they may reasonably object to be judged by those who have never taken the trouble to study their system, or to interest themselves in the objects they have in view."

We know, and our readers doubtless know, too many of the "arm-chair critics," who lightly and airily contemn the devotion and the methods of the missionary, and insinuate that every country and nation may very well be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of its own form of religion, evolved in the working of natural law, and doubtless best adapted to the peculiarly constituted people that has evolved it. Such arguments appear convincing and irrefutable to those who formulate them, more especially if some appeal for modest aid to missionary enterprise is being too urgently pressed on them to comport with their views of what is due to themselves in the way of comforts and luxuries. A little knowledge of the facts of life in heathen lands, and of the working of the ruling religions there, is apt to disturb these pleasant optimistic conclusions; it is more than a little knowledge which Mrs. Bishop has gathered and can impart to her readers as to the results of the dæmonolatries and other corrupt and corrupting systems of worship that have made China and Korea what they are to-day; and her evidence weights the scale heavily on the side of the missionary. The late Consul-General has his own testimony to add to hers, and he reminds his countrymen of their own great, if indirect, indebtedness to missionary enterprise in these distant climes.

"In Korea," says he, "to go no farther, it is to missionaries that we are assuredly indebted for almost all we know about the country; it is they who have awakened in the people the desire for material progress and enlightenment that has now happily taken root; and it is to them that we may confidently look for assistance in its farther development;"

the complete though tacit religious toleration now prevailing affording to missionary workers "facilities which are being energetically used with great promise of future success."

Sir Walter does not fail to make another point in favour of "this much abused class of workers," which is not quite novel, and yet is well worth making,—"their utility as explorers and pioneers of commerce." The "invariable experience" of the late Consul-General for Korea is, that the missionary is always ready to place his stores of local knowledge at the disposal of merchant, sportsman, traveller —anyone who applies for information,—and to lend him cheerful assistance; obeying the counsel of the great missionary Apostle to "be courteous." Much valuable information, suggests this experienced official, as to channels for the development of British trade could be obtained by Chambers of Commerce, "if they were to address specific enquiries to our missionaries in remote regions;" as it is, their services in opening up new markets for the British manufacturer are great, greater perhaps than that personage altogether realises.

So far the Consul, whose opinions and evidence are certainly worthy of respectful attention. Mrs. Bishop's opinions, based on careful observation, are naturally stated at much greater length. The state of things she found is one that cannot long persist, nor is its passing away to be deplored; and if she recognises active and aggressive Christianity as a disintegrating force that surely will help to break up the ancient institutions of Korea, and to melt down the existing religion and morality into wholly new forms, it is with no regret whatsoever. Hitherto the influence of China has been all-powerful, even to the kind of written character employed by the educated; "the Korean

script has been utterly despised" by this class, whose sole education has been in Chinese literature, the results being what those conversant with China itself can best understand. The Korean literature, superstitions, system of education, ancestral worship, culture, and modes of thinking, are Chinese; the haughty, powerful, self-complacent empire, too near and too powerful, has completely overshadowed its humbler and dependent neighbour, which seems to have grown inert, anæmic, half paralytic in that shadow. "Unspeakable grooviness, irredeemable, unreformed Orientalism, a parody of China without the robustness of race which helps to hold China together,"—in such contemptuous terms does the traveller describe Korea; "feeblest of independent kingdoms," which to-day,

"rudely shaken out of her sleep of centuries, half frightened and wholly dazed, finds herself confronted with an array of powerful, ambitious, aggressive, and not always over scrupulous powers, bent, it may be, on overreaching her and each other, forcing her into new paths, ringing with rude hands the knell of time-honoured custom, clamouring for concession, and bewildering her with reforms, suggestions, and panaceas, of which she sees neither the meaning nor the necessity."

Japan, China, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, Austria—a formidable list of powers—have since 1876 insisted on breaking in upon the jealously preserved and fiercely defended isolation of the singular little realm, which, while acknowledging the suzerainty of the Celestial Empire, had declined to follow the example of the suzerain in opening its ports to foreign trade. Three years ago an innovation of incalculable importance was forced on the country; the Korean language—the only one in the Far East which has a true alphabet, therefore, to the Western mind, so far superior to the cumbrous Chinese vehicle—received official recognition at last. A mixed script, partly Chinese, partly *En-mun*, or Korean, since 1895 is employed for ordinances, official documents, and the *Gazette*, the old form being still employed on the most exalted occasions. Perhaps yet more important and more signifi-

cant is the abolition of the Chinese literary examination as a test of the fitness of candidates for office. A new Korean newspaper, the *Independent*, is wholly produced in the native character; the many foreign missionaries very wisely stick to the native speech and character, "understanded of the people;" slowly but surely a new native literature, including scientific text-books in the vulgar tongue, is evolving; and a new healthy national feeling, a new acquaintance with Western science and modes of thought, is resulting.

Korean education, which hitherto "failed to produce patriots, thinkers, or honest men," succeeded to admiration in producing

> "conceit, superciliousness, a false pride which despises manual labour, a selfish individualism destructive of generous public spirit and social trustfulness, a slavery in act and thought to customs and traditions 2,000 years old, a narrow intellectual view, a shallow moral sense, and an estimate of women essentially degrading."

The exclusive study of the Chinese classics, with examinations thereon, as the gateway to official position, did not tend to develop the thinking powers, or bestow knowledge of the actual conditions and exigiencies of life; and the moral axioms of Confucius and Mencius, laboriously committed to memory in parrot-fashion, conspicuously failed to influence the conduct of the assiduous student, whose aim to be letter-perfect in that ethical lore appears to have excluded any desire to conform to its best teachings. To such a pass did competitive examination run mad bring the people that for many centuries have been trained by that system only. But a breath of wholesome change has blown over Korea; the old system is swept away, new and better methods are being introduced; information on a variety of subjects of world-wide interest is being carefully imparted in many schools—Government Vernacular Schools, a Government School for the study of English, Foreign Language Schools, and Mission Schools,—the Japanese, French, and Russian Schools are at present chiefly linguistic; but the pupils of the "Royal English School," 100 in num-

ber—enthusiastic footballers,—and those of the Pai Chai College, or "Hall for the rearing of Useful Men," managed by the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and apparently well deserving of its name;—are singled out as specially promising, progressing rapidly, and doing credit to the intelligent and judicious system pursued by their instructors. At the Pai Chai College "a patriotic spirit is being developed among the students, as well as something of the English public-school spirit with its traditions of honour." This College, which during its rather long lease of life—not less than eleven years—has acquired a decided influence, gives, besides a liberal education, not a little of that "broader intellectual view and deepened moral sense which may yet prove the salvation of Korea. *Christian instruction is given in Korean, and attendance at chapel is compulsory.** . . . There is a flourishing industrial department, which includes a trilingual press and a bookbinding department, both of which have full employment." In 1895, the Government, perceiving what this College could do in secular education, arranged to place 200 pupils there, and to pay certain tutors for their benefit in addition to finding the proper fees for tuition. The same Mission conducts other schools for boys and girls with success; the girls' school, in Seoul (the capital), impressing Mrs. Bishop as one of the best she had seen, admirable in its organisation and results. Truly the parent Methodism of Great Britain has small need to be ashamed of her "gigantic daughter in the West" when the two meet in the mission-field. A sanctified, an inspired common-sense appears to rule in the councils of all the American missions, by far the most important of those which since 1884 have been most energetically at work in newly-opened Korea. The American Presbyterian Churches come only second to the great Methodist-Episcopal agencies. Mrs. Bishop says:

"Longer and more intimate acquaintance only confirmed the high opinion I early formed of the large body of missionaries

* Italics ours.

in Seoul, of their earnestness and devotion to their work, of the energetic, hopeful, and patient spirit in which it is carried on, of the harmony prevailing among the different denominations, and the cordial and sympathetic feeling towards the Koreans. The interest of many of the missionaries in Korean history, folk-lore and customs, is also very admirable."

Perhaps none of Mrs. Bishop's pages, vivid, lucid, abounding in animated narrative and picturesque description, would surpass in interest for our readers the half-dozen which show the vicissitudes of missionary work in Phyöng-yang, a "very rich and very immoral city" to the north-ward, visited by our intrepid enquirer, who remained six days in it. Here the American missionaries, Methodist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian, had for years fought gallantly against overwhelming odds; at the time of her visit, their heroic perseverance was being rewarded in a surprising way. "More than once," our author tells us, "Phyöng-yang turned out some of the missionaries," and its attitude was for years one of resolute enmity. "The city was thronged with *gesang*," (dancing and singing girls), one of the less admirable of the peculiar Korean institutions; carefully trained women, who possess all the attractions debarred to the respectable wives, and who, though mostly belonging to the Government and supported by the Korean treasury, are classed by some native moralists among the "ten curses of the land." Marriage with them is an undreamed-of folly; yet their charm and their power over the young and impressionable are alike amazing. One is reminded of Athens, its reputable women, "dwarfs of the gynæceum," in very deed, and its accomplished and influential *hetairai*. The state in which such social conditions prevail is doomed, if no healthy change be introduced. But the "Jesus doctrine," as the Korean native correctly styles the Western creed, so new and strange to him, may be trusted to prevail and to uplift, even as it has done in hostile and vicious Phyöng-yang after years of apparent defeat. The city, haunt of harlots as was Corinth of old, haunt of sorcerers like Ephesus, rich and infamous and seemingly void of any sense of spiritual things, drove out the conspicuously

aggressive Methodist missionaries; and twenty-eight converts, no more, were made by the not less devoted Presbyterians in six years. Then came the war, and the overwhelming defeat of China, Korea's suzerain, at the hands of Japan. Phyöng-yang, the luxurious and disdainful, was overthrown; its population sank from sixty or seventy thousand to fifteen thousand; and its few Christians fled from the City of Destruction.

But the ruin of Phyöng-yang may yet prove to have been its salvation. The expelled missionaries returned to the desolated spot and resumed their toils. Twenty-eight baptisms are recorded, and at the date of Mrs. Bishop's visit in 1895

> "some of the most notorious evil-livers among the middle classes —men shunned because of their exceeding wickedness, were leading pure and righteous lives. There were 140 catechumens under instruction, and subject to a long period of probation before receiving baptism, and the temporary church, though enlarged, was so overcrowded that many of the worshippers were compelled to remain outside. The offertories were liberal."

This fact is rendered more significant by the further statement that the Christians in the magistracy of Chang-yang, learning from the recently-started Seoul *Christian News* of the horrors of famine in India, "raised among themselves eighty-four dollars for the sufferers in a land they had hardly heard of, some of the women sending their solid silver rings to be turned into cash;" while in Seoul itself the native Presbyterians raised sixty dollars for the same fund, whereof twenty came from a new congregation organised wholly by Korean Christians. Mrs. Bishop's opinion "that the liberality of Korean Christians in proportion to their means far exceeds our own," is certainly not without a foundation of fact. And let it be remembered that these generous givers for love's sake are members of a race which, when the "Jesus doctrine" was first preached among them, appeared to have lost the religious faculty, and, sunk in sordid indifferentism, only listened at first to

the novel teaching in the hope of finding through it some new way of acquiring money without working for it. Greed of gain alone drew congregations together; for money, and the sensual pleasures it could procure, was the one object of the Korean's hope, as the wrath of the many dæmons whom he constantly sought to propitiate or to circumvent was the great pre-occupying fear of his base existence. Out of such hopeless-seeming material has that Gospel, which is still the power of God unto salvation, evolved men of pure and holy life and loving, liberal heart, caring for others more than for themselves. Buddhism—which was once strong in Korea, and which still has its very interesting monasteries there, peopled by a monkish tribe—not without a certain charm amid its gross superstition and frequent immoralities, has done its best for dæmon-ridden Korea and has failed; its devotees now inspire much more contempt and hatred than veneration in the Korean. But One greater than Buddha has visited Korea in the fulness of His time; and His followers, strong in His strength, may yet win this land for Him, and see a new and nobler spirit in the down-trodden and debased, but not irreclaimable man of the people.

Mrs. Bishop attended what a British Methodist might call a Love Feast, were it not of nightly occurrence, and involving no social meal. Here, after hymn-singing and prayer, men spake of the way in which the fugitive Christians escaped from Phyŏng-yang in its day of destruction had carried the Gospel into the villages where they took refuge. Two very eloquent speakers in particular recounted how they knew of two persons possessed of demons, who had been healed by the name of Jesus. "The devils," said they, "had been driven out months before by united prayer;" the foul spirit departing when adjured by the mighty Name, leaving the possessed men trembling and cold, but returning no more; and the healed demoniacs straightway embraced Christianity, along with many who saw them.

Men kept coming from distant villages to ask for Christian teaching; refugees from Phyŏng-yang, having openly rebuked the village demon-worship, as wicked and guilty

folly, and told of the loving Almighty Father, who also judges the earth in righteousness, to the much perplexity of the hearers, some of whom, however, believed, and met daily to worship "the Highest," while many women buried the demon-fetishes; and their petition was that a teacher should go and show them how the true God must be worshipped. One told how his aged father of fourscore had met a missionary by the way, and hearing the "good news" from him went home to spread it, secured copies of "the Books," avowed himself a Christian, lived a new, a good life, toiling to spread "The News," and would not rest content till he had despatched his son to learn the way of God perfectly, and teach it to the people. A veteran thriving sorcerer, like those of Ephesus in Apostolic days, gave up to the missionary the instruments of his sorcery, saying, "I have served devils all my life, but now I know they are wicked spirits, and I serve the true God."

In one afternoon would come four different requests for a Christian teacher, each signed numerously; the unpretending mission-room was crammed every evening to overflowing, the hearers being men lately notorious for virulent vices, that made them shunned even in such a Gomorrah as Phyŏng-yang, but now reverent, earnest, and exemplary in life. The poor candles and lamps shone upon faces radiant with new hope and love, but once wearing the "dull, dazed look of apathy characteristic of the Korean," whom the Gospel has NOT reached.

"It was impossible," says the observer, "not to recognise that it was the teaching of the Apostolic doctrines of sin, judgment to come, and Divine love which had brought about such results, all the more remarkable because, according to the missionaries, a large majority of those who had renounced dæmon-worship, and were living in the fear of the true God, had been attracted to Christianity in the first instance by the hope of gain!"

The testimony to this effect is all but unvarying. But low down among the nations as Korea had sunk, incredible as were the people's vices, infamous as was the corruption of the governing classes, and insufferable as was the ignorant

insolence of the oppressive aristocracy, the seed of the Soul was still in the Korean, and the Divine Creative Spirit has caused that germ, in hundreds of instances, to burgeon into beautiful and beneficent life. Let no lover of missions despair!

Before quitting Phyöng-yang, Mrs. Bishop was present at the first regular service ever held for women in the place. It was well attended, but the hearers, all dæmon-worshippers, had in not a few cases come from sheer curiosity, "the foreign woman" being the attraction. They were destitute of religious ideas; God, prayer, moral evil, good,—of these no faintest conception was theirs. They knew not how to attend to what was said or done. One elderly woman gave voice to their opinion. "God, perhaps, is a big dæmon, and He may help us to get back our lost goods." But, faith and experience teaching, the missionaries do not despair of these rudimentary souls, who may one day grow up into the fulness of the stature of man in Christ Jesus.

We can hardly leave this attractive subject without referring to what Mrs. Bishop saw in old, decayed, miserable Fusan, through whose muddy streets, alive with dogs and half-naked, blear-eyed children, and through its sordid, babbling market, "a charming English 'Una,' speaking Korean like a native," guided the stranger, moving serenely through the thronged and dirty ways, and welcomed by all. Here, amid surroundings squalid, insanitary, and altogether vile in every sense, three Australian ladies, devoted evangelists, had elected to make their home—in a low mud dwelling that scarcely allowed them to stand upright—and to live with and as the natives, so they might win some for Christ. Unsafe, unhealthy, unconventional—impossible! said many anxious critics; but the impossible experiment, persevered in cheerfully and lovingly for years, is crowned with success. Children cling to their skirts, women learn to imitate their bright, cleanly ways; their medical help is prized; general goodwill and confidence surround them. The devastating war passed close by their abode, but harmed not its gentle inmates, who met nothing but courtesy from the Japanese

soldiers camped near them; the people whose physical needs they first relieved now hear willingly the Word of Life from these true and humble teachers, who disdain not the society, the huts, the fare of their disciples.

"I mention these facts," says the observer, "not for the sake of glorifying these ladies, who are simply doing their duty," but to recommend the method which has proved itself so eminently right.

We are not disposed to apologise for having devoted so large a portion of our space to this subject, of first importance, rather than to Mrs. Bishop's first-hand evidence as to the admirable Korean climate, with its transparent purity, gentle wholesome temperature, and glow of splendid colouring shed over a landscape often of extreme beauty; or to her varied and rough travelling experiences on the "infamous roads" of the interior; or to the type of humanity prevalent, fine in physique and attractive in countenance, surprising by marked difference from and superiority to both Chinese and Japanese; or to the undeveloped and imperfectly explored, yet real, mineral wealth of the country, which as yet has very elementary manufactures; or to the intricate and blood-stained mazes of its internal politics and its difficult diplomatic relations. The amiable but mischievous weakness of the reigning king; the energy, the charm, the waywardness and statesmanship and tragically cruel death of the queen, destroyed by Japanese assassins in her own palace at the instigation of a trusted Japanese statesman, suggest an Oriental parallel with the story and the doom of the French Louis XVI., and the heroic, perverse, fascinating Marie Antoinette, and sorely tempt the pen of the reviewer; but here it must halt, and we must content ourselves with referring our readers to the pages of the admirable book itself, which will surely hold intelligent eyes with a charm as pleasant as it is powerful, and demonstrate anew the well-worn truism that "truth is stranger than fiction."

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Book of the Twelve Prophets. Vol. ii. By G. ADAM SMITH, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*

With this volume is completed the excellent and popular series known as 'The Expositor's Bible.' Under the editorship of Dr. Robertson Nicoll it has proved a great success as regards its general acceptance, while some of the volumes form a distinct and valuable contribution to exegetical literature. Amongst the most interesting are Prof. G. Adam Smith's *Isaiah*, in two volumes, and his commentary on the Twelve (Minor) Prophets now brought to completion. We have pointed out on previous occasions the characteristic excellences of Dr. Smith's method, and have not hesitated to indicate what seemed to us to be less admirable in his style and treatment. The same features naturally re-appear in this his latest volume, but the drawbacks are slight and the excellences are great and manifold. All readers of his books know that Dr. G. A. Smith combines the accuracy of an accomplished scholar with the spiritual insight and moral vigour of a born preacher. These are precisely the qualities which should mark an interpreter of those brief, sometimes obscure and difficult, but always instructive and fascinating, works of Scripture known as 'The Minor Prophets.' The present volume deals with Zephaniah, Nahum, Habbakuk and Obadiah, classed together as prophets of the seventh century; Haggai, Zechariah (i.—viii.), and "Malachi" —so the author writes the word which he does not regard as a proper name—and Joel, all of which he places in the Persian period; and "Zechariah" (ix.—xiv.), and Jonah, which he places last, as belonging to the Grecian period. In every case the text receives full consideration, the author proving himself to be an advanced, but not extreme or revolutionary, critic of the Massoretic, or received, text. A spirited translation is given of every book, and readers will find their own study to be stimulated by Prof. Smith's renderings, even when they cannot altogether follow him in his alterations and emendations. Notes of considerable value are not lacking, but these, of course, are

not as voluminous as in a commentary proper. Lastly, the more generally expository or homiletic element is of that fresh and inspiring kind with which readers of the author's *Isaiah* are familiar. The treatment of the book of Habakkuk which is marked as "the begining of speculation in Israel," forms an excellent example of this.

Our space will not allow of our entering upon detailed discussion of the many points of controversy raised by the author. Suffice it to say that on every topic handled good grounds are alleged for the conclusions reached, and where a first reading does not convince, a fuller consideration may shew that the author is right. The historical summaries are excellent. The author has shown himself in his geographical studies to have a wonderfully good eye for the "lie of the land," and he is as expert in his handling of history, seizing the salient points and presenting them with clearness and vigour. The historical chapters form an excellent introduction to the study of books which are absolutely unintelligible without something of the kind. Our points of difference with Dr. Adam Smith are largely concerned with his postulates and his critical methods. Grant these and his conclusions follow. These are too fundamental to be discussed in a brief notice, but all these, even if they were more serious than they are, would not prevent our thorough enjoyment and cordial appreciation of one of the most *living* expositions of Old Testament prophecy that is anywhere to be found.

Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact. The Congregational Union Lecture for 1897. By JOHN BROWN, B.A., D.D. The Congregational Union.

Dr. Brown has done good service by the preparation of these lectures which are scholarly and reveal a wide range of reading, yet are always clear and interesting. He shows that the present moment is favourable for such an inquiry, and that new material has been accumulating for the investigation. The position and authority of the bishop is the crucial question in virtue of which the Pope claims the surrender of the Anglicans, and which the Anglicans regard as the key of their position as against Nonconformity. Dr. Brown tests Canon Gore's teaching in his "Ministry of the Christian Church," and shows the uncertainties as to the devolution of authority and the essentials of valid ordination. There is no certainty as to the line of transmission, and supernatural grace has not been restricted to official lines. The assumptions of the clergy have overshadowed the Church's laity and been a fruitful breeding ground for exclusiveness and intolerance. The earliest forms of Church life

and the Ignatian Epistles are discussed in two valuable lectures. A study of the development of the Papacy brings out the frauds and forgeries on which the claims of Rome are based. To accept its pretensions to apostolic succession involves the acceptance of teaching distinctly opposed to that of the Apostles. The last two lectures, which are of singular interest, deal with the Anglican Church in Tudor times, and from 1603 to 1833. The whole subject is discussed with candour and courtesy. Dr. Brown never lowers the flag of the Free Churches, but he sets an example of true toleration and large-hearted charity, which, it is to be hoped, his opponents may follow. He shows that, while necessity has been laid on Nonconformists "to assail abuses and contend against wrong, their work has yet been mainly constructive. While the dominant Church has too often taken its place and used its influence on the side of wealth and privilege, Free Churchmen have been helping to carry great principles of justice and right to victory and supremacy; have taken their part in the moral and remedial legislation of the time; and have kept religion alive in places where but for their self-denying endeavours it might have died out altogether." Full justice is done to the nobler side of the Oxford Movement, though its sacerdotal theories are exposed and deplored. The lectures may specially be commended to busy men who wish to be armed against the pretensions of the sacerdotal party.

The Revel and the Battle, and other Sermons. By GEORGE RIDDING, D.D., Bishop of Southwell. Macmillan & Co.

This volume contains sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, at special services for Undergraduates, and as Select Preacher, also before various public bodies on special occasions, as well as two addresses to the clergy of his Diocese on a Devotional Day. They are full of the massive good sense, the liberality of spirit, and the earnest and enlightened piety, which characterise the Bishop of Southwell. Those who know his style will be prepared for a certain ruggedness, indeed an occasional awkwardness and obscurity, which generally results from attempting to express in one sentence, or one phrase, matter which demands two. For ourselves we must confess that it is an agreeable variation on the smooth sentences and gliding style, commonly met with in modern sermons. The sermon from which the volume is named, preached on the anniversary of Waterloo, was suggested by the well known stanzas of Byron, which describe the ball before the battle. The preacher tells his youthful hearers at Oxford, frankly, to enjoy themselves, and not "to waste their time by spoiling holidays." But he charges them to prepare for the battle of life, and "each in his

turn to join his post quietly and in time." The last sermon on the Church of the Nation, while unjust in some particulars to Nonconformists; on the whole states fairly and liberally the Anglican position. "I, for one, could not say that I find any form of government prescribed as essential for ever, so that Church government might not, like secular, be valid in different forms . . . Reason has, however, to be shown for a revolution from the acknowledged universal system" (page 334). Every Church may well ponder the following words: "The Church is invited to seek reunion by concessions of system or doctrine. No blinder mistake could she commit. Religion does not draw religious people by easiness, nor do concessions inspire religious people with respect. The fuller and more complete a Church is, the more will it satisfy and prevail . . . Undenominationalism cannot lead religious minds" (page 338). All the sermons are well worthy of careful reading.

Sidelights from Patmos. By GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D. Minister of the Parish of St. Bernard's, Edinburgh. Hodder & Stoughton.

The author of this book, a philosopher, a poet, and a saint, is peculiarly qualified for the spiritual interpretation of the Vision of Patmos. We are told in the Preface that this is not a volume of sermons, but a series of studies. It seems to us happily to combine some of the best qualities of both. It does not treat the book of Revelation consecutively but in selected portions, with the aim of showing how the principles illustrated in it apply to the conditions of modern thought and life. The writer discovers new and important meanings, which lie concealed from the common eye, in the figures and pictures of the Apocalypse. The tree of life, for example, is spontaneity, freedom to act and enjoy, to which only those who have overcome have any right. The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world means "that Christ was all along the goal of creation, and that all creation is making for Christ. More particularly it means that the line of this world's progress has been a development of self sacrifice." The book, however, does not always avoid the perils of Mysticism. Imagination dissolves into fancy, and freedom runs into wilfulness, while sometimes the language of the Gospel is used without sufficient regard to its real historical meaning. There is also an occasional license of phrase and metaphor, which disfigures the general literary beauty of the work, *e.g.*, pain "is the one protestant movement in the body politic of man's organism." But the volume is worthy of its author, and will guide and stimulate all preachers who are seeking to translate into the forms and language of

the modern world the book of the New Testament which seems most remote from them.

Homiletic Lectures on Preaching. By THEODOR CHRISTLIEB, D.D., formerly Professor of Theology at Bonn. Edited by TH. HAARBECK. Translated by Rev. C. H. IRWIN, M.A. T. & T. Clark. 1897. pp. 390.

This treatise, by the well-known author of *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, is characterised by the scientific form and thoroughness which we expect from German professors, and by the practical usefulness which is so highly valued in this country, where the author was pastor of a German Church for some years. The body of the book consists of four chapters. The first is on the "Meaning and Nature, Scope and Aim of Preaching." The author insists on witness-bearing. Joyful testifying out of personal spiritual experience, as the vital element of all preaching, whether it be "mission" or "congregational." He develops this Biblical conception of preaching against all one-sided conceptions, rhetorical, didactic, awakening or edifying. The second chapter deals with the "personal requisites for preaching." Great stress is laid on the imagination and sympathy which vivify Scripture and bring it into living relation with the needs of the actual congregation, and on "a certain moral and æsthetic tact (*ὑπηρέτεια*) which renders tone and gesture and manner appropriate and impressive. In the third chapter on the "Material and Contents of the Sermon," the author insists that they should be drawn mainly from Scripture, but from its entire range, and closely applied to the individual circumstances of life. He gives directions, perhaps in too minute detail, for the homiletic observance of the Christian year and its great festivals, and for occasional addresses. The last chapter is on "The Rhetorical Form and Delivery of the Sermon." The definite formulation of a thesis, the "pregnant rounded central thought of the sermon" is recommended, whether announced or not to the congregation. More doubt is raised when the writer insists on "previous complete composition and memorising of the essential parts of the sermon." The highest level of delivery is well described—"when the congregation perceives in the preacher along with all seriousness of sacred testimony a certain joyousness." The book would have been more valuable to the English reader if the references to the literature of the subject had contained more English and fewer German works. We have, however, no hesitation in commending to our readers this excellent translation of one of the most useful and inspiring books on the preacher's art.

Bishop Ellicott's famous *Commentary for English Readers* has just been issued by Messrs. Cassell & Co., in a wonderfully cheap edition. The Old Testament is in five volumes, and the New Testament in three, priced at four shillings a volume. The complete set can be had for thirty shillings. The volumes are much more convenient to handle than the Library Edition, which has for many years been one of the indispensable books among a preacher's set of tools. We have found this the most helpful of all the Commentaries covering the whole Bible. It is clear, fresh, orthodox and stimulating, and it is a real gain that it is now put within the reach of a greatly widened circle of students, teachers and preachers. The names of the distinguished scholars and theologians enlisted under Dr. Ellicott will carry due weight with every competent student of these volumes. The writers neither shirk difficulties nor venture on rash theories. The work is judicious and painstaking throughout.

The Vitality of Christian Dogmas and their Power of Evolution. By A. SABATIER, D.D. Translated by Mrs. EMMANUEL CHRISTEN. A. & C. Black. 1*s.* 6*d.*, net.

Part of this lecture has already appeared in Dr. Sabatier's *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, which we reviewed in our last number. Dean Fremantle has written a short preface in which he points out that the subject is causing much anxious thought in this country. The three sermons preached at the opening of the Church Congress in 1896 all dealt with the change needed in the form of dogma, so as to make it the living expression of Christian intelligence and piety. Dr. Sabatier draws a distinction between the living and fruitful principle of dogma and the intellectual element which is united to that vital germ. He claims that the latter is continually changing with the growth of truth and the development of the Christian consciousness. As a protest against a hide-bound theology, his work ought to prove fruitful and suggestive, but the difficulty of distinguishing between the two elements in dogma is the real crux, and Dr. Sabatier's working out of his own theory, as we showed last January, will not encourage any sober-minded theologian to follow unhesitatingly in his steps.

The Modern Reader's Bible. (1.) "Select Masterpieces of Biblical Literature." (2.) "St Matthew and St. Mark and the General Epistles." With an Introduction and Notes by RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A. (Camb.), Ph.D. (Penn.). Macmillans.

(1.) Professor Moulton has carried through his presentation, involving a luminous arrangement, of the Old Testament Scriptures

in modern literary form. The Preface is ordinarily the last written portion of any considerable work, and could not in most cases have been written till the rest of the work had been finished. This volume, in relation to the edition of the Scriptures to which it belongs, is as the Preface to a completed volume. It is, in fact, a sort of Introduction placed at the end of the completed presentation of the Scriptures. But it is more than this, it is an Introduction with illustrative extracts from the series of writings presented in their new setting. Altogether, it makes a truly charming and exquisite volume. The Introduction is followed by a selection of Hebrew stories, beginning with Joseph and his brethren. Then follow samples of oratory, a series of extracts from the Wisdom literature, sonnets, lyrics, rhapsodies—all excellent and impressive selections, given in the Revised Version. Few, we think will read what is here presented without feeling that there is no literature in the world to be compared for divine qualities with that of the chosen nation, the people whom God led and taught, wayward and often dark as was their actual and historical course.

(2.) Professor Moulton's aim is to place the New Testament before the reader in the form that will best enable him to read each book in the light that may be collected from itself. The present volume forms a miscellany with the epistles to the Hebrews, St. James, St. Peter and Jude, following the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles will form the next pair of volumes with the Pauline Epistles interspersed in the course of the narrative. It will thus form the History of the New Testament Church as presented by itself. Another volume will contain the writings of St. John. Every device of printing and arrangement has been used to make the reader catch the literary form of what he reads. We quite agree with Professor Moulton's view. "I believe there are few things which assist intelligent reading more than the mere mechanism of division and subdivision, provided such arrangement is based upon independent study of each of the works so treated; the plan followed in old versions of a uniform division of chapters and verses for all books of Scripture alike, carries its condemnation upon the surface." This is really a charming little volume.

International Theological Library. An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. Sixth Edition. T. and T. Clark, 1897. 12*s*.

We have nothing material to add or alter in the estimate of this volume, which we gave soon after its first publication. The author has carefully revised it throughout, and it may be

taken as the best and ablest presentation in our language of what is spoken of as the new criticism.

The Holy Bible. To which is prefixed an Introduction by J. W. MACKAIL. Vol. I. Genesis to Numbers. Vol. II. Deuteronomy to II. Samuel. Vol. III. I. Kings to Esther. Vol. IV. Job to the Songs of Solomon. Vol. V. Isaiah to Lamentations. Vol. VI. Ezekiel to Malachi. Macmillan. 5*s.* per volume.

In his Introduction to the first volume of the "Eversley" Bible Mr. Mackail points out that the first editions of the Authorised Version had several hundred variations. Similar variations abounded till Blayney's Oxford folio of 1769 was adopted as a standard by the Oxford University Press. Up till now there has been no edition in which the traditions of seventeenth-century form have been fully thrown aside, and the English Bible printed as a modern book. The division into verses has been maintained, the spelling has been altered in many cases, though about a hundred archaic forms have been preserved. Mr. Mackail gives a list of the words in which he has altered the spelling. He prints the text in paragraphs, dispensing with italics and references. The work aims to present the Bible in a modern form, so that it may be read with greater interest and intelligence. It will be a welcome family and library edition, for there is nothing to distract a reader's attention from the subject matter, and it is specially neat and beautifully clear in type, and most convenient to handle. We hope the enterprising publishers will be well rewarded by such a circulation as this venture deserves.

Illustrated New Testament. Nelson & Sons. 2*s.* 6*d.*

This Illustrated New Testament is a beautiful volume, filled with interesting and well-executed views of Palestine and other Bible lands. The type is excellent, the binding neat; the whole volume most inviting and attractive.

The Holy Bible translated according to the Letter and Idioms of the Original Languages. By ROBERT YOUNG, LL.D. Edinburgh. G. A. Young & Co.

This is a revised edition of Dr. Young's literal translation, which first appeared in 1862. Students will find it helpful to compare his renderings with the Revised Version published by the Oxford and Cambridge Press. It is vigorous in style, and

the literalism of the original is often very suggestive. The prices range from 8*s*. 6*d*. to 15*s*. It is neatly bound and printed in clear minion type.

The Clerical Life. A Series of Letters to Ministers. By JOHN WATSON, D.D., Prof. MARCUS DODS, D.D., Prin. T. C. EDWARDS, D.D., Professor JAMES DENNEY, D.D., T. H. DARLOW, M.A., T. G. SELBY, W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, LL.D., J. T. STODDART. Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s*.

These letters were better fitted for the pages of the newspaper in which they first appeared, than for collection into a volume. They are ephemeral trifles, often wise and suggestive, but written in evident haste, and with no claim at all to the title under which they are now issued. They expose some of the faults and many of the foibles of ministers; but as a rule they deal only with superficial matters, and do that superficially. The pathos of a pastor's life, the sad yearnings and deferred hopes, the wrestlings with self and the travail for souls, are barely referred to; whilst a dozen pages and more are given to each of such subjects as anecdotage in the pulpit and the policy of wearing a clerical neck-tie. In the style of the letters there is not so much variety as the list of writers would cause one to expect. Sarcasm, irony, and common sense are the remedies most often exhibited. It is a fine mixture, wholesome for ministers who suffer from little vanities. To those especially the book may be commended, whilst it will help any minister in his endeavour to form or to preserve a sensible view of his duties.

The Ideal Life and other Unpublished Addresses. By HENRY DRUMMOND, F.R.S.E. With Memorial Sketches by W. ROBERTSON NICOLL and IAN MACLAREN. Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.

This will be a welcome volume to many, as a memento of an able and good man, who exercised a great influence upon certain classes. Neither the Addresses nor the Sketches throw much light upon the sources of that influence. The latter were first printed shortly after Professor Drummond's decease, and are just such readable and friendly, if somewhat thin and underwrought, tributes as might be expected under such circumstances. Whether they were worth reprinting is open to doubt, if the announcement is correct that a biography of Drummond is already in an advanced stage of preparation. The fifteen addresses or sermons are of good average quality, often

beautiful in thought and style, but of no special originality or force. They deal in the main with the more spiritual aspects of religion, and are simple, thoughtful and edifying.

The Holy Father and the Living Christ. By the Rev. P. T. FORSYTH, D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1*s.* 6*d.*

This is one of the latest additions to the series of "Little Books on Religion." It is unequal in quality, and does not always touch the deeper springs of experience. Of its two essays, the effective sections in the latter are more apologetic than devotional. The former is a very striking and beautiful exhibition of the holy Fatherhood, as the special revelation of Christ and the supreme thought of man. Such a conception is important in its doctrinal as well as in its practical bearings, and would modify to their advantage some current theories of Incarnation and Atonement.

A Guide to Biblical Study. By A. S. PEAKE, M.A. Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Fairbairn contributes a valuable introduction to this volume, in which he points out its necessary limitations, but argues that these very defects are virtues for the object in view. If it had been exhaustive, erudite, critical, constructive and final, the book would have been unsuitable as an introduction to Biblical study intended to set students on right lines for the working out of their own conclusions. Mr. Peake shows the beginner how to approach his task with an open mind, and furnishes valuable hints on commentaries and books that throw light on history, exegesis, Biblical theology, and all the allied subjects. The chapters on Old Testament Introduction, Exegesis and History, and Theology followed by three similar chapters on the New Testament, make up the bulk of the book. The writer is manifestly in full sympathy with the higher critics, and points out clearly their chief conclusions. Dr. Fairbairn says, justly, that the work will prove stimulating and helpful to the serious learner who uses it with intelligence, with independence of judgment, and with a real desire to know his Bible. It is not a book for a novice, but an earnest thinker who wishes to study the Old Testament and the New in the light of modern scholarship and modern speculation, will find here abundant material for his investigation.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. A Practical Expositon. By CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D. John Murray. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Canon Gore has followed up his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount with a similar volume on the Ephesians. His Intro-

duction supplies the facts and explanations necessary for an intelligent study of the Epistle, then the salient features of the letter are handled in a style so practical, luminous and suggestive, that many difficulties which puzzle an ordinary reader vanish, and the spirit and scope of the whole Epistle are brought out so vividly, that it seems to come fresh from the hand of the great Apostle. There are some points on which Nonconformists would join issue with Canon Gore, but those who differ from him in important matters, will not be slow to recognise the skill with which the expositor has done his work. His feeling towards a great scholar of his own community, whose findings are not to his liking, is seen in the severe verdict: "Not even Dr. Hort's reputation for soundness of judgment could stand against many posthumous publications such as the *The Christian Ecclesia*."

The section on predestination is very clear and helpful. St. Paul's mind is, he says, full of the idea. "He delights to contemplate the eternal purpose of God as lying behind what seems to us the painfully slow method by which Divine results are actually won . . . There are, we may say, two ideas commonly associated with predestination, which St. Paul gives us no warrant for asserting. The one is the predestination of individuals to eternal loss or destruction. That God should create any single individual with the intention of eternally destroying or punishing him is a horrible idea, and without prying into mysteries, we may say boldly, that there is no warrant for it in the Old or New Testaments." God predestinates men for higher or lower place in the order of the Church or the world. "But does not prejudice the eternal prospects of those who in this world hold the less advantageous posts. With God is no respect of persons. Again, God is represented as predestinating men to moral hardness of heart where such hardness is a judgment on previous wilfulness. Thus men may be predestined to temporary rejection of God, as in St. Paul's mind the majority of the contemporary Jews were. That was their judgment, and their punishment. It was, however, not God's first intention for them nor his last." The reference to baptism is also suggestive. If a proselyte to Judaism had children, they were baptized with him as "little proselytes." We must quote another sentence: "A Christian who is not really in heart and will a missionary, is not a Christian at all."

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Story of the Church in Egypt. Being an Outline of the History of the Egyptians under their successive Masters from the Roman Conquest until now. By E. L. BUTCHER. Two Vols. Smith & Elder. 16*s.*

Mrs. Butcher has lived for twenty years in Egypt, has visited the little villages where the ancient Christianity of Egypt still holds its own, and has listened to legends and tales of ancient glories which have often been confirmed by search among the scanty records of former days. She has caught an enthusiasm for her subject, and has invested the nineteen centuries which lie between Ptolemaic Egypt and the political Egypt of to-day with new life and charm. The earlier part of her work introduces us to familiar names and historic events. We have a bright picture of Origen's early days in Alexandria, when he defied the heathen mob, "yet not with railing, but with ready wit and even temper." One day the rabble seized him in the street, and bore him in a tempestuous procession to the great temple of Serapis. They gave him the tonsure of a heathen priest, and brought him out on to the great flight of steps that he might distribute the palms to the throng of idol worshippers who laughed and applauded below. "Origen took the palm branches and offered them to the people, crying aloud as he did so, 'Come and receive the palms, not of idols, but of the Lord Jesus Christ.' It is a pleasant scene to dwell upon, in that gloomy and painful time: the great temple fortress, dark against the blue of an Egyptian sky; the court below, full of the laughing, hooting, many-coloured Oriental mob, such as one may see now at the procession of the Mahmal; the majestic flight of steps, swarming with more insistent pagans laden with the graceful branches, and in the midst of them, that one youthful figure, with the strong sunlight on his white robe and smiling face, holding up the palm, and striking silence on the crowd with his clear, dauntless call to the worship of Christ." This extract will show with what spirit the more familiar scenes of Church history are retold. The stirring events of the Arian controversy, and the noble endurance of Athanasius lend themselves well to Mrs. Butcher's vigorous pen. The special value of the book comes out in the record of the Arab conquest. The Arabs really originated nothing of value in science or architecture, though they passed on to Europe in a more or less imperfect form what they had gained from the ancient civilizations which they destroyed. The Arabs, like the Turks, were splendid soldiers, "but at heart they were and have remained barbarians.

Their idea of government is personal aggrandisement, and their idea of civilization, personal luxury." The terrible persecutions by which the Moslems sought to exterminate Egyptian Christianity supply some lurid pages to this history. At the beginning of the present century the Coptic Church was at its lowest ebb; but the position changed for the better with Mohammed Ali's accession to power, and since then it has steadily continued to improve. A most instructive sketch of the inner life of the Coptic Church during the last half century is given in the closing pages of the history, with a pleasant chapter on social life and customs. The blight of Moslem influence is passing off, and with the spread of education and freedom the Copts are adopting wise reforms. Their women are gaining the intellectual liberty and moral self-restraint of European ladies, while retaining their own graceful and modest fashions in dress and manners. Mrs. Butcher says, "The Coptic women of my acquaintance are for the most part full of natural intelligence, graceful and animated in conversation, and extremely well mannered." The book is a fascinating contribution to Church history, and a notable defence of English rule, which is bringing out the best qualities of the Coptic Christians.

The Beginnings of English Christianity, with Special Reference to the Coming of St. Augustine. By W. E. COLLINS, M.A., Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. Methuen & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The components of this book are good history and superfluous reasoning as to the relation of the English to the Roman Church. The nature of the latter may be inferred from the fact that the book belongs to the series of "The Churchman's Library," and was written apparently to substantiate the rights of the English Church against Roman claims. But in such a contention the combatants on both sides seem to forget that an ecclesiastical theory, which is based upon uncertain details and supported by special pleadings, is not likely to appeal with success to enquirers and the unconvinced. The strictly historical sections of the book are, however, of great value. They do not form either so connected or so fascinating a narrative as may be found in Bright or Pryce; but as investigations of minute particulars, with due weighing of the evidence and illumination from approximately contemporaneous practice, they can challenge any comparison. The ten appendices, especially, are models of scholarly work, of which the results will have to be considered in any future attempt to write the early history of Christianity in this country.

Side-Lights of Church History. The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church. By F. E. WARREN, B.D., F.S.A., Rector of Bardwell, Suffolk. S.P.C.K. 5*s.*

This is a singularly interesting book. Mr. Warren first searches out all traces of Liturgical Worship in the Bible, arranging the subject in alphabetical order, and supplying brief comments and explanations. The section on hymns is particularly useful. He reaches less familiar ground when he comes to the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. Much valuable information is given under the head of Baptism. There is a catena of testimony as to the early observance of infant-baptism, as to the Lord's Day, and the agapé or lovefeast. Quaint bits are not lacking, as when Clement of Alexandria condemns false hair, because when the presbyter blessed the candidate for confirmation, he will not be laying his hands on the real woman, but on some one else. The use of the sign of the cross in early times is brought out by extracts from Tertullian and St. Cyprian. The connection between the Christian Church and the Jewish Synagogue, furnishes material for a valuable chapter, and many will be glad to have the Apostolic Constitutions, which are printed in the Appendix, within easy reach, and will find them repay study. Three indexes add greatly to the comfort of the student, and the subject is one of such interest, and Mr. Warren's book is so free from sacerdotal bias, that it can be safely put into the hands of every honest enquirer as to primitive usages.

John Donne, sometime Dean of St. Paul's, A.D. 1621-1631. By AUGUSTUS JESSOP, D.D., Rector of Scarning. With two portraits. Methuen & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Jessop has for fifty years cherished the hope of preparing a complete edition of Doane's works, and published the *Essays in Divinity*, in 1855, with elaborate notes, which still make him wonder at his own early erudition. But the dream of a complete edition has vanished, and he feels that Mr. Edmund Gosse, who has shown such subtle sympathy with Donne's poetic genius, is the best man to undertake the standard Life of the great divine. In the meantime, he has himself drawn up this sketch of Donne, as one of the leaders of religion in his time. Izaak Walton's *Life of Donne* can never be superseded. It is, as Dr. Jessop says, "a matchless work of art, which if you try to mend you can only spoil." Yet it is full of mistakes in matters of detail, and it does not supply the reader with much material for forming his own judgment on Donne's gifts as a preacher. Dr. Jessop supplies that lack. He also helps

us to understand the straits to which Donne was reduced by his imprudent marriage to Ann More, of Loseley. It closed the doors of civil preferment to the brilliant young man, and shut him up to the Church. In that respect it was a lasting gain to the religious life of the times, but it brought a heavy crop of troubles to the young people. All Izaak Walton's panegyrics are amply justified by the quotations given from Donne's sermons. The earliest of them, preached before Queen Anne of Denmark, at Greenwich, has this fine passage: "Heaven is not to be had in exchange for an hospital, or a charity, or a college erected in thy last will; it is not only the selling of all we have, that must buy that pearl, which represents the kingdom of heaven; the giving of all that we have to the poor, at our death, will not do it; the pearl must be sought and found before, in an even and constant course of sanctification; we must be thrifty all our life, or we shall be too poor for that purchase." His sermon before the Virginia Company, in 1622, may be called the first missionary sermon ever preached in England. He urges zeal in this work, and says, "You shall have made this island, which is but as the suburbs of the old world, a bridge, a gallery to the new, to join all to that world that shall never grow old—the kingdom of heaven, and add names to the books of our chronicles, and to the Book of Life." The texts which Donne uses are strained, and there are some rather far-fetched conceits, but there is a noble dignity and persuasiveness, and a zeal for souls glows in all the words. The prayer which he offered before his funeral-sermon for George Herbert's mother, has a sublime elevation of thought and tone. "O eternal and most glorious God! enable us in life and death seriously to consider the price of a soul. . . . Suffer us not, therefore, O Lord, so to under-value ourselves, nay, so to impoverish Thee, as to give away these souls, Thy souls, Thy dear and precious souls, for nothing!" Donne's inmost heart is expressed in those words, and Dr. Jessop, though he would resent any comparison of his own work with Walton's masterpiece, has done much to explain and to justify that great panegyric in this beautiful little volume. We are rather surprised to read "Lord Bacon" on page 121.

The Age of Charlemagne. By CHARLES L. WELLS, D.D., Professor of History, University of Minnesota. T. & T. Clark. 6*s*.

This is a valuable contribution to the "Eras of the Christian Church." It deals with a memorable epoch when the scene of religious history was changing from the East to the West. Christianity had its origin among an Eastern race and for four centuries its chief interest centres in the East. But when we reach "the age of Charles the Great the scene changes to the

West, and we are called upon to witness the handing over of the treasured possessions of the Roman empire, law, language, civilization and ideals, to new peoples, the German tribes under the leadership of the Franks; the development of a Latin Christianity; the building up of the great Latin Church; and the laying of the foundations of the Middle Ages and of modern times." This is the period through which Dr. Wells acts as our guide. He discusses the chief events in short chapters and sets himself "to bring into clearer light some of the more obscure though most important features of the period and to show the deeper relations which underlie the chief events of the history of the Church and of its connections with the political history." He knows his period thoroughly, and has a happy art of getting to the heart of a subject and presenting it in a luminous way. His sentences are sometimes involved, so that they remind us of a choppy sea, but these are only rare trials of one's brain; the writing as a whole is direct and clear. The treatment of the "Donation of Constantine" is a good illustration of the merit of the volume, which is a judicious and clear-sighted treatment of one of the greatest epochs of Church history.

Modern France, 1789—1895. By ANDRE LEBON, Member of the Chamber of Deputies. T. F. Unwin. 5*s*.

This is one of the best volumes in "The Story of the Nations" series. It has living interest, for it presents a succinct account of the steps by which France has reached its present form of government, and enables an English reader to understand the working of the political machinery of the country. But it does much more than this. It gives admirable summaries of the literary, the artistic, and the scientific work of the century, and shows the distinctive features of each man's contribution to the total result, in an admirable set of genial, yet discriminating critiques. We have found the book very pleasant reading. M. Lebon has a light and graceful pen and a well-balanced mind. In the last sentence of his Introduction he says: "The author would be glad if these pages might prove to those who read them that it is not by flying from one excess to another that a great people can achieve freedom and occupy a becoming place in the world." Facts are left to speak for themselves, because M. Lebon is himself a deputy, and his reflections might be attributed to party spirit. He keeps fast to this rule, but the absence of reflections does not detract from the value of the book. The writer is not blind to the faults and perils of French life to-day, but there is a geniality and a happy freedom from cynicism and pessimism which will add much to its effectiveness.

The book is beautifully illustrated, and we know of no single volume which contains so much information as to the making of Modern France, or its great names and notable achievements in all branches of art, literature, and science. To compress so much into one volume, and yet to retain the picturesqueness of the record, is no mean achievement, and M. Lebon is to be congratulated on a book that will be read and enjoyed.

Private Papers of William Wilberforce. Collected and Edited, with a Preface, by A. M. WILBERFORCE. T. Fisher Unwin. 12*s.*

This volume contains private letters to Mr. Wilberforce from William Pitt, from the Duchess of Gordon, and some others. It contains the draft, very incomplete, however, of a sketch of Pitt's character; and a number of letters from Wilberforce to members of his family, chiefly to his son Samuel and to his daughter Elizabeth. Each portion of the contents will have its special interest, though perhaps not always to the same reader. Pitt's letters had already been privately printed and circulated by Lord Rosebery. The sketch of Pitt will be very interesting, as far as it goes to all who care for the character and history of that great statesman and noble Englishman. The correspondence with that eccentric and lively beauty, the Duchess of Gordon, will interest those who care for gossip relating to the leaders of society a hundred years ago. All who desire to know William Wilberforce—a brighter Christian name can hardly be found in our history—will be glad to read, and will read with deep sympathy, his family and familiar correspondence as here given. Citizen, statesman, orator, man of society, as he was, he was above all and, through and through, the devoted Christian—steadfast, consistent, devotional, and always happy—in evil as in good fortune, in comparative poverty as in affluence. Pitt's letter to him respecting his conversion, and the private and confidential interview between them which followed, as given in the earlier part of the volume, are intensely interesting. The intimacy between the two was never interrupted; the author of the *Practical View* was to the end the closest friend of the patriot statesman; "The pilot that weathered the storm." Intelligent Christians will find this volume good reading. Wilberforce's character and example are well worth studying to-day.

Sir Walter Ralegh. The British Dominion of the West. By MARTIN A. S. HUME. With Photogravure Frontispiece and Maps. T. F. Unwin. 5*s.*

This is the first volume of a series entitled "Builders of Greater Britain." The aim of the series is to relate the lives

of those who have reared the stately fabric of our Colonial Empire, whether as statesmen, explorers, soldiers or sailors. The Queen has accepted the dedication of the volumes, and the general editor is Mr. H. F. Wilson, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and now private Secretary to Mr. Chamberlain. The first volume has been placed in the hands of Mr. Hume, whose *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* is well known, and it is devoted to the man who laid the foundation stone of our Colonial Empire. Ralegh's tragic story has often been told, but Mr. Hume has thrown some interesting side lights upon it from the Spanish Ambassador's letters at Simancas and in the Palace Library at Madrid. Gondomar hectored James into the judical murder of his most distinguished subject. Ralegh himself is faithfully painted. "Probably," says Mr. Hume, "his persuasive eloquence was one of his greatest gifts, and his personal fascination must have been marvellous; for when he chose, which in his arrogance he rarely did, he could bring even those who hated him to his side. He took no care, however, to be popular, for he always scorned and contemned the people, and on the death of Elizabeth he was probably the best hated man in England." Ralegh's achievements fall greatly below his undoubted gifts. In action he generally failed, and not a single one of the great aims of his life was successfully carried through by him. His moral nature was "infinitely inferior" to his intellectual gifts. "He was physically brave beyond compare, and yet he begged for bare life like a very coward. He was insolent, vain and domineering to the last degree, and yet he could cringe and snivel abjectly at the least ill-fortune that befell him. He was greedy, unprincipled, rapacious, and yet he squandered his fortune lavishly on his great patriotic scheme of colonization, by which he personally could hardly hope to gain. His contemporaries utterly disbelieved either in his honesty or his truth, and yet his noble written protestations seem to bear the absolute stamp of veracity upon them. With all his vast ability he had not that magnetic moral strength that attracts men to a leader in moments of defeat, and enables him to retrieve reverse by victory. At the moment of failure, in the great crisis of his fortune, during the last Guiana voyage, he crumbled down hopelessly, and could only recriminate and lament, whilst his men fell away from him because he was unable to lead them, and he actually returned home a prisoner in his own cabin." The story is well told by Mr. Hume, and the series ought to be of great service in promoting a more intelligent interest in our Colonial Empire.

Mary, Queen of Scots: From her Birth to her Flight into England. A Brief Biography, with Critical Notes,

a few Documents hitherto unpublished, and an Itinerary. By DAVID HAY FLEMING. Hodder & Stoughton. *7s. 6d.*

The author has not aimed at writing a popular book, but has sought to make a sterling contribution to the history of his native land and to the biography of that incomparably interesting woman, Queen Mary Stuart. He has limited his scope in this volume to her life antecedent to her flight into England, staying his hand abruptly at that point. He holds no brief for Mary or against her; but he allows no sentimental bias to influence his judgment at any point. He no more favours the cause of the beautiful woman and queen than of her political and religious enemies. He professes to have composed his text wholly and absolutely from State papers, public records, contemporary letters, chronicles and authentic documents. He enters the list against two of the best known and ablest of Mary's favourers, Father Stevenson and Sir John Skelton (Shirley). "It will be seen," he says, "that the former has dimmed his great reputation by prejudice, partiality and perversion; and that the latter not only rivals him in these faults, but is reckless in matters of fact and so careless in quotation that no reliance can be placed on his statements," &c. This volume will have to be reckoned with by historians and by biographers of Mary. The Appendix of Notes and References is very full and valuable.

Charles the Great. By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. Macmillans. 1897. *2s. 6d.*

Dr. Hodgkin's ability as a historian is well known and the publication of this small but very interesting and valuable volume will confirm his high reputation. Such a book has long been needed and will be welcomed by all students of the great story of the nations. We are led up to the watershed from which descend all the courses of modern history. Eighty pages bring us by way of Charles' predecessors to the succession of Charles on the death of his able and manful father, Pippin, to the dominion prepared for him by the deeds and wisdom of Pippin and Charles Martel. The strong son of mighty ancestors looked down as from an Alpine height on the Frankish dominions from the Pyrenees almost to the mouth of the Elbe and from the North Sea to Lombardy. His great life is here succinctly recorded, with his wars and statecraft by which he settled the boundaries of his enlarged and consolidated empire and organised in outline the forces of Western and Christian civilization. No main point seems to be neglected. The

student by this volume is prepared to enter on the study of feudalism and the Middle Ages.

Macmillan & Co. in their series entitled "Foreign Statesmen" are providing what students in both hemispheres have felt to be a pressing want. In *Philip II. of Spain* the author of *The Year after the Armada* and *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* has done excellently a work for which his studies for those volumes had specially equipped him. Clear, condensed, complete, and singularly dispassionate and impartial, he unfolds the sombre history of the silent, crafty, sincere, fanatical son of the great emperor, who found the burden of the world's fortunes too heavy for his vast powers, and when the chill of coming age had touched his flesh and his heart, left the throne for the cloister. Philip the Second of Spain was the true issue of Charles' training—being, however, inferior in faculty and statesmanship, inferior in will and force, and at the same time more stubborn and more blindly religious than his father. All the leading events and chief particulars of his life are admirably summarised in this volume. The grave intent of the history never flags. The strong and modest style of the historian is perfect for his work. There is not a waste sentence—scarcely a superfluous word—and yet the narrative is never dry or heavy. The moral of the life is summed up in a few masterly paragraphs at the close.

A companion volume in the same series is *William the Silent*, the contemporary and, before the end, the chief antagonist of Philip of Spain. The author of this volume is Frederick Harrison. Of Mr. Harrison's ability as a writer there is no need to speak. He is by no means superior to Mr. Hume, but he is better known and has long been known. He has given a clear and able summary of the story of the great hero whose life he had undertaken to write. Perhaps, indeed, the narrative is somewhat wanting in enthusiasm. William the Silent might well call forth all the "enthusiasm of humanity" which a historian of modern Europe is capable of feeling. But Mr. Harrison has well set forth the self-restrained nobleness, and the intellectual as well as modern greatness, of the founders of the fame of the House of Orange and ancestor of our William of Orange, who was a statesman and ruler centuries before his age, in justice and enlightenment. He inscribed "to Emma, Queen Regent of Holland, this life of her great ancestor, founder of the nation's independence." After quoting Voltaire's description of the origin and development of the United Provinces as a State, Mr. Harrison admirably sketches in his first paragraph the personality and work of William the Silent. "The man who inspired, founded, and made possible this marvellous development was William, Count of Nassau, titular Prince of Orange, surnamed the Silent. His career, like his nature and his circumstances, was made up of anomalies and

filled with complex elements. The man who organised the national rebellion of Holland, by birth a German count, became by inheritance a Flemish magnate and a sovereign prince. A Lutheran by family, he was brought up a Catholic, and died a Calvinist. His early years were passed as a soldier and minister of the empire, as ambassador and lieutenant of the King of Spain, and as a grandee of boundless magnificence. Himself the mainspring of a national and religious insurrection, his best energies were spent in moderating the political and religious passions which were at once the cause and the result of the struggle. Personally a devout man, he professed in succession all the three great forms of belief, whilst strongly opposing all that was extreme and all that was violent in each. His memory is still passionately cherished in his adopted fatherland; first as the founder of an illustrious commonwealth, then as the father of a long line of able statesmen and ruling princes, and finally as a martyr to the cause of national independence and liberty of conscience."

BELLES LETTRES.

Highways and Byways in Devon and Cornwall. By ARTHUR H. NORWAY. With Illustrations by JOSEPH PENNELL and HUGH THOMSON. Macmillans. 6*s*.

Mr. Norway is a Wadebridge man on whom his native county has cast its spell. He has open eyes for the fertile beauty of the valleys, the sombre glory of the moors, the wild grandeur of the sea crags, and his mind is steeped in the records of naval prowess, of smuggling adventure, of witchcraft and superstition which are woven into the life of Western England. He begins his cycle tour at Axminster and winds round to Land's End, never getting far out of the reach of the sea-breezes, then he turns northward, still skirting the coast till he closes his journey at Lynmouth and Lynton. We have read every word of the book with eager interest and delight. Mr. Norway carries his company with him from point to point, calling attention to beauties of scenery or bringing out of his treasury all manner of quaint and curious knowledge. He does not think the valley of the Dart can compare with that of the Tamar, he regards Clovelly as the most exquisite town in England, he holds that the range of cliffs between Padstow and Tintagel far exceeds the better known West both in height and beauty. He is never dull, and his work is manifestly inspired by a

fine spirit of patriotism and a genial love of human nature, both in its more heroic and its more homely aspects. The illustrations are of course exquisite, but they are not fuller of charm than the text which they adorn. This is a book of which both Devon and Cornwall may be proud and every Englishman will share their pride and pleasure.

Renaissance in Italy. Italian Literature, in Two Parts. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. New Edition. Two Volumes. Smith, Elder & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* per volume.

In his first two volumes, dealing with the social and political conditions of Italy, Mr. Symonds' brought a wealth of learning and felicity of style in which he has had few rivals to light up that strange Age of the Despots which still sends a shiver through the mind of a modern reader, and that world of the Revival of Learning where the highest gifts of intellect were often joined to the foulest sensuality. "The Fine Arts" was the subject of another study of equal interest and charm. These three sections of the works were intended to be subsidiary and introductory to that which is given in the present volumes. Mr. Symonds' aim is to afford material for forming a correct judgment of Italian literature in its strength and limitations. The historian feels that his best work in such fields is likely to be superseded by the research of the present day. "The Italians are forming for themselves a just conception of their past, at the same time that they are consolidating their newly gained political unity." A band of distinguished men, many of whom are professors in the Universities, are labouring in this field, and forming students in the great Italian cities to continue and complete their labours. Much remains to be explored, and the future promises a harvest of discovery scarcely less rich than that of the last half century. Mr. Symonds first deals with the origins, the triumvirate—Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio—the transition period. Popular, secular, and religious poetry are then discussed in separate chapters. Ariosto claims two chapters, whilst the novelists, the drama, the purists, burlesque, poetry and satire, history and philosophy are discussed with ample learning. In a concluding chapter the whole subject is reviewed. Mr. Symonds shows that the revival of learning was the acquisition of complete self-consciousness by this new race which still retained so much of its old temperament. It was a national, patriotic, dramatic movement. "This gives life and passion to a process which in any other country, upon any other soil, might have possessed little more than antiquarian interest. This, and this alone, explains the extraordinary fervour with which the Italians threw themselves into the search, abandoning the new-

gained laurels of their modern tongue, absorbing the intellectual faculties of at least three generations in the labour of erudition, and emerging from the libraries of the humanists with a fresh sense of national unity. At the same moment, and by the same series of discoveries, they found themselves and found for Europe the civilization of the modern world." At first the awakened consciousness showed itself in the creation of a learned literature which imitated, as closely as possible in a dead language, the models recovered from ancient Rome. "Preachers were more scrupulous to turn their sentences in florid style than to clinch a theological argument. Upon the lips of Popes the God of Sinai and Calvary was Jupiter Optimus Maximus." The common people clung to their dialects, but the educated despised all forms of speech save Latin. It was sometime before the claims of vernacular Italian came to be recognised, but at last a common Italian language based on the Tuscan, but modified for general use and adorned by classic words and phrases, came into use. Mr. Symonds' discussion of these subjects is not only a history of literature, but a study in national morals. The men of the Renaissance seem to have lost their ethical and political conscience and to have enthroned an æsthetical conscience in its room. "Their religious indifference is deadlier than atheism. Their levity is worse than sarcasm." The study of such an epoch is in itself a liberal education, and Mr. Symonds is a guide who makes the road a succession of delights as well as a progress through a new world of knowledge.

Corleone. A Tale of Sicily. By F. MARION CRAWFORD. Two Vols. Macmillans. 12*s*.

Mr. Marion Crawford is almost without a rival among contemporary novelists as a master of English style. There is a dignity and purity about his language which gives his stories high rank as literary masterpieces, and the world of Italy has never had such an interpreter to readers in this country and in America. The Roman nobles are a fine old race as they move through Mr. Crawford's volumes, and though the stories close when we are longing to know more, we have the full conviction that before long a new invitation will be issued to the palaces where these princes live out their stately lives. The chief interest of *Corleone* centres around Sicily, of whose morals and customs we have a far from pleasant picture. Don Orsino, the son of Sant' Ilario and Corona, falls in love with Vittoria Corleone, a family known as the worst blood in Italy. Her three brothers are mixed up with the Sicilian brigands, and are a trio of villains whom it would be hard to match. San Giacinto, the giant of the Saracinescas, buys their estate in Sicily, and Orsino goes with him to take possession. Then follows a story

of brigandage and fatal struggles which keeps the reader's attention at full stretch from beginning to end. The interest deepens when one Corleone kills another, and Don Ippolito, the brother of Orsino, is accused of the murder. He is a priest, and his lips are sealed by the confessional, but after some anxious weeks the mystery is unravelled; Ippolito's innocence is clearly established, and it is found that Vittoria is not a Corleone at all, but a daughter of the Duca di Fornasco, who had been stolen from her father, as an infant, and left in the hands of the Corleone. The story is one of the best of a fresh and vigorous series. There are many of those reflections on life and character which add much to the interest of Mr. Crawford's work, and half-a-dozen more books will be necessary to trace out the lives to which we are here introduced. We hope Mr. Crawford will soon tell us something more about Don Orsino and Vittoria.

The Tragedy of the Korosko. By A. CONAN DOYLE. With forty full-page Illustrations. Smith, Elder & Co. 6*s*.

This story sets all one's pulses beating more quickly. The *Korosko* steams up the Nile with a light-hearted company of English, Irish and American tourists, among whom is a spice of political gunpowder in the shape of a fiery Frenchman who is always grumbling at England for her presence in Egypt, and scouting the notion of Dervishes as an invention of the wily Englishman to justify his remaining in the country. On an expedition to a famous temple, the tourists are seized by a company of fanatical Dervishes and carried off towards Khartoum. Their daily perils in the desert form an exciting story, and the interest reaches fever-point when they are called to choose between conversion or death. The gay and careless tourists are sobered and ennobled by their sorrows. "There is surely some wrecker angel which can only gather her best treasures in moments of disaster. For here were all these worldlings going to their doom, and already frivolity and selfishness had passed away from them, and each was thinking and grieving for the other." Two of the party had been killed when the Arabs seized them, but the rest were at last rescued in a masterly way by the Egyptian Camel Corps. The descriptions of the desert and of the Arab fanatics are very powerful, and the defence of British policy in Egypt will commend itself to unprejudiced readers. The opening of the tale is somewhat tame, but the interest soon becomes intense, and grows more so with every chapter. The strain is relieved by a little love-making, and the closing scene, where the Nonconformist minister from Birmingham reads part of the one-hundred and

seventh Psalm as a description of their deliverance, strikes a fine key.

A Chapter of Accidents. By Mrs. HUGH FRASER. Macmillans. 6*s.*

This is a light and graceful comedy, full of life and good spirits. It revolves round two love stories. The first is that of Mrs. Ebford Barton, who has embittered the life of a husband who was far too good for her, and is set free by his death to reward her admirer, Harry Surtees. She pursues him with her attentions and contrives to get asked to his cousin's house where he is staying, but her schemes go wrong, and her old admirer bluntly declines her overtures. This sordid episode is relieved by the love of Kitty Marston for her old friend Harold Jamieson, whom she has known from her cradle. "Jimmy" is a manly fellow and his worship of Kitty is as pure and whole-hearted as any girl could wish. There are some exciting episodes in the book. The ghost scene which Roy Marston, the Eton boy, works out with masterly effect; the burglar who steals Mrs. Barton's diamonds; and, above all, the boat adventure, in which the madcap Kitty nearly loses her life, add vivacity and excitement to the story. Some of its descriptive passages are very felicitous. Lady Marston, "a creature of small faults made unbearable by large patent virtues," is well sketched; Kitty is "an incarnate dogma of hope and joy," with hair "too red for gold, too golden for red," and "cheeks like apricots smothered in cream," and the ocean crashed "on the shore with a roar of triumph and tumbled its garnered snow and molten silver in one spendthrift flood, to fling high a thousand veils of film that broke in showers of jewels on the air."

Perpetua (Isbister & Co., 6*s.*), is a story of Nimes in A.D. 213. Mr. Baring-Gould describes the Pagan life of a great provincial city, and the sorrows of the little Christian community who are hated of all for Christ's sake. Perpetua, the loveliest maiden of the city, is one of the most steadfast members of the detested sect. Once in seven years a girl is sacrificed to the god of the fountain, and Perpetua is marked out for this terrible fate. She is actually thrown into the seething waters, but is rescued by a young lawyer. She is saved, yet only to meet a more terrible fate as a Christian martyr. Mr. Baring-Gould does not spare the feelings of his readers. We almost see the pack of wolves dashing round the amphitheatre after a Christian deacon, but those who have nerve enough to read this book will find it powerfully and brilliantly written, and will learn to appreciate the heroism of the early confessors.

By Far Euphrates (Hodder & Stoughton, 5*s.*), is a tale based on the tragedy of Armenia. An English boy is travelling

in the country with his father, when both fall ill of fever. The father dies, and the son finds himself cut off from return to England. He grows up in an Armenian family, and marries a lovely girl, who falls a victim to Turkish lust and cruelty. The scenes are heartrending, but Miss Allcock tells her tale with great skill and sets the life of the Armenians in all its horrors vividly before our eyes.

Millais and his Works. By M. H. SPIELMANN. Blackwood & Sons. 1*s.*

This booklet has been produced with special reference to the Millais Exhibition at the Academy, and is enriched by a fine defence of "Our Art of To-day," which Sir John Millais contributed to *The Magazine of Art*, by full lists and descriptions of Millais' paintings and engraved pictures, and the prices they have brought in the sale room. Good representations are given of the chief pictures. Mr. Spielmann's account of the painter and his work is an excellent study. He says that "as a respectful translator of an actual view, painted simply as it stands, Millais has had no superior in this country. Millais, so to say, could paint the time of day; he could, moreover, draw a tree as few of his contemporaries could do it, and sky and grass and dew-drenched heather, luminous screen of cloud and tangled undergrowth, he painted them all not only with love, but with an enthusiasm which he had the happy faculty of imparting to the spectator." He told Mr. Spielmann: "I have painted good pictures and bad ones too; but the bad ones have invariably cost me more time and pains than the good ones. I have never knowingly left a picture as finished which I thought I could improve by more work." Millais will probably take rank as the greatest painter our country has produced since the days of Sir Joshua Reynolds. He was the "heartiest, honestest, kindliest among all English gentlemen of his day. He was the big man with the warm heart, which he wore upon his sleeve; plain spoken, straightforward, genial and affectionate, who rarely said a cruel thing, and never did a harsh one; without a grain of affectation, and without a touch of jealousy. He maintained to the last the hearty innocence of a youth, and the high hopes and sanguine optimism of a man at the beginning of life rather than one in the prime and vigour of his later manhood, in the heyday of his fame."

Charles Dickens. A Critical Study. By GEORGE GISSING. Blackie & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Mr. Gissing's little book is brightly instructive. He is an enthusiastic admirer of the great novelist, who feels every time he opens his books "more of wonder, delight, admiration, and love." His own sympathies are ardently enlisted in Dickens'

crusade against vice, and in quoting the novelist's verdict of Doncaster in race week: "I vow to God that I can see nothing in it but cruelty, covetousness, calculation, insensibility, and low wickedness," Mr. Gissing adds, "These are honest words. But no man's censure can avail against a national curse, which is inseparably connected with the triumph of commercialism." He thinks that Dickens' last years, as a "public entertainer," were disastrous. All peace and leisure were at an end, and he shortened his life that he might be able to live without pecuniary anxiety. Readers of Dickens will be glad to refresh their memories by this pleasant book, and will find much suggestive comment on the characters and situations. Mr. Gissing is not a blind admirer. He thinks the faulty construction of *Nicholas Nickleby* becomes a weariness and an irritation. "Again we are involved in a melodrama of the feeblest description; towards the end of the story there are wastes of stagey dialogue and action, unreadable by any but the very young." Yet he holds that the charm of the writer's work will not fail, and that "his unwavering consistency will stand him in better stead through the century to come than any amount of that artistic perfection as only a small class can appreciate and enjoy."

John F. Shaw's Books for Boys and Girls.

Messrs. Shaw send us a set of story books which it would be hard to beat for cheapness and interest. Dr. Gordon Stables finds the hero of *For Cross and Crescent* (5*s.*) in a bright lad, who is brought up on the edge of Sherwood Forest, is captured with his delightful play-mate by Robin Hood's men, goes to the Crusades with Richard the lion-hearted, and shares his royal master's dangers and imprisonment. It is a book from which boys will learn much and learn it with delight. *Sahib and Sepoy*, by Lucy Taylor (5*s.*), opens with Henry Havelock's school-days, and leads the reader on with breathless interest, through the grim scenes of the Indian Mutiny, in which Havelock played so noble a part. *Short Stories for Short People* (5*s.*) is a set of Mrs. Aspinwall's grotesquely improbable but entrancing tales —tales which grown up folk will find by no means unworthy of their attention in a leisure hour. *Half a Dozen Boys* and *Half a Dozen Girls* (3*s.* 6*d.* each) are both by A. C. Ray, and they will be prime favourites in a juvenile library. There are many fine lessons to be gained from these lively stories and plenty of merry company. *Everybody's Business* (3*s.* 6*d.*), by Agnes Giberne, might be called a lifeboat story. After a terrible wreck, the young vicar rouses the village to secure a lifeboat, which does noble work. The heroine of the tale is the only survivor of the first wreck, and she is a woman to be proud of. *At Last*, by Catherine Shaw, is a temperance tale of unusual merit. It will do every girl and boy good to read it. *Pretty Pictures for Little*

Pets (3*s.*), is printed in bold type, packed with pictures, and every bit of prose and poetry will delight tiny children. *Our Darlings* (3*s.*) has a set of coloured pictures, a wealth of pleasant stories and other papers that make it a real children's treasury. *Little Frolic* (2*s.*) caters for smaller folk and does it in a way that leaves nothing to be desired. *Sunday Sunshine* (1*s.* 6*d.*) is one of the best little magazines for Sundays that we know. Its stories are good, its Bible studies happy, and it has plenty of variety and freshness. All these books are got up with much taste and care.

Dictionary of Quotations (Classical). By THOMAS BENFIELD HARBOTTLE. With Authors and Subjects Indexes. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.

This Dictionary follows the lines laid down by Colonel Dalbiac in the first volume of the series, which dealt with English Quotations, and is to be followed by a Dictionary of Continental Quotations for which Colonel Dalbiac and Mr. Harbottle are jointly responsible. Every reference has been checked in order to avoid error and misquotation. Where the order of a classical author's work is doubtful, reference is made to the edition from which the quotation is taken. The translations are chiefly taken from well-known versions, and in every case the translator's name is appended. The two divisions of the work—the Latin and Greek quotations—have separate indexes. There is also an index of authors and another of subjects. The completeness and thoroughness with which these are done may be understood from the fact that the indexes occupy one sixth of the whole volume. Any one who knows how to use the index of subjects may form a good idea of the views which the classic writers of Greece and Rome took of women and friends, of beauty, of books, of art, war and a multitude of other questions. The book is indispensable for every well furnished library, and to turn its pages will prove a very pleasant occupation for a leisure hour.

Echoes of a Vanished World. By ROBERT HOLMES. Marshall, Russell & Co.

A spirited story of the Reformation, which opens with the wild chase of a young student from Oxford by the emissaries of the Papal Commissary, and is full of adventures and hair-breadth escapes from beginning to end. Thomas Kingdon loses home and friends for his faith, but he is well repaid by the love of such a family as the Vernons, and finds a noble wife in Mary Vernon. The chief scenes and actors of the Reformation period are introduced, and a good view of the whole history is given in this vigorous and well-told tale.

Fairy Greatmind, by Maud M. Butler, with illustrations by Bertha Newcombe (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1*s.*), is a dainty story, daintily illustrated, and sure to charm little folk. A spoiled child is carried off by the fairies and taught to think of others in a really delightful way.

The New Man. A Chronicle of the Modern Time. By ELLIS P. OBERHOLTZER. Philadelphia: Levitype Co.

Dr. Oberholtzer deals with the question of the emancipation of woman, and shows that Nature will, in the end, have its way. Discussions on marriage and love supply the main interest of the book, but there is a good deal of spirit and vigour in the story, and it is evident that the writer's sympathy is with Marie Wright, who is a sweet and pure-minded girl. The atmosphere of the story is depressing, and we do not think the discussion of such subjects is either pleasant or profitable.

Pansies from French Gardens. Gathered by HENRY ATTWELL. George Allen. 2*s.*

It will pay any one who wishes to get some mental stimulus to buy this little volume. Mr. Attwell's preface discusses the difference between a *pensée* and a proverb, and he prefixes to his selections valuable sketches of the life and literary genius of the four writers from whose gardens he has culled his pansies—Pascal, La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, Vanvenargues. The thoughts themselves are exquisitely presented.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Messrs. George Bell & Sons send us three more volumes of their Cathedral Series (1*s.* 6*d.*). They are the most compact, reliable and best illustrated guides to our great minsters that any visitor can find. History, architecture and all features of interest are well brought out, and the series ought to secure a large sale. *Exeter*, by Percy Addleshaw, has unique interest, because the city was in olden times the outpost of civilization on the West. "No cathedral, not even Lincoln, boasts a more lovely and appropriate position," and the building forms a class by itself, with a west front that reminds one of many of the French cathedrals. *Lichfield*, as Mr. A. B. Clifton points out, has a charm such as no other minster can boast. As the visitor looks across the sparkling pool at the three graceful spires standing out amid a wealth of green trees and shrubs, it is like a precious jewel set in a silver sea. *Winchester*, as its historian, Mr. P. W. Sergeant, allows, has a disappointing exterior, but the very first

glimpse of the nave reveals the superb proportions of the interior, and there are few places where the course of English history is more clearly brought out than amid the tombs and chantries of this historic church. The school and the other institutions connected with the cathedral, furnish matter for a pleasant chapter. The illustrations of the volumes are very effective. Some of those furnished by the Photochrome Company give a wonderful idea of distance in the long-drawn aisles and cloisters.

1. *Birds of the British Empire.* By Dr. W. F. GREENE, F.Z.S.

2. *The Fern World.* By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. Eighth Edition, revised. London: The Imperial Press. 5*s.* each volume net.

1. The Imperial Library seeks to strengthen the ties which unite the Mother-country to her colonies and dependencies in all parts of the world. The first two volumes need no other recommendation to the public than their own merit and their remarkable cheapness. They are full of illustrations, well printed on good paper, and run to 360 and 400 pages. Dr. Greene's account of the birds of the British Empire is both scientific and popular. It is a happy idea to gather all our own songsters and the feathered beauties of our Empire under one roof. The book will not only teach its readers to know the birds and their habits, but will do a good deal to preserve them from the wanton gunner, who forgets that he is destroying "the police appointed by Nature" for the repression of the insect pests. It is a volume which will make glad the hearts of old and young.

2. Mr Heath's *Fern World* has long since won its reputation as the best guide to one of Nature's choicest realms. Its descriptions are chiefly confined to British ferns, but these species are also found more or less scattered over the English-speaking dependencies of our Empire, and one-half of our British ferns are found in the Himalayas. The general chapters relate to ferns everywhere. The coloured plates have been entirely re-drawn for this edition, and everyone ought to make haste to secure a volume which is a delight both to read and to look at.

Who's Who, 1898. Second Year of New Issue. Edited by DOUGLAS SLADEN. Fiftieth Year. A. & C. Black. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Who's Who was so greatly improved last year that it made itself indispensable for every library table. This year's edition

is still more complete and up-to-date. It contains nearly 7,000 biographies of the leading men and women of the day, and one out of seven is new this year, whilst all have been revised and some considerably enlarged. The facts are severely condensed, but are not without a spice of fun here and there. The first 168 pages are filled with particulars as to the Houses of Parliament, the nobility, the army, navy, diplomatic service, the Privy Council, the recipients of the Victoria Cross and other matters of great interest. An alphabetical list of those who received New Year's Honours is given, a valuable table explaining newspaper abbreviations, and a still more helpful list giving the correct pronunciation of proper names. *Who's Who* ought to be in everybody's hands, for it will add new interest to every morning's newspaper, and keep those who consult it well abreast of the writers and all the prominent people of the day. The father of Lady Burne-Jones and Lady Poynter was the Rev. G. B. Macdonald. Ought Professor Sollas's address to be given as in Ireland?

Wesleyan Book Room Publications.

The *Preacher's Magazine* (vol. viii., 5*s.*) ought not to be overlooked by those who want good matter for sermons and Bible classes. It is admirably clear in treatment, and aims to stir up thought. The section "About Men and Books" is fresh and helpful, the "Notes and Illustrations" are just what a preacher needs, and the whole volume is alive and well suited to the needs of a growing circle. The *Christian Miscellany* for 1897 is a very attractive volume with a good supply of pleasant tales, and some admirable papers on natural history. Mr. Mansford's "Educational Reformers" supplies in brief compass what every intelligent man or woman wants to know about the steps that have led to the present position of education in England. *In Sunny Isles* the Rev. George Lester gives a really instructive sketch of the Bahamas and Wesleyan Mission work there. Mr. Lester's description of the islands will help everyone to follow his story of his own work and that of his predecessors as far back as the days of Dr. Coke. The book is written with skill and taste, it is well illustrated, and some memorials of Mr. Lester's ministry are added, which show that it has been a real factor in the training of the people in Methodist polity and Christian truth. The section dealing with Cuba has special interest and value in the face of the grave revolt against Spanish domination.

Fina's First Fruits and Other Stories, by Lena Tyack (1*s.* 6*d.*) is a little volume of charming tales for small children. They are gracefully written, and have a touch of tenderness and pathos which makes them very attractive.

Which Church, and Why?" by J. Wesley Walker, is an admirable statement of a layman's reasons why he is a Protestant,

a Nonconformist, a Free Churchman, and a Methodist. It is brightly written and ought to promote intelligent and hearty adhesion to Methodism among its readers. Forty-eight pages of such good and timely matter for two-pence should command a wide market.

Beckside Lights, by John Ackworth (3*s.* 6*d.*), is really a second series of *Clog Shop Chronicles*, and it has all the qualities which made us call the first volume a work of genius. Jabe is as sour-coated and as warm-hearted as ever, and the Clog Shop world is as narrow, yet as ready to melt into warmth and breadth of charity as when we first stepped into it. We are grateful to Mr. Smith for the happy lights thrown around these lowly scenes and figures. It is a book to do one's heart good.

Intent on Pleasing Thee, by A. R. Kelley (1*s.* 6*d.*), is "A Manual for would-be Christians," with twenty-four brief sections, dealing brightly and wisely with such topics as Religious Decision, The Word of God, Our Speech, Theatre Going, and other matters about which young people need a friendly and timely word. The book is so free from austerity, and so sympathetic, that it ought to do great service to young people, and be widely circulated amongst them.

Glimpses into Plant Life. An Easy Guide to the Study of Botany. By Mrs. BRIGHTWEN, F.F.S. With Illustrations by the Author and THEO. CARRERAS. T. F. Unwin. 3*s.* 6*d.*

We have not met a book which gives such an insight into the processes of plant life as this most interesting and instructive volume. It deals with such subjects as Adaptation, Roots, Tree Stems, Leaves, Buds, Flowers, Pollination, Fertilisation, Fruit, Dispersion of Fruits and Seeds, Germination, Physiology of Plants, Insectivorous Plants, and the Habit of Growth in Plants, and deals with them in a way so pleasant and so suggestive that it cannot fail to help those who are repelled from the study of botany by its hard terminology. There is not a dull section in the book and we should like to see it in the hands of every intelligent boy and girl in the country.

The Rise of Democracy. By J. HOLLAND ROSE, M.A. Blackie & Son. 1897. 2*s.* 6*d.*

We suppose that of Blackie's "Victorian Era Series" no volume will be felt to be timelier or handier than this. It is clear and able, and fairly complete—as complete as so comparatively small a volume could well be. It cannot be pretended that it is inspired by an anti-democratic animus; but it will tend to clear definition of ideas and views among contending parties. Mr. Rose does something to help us even in his Preface, when he tells us that he uses the word *democracy*, not in the slipshod

meaning of government by the wage-earning classes, but by the people. But does he mean merely the majority of the population by "the people"? His philosophy hardly goes to the root of this question. This is, however, an interesting and serviceable volume.

The Standard of Value. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON JORDAN. Seventh Edition. Longmans. 1897. 6*s.*

We do not take any side in the bimetallist controversy. The volume before us, however, is a standard book; perhaps the ablest handy and popular manual on the subject, on the bimetallist side. Mr. Jordan is a statistician, a Member of the London Chamber of Commerce; a civil engineer; a man of science, and a member of great societies; he writes with nerve and spirit, and gives his reasons clearly and strongly for his views. His book appears to be the accepted exponent of the party to which he belongs, at least for general reading.

Lessons from Life: Animal and Human. A Compendium of Moral Teachings, illustrated by Curious and Interesting Habits, Relations, Instincts, Peculiarities and Ministries of Living Creatures. With an Introduction by Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN, LL.D. Elliot Stock. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Pulpit illustrations are far more frequently drawn from tree and flower than from beast and bird, but no one can turn these pages without seeing what wealth of matter there is in the animal world for the observant teacher. The anecdotes here given are skilfully and brightly told, and well arranged, with an index of subjects, another of the moral truths illustrated, and a third of Scripture texts on which light is thrown. We have spent some pleasant moments among the good things drawn from scientists and other writers, new and old. A good illustration is a great help to speakers and hearers, and this is a new and rich vein which many will work for themselves.

On the Threshold of Central Africa; a Record of Twenty Years Pioneering among the Barotsi of the Upper Zambesi. By FRANÇOIS COILLARD. Translated from the French and Edited by his niece, CATHERINE WINKWORTH MACKINTOSH. With 44 Illustrations and Photographs by the Author. Hodder & Stoughton. 15*s.*

In the 650 pages of this large attractive volume with its numerous illustrations, its elaborate index, and its admirable

map, the English reader is presented with the early history of an important mission and with glimpses of the personality of a great and most devoted missionary. It is much to say, but not too much, that M. Coillard's name henceforth will be linked inseparably with the names of Moffat and Livingstone as one of the noblest, most courageous, and persistent of the missionary pioneers to whom the world will chiefly owe the opening up, the civilization, the Christianization of South Central Africa. The scene of his labours during the latter half of his forty years in Africa lies to the north-west of Matabeland, and to the west of Lake Nyassa, an immense territory whose numerous tribes are ruled by King Lewanika under the protectorate of the British Chartered Company. In the course of the narrative the country is described in detail, so that the volume is of value to the trader and the traveller as well as to those who are more directly interested in the missionary work so graphically, and with such wealth of fact and incident, and yet so modestly set forth. The translator has preserved much of the author's bright and lively style, and the book reads with all the ease and more than all the charm of a romance. But the story evidently has lost something in the telling. So far from having been heightened for effect, it has evidently been lowered by the author's scrupulous, sometimes nervously over-scrupulous, regard to truth, and by his occasional despondency. The story might perhaps have been more briefly told, but we should be puzzled to decide where it could be abridged without the sacrifice of what would be of interest to the majority of its readers. The chapters were contributed originally to the *Journal des Missions*, the organ of the Société des Missions Evangeliques de Paris, a body composed, we believe, of members of the Reformed Church, the Lutheran Church, and the Free Church of France, under whose auspices M. Coillard has prosecuted his heroic and eventually triumphant work. They have all the vividness and variety, if, at times, they have also the looseness and prolixity of rapid writing in all sorts of circumstances. As they stand, they form one of the most interesting stories of adventurous travel, and one of the marvellous records of pioneering in the missionary field that we have ever read. We have not room for even one of the scores of passages marked, or for the outline of the story that we had prepared: our readers will be well advised if they enrich their libraries with this inspiring record of toil, and sacrifice for God and man. M. Coillard's book will take its place on all our missionary shelves alongside Paton's on the New Hebrides, and Mackay's on Uganda. It is a cogent piece of Christian evidence, as well as an absorbing story of adventure into regions hardly yet explored. We cannot speak of it in terms of praise too high, or warm, or strong.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 15).—M. H. Houssaye gives an impressive sketch of the Battle of Ligny, in 1815, dwelling on the plans for the campaign and the passage of the Sambre. The excessive extension of the British and Prussian lines has been severely criticised by military historians, but Wellington and the apologists of Blucher have justified it by the difficulty of supporting their troops, and by the necessity of protecting themselves at all points. It was thought improbable that Napoleon would venture on an attack. On June 15th, at the hour when Napoleon had his foot on Belgic territory, Wellington wrote to the Czar that he expected to take the offensive at the end of the month. A few days earlier Blucher told his wife, "We shall soon enter France. We shall probably remain here for a year, because Bonaparte will not attack us."

(February 1).—The Duke de Broglie's notice of the life and work of Victor Duruy, whose place he took in the "Academy of Sciences," is an interesting study of a distinguished writer and educational reformer. Duruy was brought up in the royal establishment of Gobelins, where his family had for seven generations carried on their profession, which combined the gifts of the artist as well as those of the workman. His father intended the boy to take his place, but his love of study led him to send Victor to college. After his college course and a brief term of work in the provinces, he was chosen as Assistant-Professor of History at the College of Henri IV, in Paris. Here he eked out a modest income by preparing text-books for the great publishing house of Hachette. His opportunity came when the Emperor Napoleon asked him to assist him in preparing his "Life of Cæsar." He won the favour of the Emperor, and rose rapidly till he was appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1863. He gained this distinction by no sacrifice of political conviction, for his opposition to some of Napoleon's methods was well known, but he rendered great service to the cause of education during his tenure of office, and after his retirement spent the last twenty years of his life in perfecting those histories of Greece and the Romans which remain as models of conscientious research and exactness.

(February 15).—M. Levy gives an impressive sketch of "German Industry." The causes for the prodigious impetus given it during the last quarter of a century are multiplied. The population has increased from 40 millions in 1870 to 52 millions to-day, and a country which once was chiefly agricultural has become one of the most powerful industrial communities in the world. In Prussia, according to the recent census, the number of persons employed in industry has increased to 61 per cent., whilst the population has only grown, during the same period, 23 per cent. The number of those employed in chemistry has increased 72 per cent., in machine making, 57 per cent., in building 80 per cent. Political unity has played an important part in the economic development. The Zollverein had been created before 1866, but the diversity of legislation in the Germanic states hindered its work. But the proclamation of the Empire, in 1871, with the monetary and postal unity, the common legislation, and the complete liberty of traffic which followed it, acted like an awakening for the whole country. Military triumphs had given the Germans confidence in themselves, which they had not felt before. The towns grew quickly, and to-day there are 102 cities with more than 30,000 inhabitants. The situation has been completely changed, and there are many wise men disturbed by the sudden development of trade, and wondering where it will lead.

(March 1).—"Our predecessors in Tunis" is an unsigned article which opens with the sentence "Africa is an immense reservoir of men and of riches, but it has guarded its secret well during thousands of years." France only learnt yesterday the lesson which the Romans learnt ages before, and set herself to colonize Tunis peacefully. The patrician Gregory was killed in 647, and the rule of the Latin race on the soil of Africa came to an end. The ruins remain as the Arabs left them Time seems scarcely to have added any touch of destruction. Quite recently the French general came to camp amid them, and it seemed as though the chain of time had been renewed and Rome returned in the soldiers of a great Latin nation to the scene of her former triumphs.