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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1899.

DR. DALE.

The Life of R. W. Dale, of Birmingham. By his SON. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 14*s*.)

THE Life of Dr. Dale, by his son, is one of the foremost religious books of the time. It may be said at once that its workmanship is as nearly perfect as possible. The very small connexion of the present writer with its production (too generously acknowledged in the preface) leaves him entirely free to say so. It has been complained that the book does not go into sufficient personal detail, or admit us far enough into its subject's heart. But some religious biographies of late have been beacons from that siren shore. And besides there were few data, which were further reduced by the sudden death of Mrs. Dale at an early stage of the work. Dale was an objective-minded man. He had his spiritual struggles, but he left no record of them except what we can read out of his public writings. Even there is there little of a spiritual history to be traced. He did not go through the mental evolution that marks a

transition age—none at least whose stages are marked by his publications. He was not given to thinking aloud, and it was his nature to be rather shy of any conviction that had the mark of being home-made. He never felt that he could discover anything new in Christianity. And he did not cast his slough in public. One does not feel that expression was a part of his education, as is the case with so many in a voluble and æsthetic time. He did not work off his Wertherisms on the public. Hence, even the research of his biographer has been able to discover but scanty clews to his personal mind until the last few sorrowful years. There were few or no correspondents to whom he unburdened himself. His intimates were men, and men with whom through common work he was in frequent, or even constant, contact. And, glad as we should have been of more correspondence, there is one compensation: it has made it possible to reduce the story to one volume; in which, I venture to say, Dale would not have wished one word unwritten; and which has its material constantly and thoroughly in hand.

It is impossible in a review to touch on most of the matters stirred by the account of a life so full of interests, energies, and the deepest principles of the deepest practical concerns. Nor need space be taken up with even a skeleton biography here. It may be enough to touch on one or two of the most salient features that emerge only as mountain tops above the hills.

I.

It may safely be said that no part of Dale's education for his work was more effective than his relation to Mr. Angel James; and it may be named at the outset, because it gives the keynote of a character no less great in quality than strenuous in amount. Both men appear in this biography to the greatest advantage; and Mr. James especially stands here in a finer light than the present generation at least has before perceived. The author of *The Anxious Enquirer* is

now happily fading from memory; but the tutor of Dale's ministry must be gratefully and honourably remembered. It is hard for some of the younger men, to whom Dale appeared as a pillar of orthodoxy and a *Freund des Bestehenden*, to realise that he began as a firebrand, dreaded by the orthodoxy of his youth as much as the Leicester Conference men were by his friends in 1878. Yet so it was. His attacks on the entrenched (and debased) Calvinism of Independency in the forties, created as much misgiving as the assaults of later men in turn upon the liberal orthodoxy which he came to represent. Yet, throughout this period of his young crusades Mr. James not only treated him with the most paternal, considerate, and chivalrous kindness, but he compelled those with whom his influence was supreme to do the like. "Now, you leave the young man alone. He has the root of the matter in him. The young man must have his fling." Who can doubt that it was the wise course as well as the noble? Who but must regret that all the Evangelicals of the day did not see fit to treat the new generation with similar sympathy and wisdom? There is one odious individual of the period that offers an unholy contrast with Mr. James; and both of them had to do with Dale. Through the coarse blundering of this man he was nearly lost to the ministry altogether. And it is not the least mischief done by these fierce slashers that they set a fashion of ferocity among the little men who are mean as well as wild.

The whole secret of Dale's noble life finds early expression in his attitude and response to Mr. James. Dale had that unspeakable blessing for a young man of having found in Mr. James a personality to whose authority he could submit his own judgment, in procedure, at least, if not in conviction. In 1857, while assistant to Mr. James, he received an invitation to the pastorate at Cavendish Street, Manchester, one of the largest churches in the denomination. His own impulse was to go—his own judgment indeed. But he put the decision entirely in Mr. James's hands, with whom his connexion was "a very sacred thing"; and Mr. James said stay. Dale's action in this matter is the clew to much that

was most impressive in his character, and most distinguished him morally from the ordinary able and independent man. While the quest of such is for freedom, Dale's was the higher and more arduous culture of an authority which could guarantee freedom in something more than an abstract and negative sense. It was all of a piece with his standing contention that the Independency he prized was less dear because of its freedom than because of its facilities for obedience to Christ. In no respect more than in this has he changed the spirit of his communion, exalted the love of Free Church principles among them, and lifted them out of the Miallism (with great respect, be it said, for that honoured name) and individualism which in many cases had practically substituted the conscience for Christ.

"The wonder to me is, considering that the Congregational idea has been almost forgotten for several generations, and its place taken by a system of individualism, that our Churches have survived. Their survival is an illustration of the power of evangelical truth; as apart from a great polity no Church survives long."

This biography is a great textbook of positive and spiritual Nonconformity. And the present writer can say so the more effectively as he learned the same principles elsewhere, of Word, Church, and Sacraments, and found in Dale the most welcome expansion and support.

But before Dale had come into contact with James he had laid down the great moral principle of his life. It inspired the first production of his youthful pen, an essay on the Talents. And it was itself inspired by Dr. Channing, whose writings on the supremacy of Duty to Culture were the source of Dale's moral conversion, and sowed the seed which grew into the whole of his subsequent Nonconformity. The most subtle enemy of the Free Churches today is the preference of culture to principle, in a time when more is being done for the education of the mind and taste than of the conscience. It is singular to note how, while Channing was the father of Dale's moral life, George Dawson was responsible for his public spirit.

II.

There is little doubt that Dale went to pieces through his own energy and speed, as a huge fly-wheel will sometimes do. He not only did the work of several men, but he carried on three distinct professions—one of them being the profession which makes the severest strain of all on the sympathetic and nervous system, the Free Church ministry. He was preacher, pastor, writer, and politician; and he was a politician not only in the platform sense, but in the committee sense, an administrator of extreme labour and patience with detail. He worked at everything he did. He never spoke in public without respectful preparation—as so many busy men do, and lose by their slovenly tongue more influence than they gain by their careful work. It was hardly in human nature to stand the strain he put upon his physique, powerful as that was. It was only his massive faith that saved him from spiritual breakdown as well—a fate that overtakes more men than we hear of. The great lawyers can go through as much intellectual work, but it is work devoid of that strain which has just been alluded to, and which calls upon the resources not of the mind so much as of the man. This is a point which many preachers ignore, and which no hearers will ever understand. The preacher and pastor is the man who is least able to carry another profession besides his own, and in these days less than ever. When the student issued from his seminary equipped with a finished system which he had but to explicate and apply, it might have been otherwise. And when the demands of a congregation were of the easy and leisurely old sort in respect of those meetings and organisations which the variety of modern taste, need, and faddiness multiplies in a large Church; when public life was less keen, and social philanthropies fewer, with their demands for the minister's presence and help,—it was more possible then to add to the ministerial work energies of a different kind, a considerable degree of solid learning, and the oversight of even an

academy of students. But to-day, when college training rather fits a student to find a system in due course than provides one, when he must keep abreast of new knowledge even to understand as a preacher ought the great textbook of the Church, it is growingly impossible for the minister to carry on another profession, literary or publicist. And there has been a series of breakdowns in the attempt among the abler young men most in request, which means a grievous waste of precious powers, and the lack of them just when they were most needed, and would have been most mature. The public in this respect is as voracious and reckless as a schoolboy with his first hamper. There are communions where it is a common complaint that, since a certain race of the older men passed, leaders are not being grown. They are burnt up in the ripening. The wheat is eaten as provender, and there is a famine of the ripe, guiding word. The behaviour of some of the great religious assemblies reveals the staggering and jibbing which come of no hand being on the unseen reins. They yaw as if the helm were loose and the steersman green. Dale, though he did not die young, yet left us when the ten best years of his life were to be expected, and when we needed as we never did before what he of all men could have been and done. The gospel of work, which has ousted so far the gospel of faith, is having its suicidal effect. And in this respect it may be permitted to doubt whether Dale did the wise thing in clinging to his pulpit in sole charge as long as he did. It is not easy to evade the belief that, had he accepted the college presidency which would have been at his disposal in one place if not in another, he would not only have avoided that "undertone of dissatisfaction with the Pauline gospel" which he perceived in Carr's Lane, but he would have been a power and a blessing to his communion, and to all the Free Churches, such as some of them need more than anything else in the world. Dale was too large a man for the charge of a single congregation. His mind moved in orbits which were too high and wide for the grasp of the ordinary hearer. And his profound

spiritual experience placed him more and more beyond the reach of the young person who rules the period, whose religion tends to become less and less moulded on the great religious experiences of history, and more and more upon social issues and the pious humanities. This is not said in any improper spirit, nor with special reference to Carr's Lane. It is the case everywhere, and it is not to be deplored so much as to be wisely and kindly dealt with. The appointment of a young assistant was a step in the right direction; but it was only a step. And the true course has been since taken.

III.

In nothing would Dale's influence and guidance have been more welcome now than in the great cause of his life, after his gospel—education. His principle on the subject is well known. It is simple and thorough. But perhaps it was only possible to entertain it at an early stage of the problem, before the practical difficulties had been realised as they have been in experience since. In his own communion at least, with its poor organisation and its one-man ministry, the practical difficulties of supplying from the Church the daily religious instruction required to supplement the secularism of the State seem quite insuperable; and one would give much to see them handled now by such a master of the practice as Dale, and such a purist in the theory of the case. The work would have to be done either by the existing teachers, or by voluntary teachers, or by paid visiting teachers, or by the ministers. The existing teachers dread that their appointments should become a denominational football. Voluntary teachers are unskilled in instruction, and mostly inept for discipline; their lack of discipline would do more to demoralise the tone of the school than their personal religion could counteract. The paid visiting teacher could scarcely overtake as much work in scattered half-hours as would afford a livelihood to capable men. And the minister is already an over-burdened man, whose

pulpit work in far too many cases suffers from the distraction of his calls, and whose precious morning hours, due to his study, would be utterly ruined by duty of this kind, probably at some distance from his home. In a sacramental Church, where preaching is of no moment, this would not be serious; but in the Free Churches, which by the word of the pulpit stand or fall, it is serious in the first degree. The failure of the pulpit means the success of the altar.

This is not the place to go into a discussion of the situation. Dale's theory has broken down in practice in the very town whose Free Churchism he chiefly made. The weak spot in his theory perhaps was that he did not allow for the difference between the adult and the child in their religious relation to the State. To the adult the State is not in *loco parentis*, but it is so to the child whose education it undertakes and compels. And this parental relation cannot leave the religious element out of account. Education on anything like a parental basis cannot be disassociated from religious influences with safety to the public soul and conscience. And the separation of religion from dogma, which is impossible for a Church and its teaching, may yet be practicable for the school with the child. It might be granted that in a consecutive treatment of Scripture, points of dogma could not be evaded; but the same need not apply to selected passages. And the inadequacy (for it is no more) may still be supplemented by increased efforts in a more positive and evangelical direction in the Church, the Sunday school, and the home. It was perhaps another fallacy when Dale said that religious education could only come from truly and personally religious men. This is perfectly true of religious education in the highest sense, which aims at conversion and sanctification. But such could not be the aim of a State school; it is the function of the Church and the home. And short of it there is a great and real religious region, the region of religious ethic, personal and public, of Scripture history and principle, where the religion of the teachers to be effectual need be much

less positive or explicit than Church purposes demand. There is much paternal religion which is very effective as influence, and lends much weight to precept, without being pronounced enough to be pastoral. The matter, however, is only touched here to accentuate the regret that Dale is not, as he might have been, with us to turn his sound and searching judgment on the problem as it now stands. And even he could hardly get over the indifference, crassity, and irresponsibility of the average parent on the subject. It should be further said that these are views which are by no means universal in Congregationalism.

IV.

Dale's combination of theology and polity carries us back to a far greater name in both, *viz.* Calvin, and to a name also greater in one at least, *viz.* Wesley. And he had a special affinity with Wesley and his followers in the place he gave to experience, not only for religion, but also for theology. Theology was not for him the result of thoughts presented for our faith ; this is a source of most of the justifiable scepticism which assails the doctrines of the Church. It was the result of faith thinking, which is a very different thing. Dale did not know German, and was not affected by German influences in the formation of his views. His conscious affinities were rather with the French theologians, and especially the classic French preachers, with their lucidity of style and thought, and their finer religiousness of tone. He gravitated to a preachable theology ; and the Germans do not grow preachers, while the French do. But for all that, there he has a singular unconscious affinity with the great movement in which Schleiermacher revolutionised Protestant scholasticism by his appeal to the Christian consciousness ; and there are in him many striking points of contact with the continuation and correction of Schleiermacher's work by Ritschl. Especially was his objective mind in tune with the historic authority which Ritschl invoked from the New Testament to save

experience from losing itself in its own course, and setting up the spiritual malaria of a river in a fen. His treatment of the relation of experience to criticism in *The Living Christ and the Four Gospels* might have been based on two bold pages of the Ritschlian Herrmann in his *Christian's Walk with God* (book ii., chap. i., sec. 15, 16, E.T.): *e.g.* "Help lies for each of us not in what we make of the story, but in what the story makes of us" (E.T. p. 62); or, "The man who has had this experience can with hearty confidence allow historical criticism to have free play" (p. 63). "He who has found the inner life of Jesus through the mediation of others [evangelists], in so far as he has really found it, has become free even of that mediation" (p. 61). I had the happiness of bringing Ritschl under Dale's notice, perhaps for the first time, in a serious way; and it is a great regret to me that he did not live to see the English of a book that would have delighted him like Herrmann's. On the question of the Atonement he would have found (and did find) Ritschl unsatisfactory. But he would have also found that to a large extent redressed in the work of the younger Ritschlians. It was by the Atonement, and by the kingdom of God, that he laid hold of Christianity, rather than by the Incarnation. For him it was not the Incarnation that was the key to the Atonement, but the Atonement that was the key to the Incarnation. He was of those to whom the Logos cycle of ideas is not primary but secondary; the primary cycle was that of the Western Church rather than of the Eastern. He was a Latin more than a Greek in his mental build. He leaned to the anthropological rather than the theosophic side of theology, and found his account rather in history and experience than in theories of reason and knowledge. From the first he was more interested in law than in reason, partly from temperament, partly from the purely English nature of his philosophical education. England believes in law, but not in reason; it is the agnostic's native land. It was the fundamental relation of the gospel to law rather than to ideas, which interested him, and bespoke for the Atonement a concern more

vivid than he found in Christology. He was only not a theologian in the sense that he was not an academic theologian, but a practical and parænetic. He had not the minute learning of the chair, but the broad insight of the pulpit. It was the theology of the heart, in the best sense of a term much abused by lazy pietists. And for the making of preachers it was the one theology. It may safely be said that had Dale presided for ten or fifteen years over a theological college the whole tenor and force of Congregational preaching would have been lifted, and—shall we say?—saved. It would at least have been saved from the one-sidedness of charm, interest, and sympathy, saved for the message, less welcome, but still more needful and largely lost, of authority, judgment, and power.

It is possible, too, that had he been spared some years longer to devote to theology the chief energies of a life whose practical results disappointed him, he might have been led to an expansion and enrichment of his work on the Atonement. The idea of revelation has, under the influence of the Ritschlian as well as the speculative movement, been taking a central and determinative place in the theological world. It was a tendency which Dale himself had felt: and it is at least possible that, in course of time, it might have led him, as a preacher of the word especially, to reconstruct and enlarge some aspects of the Atonement theory from that point of view. It would have been a congenial and fertile task for him to work out the redemption idea as an absolute necessity for an effectual revelation, and to construe Atonement in terms of the kingdom of God in a way more searching than Ritschl did with his rejection of the expiatory idea. We know that he meditated a treatise, which is deeply needed, on the Holy Spirit. And he was very sympathetic on an occasion when it was pointed out to him that the chief need of theology at the present juncture was a fresh presentation of the unity and continuity of the idea of redemption in the gospels and in St. Paul. The ultimate question of Protestantism is the evangelical question. It is whether the Pauline version of Christianity

is the true version of Christ's own gospel. There are Protestants of the most profound and liberal culture, really informed and not dabblers in philosophic thought, hierophants of the best mind of the age, who declare that Protestantism can only be saved as a world-power by renouncing its Pauline foundation and form. They resent for the age the sharpness of the Pauline antithesis between law and gospel, and declare that the Christianity of Paul was another than that of Christ Himself. They urge that the influence of Paul was small in the making of that early Church which yet brought about a vast renovation of mankind and became the spiritual ruler of the world. They resent the Rembrandtesque contrast of light and darkness in such a gospel; they grind down the points of the soul's most awful antithesis and crisis; and they find that a faith of such tremendous forces and collisions cannot be the faith of gentle and harmonious natures, and especially of women. To such things it might of course be replied that the distinctive theology of a Church need not be the theology of every individual in it. Its great and classic experiences give it its collective note, but they need not be repeated in the history of each soul. Not all are forced on the conscious crisis; it is enough if, when the crisis comes, it be realised and met in one way and not in the other. In the household of faith there are many mansions, and many tabernacles on Hermon. The great mountain ranges of Pauline experience hold very many nooks and valleys for the gentler and weaker souls, who live in the shelter and shadow of the mighty; and their imagination is ruled and shaded by the presence and sight of those stormy and steadfast heights which they never climb; as none of us climb the sunny sky, which yet, more than earth, subtly moulds our spiritual nature and our peaceful hope.

But there is no issue more vital to Christianity than this, and precious will the work be that takes it seriously in hand. Dale could have done much for such a cause, and he could have said his word with a voice for which his previous work would have procured attention throughout the world. Pro-

testantism is also waiting for some great word on the question, which is socially the most urgent of all as the old restraints and sanctions pass away in modern freedom—the question of the final and effective authority. That was a word which Dale, by his public and theological experience, was well qualified to speak. He might not have spoken *the* word, but on that theme he could have spoken *a* word of great weight and wide range. His positive, practical, ethical, and spiritual mind was calculated, perhaps by some of its limitations, to act upon the English temper where more philosophic and rational appeals fail.

V.

What strikes one most about Dale's mind is not its intellectual power, great as that was. Everybody who worked with him had to recognise the swift and piercing way he had of mastering schemes and cases. Most who came near him were made to feel the faithful and patient style in which he studied details and based his generalisations. But I would say more than that, especially in the light of this biography. The qualities I have named are those that mark the great lawyer that Dale undoubtedly had it in him to be. But he had another feature, and a higher. He had not only the power to penetrate to the bottom of a case, but the passion for the world's case, for reality. May it not be said that it is one of the cravings which most honourably mark an age like our own, in which there is so much else to disquiet and dispirit? The man with the passion for reality is not only the truest representative of his age, but among its best servants. Nowhere are they more called for than in the religious, the Christian world. And at this juncture most of all. We are now getting within sight of some finality in respect of the history of our faith. We are not only well informed about the history of dogmas and of the Church, but we are upon more solid ground in that regard than we were one hundred or even fifty years ago. The historian has not exactly done his work, but he has done so much that the time is ripe, and

the need grows urgent, for his successor to arise and tell us, or enable us to find, how far the truths left by historical criticism correspond with the ultimate realities of life, the world, and the soul. It is the man duly equipped, indeed, but above all dowered with the passion and faculty for reality, that is the type most needed, especially by the Church, at the point we have now attained. How far are the doctrines and experiences of historic Christianity expressive of ultimate and absolute truth? How far is Christian truth the truth of things? Is there a spiritual universe, really? And does Christian truth alone do it justice? This is the pure theologian's realm and use. The historian and the saint stand on the one side of us and on the other. One tells us what the Church has thought and what Christ believed; the other tells us what he himself has felt and known. How far is the witness of either the truth of things? How far are they final for the soul, ultimate in their authority, and despotic for action? How far have they right as they have might? We had never more learned theologians; but we need, for the greatest uses of the Church, scholars of realist insight, who have power so to grasp and adjust the truth of the past as to make it identical with that final authority in which the will, in spite of its recalcitrance, recognises the living power whose right it is to reign. We need the theologian, not simply as the hierophant of experience, but as the prophet of spiritual reality.

Now I do not say that Dale was one of the greatest of such men of genius. Genius perhaps he just missed. He was not a Schleiermacher for his age. But he belonged to that race. He held of reality. His goal was ultimates. Faith for him was not simply a real experience, but an experience of reality; and it was what it was for the soul, not because of its own reality, but because of the reality it touched, held, and read. His whole order of mind was objective. This was one of the great sources of his influence in the religious world. He stood out in an age which has objective instincts, but only subjective

powers; which has objective longings, but only subjective tastes; an age literary, æsthetic, and agnostic in its temper, sentimental, humanist, and philanthropic in its creed, yet sad and more or less disappointed because its colossal subjectivism is still only feeling about for an eternal reality. He stood out in such an age, not, indeed, with a final answer to its quest, but with the great manner about him of those who know its need to be deeper than it feels, and who face it with an objective and eternal Word. He did not work out the great synthesis, but he belonged to the order of mind that demands it and knows which way it must be sought—that it must be sought neither in individualism nor subjective experience, but in some actual objective authority which at once commands and reconciles. These are the sons of true power, for whom faith is not so much a matter of subjective experience as a grasp of eternal reality, and an answer to ultimate revelation. Their last appeal is not to the Christian conscience only, but to an objective word and gospel for which conscience is only the area or the organ. It is a grievous perversion, which accounts for much that causes misgiving in the faith of the age, that a religious man should so generally mean a man of a particular way of feeling rather than a man with a special relation to reality.

It will illustrate Dale's passion for reality to recall the position he took towards the common platform claim that Congregationalism is the ecclesiastical expression of democracy. This claim has often been sent home by reminding the popular audience that it is the ecclesiastical form in which, as in democratic politics, things are settled by majorities. And the principle has been worked inside the Church, as well as urged outside, till in the result the Church meeting has differed in no spiritual aspect from the proceedings of a committee, and methods have frequently been employed which savour more of the astute politician than the wise Christian. The presence of Christ in the midst of the Church has in multitudes of cases become a mere theologoumenon, as if it were kept within the trust deed in

the Church's safe, and hardly brought out within the memory of living man. It was Dale's realism, and what has been called his High Churchism, that he took the Congregational theory at its word, and insisted that the practice of the Churches should conform to the principle which gave them their right to be. To conduct a Church as a small democracy was, in his view, fatal to the very meaning of a Church. It was not a democracy, but a monarchy. It had no meaning if Christ were not its King, and if its King were not present and supreme in its practical life. The average Church held, indeed, under Christ; but it treated Him as an absentee landlord, who, if present at all, was only present in the worship, and then only in a somewhat figurative sense. Against this idea Dale protested vehemently. If Congregationalism, as a system, rested on the presence of Christ, it rested on a real presence and an effectual. If that presence was not effectually realised and obeyed, the system was an impertinence and a failure, a piece of ecclesiastical self-will. If Christ was merely a patron or a memory, He was not a King. If He was a King, He did not only reign, but rule. And if He ruled, there should be much less talk about any possible Christian Church as a democracy. To import these political ideals into the Church was to re-establish the Church and disestablish its King. It was to bind the freedom of Christ down to the methods of the State, and rob the Church of the one authority which made it a Christian body as distinct from a religious group. He had little sympathy with those who went about to assert and secure the Kingship of Christ in public affairs without taking order first for the due realisation of His presence and rule in the affairs of His Church. Christ could only become the King of England by a real and effective recognition of His Kingship in the Churches, and especially in the Churches as Dale understood them, as communities of believing men and women. And here we are reminded of the way in which, as this idea won more power over him, he was disposed to qualify his previous theories about public work (for the minister at least), and to moderate his

expectations from it. Here, too, we find the principle which prescribed his sacramental position. The so called Zwinglian view claims to be the realist position of the plain man whom much theology has not made mad and whose thoughts proud fancy never taught to stray. But here, as so often, the plain man is only the disguised sceptic, the doubter who justifies his doubt by his honesty, and veils his shallowness by an appeal to that shallowest and most faithless of faculties, common sense. No theory is realist which tends to reduce Christ in His Church or His sacraments to a memory. It is utterly untrue to spiritual reality and inadequate for spiritual thoroughness. It is the same temper of mind that reduces the Church to a fraternity or a democracy; and what it fails to see is just the one reality which makes Christ the King He is, and the Church His Church. Dale saw what we shall all be forced to see who have not seen it already, that the one thing needful for the Church to-day, and especially for its freedom, is the thing so hateful to the popular democrat and individualist; it is an Authority. No freedom can be real unless there be an authority equally real, and, indeed, more so. And if that be true for civil society (as it is), it is still more true for the society of the Church. The Church which most glories in representing Christian freedom is bound to be High Church in the true sense of the word, and to make the most absolute claim to be guided by the real presence of Christ in its constitutional assemblies and acts. The memorial element in Church life or sacraments is the living Christ remembering Himself.

VI.

The impression of power and pathos left by this admirable biography is nothing less than tragic; and the union of failure and triumph, outward and comparative failure with inward and spiritual triumph, falls little short of grandeur. Yet tragic though it be, it is the tragedy of circumstance, not of soul; the spiritual history is a true victory and a holy success. The closing years of this most strenuous life, full

of disappointment as they were, yet set upon Dale the touch of spiritual delicacy which lends the last distinction to a life of immense force, influence, and honour.

Dale was one of the sons of might, and he fell upon the end of an age. He was, if one may so say, a son of God among the daughters of men. Not to be enigmatic, he was a man of power, who fell upon an age that had begun to be less influenced by power than by charm. The preaching that holds the time reflects the rise to power of the woman and the child. It is another aspect of the mediævalism which in the Catholic movement has taken such possession of the Church. It is Protestant Madonnaism. Women and the young of both sexes have a place in the Church which, in Protestantism at least, they never had before. And, as a consequence, sentiment, sympathy, and fancy play a part that they have never before taken in the Free Churches at least. Affectional and immediate sympathy takes the place once held by intellectual and spiritual—yea, by faith itself. In another point of view it may be said to be the age of the woman and the workman; and neither bears the mark of the self-searching ethical intelligence. Their religion is what is called the religion of the heart. It is unfamiliar with the great moral conflicts that reveal the ultimate nature of its own creed. It is foundations that we need, and it is anything but foundations that we want. The age is intensely susceptible on the genial side. Pity, lucidity, and charm can do with it what they will. It represents the religious aspect of a time educated chiefly by poets and æsthetic writers, and inheriting from laborious sires a prosperity which finds the prophet and thinker irksome compared with the impressionist and the philanthropist. It is the new chivalry, and it is good, and it was due. But like the old it will land us in disillusion, not to say quixotry, unless it be mastered by a faith more masculine, positive, and evangelical, as chivalry was mastered and saved by the Reformation. Humanism is not the root but the fruit of faith; and it can only thrive if it is the second, not the first. The present writer, in conversation with a young minister, remarked on the

want of weight in a preacher of great popularity who yet dealt with the weightiest questions; when he was met with the somewhat contemptuous answer that "perhaps Mr. X. was not so much for theology; but he was an inspiration, and that was the great thing." It appeared to me that the remark was a serious symptom in any minister, and most serious in a minister of the Free Churches. It seemed to indicate that the truth in faith was for the rising generation a matter of secondary moment, while the impression produced was the main thing. It put sincerity before reality, the man before the message, the Church before the gospel. It carried me back to the mediæval days when inspiration was of more moment than revelation, and Catholicism held the field, as in such conditions it always must. And the feeling awoke which has long possessed me, that the roots of the Catholic reaction are really nourished by a state of the public religion which pervades the new fraternal and philanthropic Protestantism no less than the Anglican revival. The favourite type of religion has in a word become more æsthetic than evangelical, more philanthropic than experiential, more of love than of faith; and what better climate could the Catholic wish for his order of belief. The strength of the Catholic position to-day does not lie in its specific beliefs so much as in its type of belief. It is less in the creed than in the conception of religion. It is not two different creeds that are at strife so much as two different orders of faith. The whole controversy turns on what is meant by faith. And the secret of the Catholic success is really to be found in the prevalence in the public mind, among all the Churches, of a type of faith whose mental difficulties are healed by sentimental considerations, whose affinities are with the sanctity of the saint rather than with the faith of the believer, with the beauty of holiness rather than with the power of redemption, with the charm of piety and pity rather than with the searching severities of repentance.* It might be said in a

* I once preached in a popular Church on Redemption as an act of

word that the Catholic reaction was the symptom of a faith which had left real repentance behind and lost it as a constituent element in its daily being. Forgiveness has ceased to be central in many favourite and beautiful types of belief; inspiration has become more welcome than humiliation; piety is pursued where penitence is required; the delightful prophet has submerged the urgent apostle; the humane has obscured the godly; Apollos has taken precedence of St. Paul; Origen is popular and Augustine is not; and St. Mark is not only preferred to St. Paul, but leaves him no room.

There are few things more striking in the Life, and nothing more surprising, than the too few passages of diary issuing from amid the cloud that capped this mount of God, on page 592. In a conference with his Church Dale records that it was conveyed to him among other things that "his prayers were too far removed from the actual experience of the people." This of the prayers of one who did more than any other of his day to put Christian theology on the base of personal experience! There was the extraordinary request for "more ethical preaching" from this master of pulpit ethics. And he felt that there was "a curious half-suppressed antagonism to Paul." What is the explanation of these singular revelations? Nothing which reflects particularly on the Carr's Lane congregation; but something that reveals much of the drift in the general religious mind, its use of modern words it does not understand, its alienation from the ruling spirit of the New Testament, and from the frame of one who habitually lived there.

Have we not, perhaps, come to a very crucial time in the

Judgment, on judgment as a great comfort; and my hostess, who was a gifted and charming woman, frankly told me that she would not go in the evening because the morning sermon was so unlike the few pleasant words I had spoken to the children in an earlier part of the service. I am myself so weary of the mawkish talk about faith as the spirit of the child that I try always to avoid the expression "a child of God" for "a son of God."

history of Christian experience ? The classic cases of that experience, especially in those who prescribe its ideal in the New Testament, are cases where the supreme experience was not life but Christ Himself, and the supreme concern was His kingdom. Preachers, it is sometimes said, do not understand life ; but the apostles knew Christ better than they knew life. And while our Churches were small, and severer tests of faith and membership were exacted, this was the frame of our religious communities as well. But with the passion for Christian work more than for Christian faith there has grown the need for larger communities to carry it on ; and this has led to a relaxation, in some cases very great, of the demand for a specifically Christian experience. As in the early centuries, the passion of the Church for an influence of extent has affected its command of the soul's quality. Our very missionary empire has not been without cost to our imperial spirituality. And whereas experience used to be an experience of Christ and of the Holy Ghost to which the chances and changes of life contributed, it is now, to a very great degree, an experience of life to which Christ contributes. Christ glorifies man, human nature, where man used to glorify Christ. There is an experience in which Christ is the end and life the means; and there is an experience in which life is the end and Christ is the means. There is the experience of the man whose life is sacrificed to the service and communion of Christ—the priestly man ; and there is the experience of the man to whom, practically, Christ is one of the means of grace, to whom He comes, experientially, rather as a comfort and consecration than as the Lord and Suzerain of all earthly sorrows and successes. And the severest tax on the ministerial life is created by this—that a man whose prime and habitual experience is Christ has to deal with men, and especially with women, to whom practically the ruling experience is the affections and interests of life (I will not say the world); interests to which Christ comes as consoler, hallower, or otherwise contributing rather than commanding. The problem is one that is still far from having been solved ;

and it engages the attention of some of the ablest minds in countries where more thought is given to such subjects than with us. It is a new phase of the old problem of the relation of Christ to the world of the natural man. Is that relation ascetic or genial? Is it Rome's or Luther's, Newman's or Kingsley's? The Catholic idea of asceticism in the mediæval and monastic form broke down before the Protestant idea of the vocation, the hallowing of our calling in life. But the Protestant idea itself is breaking down through the presence in our struggle for existence of so many callings which are too unhuman, self-centred, and self-seeking to be capable of consecration by any faith with the true social note. There are so many Christian people who are Christian not through their calling, but in spite of it; yet to refuse to carry it on because of the sin it involves means ruin and death. The Reformation idea of our calling was framed for men more or less independent, before our crowded time with its iron plexus of social and economic ties; it has not the same guidance for the dependent, the draper's assistant whose master presents him with the alternative of lying or dismissal. We still wait for a Christian ethic of trade, and shall have to wait long.

Dale, it is well known, and this Life makes it still clearer, went with all his tremendous force into the Protestant idea of public sainthood, of entering and mastering the world by Christian principle. Public and business life ought to be, and could be, worn and adorned for Christ. The whole of his life's physical flower was spent on this conviction. In the force of it he made himself three men. He carried on, as has been said above, three professions at least, and more lives; he had his personal spiritual life and his family life behind his public *rôles*. And when the great blow came, in which the collapse of his public career through the Liberal split synchronised with his physical breakdown to make him review his career and ask for its report, he arrived at the belief that he had made a mistake at least in degree. He became convinced

that he had taken an excessive part in the direct leavening of affairs with Christian principle. He has expressed the same belief to the present writer, and said that if he had to begin again he would be not less evangelical in his methods, but more. He felt that a great part of his success was due to his having encouraged the tendency, already too strong in the section of society that the Free Churches represent, to overdo the energetic side of things at the cost of the soul. The Churches that represent the enterprising element in an adventurous people need to be asked, "What shall it profit a Church if it gain the whole world for Christ, and lose its own soul?" He never put it so, but I do not think he would have objected to its being so put. Buddhism became only missionary, and it dried, died, and utterly lost its native land of India. There Hinduising has regained the empire which its Buddhist Protestantism once took from it, as Catholicism would regain Europe and England if Protestantism became a *busy* creed of ethical humanism. And in the days to which I allude he would have surely sympathised with the saying of one with whom his theological sympathies were limited,* that what we want now more than a forward movement is an inward movement. I only put the same thing differently when I say that to cope with the greatest perils, the spiritual perils, of the time, what we need is not enterprises, but a re-creation of the Evangelical idea and habit of faith.

It is easy of course to dismiss these misgivings of Dale's as the vapours rising from a fatal breakdown. But it is too easy. If he had shown himself incapable during this time of fine and vigorous work, or if the misgivings were confined to his worst hours, or to his own case, the answer might hold. But it was his standing belief in these last years. It stood alongside of the profoundest and humanest convictions he had yet had or uttered of sacred things. And it is a misgiving not by any means peculiar to him, but cherished by many more. It came home to him in

* Dr. Hunter of Glasgow.

substance, if not in this form, that the Church's translation of principles into energies was going on faster than the principles were being supplied by faith. She was living beyond her spiritual income. And out of that there could only come in the end that impoverishment and reconquest by Catholicism which turns a Church into a State, and a State into a dependency of the Church.

It is possible that Dale's treatment at the hands of the Congregational Union in 1888 did much to lead him to the conviction that he had lost the due balance between his ministerial and his political work. However harmonious they had been in his own personality, it was always possible that the effect of his precept and example might be very different upon minds devoid of his profound piety, his rich theological equipments, his sanctified common sense, and his great experience of affairs. It would have been like his severe and healthy humility when he met with a blow so severe, to ask himself whether anything in him had contributed to a frame of mind in his own communion capable of such a *gaucherie* and such a wound. The facts were these. He had rendered to all the Free Churches such a service upon the Education Commission that a vote of thanks from his own body was inevitable, and at the meeting of the Union at Nottingham in 1888 it was duly proposed; when one of the speakers had the incredible taste to take that occasion to say that the Liberal Unionists had "denied new Liberalism" and were "chained to the Tory chariot." His words were followed by loud protests and by still louder applause. He repeated them. "I say it again—they have denied their principles!" Considering the occasion, considering Dale's record in the matter of principle, considering, further, that he was in theory sympathetic enough with Home Rule to object only to the exclusion of the Irish Members, and that in consequence he was unable to act with any of the Unionist organisations—considering these things, the attack was as foolish as it was rude and cruel. And it was not wonderful that Dale left the meeting, and suspended his

practical interest in the Congregational Union. It was conduct of merciful magnanimity. Had he remained and spoken, it is not extravagant to think that the result might have been the rupture of the Union. His withdrawal was the more justified by a subsequent meeting of the members of the Union to discuss the Tory government's Irish policy, a meeting patronised by the committee, who gave special facilities for it by curtailing the programme of the week. Dale thought it a perilous precedent. And no doubt it was. The atmosphere of these re-unions unfits them for the discussion of much beyond their own affairs (which are not discussed enough); and in the new political cleavages of the Congregational body—not upon Ireland alone—it may appear more perilous than ever to introduce political or even social questions whose nature is to divide passionately a body without executive power, and therefore unsobered by the responsibility of action. It may have been otherwise when the politics of the body were solid. A Church might speak on a grave political issue when it is solid; but no political issue is worth action (on the part of ministers at least) which would rend the Church. They are first ministers of the gospel and Church, and then citizens of the State. And the assemblies of the Church are no place for their contentious action as members of the State—except on a theory which is fatal to the autonomy and supremacy of the spiritual principle as interpreted by the Free Churches.

It is not wonderful that such an experience should lead Dale to review in a new light his own procedure, and to ask if a line which *he* had trodden safely was the normal line of ministerial practice and the Church's weal. If such an interest in public affairs as he had always urged gave this result of unjust or cruel passion in the body he had most influenced and held most sacred, it could not but add force to other doubts whether, in practical effect, he had not been doing more for the State than he had succeeded in doing for the Church; whether he had not in effect done more for public ardours than he had done for the grace of Christ.

If he thought he had, it is far from doubtful what his verdict on his own work would be. He would blame himself for anything which made him in effect an agent more mighty for a social ideal than for the soul's secret of the gospel. He was first a minister of that gospel; and his persistent refusal to adopt a political life showed what his mind was as to the relative importance of his pulpit and his platform. In his view of things the Church, as the abode and witness of the gospel, while it consecrated the State, had yet a sanctity and a claim which belonged to no other human society.

This episode revealed to him a world, and threw his course into a new light and a new perspective. And it was not alone. Already in 1884 he had been made to feel how little he had as yet been able to affect his own communion in matters of sacred as compared with civil society. He was to himself above all a preacher; but his effect even on the religious public was at the time practically, perhaps, more that of a politician. An amusing illustration of this took place while I paid my first visit to the family in Wales. After he had been some weeks in the village a bold Celt suggested that he might be asked to conduct the service in the local chapel of the Calvinistic Methodists. He ultimately did so, but it was not without misgiving that the opportunity was offered him; for they said they knew he was a great politician, but they were not so sure that he could preach. To himself he was before all else an apostle, a minister of the Church, its gospel, and its sacraments, a Church realist more than a State realist. It was more to him to impress on men the reality of the Church, and the effectual presence of its Lord, than to bring any reforms to pass in public life. He was much more the agent of regeneration than of reform. But before the Irish incident, as I say, he had already been made to feel how foreign to his own views of the Church, and especially its sacraments, was the general feeling in his own communion. He had been commissioned by the Committee of the Congregational Union to prepare an official manual of

Congregational principles, and in so doing he had thought proper to embody certain chapters setting forth a sacramentalism which is substantially Calvin's. The inclusion of these views in a book intended to be a manifesto of practical theology for Congregationalism roused much commotion. They were the views of the early Independents; but, in the poverty of theological education which had fallen on the Congregational seminaries, they had dropped into a mere memorialism, which was unfairly stamped with the name of Zwingle, and breathed rather the spirit of Socin. The ill-informed dread of the Romish real presence had gone far to banish from most of the Churches the faith in a real presence of Christ, either in the Church meeting or in the sacraments—real, I mean, in the sense of unique, felt, effective, and controlling. To this temper Dale's treatment of the sacraments as involving a real presence (though he carefully excluded that from the elements) gave great offence; and there were the usual shallow cries about "rank Romanism" and "sacerdotalism." The agitation grew so strong that the Committee of the Union had to announce the issue of the work in two forms, one with and one without the chapters concerned.

This was only four years before the Irish episode, and it pointed in the same direction. It indicated that Dale's influence with the Congregationalism he inherited was as yet more political than ecclesiastical, and that it was not even as religious as the springs of his own action habitually were. It is not the only case that could be quoted where a minister has found that the application of his principles has preoccupied the minds of the public to the damage of his principles themselves, and that the extensive aspect of his work has submerged its intensive quality. Cases have been known where men of the most intense spirituality of nature felt free to instruct their public in an explicit way on the destructive side of modern criticism; but all their warnings and their utterances of positive belief passed ineffectually by, and what the people seized and dwelt on was the negative results, which pulled

their spiritual faith to the ground. Often it is only by bitter experience that we learn the art of spiritual pædagogy; and we discover that it is one thing to convey to the public our results, and another thing to convey the faith, atmosphere, and motive they grew in, which were the condition of their true vision, practical perspective, and safe working for us. Dale did everything with the Church for a background, with a gospel which necessitated a very real Church; but he did not always succeed in carrying the background into his picture. He addressed thousands and thousands of people on political matters for the hundreds he could speak to on the deeper sources of it all for him. As a result, he did more for the State than he did for the Church, for which he cared most. It is only of late years that his conceptions of the Church and its sacraments have begun palpably to tell on his communion. The reverent affection for him to-day is very great, and nowhere so great as among his own. But he had to confront during his chief activity a temper among his junior brethren of passionate theological revolt, largely tinctured with resentment at the inadequate education which made theology hateful. This is a state of things which has begun to move away. A new race of men is rising with a better equipment. The immense success moreover of the High Anglican movement convinces many that a minimist theology is a poor weapon against a full, rich creed. And the ecclesiastical and theological work that Dale so largely failed to do for his own body in his life he is doing very surely in his posthumous influence. But till recently it might be said that in the direction nearest to his heart he was doing more for others than he was permitted to do for his own.

There was another distinguished man among the Congregationalists contemporary with Dale, whose immediate influence was greater, especially among the younger men. I allude to Mr. Baldwin Brown of Brixton. He had some of the qualities which Dale lacked, and which were calculated to exert a more direct sway. It might be said in a word that he had the Celtic note which moves the democratic

hour. There was a lyric cry in him, more than a touch of chivalry, a fine historic sense, and an ethical, anti-theological, anti-ecclesiastical strain, which found much to meet it in the public mood. He lacked Dale's massive understanding, his acquaintance with real theology, and his taste for it. But he had the inspirational element, and he was acted on as Dale never was by the Maurician and Broad Church influences which then held the field. It is remarkable how Brown's influence has declined while Dale's continues to grow. It never was what Dale's was and is for other communions; but even in his own, if I may presume to judge, it is Dale's that has the growing action to-day, while Brown's declines. It may perhaps be taken as another proof that the historical and inspirational genius is not what permanently influences a Church, or even provides staying power for the man's own later work. There is a noble caution, due to the deliberate movement of a weighty mind, which tells more at the last than the fine chivalries and insights of the light horse. Balaclava holds the hour, but Sebastopol decides the war. But comparisons of the kind easily become ungracious; and any ungracious suggestion would ill become one who had the honour to know and the joy to love both these noble men, and who owes them what it is a pride to confess.

It is not intended to say that Dale's own country did not honour its prophet. Congregationalism both loved and honoured him. But it was naturally more influenced for a long time by that side of his work which fell in with its own public and aggressive history, and it was slow to learn the deeper lesson he had to teach on matters like the great Church and the real sacraments; these ideas had fallen into disuse with it. The present writer well remembers the horizon opened to him in his early years of study when taught that the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was an incalculable blessing to Europe; for the boyish teaching remained vivid, that, till the Reformation, the true Church was only preserved in scattered communities among the Waldensian hills. This is a crude illustration of a kindred

habit of mind which had captured an Independency more independent than historic in its views, and more singular than solid with the other wings of the household of faith. We have passed into a larger and worthier conception of our vocation, especially in accepting it as an obedience to Christ before it is an assertion of freedom, and demanded by the nature of the Church rather than by radical politics. And this broadening, deepening, and exalting of our view, as it is largely due to Dale, so will it be vastly forwarded by this model biography. It is a manual of the noblest Free Church principles. And our Samson will slay more in his death even than they which he slew in his life.

P. T. FORSYTH.

PESSIMISM AND THOMAS HARDY'S POEMS.

Wessex Poems. By THOMAS HARDY. (London: Harper Brothers. 6*s.*)

WE do not turn over the pages of Mr. Hardy's volume of poems to criticise style and metre—truth to tell, if we did, there would be much to criticise. But the majority of us, who are not rhythmical specialists, attach greater importance to the writer's verdict upon life, the verdict, after many strenuous years, of a keen, active, and creative mind. For this we read the poems, written at different periods, but their mood sanctioned, we presume, by his maturer mood. And though, at times, we catch a gleam of hope, the general tenor of the verdict is one of half reluctant condemnation. Life, humanity, and the Creator are weighed in Mr. Hardy's balances, and found wanting.

> Crass casualty obscures the sun and rain,
> And dicing Time for gladness casts a moan.
> These purblind Doomsters had as readily strewn
> Blisses about my pilgrimage as pain.

So he sings, in "Hap." Equally hopeless is his "Meeting with Despair." Even in "Nature's Questionings," where he gives, among the rest, one worthy solution to the riddle, his last word is of gloom.

> Has some Vast Imbecility,
> Mighty to build and blend,
> But impotent to tend,
> Framed us in jest, and left us now to hazardry?

Or come we of an Automaton,
Unconscious of our pains?
Or are we live remains
Of godhead dying downwards, brain and eye now gone?

Or is it that some high plan betides,
As yet not understood,
Of Evil stormed by Good,
We the Forlorn Hope over which Achievement strides?

These things around. No answer I . . .
Meanwhile the winds and rains,
And Earth's old glooms and pains
Are still the same, and gladdest Life Death neighbours nigh.

Yet we cannot call despair Mr. Hardy's deliberate choice. In his consideration of the life of conscious faith in God, he ends:

Yet I would bear my shortcomings
With meet tranquility,
But for the charge that blessed things
I'd liefer have unbe.
Oh! doth a bird deprived of wings
Go earth-bound wilfully?

These are not the words of a mere dilettante pessimism. And true pessimism cuts deep, though not to the core of things; since hatred, pain, and scorn are strong, yet not so strong as love. It cannot be ascribed to the mental sloth which finds it easier to deny than to prove. It is less trouble to acquiesce in any painful or degrading experience than to transmute it into character; and the hypothesis that there is no sense in the universe, and that God is playing a losing game, is an excellent *non*-working hypothesis. But Mr. Hardy is emphatically a worker, a man impelled by the creative instinct to interpret life as he finds it. This sheaf of mournful poems is a mere trifle, compared with all his other contributions to literature, and his pessimism is the graver problem. It is a challenge, perhaps an unconscious challenge, but no less grim and weighty, to the whole of Christendom.

Indeed, much modern writing compels us to ask ourselves whether the term Christendom is more than a figure of speech. Of paganism—too often, without pagan fortitude or patriotism—the age has more than enough. The faiths by which their comrades stand seem fantasies, not alone to Mr. Hardy, but to many a sincere soul. Nor can we wholly acquit the Churches of blame in this matter. It is their self-allotted task to vindicate optimism, to prove that pain and death, and even sin, are not the final word of God. Only a Church that, like its Master, bears men's griefs and carries their sorrows, ay, and their shame, can triumph over the spirit of despair. And here, as elsewhere, her worst foes have been those of her own household; and she has far less to fear from the open assaults of pessimism than from an unreal optimism, the traitor within her gates. Nothing can be accomplished by a Church that preaches divine joy at the heart of loss, and yet, in her own life, eschews both loss and pain. In the preference of worldly success to spiritual victory, in the refusal to bear their cross and follow the Christ they extolled, Christians have betrayed their trust, and many watching eyes have failed to see the aureole round the crown of thorns. That they may take up with single purpose the gauntlet flung down by pessimism, fight to the bitter end, and if need be, die fighting, must be the heart's desire of all. There is common ground for the battle, even if the Church has to some extent forfeited her vantage ground—of faith completely vindicated by superhuman energy and sacrifice. As the supreme ethical symbol, made vivid by a world's experience—before the world was, one with God, she can still contend for Christ. And the mention of common ground brings us to a source of pessimism lying deeper than the inconsistency of any body of believers—the source, as we are convinced, alike of inconsistency and doubt. Even before Christ came, though never to the full, the wisdom of the cross was to some foolishness, to some a stumbling-block, but hope and peace to those for whom the self was crucified. The root of pessimism is selfishness, egotism, call it what

you will—the isolation of the self from man and God. And wherever this prevails, although our lips sing the doxology day by day, sooner or later, despair will abide in our hearts. Where, on the other hand, there is unselfish service, even if the outlook seems gloomy, there is faith.

Faith is greater than we dream. We do not realise sufficiently the many aspects of the Christ of God, the many paths by which He calls on men to follow Him. The creative impulse is one not only of unification, but of differentiation; and the language God speaks to each soul is conditioned by that soul's vocabulary. For one His voice awakens distinctively religious emotion; another hears the command of conscience; another simply feels the impulse of devotion to a truth, or to an individual, or to a community. Not by the bidding—that is God's—but by our own obedience do we stand or fall. Disloyalty is want of faith; and loyalty is faith, although it be a faith no Church can formulate. To confine the term to a particular spiritual emotion is like confining the term heat to radiant heat. Before the great tribunal will the plea avail us that no vision changed our life, like the life of Saul of Tarsus? We had no clear revelation. Might not the answer be: "Fool! what revelation could be surer, could shine clearer, than the knowledge, which in all your wasted life you never wholly drowned in sin and self-indulgence—ceaseless, inevitable, of the will of God: the knowledge that love, justice, purity, even here in time, have an eternal worth, and that a duty were worth doing though framed in nothingness?"

No life is desolate that strives to follow conscience. The sun and the moon may be darkened, but God never leaves any man without the shining of that star; nor can we call him deserted who knows right from wrong. Christ had a word for him, as well as for believing, joyous souls: "He that doeth the will shall know of the doctrine." Nay, had not Christ a word of scorn for the follower who was not content with simply serving? "Doth he thank that servant

because he did the things that were commanded him? I trow not."

> "Hast thou," I cried, "no crowning grace
> That I may prove?"
> "To follow me nor see my face,"
> Said Love.

We might almost call duty dynamic, and the rapt spiritual vision passive, faith. If we could see the lives of many so called sceptics in the clear light of eternity, it is probable that we should be struck, not with their doubt, but with their intense belief, their conviction, so seldom shaken, of the fundamental unity of things which Christ came to reveal, their passionate trust in their own ethical ideals, although they seem to follow them without "the Great Companion." Ah! but there is no tribute to truth, or righteousness, or honest toil, that is not a tribute to God! We sometimes ascribe to the Creator a jealousy of His own works, which would be impossible to any true human artist. Yet lives like Huxley's, Darwin's, John Stuart Mill's—and other names throng fast upon us—are no caprice of doubt, but a triumph of faith. They are the honourable soldiers whom God sets apart for foreign service; yet they shall know their King, and come to their own country, in the day when there is no more near or far.

After this necessary digression on faith, let us come back to pessimism, which is faith's absence. Perhaps a complete pessimist never existed—certainly we should be far from wishing to ascribe that title to Mr. Hardy. Without a good share of working optimism, he could never have written what he has done: indeed, we think that in his own mind, he must often have been convinced that there was more than a "Vast Imbecility" behind him and his books. But Mr. Hardy's strong point, perhaps, is not his sense of humour. However that may be, let us turn from him to the pessimism he describes, the apparent conviction that love and faith are worthless, whether offered to man or God—the gospel of satiety and baffled desire.

In Mr. Hardy's novel *The Well-Beloved*, he has drawn a terrible picture of a man who is in love with the emotion of love. That emotion once exhausted, the woman who awakened it may look after herself: he passes on, to rekindle the first vivid passion at a fresh altar.

The story is a parable for all who prefer an emotion to the object of that emotion. Such a preference is one of the great maladies of our age, infecting not only literature, but politics and religion. For there is a good deal of oneness about humanity; and whenever we see a failing exaggerated in quite a different department, we had best look at home. The leader who flatters a people's moods to win their recurrent homage, the writers who seek notoriety and the readers who seek sensation, even the revivalist who is less interested in the sinner than in his own capacity for saving him, all these are akin to Mr. Hardy's hero. Did Christ move among us to-day, we should hardly think of Him for wondering what He thought of us. We should be too busy praying Him to make our water wine, to break our alabaster box of ointment at His feet. And yet He came to this earth to teach men to be perfectly content with loving. We may try to act unselfishly in order to win affection; we may conquer many passions in order to avoid hate; to outsiders we may seem to be fighting the good fight of faith, laying hold of eternal life: yet all does not avail us while we revolve in the small circle of our personality, and serve, not God or man, but self. Devotion to the higher self, as self, sooner or later spells pessimism, no less than devotion to the lower. So that we are in bondage; whether the prison be of clay or marble is a minor matter. Nor is it of much importance, if all the doors be barred, whether a prison have one door or many. The poor, pale ego turns back hopelessly from every door.

Culture may lend a certain eloquence to despair. But the disappointed craving for divine or human recognition, that is at the base of so much of our pessimism, is never healed by its own eloquence. While recognition is what we desire, no recognition can satisfy us. Many rivers may

flow into the sea of spiritual covetousness, but the sea will not be full. Nor shall we ever be at peace till we forget our hunger to be recognised, and simply recognise God and man. Then the divine will surrounds us everywhere. Is it nothing to me that the fierce rain which beat down my lily watered my neighbour's field, nothing to him that the sunshine that fell too hotly on his corn ripened my orchard fruit? It should be very much to both of us, for we are members one of another. The sense of the solidarity of the universe, if we do honestly hold it, softens joy and tempers grief, and even forbids despair, just because no one can despair to himself alone. The blinding agony of our failure, the no less blinding arrogance of our success, are somehow caught up into a common pain of frustration, into a common joy of progress, and our gold is not in our own, but in the vaster crucible of the divine alchemy.

It is by seeking to save the emotional life that we lose it, or turn it into emotion that in our most sensational moods we do not covet. But let it alone, and simply serve, and it will look after itself. Mr. Hardy's own poems offer illustrations of both facts, in the sphere of human affection. In "Amabel" we find the decay lamented of a love that seems to have been as purely egotistic as love could well be.

> I marked her ruined hues,
> Her custom-straitened views,
> And asked, "Can there indwell
> My Amabel?"
>
> I said (the while I sighed
> That love like ours had died),
> "Fond things I'll no more tell
> To Amabel,
>
> But leave her to her fate,
> And fling across the gate:
> 'Till the last trump, farewell,
> Oh Amabel!'"

This leaves us fervently hoping that at the last trump, the lady will have no more to say to her decadent admirer.

Mr. Hardy had better have spent the time in turning over Shakespeare:

> Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
> Within his bending sickle's compass come.
> Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
> But bears it out even to the edge of doom.

And love, though not, perhaps, in its aspect of vivid emotion, but in its deeper, truer aspect of sacrifice and service, can even bear to look upon the altered and disfigured beauty of a human soul, forth-shadowing, in its own loyalty, the loyalty of God. Sometimes Mr. Hardy knows this. In his lines "To a Friend" he strikes a stronger note, and another poem of real beauty, "The Slow Nature," it is mere justice to quote.

> "Thy husband—poor, poor heart!—is dead—
> Dead, out by Moreford-rise.
> A bull escaped the barton-shed,
> Gored him, and there he lies."
>
> "Ha, ha, go away! 'Tis a tale methink,
> Thou joker Kit!" laughed she.
> I've known thee many a year, Kit Twink,
> And ever hast thou fooled me!"
>
> "But, Mistress Damon—I can swear
> Thy goodman John is dead!
> And soon thou'lt hear their feet who bear
> His body to his bed."
>
> So unwontedly sad was the merry man's face,
> That face which had long deceived,
> That she gazed and gazed, and then could trace
> The truth there; and she believed.
>
> She laid a hand on the dresser-ledge,
> And scanned far Egdon-side;
> And stood; and you heard the wind-swept sedge
> And the rippling Froom; till she cried:

"O, my chamber's untidied, unmade my bed,
Though the day has begun to wear!
'What a slovenly hussif!' it will be said,
When they all go up my stair!"

She disappeared, and the joker stood
Depressed by his neighbour's doom,
And amazed that a wife struck to widowhood
Thought first of her unkempt room.

But a fortnight thence she could take no food,
And she pined in a slow decay;
While Kit soon lost his mournful mood,
And laughed in his ancient way.

That is another type of affection, and we see it every day. There is a love that strikes its roots deep down into the soil of use and wont, of common duties, common pains. Sometimes no light is on its face; it has always the slow, deadly grip of a reality. Its dwelling is no emotional Paradise, wherein the soul may spend her holidays, but the soul's workshop and the soul's home. Routine cannot efface it, it hallows routine; there is the sacred, dull tenacity about it that saves us from despair so often, when the bright, visionary love has spread its wings and fled. Nor can we conceive it possible that death should alter it. In a curious poem, "Friends Beyond," Mr. Hardy describes the sensations, or the non-sensations, after death, of a set of people who in life must have been most unprofitable company. He might have spared the dead—he, who has given us so many pictures of disloyalty in living heroines and heroes. Moreover, to use the word friend for any one who, in however wild a dream, we can imagine as existing yet forgetting, is sacrilegious. Even in old Greek legend, there were souls who refused to drink of the waters of Lethe. And he is indeed ill-starred who, in the saddest pilgrimage, has not looked into eyes shining with a steadfast light of memory that had no fear of death. Even now, does their light falter, though the great shadow lies between? Mr. Hardy speaks of loyalty as if it were the dream of youth. It is, but it is

also the certainty of age. The "middle-age enthusiasms" at which he carps in one of the most gloomy of his poems, are often deeper and stronger, if coloured less vividly, than the enthusiasms of the boy. Youth's task is the finding of faith, love, and work, and wherever he passes, fresh visions fascinate and elude him. In middle age, faith, love, and work are found, and in their ceaseless activity men have small time for dreaming. As for their stock of unclaimed enthusiasm, that too is small, if not, to the last fraction, turned into motive power. The peculiar glory of a possibility that has not yet hardened into a probability, falls on their path no longer; nevertheless, if they have lived truly, the force of no dream is lost. Even a man's baffled hopes, as he grows older, are turned into a sympathy that redeems energy from harshness, and strife from bitterness. He has learnt patience, even with himself. He is less sanguine, but he is also less selfish, than the boy could ever be; and whereas he once expected God to serve him, he is now well content to serve God. Therefore there is a peace about him which youth cannot understand—through what tribulation he has won to it, his own heart knows. Perhaps he may seem to have replaced his eloquent faith in great things by a silent faith in small things; but when we look closer, we see that he is busy about great things all the while. Once he said, without knowing; now he knows, and does not care to say. It is well that we should be able to use certain words freely, before we find out what they mean. We have a foreshadowing of their purport; they help to keep us on the right track. But afterwards, they mean too much to us, and we avoid them, or we use them diffidently, as men tread softly in a great cathedral. This reticence of maturity however—in those who have followed their star—never spells apathy or doubt. And one doubts whether Mr. Hardy's middle-aged enthusiasts, with protestations on their lips, and in their hearts a mournful consciousness that protestation is in vain, have really followed their star. Have the marsh-fires allured them? or have they been too much absorbed in self-analysis to look

up at the sky? There are some of us to whom the heavens appear to wax and wane, with the small, flickering glow of our own taper; and there are always others who cannot see the stars for flashing Brocken lights. And so sin—whether the sin be spiritual or carnal, what matters it?—blots out faith.

This is the great source, and this is the great argument of pessimism, human selfishness, human sin. Not pain—pain is nothing. We should all be optimists to-day, if there were only pain. Yet energy without duty, sloth without rest, love that seeks to possess the beloved, but not that the beloved should be God-possessed, and, whether it masks as freedom or as fatalism, the denial of responsibility, these are the great bulwarks of the citadel of despair. And only righteousness can prevail against them.

To the gospel of pessimism, as founded on sin, we must oppose a gospel of optimism, founded on character. Some gospel every one must preach. Each human life is an epistle, read and known of all men—a message, ostensibly from God. And we may write words of love and justice, or of indifference and wrath—both will be read, both taken in evidence. For it is not the least terrible part of life, that we judge God by each other. As He created us in His image, we must create Him in ours.

To be an optimist is to write down this message—God is love. It is the belief of all our worthiest moments, when our hearts are filled with kindliness and courage, or when we stand still, and a great faith wraps us round; it is the crown of days so full of eager service that there is no room for doubt. How sure we are, at such times, that God's love transcends all human love as the ocean its faintest ripple! We say that optimism is the only honourable creed, and so it is. But what about the dark days?—days when we find the lower self tranquil upon the throne; days when each sacrifice is fiercely grudged, and when each joy is fiercely coveted, when wrath and envy and desire seem only to have let us go awhile that they might summon their whole strength, and overcome us once for all; days of

base conflict, conflict that we should not dare to let our best friend know we waged, or of yet baser surrender? Is God love still?

Yes. God is not only the God of attainment. He never yet made a saint but He made him out of a sinner. Remorse itself is the consciousness—the consciousness in pain, which might have been the consciousness in joy—of the unbroken link between our souls and God. It is idle to ignore the manner of spiritual evolution, the constant struggle with the baser self by which the higher self is purified. We must take the divine method as we find it, nor have we any reason to suppose that heroes, prophets, martyrs are perfected without this conflict, a conflict in which one day's duties are the next day's sins. We remember how when Percivale and Galahad came to where "a thousand piers ran into the great sea," and beyond was the Holy Grail—

> And Galahad fled along them bridge by bridge,
> And every bridge as quickly as he crost
> Sprang into fire and vanished.

It is always so with the Galahads among us, those who truly seek the Grail. The saint is the ethical creator, who must always be fashioning evil into good. We could thank God for his temptations, when we see his deepened sympathy, his patience, humility, and faith. And his certainty of God's love—can a man ever be so certain who has not known despair? "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart."

MAY KENDALL.

PRESENT-DAY PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

1. *Christianity and Idealism.* By JOHN WATSON, LL.D. (Glasgow: Maclehose & Sons. 5*s.* net.)
2. *The Conception of God.* By Professors ROYCE, HOWISON, MEZES, and LE CONTE. (London: Macmillan & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

THE strong drift of philosophy to-day is towards idealism in philosophy and pantheism in religion. The reign of materialism is over for the present. A great French scientist has recently said, "The materialist theory pure and simple is dead." It still reigns indeed in certain literary and journalistic circles, but not in the highest realms of thought. Philosophy has returned to its proper sphere, and is in danger of swinging to the opposite extreme. The names of Lotze, the two Cairds, William Wallace, Thomas H. Green, are evidence of this. American philosophy, which is growing in volume and power, is taking the same direction, if the volumes above may be taken as specimens. Hegel's is the dominant name. Far be it from us to suggest that there is a necessary connexion between idealism and pantheism. Even Professor Royce, whose theory is of the most uncompromising type, disclaims a pantheistic meaning, although readers will find it difficult to understand his position in any other sense. The other writers in the same volume, although avowed idealists in philosophy, are still more emphatic in disclaiming pantheism.

The second volume is written on the co-operative method. Professor Royce is the chief debater, leading off with an essay on the proof of the divine existence from the idealist

standpoint, and closing with a long and elaborate exposition of the same theme. However little we may agree with the argument, we can only admire the brilliance and subtlety of the discussion. The wealth of thought and facility of exposition are wonderful. The book is one for philosophical students only. We confess to agreement with the criticisms of the other debaters, especially Professor Howison, rather than with the audacity of Professor Royce. Professor Howison questions whether the position taken is consistent with either individual immortality or moral freedom. He justly says that his colleague's teaching is far more akin to the pantheism of the East than to the sober thought of the West. He writes: "If the Infinite Self includes us all, and all our experiences—sensations and sins, as well as the rest—in the unity of one life, and includes us and them *directly*; if there is but one and the same final Self for us each and all: then, with a literalness indeed appalling, He is we, and we are He; nay, He is I, and I am He. . . . What becomes of our ethical independence, our personal reality, our reasonable responsibility? Is not He the sole real agent?" Professor Royce spends long chapters of bewildering metaphysics in trying to meet these objections; but the replies are verbal rather than convincing. Professor Royce had said: "I assert that this individual experience is identically a part of God's experience—*i.e.* not similar to a portion of God's experience, but identically the same as such portion,—and that this individual's plan is identically a part of God's own attentively selected and universal plan. . . . The individual is free with the identical freedom of God, whereof his freedom is a portion." And much more to the same effect. Yet Professor Royce strangely adds, "The foregoing conception of God undertakes to be distinctly theistic, and not pantheistic,"—a declaration in which we rejoice, however little we can harmonize it with the context. It is impossible here to discuss in detail a volume closely packed with argument and counter-argument. We are glad to see professed idealists in philosophy like Professors Mezes and Howison so jealous for the interests of moral freedom and responsibility.

Evidently there are different phases of the idealistic theory, or different ways of presenting and applying it. Professor Howison seems to favour a pluralistic idealism, ascribing to his brethren a monistic idealism.

The other volume by Dr. Watson is written on similar lines, and is much slighter in structure. The form indeed is open to criticism. The bulk of the work consists of sketches of the Greek, Jewish, and Christian ideals, which might serve other purposes than the author's. The exposition of idealism also is too slight, and is put in the form of a reply to Mr. Balfour's attack on the theory instead of being a direct answer. Still the volume is interesting and useful. It should be noted first of all that the author assumes throughout that the central idea of Christianity is "the essential identity of the human and divine natures." The same view is assumed by all writers of this school. Professor Upton (Unitarian), in his most able Hibbert Lectures on *The Bases of Religious Belief*, takes the same ground. He only objects to the limitation of incarnation to a single individual,—surely a significant position, especially when we find the same position taken up by writers of other schools in America, Great Britain, France, and Germany. It seems to be the meeting-place of writers like Upton, Whiton, Sabatier, Pfleiderer, Edward Caird, and to be a still vaguer form of the vague teaching of the Theodore Parkers of former days. Professor Upton, like Professor Royce, indeed explicitly disclaims pantheism, with the same logical consistency or inconsistency. Their present position can only be a halting-place. This approach of the higher thought of Unitarianism to something akin to pantheism is curious and suggestive for the future. "The essential identity of the human and divine natures"! Let any one reflect what that implies and where it will lead us. Human nature, in its essential idea and normal state, not in its actual state, is the same as the divine! If so, our ideas of God and man, of Christ, of sin and redemption, must be greatly modified. The thought of the early Church on Christ's person started from the disparity of God and man, while not ignoring the

kinship. Of course the position taken by Dr. Watson and other idealists is simply an application of the principle of the divine immanence—an immanence unqualified by any thought of transcendence. The only difference between us and Christ is one of degree; and it is a question whether even this would remain when man has reached his ideal state. Dr. Watson says of Christ: "He was one with the Father in nature, though not in person, since He was conscious of Himself as the medium through which the eternal love of God was revealed and communicated to man." At least this difference between the divine and the human must remain—that our beginning is from God. Professor Upton speaks of man as a "self-differentiation" of God. He is startled indeed at the existence of sin, which seems to be the only thing that restrains him from identifying God and man still more closely.

The treatment of sin is a touchstone of the entire theory. Every idealist makes light of it. To Dr. Watson it is merely a stage in man's progress to goodness. "Evil exists in order to be transcended. . . . Evil is not an accident; it is inseparable from the process by which man transcends his immediate life. It is only through the experience of evil that man has obtained a consciousness of the depths as well as the heights of his nature. . . . The deliverance of man from the evil which belongs to his nature, as a being whose life is a process, is possible only through the comprehension of himself as in his ideal nature identical with God." Professor Royce is much more cavalier in his treatment of the subject. He will scarcely recognise bad men as men at all—a rule that would greatly reduce the dimensions of the race. "I do not myself think it required by humanity to identify every empirical human being as a separate moral individual. On the contrary, I very much hope that many of the people who phenomenally appear to us as human beings are not, *as we see them*, distinct moral individuals at all, but mere fragments of a finite personality whose type is hidden from us, and whose individual meaning may therefore be much less sinister than the fragments within our ken would suggest.

In immortality as a boon offered to anybody who feels a wish for it—as a solace for our ill fortune, or as a character to be attributed, by way of social compliment, to any featherless biped who happens to be called a man—in all this I feel no philosophical and but little personal interest." The problem of evil is solved by the extinction of man! Idealism joins hands with Buddhism and annihilationism, with Schopenhauer and Cotter Morison, *et al.*

Before Christian doctrine can be reconciled with the idealist theory, it has to be considerably modified. Dr. Watson takes into account only the teaching of the gospels, understood in a special way; apostolic and later teaching is passed by. Redemption by atonement is described as a "highly artificial doctrine." In it sin is mistakenly regarded as a crime against a divine judge. But sin is not a crime, and God is not a judge. "Sin is not a violation of rights, but a desecration of the ideal nature of the sinner, the willing of himself as in his essence he is not." Again, as to the incarnation, "the only purely Christian idea in the whole doctrine is to regard it as an expression of the infinite love of God. . . . Stripped of its artificial form, what is affirmed is that it is the very nature of God to communicate Himself to finite beings." Another current doctrine causes Professor Royce quite to lose self-control. This is what a philosopher writes under the power of passion: "An atrocious tautology of irrational torment emphasises ever afresh to the damned the now absolutely trite brute fact that they are damned." We quite agree with the next sentence: "The fact at once loses all rational significance when thus repeated." Dr. Watson is scarcely just to mediæval Christianity. The three defects pointed out are facts; but they do not constitute the whole even of the religion of those days. The authors do more justice to the philosophy of the Middle Ages. Professor Royce says in effect that Thomas Aquinas's definition of individuality cannot be improved on. He quite envies mediæval scholastics their illustrations taken from angelic life. "A metaphysician needs illustrations, and the angel is a peculiarly neat and charming sort of illustration. So that

a modern student of philosophy may well envy the scholastics their angels." Dr. Watson finds the idea of man's original perfection "self-contradictory and out of harmony with all that we know of primitive man. . . . It is self-contradictory, because a perfect being could have no disposition to will evil. It is incompatible with the results of scientific discovery, which make it certain that primitive man began at the lowest and not at the highest stage. The state of perfection ascribed to primitive man is therefore the goal and not the starting-point of humanity. Man was therefore in his original state evil, in the sense that evil is inseparable from the life of a being who can attain to good only through freedom, which involves the freedom to fall into error and evil." It will thus be seen that Christianity is completely transformed before being brought into harmony with modern philosophy. It is the Christianity not of the Church in any form, or of St. Paul, but of modern transcendental thinkers. In fact, our American teachers take precisely the same course that was taken by Kant, Hegel, and other great philosophical leaders.

While, however, there is much in the teaching of the school under consideration that is open to grave criticism, there is much also to commend. Any philosophy that acknowledges the spiritual as the highest in man is bound to protest against the dreary doctrines of materialism, pessimism, agnosticism, and Positivism. It has a doctrine of God, immortality, ethical perfection; it magnifies the moral and spiritual side of existence; it believes in its own way in faith, hope, and love. All these things the other theories blot out; that is, they blot out the sunshine and summer, the colour and warmth, and leave us morally with perpetual darkness and winter and death. In short, between Christianity and materialism there is nothing but antagonism; between Christianity and idealism in philosophy there is much in common, and therein we may justly rejoice. Professor Howison's definition of idealism is an attractive one: "That explanation of the world which maintains that the only thing absolutely real is mind; that all material and

all temporal existences take their being from mind, from consciousness that thinks and experiences; that out of consciousness they all issue, to consciousness are presented, and that presence to consciousness constitutes their entire reality and entire existence." From such a philosophy religion has much to hope. We may remark, by the way, how Bishop Berkeley would have rejoiced at the present movement in the world of thought. Truth, he would have said, is at last coming to its own. As long as idealistic philosophy keeps clear of pantheism, holds fast to the divine personality in however sublimated a form, and recognises the significance of moral evil, it will be a valuable ally of Christian faith. We are glad to see in its advocates a consciousness of the pantheistic peril, although there is only too good evidence of the immense difficulty of avoiding the peril.

Not the least valuable service is the firm stand made for the inseparable connexion between morality and religion. Religion is not merged in morality, as is the fashion in many quarters to-day. Dr. Watson advocates the connexion, indeed, on his own special ground of the "essential identity of the divine and human natures"; still, we thankfully accept the conclusion. The separation of the two forces, it is maintained, would be the destruction of both. The fashion is to say that, however necessary the support of the religious sanction and motive was in early days, morality can now take care of itself. We do not think that any one who rightly understands either the past or the present will be of this opinion. "What is distinctive of Christianity is not the union of morality with religion, but the comprehensiveness of the principle upon which that union is based. Every religion embodies the highest ideal of a people, and the morality which corresponds to it is the special form in which that ideal is sought to be realised. It follows, that when the religious ideal is no longer an adequate expression of the more developed consciousness of a people, the moral ideal is also perceived to be in need of revision. Thus the history of religion is inseparable from the history of

morality." Two objections which have been raised from opposite points of view are met in an interesting way. It has been alleged that in Greece during the great age of Pericles there was the coincidence of a high moral with a low religious ideal, while in Israel during the days of the great prophets there was the coincidence of a low moral with a high religious ideal. In other words, in one case the high moral belief of the best days of Greece is contrasted with their low polytheistic religion, and in the other case the low moral condition of the people of Israel is contrasted with the lofty ethics of the prophets. The reply is, that in Greece the religious conceptions of the great moralists were far in advance of the popular faith, and that in Israel the religious conceptions of the people of Israel were on the same low level as their morals. "The real religious beliefs of Greece in the age of Pericles were embodied, not in its mythology, but in the interpretation of the legends given by Pindar, Æschylus, and Sophocles." The mass of the Jewish people had never freed themselves from earlier and grosser religious ideas; hence their morality remained on the same low plane.

We do not need to linger on Dr. Watson's derivation of all religions out of totemism. Totemism, he says, grows into nature-worship, then into polytheism, and then into pantheism and monotheism. The reason why polytheism developed into pantheism in Egypt and India and into monotheism in Greece is that Egypt and India simply personified their gods, while Greece not only personified but humanised them. Greek ideas of God thus took on sharply defined outlines which proved a safeguard against pantheistic vagueness. Whether in Greece polytheism ever did develop into monotheism is certainly open to question. Whatever monotheism there was existed only in the speculations of a few thinkers, and in later Neo-Platonist thought it developed into pantheistic doctrine.

The strongest part of Dr. Watson's book is the characterisation, brief but brilliant, of Greek, Jewish, and Christian ideals of religion. The appreciation of the Greek ideal,

which is "the highest type of polytheism," is full and sympathetic. Justice is done to its brightness and buoyancy, its worship of the beautiful in nature and art, while defects are recognised. The Greek deities were idealisations of Greek character, the pantheon was an idealisation of Greek society. "The Greek expresses in his religion his ideal of perfect manhood as the complete harmony of soul and body. The world of the gods is an idealised counterpart of the heroic form of society." Whatever development there was, the Greek never reached an "adequate idea of the unity and spirituality of the divine nature." True, there was plenty of laughter, dance, and song, no sense of shame and guilt in presence of the gods. But this was largely due to the almost complete lack of the deeper moral elements of religion. The philosophers and dramatists represent the religious development at its best, and in them rigid, impersonal justice sums up the moral side of the divine nature. In a word, the Greek religion on the whole is ethically weak, gay, and superficial. We do not see that Dr. Watson does more than assert that "Plato is at last led to maintain a spiritual monotheism, resembling in its main features the conception of God, which by an independent path was reached by the Hebrew people in the later stages of their history." Where is the proof?

The same theory of development is applied to the Jewish ideal. But here a breach is frankly acknowledged. The nation passes "without a break" (?) from totemism and nature-worship to the worship of Jehovah "without going through the intermediate stage of polytheism." This anomaly is explained by "the whole character and history of the people." Contrast could scarcely go further than between the Jew and the Greek. One is as remarkable for moral depth and fervour as the other is for moral shallowness and indifference. The question is, how is this moral difference to be explained? By development from different natural elements of character, says one school; by special divine communication, says the other. This is not the place to argue the question. We do not think that the dis-

coveries of our day favour our author's position. We fail to see such a difference between the natural endowments of the Jews and their neighbours as would account for the different outcome. The account given of the course of development in Israel—the fresh spring of prophecy lost eventually in the arid waste of legalism and Pharisaism—is very interesting and true. But what is not explained on the theory of natural development is "the conception of God as absolutely holy and the demand for perfect purity of heart and conduct," which was the true glory of Israel, and which grew into the perfect day of Christian revelation. Not too much is made of the national limitation of popular Jewish religion, a limitation only gradually overcome in the early Christian Church.

In the full and striking sketch of the Christian ideal the points selected are, of course, those akin to the author's philosophic standpoint. The inwardness, the deep ethical teaching of Jesus, are thrown into relief. Christianity as a remedy for a fell moral disease is not mentioned. The way in which Christ is regarded is indicated in the following remark: "Among those who at once discerned the significance of the Baptist's summons to repentance was Jesus, who adopted as His own the watchword Repent." The Beatitudes reveal at a stroke the new Christian ideal of life, placing a gulf between the new teacher and the old Pharisaic reading of the divine law. Everywhere it is the moral, not the ceremonial law that is enforced. This alone amounts to the abolition of the latter. Not only so, but in every separate precept Jesus goes back to the underlying principle. "In all cases Jesus traces back the command to its source in the nature of man as identical in nature with God" (not a very accurate mode of expression). "Love your enemies. . . . This is indeed a new commandment. It is the very core of Christian ethics,—that which gives it its superiority, and makes it inconceivable that its principle can ever be transcended. Moreover, this supreme ethical principle is immediately connected with the distinctively Christian idea of God as the Father of men, whose love has

absolutely no limits." No limits? Are there no limits of other co-ordinate perfections? The breach with the old law in the letter, the continuity in principle and purpose, are strikingly illustrated. Prophets spoke of a kingdom of God to come, Jesus speaks of the kingdom as come. What was future is present. All of old truth that Christ touched He idealised and spiritualised,—the divine kingdom, faith, the future life. Much that is suggestive is said respecting Christ's treatment of the problem of evil and the apparent triumph of the wicked. "If the true life of man consists in the service of God, the wicked must not be regarded as prosperous, but as miserable in the extreme. They have lost what Dante calls 'the good of the intellect,'—that rational good which is the source of all joy and peace. There can be no need to justify the ways of God by any far-fetched attempt to explain why wickedness is rewarded and righteousness punished. Wickedness is never rewarded, and righteousness is never punished. It is no reward to lose one's life; it is no punishment to save one's life. For he who seeks the lower misses the higher, while he who seeks the higher has the lower added to him. In other words, devotion to universal or impersonal ends—to all that makes for the good of the whole—is the secret of blessedness. By giving up his exclusive self man gains a wider self, which is the true self. And this true self is but another name for life in God." Christ's teaching on providence is finely summarised. "God works not *upon* but *through* the things which have come from His hands. Nature is not a dead machine wielded by the hands of Omnipotence, but it is instinct with that eternal principle of life which exhibits itself in the ever-recurring cycle of changes, inorganic and organic. . . . The answers of Jesus reveal the infinite depth of His optimism. The triumph of the evil cause is no triumph, but a defeat. . . . There is nothing in life so pathetic as the temporary triumph of a bad cause; for that triumph means that for a time men in their delusion are shut out from the blessedness of unity with God, and therefore with themselves. . . . The tem-

porary triumph of evil is essential to the full disclosure of all that the truth contains. The false principle must show its bitter fruits, and must accomplish its perfect work before it completely reveals its true nature." Its triumph is the means of its ultimate defeat. "While Jesus maintains the personal immortality of man, He does not base upon it a proof of the reality of His view of life; on the contrary, He bases immortality upon the belief in God and the essential identity in nature of God and man." These extracts give a fair impression of the way in which the author understands the teaching of Christ and the substance of Christianity. However true within its limits, and however finely put, the summary is grievously inadequate. The Messiah was to effect the deliverance of mankind "through suffering and death," and His followers are to save the world by the same means. No further explanation is given. It is said rightly enough, that "self-sacrificing love is the new distinctive virtue of Christianity. Man can be saved from sin only as he realises in his own life the self-communicating spirit of God. In taking upon himself the burden of the race he lives a divine life. This is the secret which Jesus realised in His life, and to have made this secret practically our own is to be justified by faith." By what motive-power this divine life is to be made ours, in other words, by what means all this lofty ethical teaching is to become "spirit and life" in us, we are not told, and the omission is a serious one. Apparently there is nothing but the intrinsic beauty and attraction of the Christian ideal to make it effective.

Finally, the author advocates greater comprehensiveness in the aims of Christianity. The Church has made a mistake in limiting itself to the promotion of moral improvement. Progress in science, in art, in society is equally within its province. The Christian ideal of life is broad enough to cover all these fields. No such limitation existed in the teaching of Jesus. "The Christianity of our day must free itself from the narrow conception of life by which Protestantism has tended to limit its principle. It must

recognise that the ideal of Christian manhood includes within it the Greek ideal of clear thought and the love of beauty as well as the Jewish ideal of righteousness and the Roman ideal of law and order, harmonizing all by the divine spirit of love to God and man, on the basis of that free spirit which has come to us mainly from our Teutonic ancestors."

The last chapter incidentally throws much light on the religious bearings of idealism. Dr. Watson says that the definition of God or the Absolute (1) as Substance, (2) as First Cause or Creator merely, and (3) as a Person, is inadequate in different degrees. This may be conceded at once. What definition is adequate? Is the idealist one more so? (1) As to the notion of Substance, we are less concerned to defend it. What is said is that the need for it is created by the unreal severance of nature and mind. Regard nature and mind as merely two different manifestations of the one absolute principle of the universe, and the need for a third term as a meeting-point ceases. Not that mind and nature are identified. They are different, but inseparable; each exists for the other. Still, mind is the higher form and explains the lower. "Nature is the manifestation of mind, mind the principle of unity implied in nature. . . . The Absolute is the unity implicit in nature and explicit in mind." The Absolute is realised in nature and mind in different degrees, most perfectly in a self-conscious being like man, but not in him "in its absolute completeness." (2) The objections to the idea of God as First Cause or Creator sound to us, we say it without disrespect, like ingenious word-puzzles such as can be constructed on every subject. Thus, "infinite power" is self-contradictory, because power is shown in overcoming opposition, and "infinite" power would include the power opposing. The only infinite or absolute power is self-conscious energy, in which subject and object are identical. In the Absolute this energy and the consequent identity of subject and object are complete. "As such a unity admits of no degrees, there can be no absolute origination of reality";

i.e. the Absolute can only reproduce itself, there can never really be any other or second self. The notion of creation out of nothing is merely a crude way of expressing this perfect "self-determining activity"; the nothing is conceived as a sort of material to work with. "The world cannot be separated from the Absolute, but must be regarded as the manifestation or objectification of the Absolute, or, in other words, as the Absolute itself regarded in its abstract opposition to itself. This opposition, however, is merely a distinction; for that which is opposed to the Absolute is the Absolute itself." What is the difference between this teaching and pantheism? (3) Less objection is raised to the idea of personality as applied to the Divine Being, because self-consciousness belongs to its essence. The objection is to its exclusiveness or limitation in regard to other beings. Here again the Absolute, it is said, must be all-inclusive. "The conception of personality is inadequate even when applied to man, for it is not true that man is merely a person. His true nature is to transcend his exclusiveness and to find himself in what seems at first to be opposed to him. He must go out of his apparently self-centred life in order to find himself in a truer and richer life. This conception of a self-opposing subject must be applied to the Absolute. The Absolute is not an abstract person, but a spirit—*i.e.* a being whose essential nature consists in opposing to itself beings in unity with whom it realises itself." This is said to be the fundamental idea in the doctrine of the Trinity. "We can conceive nothing higher than a self-conscious subject who, in the infinite fulness of his nature, exhibits his perfection in beings who realise themselves in identification with him." All this is true, in a sense, but, as it seems to us, beside the mark. The identity of sympathy which a self-sacrificing Christian manifests with others does not constitute an identity of being between them; the personality remains distinct. Again we note the pantheistic tendency and language.

The author goes on to expound the idealistic conception of purpose in the world. That purpose is not external, but

inwoven in the very texture of the universe, and evolves itself automatically, with the difference that in man the automatic evolution is conscious. Teleology is immanent, not external. "We cannot conceive of the world as first created, and then directed towards an end. . . . The purpose is not externally added to the world, but is already implied in the very existence of the world. The world is an organic whole, in which each part exists and has its proper nature only in and through others. . . . Man not only develops, but is capable of grasping the law of his own development." Matthew Arnold's phrase, "the Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness," is faulty from this standpoint; the Power is ourselves. "The Power which makes for righteousness is the conscious willing of righteousness; *i.e.* the conception and realisation of the meaning of the world. It is true that righteousness can be realised only because it is the true law of man's being, but it is a law which operates only in and through his self-conscious life." The logical drift of this line of thought is clear as noon-day.

We repeat that the ethical teaching of Christian idealism is noble, rising far above all ethical teaching possible on the ground of materialism. We quoted Professor Royce's savage scorn for the notion of universal immortality. He continues in a higher strain: "What we ought to wish to find finally saved, in our fortune, in our own lives, or in the lives of those whom we love and honour, is distinctly moral personality, conceived as a self-conscious process aiming towards a unique goal." Well said. Let us complete the statement by adding that divine grace brings such "distinctly moral personality" within the reach of all. The whole theory of Christian idealism needs to add to its system the doctrines of grace and redemption.

JOHN S. BANKS.

THE PROPOSED ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY FOR IRELAND.

THE question of establishing and endowing out of public funds a Roman Catholic university for Ireland has been brought into prominence by Mr. Arthur J. Balfour's recent letter to one of his constituents. Since the publication of that letter in January of this year, the project has been warmly discussed. On many platforms and in many newspapers and reviews, with more or less knowledge of the facts of the case, the subject has been dealt with. In Lenten pastorals several of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland have expressed their views; they have reiterated that they and their flocks have a grievance, but so far as Mr. Balfour's proposals are concerned they have said little that is definite. This is ungrateful; but—it gives them a free hand for the future.

It is probable that no one in Ireland at all acquainted with the condition of higher education would be disposed to say that the provisions made for it are from any point of view quite satisfactory. All admit that there is a university problem in Ireland waiting for solution. We do not propose to discuss this broad general question, which would include, *inter alia*, such matters as the complete nationalisation of Trinity College; the opening up of Maynooth to the laity, and giving to it the power of conferring degrees; the affiliation of the Queen's Colleges with the Dublin University; and the strengthening of the Royal University by considerable grants to its colleges for increased buildings and educational appliances. The part of the general question that we here discuss is, Would the establishment of a Roman Catholic university, on the lines laid down by Mr. Balfour, prove such a settlement of the question as

would be fairly satisfactory to all parties, and conducive to the social and educational progress of Ireland?

Mr. Balfour says that the university he proposes to establish would not be a Roman Catholic university, but a university to which Roman Catholics could go. This is a nice distinction, and it is a distinction *with* a difference. We are told on high authority what a Roman Catholic university ought to be. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick says, in the *Nineteenth Century Review* for January, 1899: "In a Catholic university the authority of the Pope would be supreme, and would reach directly or indirectly to every part of its organisation, and guide and inform its operations. He would grant its charter, appoint its rector, sanction its degrees, and all its intellectual life would be carried on under ecclesiastical supervision and control." It is worth noting, as showing the goal at which the bishops aim, that he also says: "If we persisted in that claim for a Catholic university, I do not see on what grounds except those of the high hand, it could be refused."

Now Mr. Balfour does not propose to establish such a university as this, but one to which Roman Catholics can go, one that will be as decidedly Romanist as Trinity College is Protestant, one that may for all practical purposes be called a Roman Catholic university.

In order to meet beforehand the objection that the establishment of a denominational university is a violation of the principle of religious equality, he proposes to establish what would be really a Presbyterian university in Belfast. We would then have Trinity College for Protestant Episcopalians, Belfast university for the Presbyterians, and the new Dublin university for the Roman Catholics. Accordingly Mr. Balfour says: "There will thus be in Ireland two Protestant universities to one Roman Catholic, and as there are three Roman Catholics to one Protestant, this seems not unfair to the Protestants."

In this statement of the case occurs a very remarkable omission. Mr. Balfour does not say one word about May-

nooth, founded by Pitt in 1795. This college was endowed with seventy-four acres of the best land in the country; buildings were erected by the State at the cost of about one million sterling; and an annual income of over twenty-six thousand pounds was secured, which in the year 1869 was commuted into a lump sum of nearly half a million. This immense endowment was given for the purpose of educating Roman Catholic students, lay and clerical. On the original board were the Lord Chancellor, three judges, ten Roman Catholic bishops, and six Roman Catholic laymen. Here was liberal provision made for the higher education of Roman Catholics. Strange to say, this endowment has been turned from its original purpose, and now only priests are educated at Maynooth. It is a theological college pure and simple, and of the narrowest possible type. One well acquainted—the Rev. Thomas Connellan, formerly a student at Maynooth, and a Romish priest—with it says that "its achievement is to turn out upon the country every year large supplies of the most illiterate priests in Europe."

So far then as the case of divinity students is concerned, it cannot be maintained that the Roman Catholic Church has been neglected by the State. Considering the social and religious condition of Ireland, students seeking to enter the priesthood of the Church of Rome are and must be more numerous than those seeking to enter the other professions. Many an Irish farmer lives and dies happy if he has a son a priest. Thus we find that the requirements of a large proportion of those who may be expected to seek higher education have already been provided for by government.

Let us now see what provision for Roman Catholic students who wish to enter the school of law, or of medicine, or of engineering is at present supplied. First, there is the Dublin University—a university with only one college, and hence generally spoken of as Trinity College. It is as much a college for Roman Catholics as for Protestants. In the University Kalendar appears the following instruction:

"Previous to the year 1873 the provostship, fellowships, and foundation scholarships of Trinity College could only be held by members of the Church of Ireland. This restriction was sanctioned by parliamentary enactment in the case of the provostship and fellowships (33 Geo. III., cap. xxi.). With regard to the foundation scholarships the limitation arose solely from certain provisions in the college statutes. All these restrictions were removed by the Act 36 Victoria, chap. xxi. The preamble to this Act recites that it is expedient that the benefits of Trinity College, the University of Dublin, and of the schools in the said university as places of religion and learning, should be rendered freely accessible to the nation, and that all restrictions, tests, and disabilities should be removed."

The authorities of Trinity College have acted in such good faith that there has never been even the suspicion that any man was preferred to another because of his religion. Of the one hundred Roman Catholic students whose names are at present on the books of Trinity College we do not believe that one could be found to assert that he was placed at any disadvantage because he did not belong to the Church of the majority of the professors and students. One who has taken so deep and intelligent an interest in this discussion as the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, writing last month and comparing the University of Dublin with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the matter of election to fellowships, says: "There is another rather important feature in the elections which take place in the colleges of both the great English universities. They are not as in Trinity College, Dublin, declared as the result of an examination in which the candidate who has scored the highest marks must necessarily win, but are rather a system of co-optation in which, after an examination, the electing body chooses the candidate whom it thinks best suited to the office." Thus Trinity College has gained the confidence of one of the shrewdest of the Roman Catholic prelates, and he evidently thinks that the members of his Church are better off for university education in Ireland than they are in

England. In England there is no State-endowed theological college. Would it not be well for Mr. Balfour to propose a Roman Catholic University for England in the first instance? Then having gained experience he might turn his attention to Ireland. As the Romanists of England are not so well off in this matter, let their supposed grievances be considered as soon as possible, and when they are placed upon a level with their co-religionists in Ireland it will be time enough to consider further steps.

Mr. Balfour speaks of the "Protestant atmosphere" of Trinity College, and urges that Roman Catholics ought not to be expected to inhale an atmosphere fraught with what they consider spiritual peril. It may be remarked in passing that the Roman Catholics have the power so to temper this atmosphere as to make it wholesome. They can become students, scholars, fellows, and professors, and thus create a new, or at least greatly modified atmosphere; and if they will not do so, they have no right to represent that what is entirely their own fault is a grievance inflicted by the State.

It must, however, be borne in mind that Roman Catholic students have the old Catholic university in Stephen's Green, a few minutes' walk from Trinity College, as a house of residence. Does it not savour of the absurd to suppose that a student who spends a few hours daily in Trinity College at lectures on mathematics, astronomy, Greek, materia medica, or some other similar subject—during which time the trace of Protestant atmosphere is infinitesimal—would receive spiritual injury when the great bulk of his time is spent in the house of residence where the Romanist atmosphere is as strong and pungent as the most ultramontane prelate could desire?

It is not likely that any one will assert the Protestant atmosphere of Oxford or Cambridge to be less decided than that of Trinity, yet by express permission of the present Pope young Roman Catholics may go to Oxford in England, whilst they may not go to Trinity in Ireland. Is it then that only in an Irish Protestant atmosphere Roman

Catholicism will not thrive? or are English Roman Catholics so much more robust that they can live in an atmosphere that would prove destructive to their Irish brethren? or can there be such peculiarity in the soil of England that what is a sin in Ireland is not a sin on the other side of St. George's Channel? It is plain that if there were any validity in this argument about the Protestant atmosphere, it would hold good in the one country as well as in the other; and if it does not hold good in both, it is a safe conclusion that it is not of any force in either.

Further, Roman Catholics are not shut up to Trinity. There is the Royal University, in which the Protestant atmosphere is absolutely absent. The Royal University was founded nearly twenty years ago in order to meet the case of the Roman Catholics. About thirty years before that the Queen's University was founded, having three Queen's Colleges—one in Belfast, one in Cork, and one in Galway. These were in the fullest sense non-sectarian. They were so entirely free from the religious element that they were denounced by the Roman Catholic authorities, and by some others, as "godless colleges." Their progress was not satisfactory.

Next the Roman Catholics had a Roman Catholic university. Its charter was granted by Pope Pius IX. Newman was its first rector. University College was its principal college. It was a failure. Ultimately it was united with the three Queen's Colleges, and thus the Royal University was established. In the Royal University the vice-chancellor is a Roman Catholic. Roman Catholic dignitaries are on its senate; Roman Catholic professors are in its chairs; Roman Catholics abound amongst its examiners; one of the secretaries is a Roman Catholic; and fourteen fellows are Roman Catholics, all of them ecclesiastics, most of them Jesuits, and each receiving four hundred pounds per annum. Thus, including the salaries of examiners, there is an endowment of say eight thousand pounds yearly to University College. It is worth remarking that for the election of these fellows there is no

examination. The Roman Catholics have also their full share of all exhibitions, prizes, and positions that can be gained by examination.

It was thought that this arrangement would satisfy the claims of our Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. But it has not done so. It is said that "the Royal is only an examining board and not a teaching university." This is only partly true, much teaching is done in connexion with the Royal. Still we admit that it is capable of vast improvement, requires large additional endowments for educational appliances as well as for building purposes so that it may be able to accommodate resident students and thus secure one of the most important factors in university education, a common college life. In the development of the Royal University on unsectarian lines and not in the formation of sectarian universities we look for a solution of the university problem in Ireland.

It is abundantly evident that the Roman Catholics have no distinct and specific grievance; they have not been overlooked by the State, and in proportion to their needs much more has been done for them than for the several Protestant bodies. The Methodists, for example, educate their ministers without any aid from the State. On what intelligible principle does the State richly provide for the education of Roman Catholic priests, and not do the same for Methodist ministers? Every principle of equity demands that the State should do as much for the one Church as for the other. The fact that one Church is not clamorous, but loyal and law-abiding is no reason why it should be ignored; and we maintain that if the Roman Catholics have a grievance, the Methodists suffer a much greater one.

It is no easy matter to satisfy the Church of Rome. Many statesmen have found out this to their grief. The time may come when Mr. Balfour will make the same discovery. The ideal before the Romish hierarchy is that of a Roman Catholic university well dowered with public money, and placed absolutely under the control of the Pope. For a

short time the hierarchy may appear to be satisfied with less: with a university that is not "godless"; that is without a "Protestant atmosphere"; that is not "intrinsically injurious to faith and morals"; and that will be dominated by the Romish bishops. Mr. Balfour expressed great delight that the bishops are willing to have a majority of laymen on the governing body. This apparent concession keeps the word of promise to the ear, but breaks it to the hope. Those who have even slightly studied Romanism know that the bishops speak with authority in matters of "faith and morals." Suppose the question were concerning books to be placed in the curriculum: if a bishop declared a certain book to be injurious to faith or morals, no layman would venture to contradict the clergy, he could not do so and continue a faithful Roman Catholic. On questions of that sort the decision of the bishops would be, and must be, final. The bishops have the power of deciding what questions are questions of faith and morals; consequently if the bishops were only a small minority on the board, on the most important questions connected with education according to the very constitution of their Church they would be supreme.

Mr. Balfour argues that education and Protestantism go together, and that we might as well dread a conspiracy against the law of gravitation as a conspiracy against Protestantism. Whilst there is much truth in this contention, Mr. Balfour apparently overlooks the fact that it is not education given under Roman Catholic control that promotes Protestantism. That is why the authorities of the Romish Church do not approve united secular education; they like to keep the direction of education in their own hands. The two great teaching orders in the Church of Rome, the Jesuits and the Christian Brothers, have given little help in spreading Protestant principles. Let either of them have the training of a youth till he has finished his university course, and the chances of his becoming a Protestant are exceedingly few. The most bigoted Romanists are those who have been educated by these orders.

Here, then, is a strong objection to a Roman Catholic university, that it would intensify our religious differences. A speaker in a recent debate on this subject in the senate of the Royal University said: "If young men of one denomination are to be brought up to believe that sitting in an examination hall with young men of another denomination will do them harm, all I can say is, God save Ireland."

Protestantism has nothing to fear from education, it is true; yet education on denominational lines is not calculated to train men to be broad-minded, tolerant, and willing to work together for mankind, and not for party; consequently, when Protestants object to denominational education, it is not that they fear education, but that they desire freedom of investigation and the exercise of the intellectual faculties without the domination of ecclesiasticism. They do not want their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen to be hindered in the path of progress, for where the Church of Rome has the power she is ever the foe of freedom, and seeks to make men, to use an expression of Huxley's, "stay their mental appetite with the east wind of authority."

We dismiss the other part of Mr. Balfour's scheme in a few words. So far as the "glittering bait" of a Presbyterian university is concerned, it does not seem likely that the Presbyterian Church will accept it. The General Assembly's Committee on Higher Education met on Monday, February 12, and unanimously passed this resolution: "We adhere to the principle of non-sectarian public education as best adapted to the circumstances of this country." The opinion of those best qualified to judge is, that the General Assembly will with practical unanimity sustain the action of the committee. The committee also advocates the complete nationalisation of Dublin University. The Presbyterian Church has ever been loyal to its principles, and on many occasions has "deserved well of the country."

It is not to be wondered at that the President and majority of the staff of the Queen's College, Belfast, wish to

have their college better endowed and raised to the higher status of a university. In their published resolutions on the subject they declare themselves in favour of "the re-establishment of the old Queen's University on its former broad and non-sectarian basis with such modifications as would meet the altered circumstances of the case, but with its seat in Belfast and with the provision of an adequate endowment." Now, if there is to be a non-sectarian university in Belfast, equity demands that the new university in Dublin shall be non-sectarian. What, then, becomes of Mr. Balfour's proposed Roman Catholic university? That the Roman Catholic prelates will not be satisfied for *even a short time* with a new non-sectarian university is perfectly certain. If Mr. Balfour is determined to push this project, it is likely that, as in the case of a former leader of the House, he will "burn his fingers over the Irish university question."

A Belfast university would be, could not help being, paltry and provincial. The conditions of growth, competition, and development are so strictly limited. Its degrees would not have a recognised value outside Ulster. The majority of students at the Belfast Queen's College are medical students, and when any of them go to England or to other parts of the world their degree from the Royal has a universally acknowledged value. Now, suppose a man went to England with a degree from a Belfast university, its value would be nil. But suppose he went, not to England, only to the south or west of Ireland, his degree there would be looked upon as inferior to one from the Dublin University. Students then would leave Belfast and go to a university whose degree would possess a reasonable market value. So that, after all the trouble, expense, and friction of disrupting and destroying the Royal University, after inflicting a grievous wrong upon all graduates and undergraduates of the Royal University (for no one would esteem the degrees of a defunct university), the probability is that the Belfast university would never have more than five hundred names upon its books,

a number exceeded by individual colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

The only things certain to follow the carrying out of Mr. Balfour's proposals are accentuated religious differences, party strife, a lower type of education, with universities of a lower standing, and one centre of union the less in a land where nothing is more needed than mutual confidence, sympathy, and co-operation. A great and patriotic Irishman, Isaac Butt, declared: "I am sure that in the open competition of the members of each college with the members of the university at large a manly and independent spirit would be maintained. Anything like the narrowness of spirit which might possibly result from an exclusive and separate training would be effectually guarded against, and the intellectual distinctions which were won in an arena in which all Irishmen were entitled to meet, and Irishmen of different persuasions were the judges, would have a value in the estimation of the country which would never belong to any awarded in a less national tribunal."

To sum up, Mr. Balfour's ill-advised proposals suggest a course that would be a retrograde movement; would be a marked departure from the principle of religious equality; would not satisfy for any length of time those who are anxious not for a nominal, but for a real Roman Catholic university; would not modify but make more intense the religious differences in this distracted land; would not advance but would retard the cause of true education; would make Irishmen less disposed to work together for the common good than they are at present; and would thus prove injurious to the social, intellectual, moral, and material progress of this land. It is to be hoped that as Mr. Balfour has not yet converted the cabinet to his views on this subject, he may never be able to do so.

WILLIAM NICHOLAS.

LORD SELBORNE.

Memorials of the Earl of Selborne. Part II., Personal and Political. Two Vols. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1898. 25*s.* net.)

THE two volumes before us are the sequel to those reviewed in this journal at the beginning of 1897. In concluding our review we then said that we should "await with keen interest the continuation of the manifold feast of reason and Christian feeling" afforded by those two volumes. In a comparatively short article we dwelt chiefly on the admirable sketches of personal character and conduct interspersed from point to point of the family history of the Palmers and Roundells, and in particular on the remarkable history of Lord Selborne's Anglo-Greek-Roman Catholic brother William Palmer, the learned and accomplished friend of Newman. Within the limits at our disposal we were not able to give more than an occasional glimpse of the interesting and, because of its absolute authenticity still more valuable than interesting, political and historical information relating to the last twenty years of the period dealt with, that is, to the years 1845–1865. In our present article on the volumes which complete Lord Selborne's memorial record we can do little more than indicate a few of the points of cardinal importance in our national history on which a clear and direct light—an illumination from the highest and most authoritative source of authentic knowledge—is cast by the testimony of the great man who has bequeathed to us this inestimable legacy.

As to some matters of critical importance the statements contained in these Memorials are not only important and well considered, but singularly frank and complete. The series of confidential letters to Lord Strathmore, better

known as Sir Arthur Gordon—the intimate friend almost throughout his public life of Lord Selborne, who himself had been the intimate friend of Sir Arthur's father, the Earl of Aberdeen—add greatly to the value of the autobiographer's record. Among the subjects of leading importance on which direct and, in some cases, surprising light is thrown are the law reforms of the period, as to which Lord Selborne was the highest authority, or only to be matched by Lord Cairns during his too short course of official authority in legal affairs—Mr. Gladstone's Irish measures in 1868 and subsequent years—the same statesman's ideas and vacillations on the subject of Church disestablishment—such critical American questions as the Treaty of Washington in 1871 and the Geneva Arbitration—the ecclesiastical legislation of 1874—the Folkestone ritual case, the Bishop of Lincoln's case and the Miles Platting case in the ecclesiastical courts—the Royal Titles Bill and Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy (1876–1879)—Mr. Gladstone's Land Law Reforms—the Burials Act—the Bradlaugh case—South African affairs—the Irish Land Legislation in 1881–2—Parliamentary reform—the Soudan and General Gordon, 1884–5—the critical period of 1885–6, and the break up of the Liberal party—in particular, Mr. Gladstone's new Irish policy after 1884, with his Parliamentary proposals and their consequences—and the formation and the political principles and duties of the Liberal Unionist party.

On all these matters and on others scarcely less important Lord Selborne speaks with the authority of a high minister of State, having full and exact knowledge, and also of a man of the greatest capacity and of unimpeachable integrity, who deliberately and with full leisure, with his own journals and correspondence in his hands, prepares for the press what he desires to place on record as a part of his country's history.

Among the discoveries which must come as a surprise even to well-informed students of contemporary history is the new light on the Parliamentary dissolution of 1874, a passage in Mr. Gladstone's career which has hitherto lacked

explanation. Lord Selborne gives his reasons for believing that the motive "for then taking that step was the difficulty in which Gladstone found himself about his seat for Greenwich. After the prorogation of Parliament in August, 1873, Gladstone assumed the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in succession to Mr. Lowe, holding that office in conjunction with that which he already held as First Lord of the Treasury. . . . Strange to say, this was done without considering at the time whether it would vacate his seat (by no means a safe one) or not." The Chancellorship of the Exchequer was an office of profit under the Crown, and Mr. Gladstone drew half of its salary in addition to his salary as First Lord of the Treasury. According to a recent Act of Parliament (1867) the seat would not be vacated on acceptance of a new office as minister under the Crown, provided the new office were "in lieu of and in immediate succession to" the office previously held. Lord Selborne's opinion was that Mr. Gladstone's seat for Greenwich was, under the circumstances, of necessity vacated; he "could not see how, continuing for every practical purpose to hold his former office and now adding to it a new office, for which he also received pay, it could be said that the one was 'in lieu of' or 'in succession to' the other." With Lord Selborne agreed Mr. Lowe, whose office Mr. Gladstone had taken, Lord Young, the Lord Advocate for Scotland, and other legal authorities within the cabinet. Of this grave difficulty Mr. Gladstone seems not to have taken account when he added the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to his office as First Lord. The necessity of a re-election in his case being thus unexpectedly brought into view, there seemed no way of escape except by a dissolution of Parliament. His seat for Greenwich, to begin with, as already noted, and as was proved by the subsequent election, was by no means a safe seat.* But, in addition to this he was sensible, as he

* Mr. Gladstone's following was, in fact, much diminished, and he had to take the second place as member.

explained in a letter to Lord Selborne, of the difficulty of either taking his seat in the usual manner at the opening of the session without being re-elected, or letting the Address to the Queen be voted, and an amendment to the address, perhaps vital to the government, disposed of in the absence of the Prime Minister from the House of Commons. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Gladstone suddenly resolved to dissolve Parliament, and published his Greenwich manifesto in which he made his appeal for a new term of power with the promise of a new financial policy—the total repeal of the income tax—a policy which, at the time that he announced it, had not been disclosed even to his own cabinet. The course taken was an innovation in political management, and was naturally denounced by his adversaries. "This," says Lord Selborne, "was less surprising than that it should have failed to produce the desired effect. The elections went against us; Disraeli came into power with a large majority for the first time during his adventurous political life, and on February 21, 1874, the Great Seal passed again into the hands of Lord Cairns. Gladstone, wearied—dissatisfied, I think, with his supporters—and having no party watchword immediately available for an attack on his successors—stood aside for a time; and Lord Hartington, at the request of the meeting of Liberal members of the House of Commons, accepted the post of Leader and bore the burden of its duties during the whole of that Parliament."

Lord Selborne's memorials could not fail to include many intensely interesting descriptions of events and circumstances for which we can only refer to the volumes themselves. No future historian or politician of any Parliamentary mark will feel it safe to form a judgment upon the great passages of policy and statesmanship during the last half-century without a careful study of Lord Selborne's statements. Perhaps the most generally interesting of them all is that which is given of the proceedings of the Alabama Arbitration at Geneva, where Sir Roundell Palmer (not yet Lord Selborne) being Counsel for the British

government, may be said to have done the honours of hospitality to all the representatives assembled there during many weeks. Many of the details are fresh and full of personal interest, no part more so than the account given of the manner in which Sir Alexander Cockburn, our Lord Chief Justice, and the British member of the Company of Arbitrators, on the one hand, and the American representatives on the other, played their parts respectively as commissioners. Lord Selborne pays a high tribute to the ability and the pleasant and attractive qualities of the American representatives, especially Mr. Adams and Mr. Evarts. But he held as his deliberate and final judgment that the course decided on by the majority of the Arbitrators, as to their procedure in the management of their business, was both unfair and unbusinesslike, lending itself to foregone prejudices and conclusions from the very first; and that the final result was extremely unjust, the damages awarded, in particular, being, as indeed now no one even in America would be prepared to dispute, signally excessive. The picture given, in connexion with this business, of Cockburn's great forensic ability and accomplishments, as he argued and discussed in excellent French, and yet of his failure, perhaps in part through vanity and a too fluent and flourishing eloquence, to produce an adequate impression on the arbitrators, is evidently finished with great care.

Such a record as these two volumes contain could not but include many careful portraits. Some of these are drawn and shaded with great skill and exactness. Among them are those of Lord Cairns, John Bright, Lord Cardwell, William E. Forster, Mr. Benjamin, the distinguished lawyer of the Southern States, who became leader of the English bar, and his fellow Israelite, Jessel, the great Master of the Rolls. Disraeli of course finds a place, though his character is rather sketched than fully drawn; while Mr. Gladstone is continually re-appearing under various aspects. He is also finally described in an elaborate and almost exhaustive sketch of his character.

Lord Selborne was no mere partisan; he was a man

of conscience and candour, as well as of large and trained intelligence. He was, accordingly, on terms of friendly intimacy, after the best English fashion, with several leading statesmen on the opposite political side to his own, although until 1885–6, when the Liberal party was broken up on the Home Rule question, he had never ceased to co-operate as a loyal and confidential colleague with Mr. Gladstone, whose chief legal adviser he had been, except only in points affecting the question of the Disestablishment of the Church. He was, indeed, much more to his party than a legal adviser; he was one of the ablest and most persuasive as well as polished debaters in Parliament, whether in the House of Commons or of Lords. Lord Selborne's portraits of friends and statesmen belonging to the opposite political party are generally distinguished as much by their generosity as by their insight. With Lord Cairns he was on terms of close and admiring friendship, and what he says of that consummate lawyer and great statesman, who like himself was also an earnest and consistent Christian, will be read with special interest.

The death of one of our greatest public men, Lord Cairns, on the 2nd of April, 1885, after an illness so short that few were aware of it, but which his constitution was too weak to resist, took myself and the country generally by surprise. Lord Salisbury said of him justly, that "he had an eminence not very often granted to a single man; he was equally great as a lawyer, as a statesman, and as a legislator." Even that enumeration of his titles to greatness fell short of the truth; for he was also a great orator, and a man most exemplary in private life.

It would be difficult to name any Chancellor, except Lord Hardwicke, who was certainly his superior, or indeed in all respects his equal. Lord Somers was a greater statesman, Lord Lyndhurst a greater orator, Lord Eldon a more profoundly learned lawyer; but the degree in which they severally excelled him in these respects was less than that in which he excelled them in other qualities, more necessary than statecraft or eloquence, and not less necessary than learning, for a great judge; and the gifts which in them shone separately were in him combined. Lord Thurlow, Lord Rosslyn, and Lord West-

bury had not less ability; but he was more of a statesman, a more persuasive orator, and on the whole a better judge, than any of them. There have been Chancellors (such as Lord Talbot, Lord Cranworth, and Lord Hatherley) whose private virtues were not less conspicuous and whose public reputation was not less honourable, yet who were not, like him, as fit to play a great part in political as in judicial affairs. . . . As a speaker, he was lucid, methodical, acute, incisive; and in his political views, when they were really his own, not narrow. But he yielded too easily to party influences, especially on questions relating to his native country Ireland. He had a fine person, regular, well-formed features, an agreeable voice, and a natural refinement of manners, though his manners could not be called popular. In his whole carriage, life, and conversation he was a thorough gentleman, adorning the Christian profession, to which he was always true.

In his politics generally, whether as Roundell Palmer or as Lord Selborne, in the House of Commons or as President of the House of Lords, the author of these volumes was, throughout his Parliamentary career, a consistent moderate Liberal, a Whig of the school of Lord Clarendon and Lord Granville. He was in close agreement and in admiring sympathy with Gladstone in his earlier official career. Lord Aberdeen, the Peelite friend and colleague of Mr. Gladstone, was the object of his special admiration, alike as statesman and as Christian; and his affection for the father predisposed him to the warm and almost paternal affection which he cherished for the son to whom, as Sir Arthur Gordon and afterwards as Lord Strathmore, he addressed the valuable series of letters to which we have referred. For some years after he entered Parliament Lord Selborne was offended by the strong Radicalism and the unsparing language of Mr. Bright, and he never became intimate with him. But he always regarded him as honest and sincere, and he came in the end to admire him heartily. When he heard of his death (March, 1889) he wrote as follows to Sir Arthur Gordon:

John Bright is gone at last. I have often differed from him, and his frequent asperity of speech was a drawback upon his

great character which I always felt. But there was, with it all, a vein of tenderness, which increased in his later years, and this, with his unflinching courage, as much in setting himself *against* the *popularis aura* when he thought it wrong, as in using it for those objects which he thought right, attracted me very much to him. He was a thoroughly brave and honest man, according to his lights, and a good Christian too, and I am afraid he leaves few like him behind.

Of all the characters mentioned in these volumes Disraeli is the one who seems to have been the object of the writer's rooted dislike and distrust. Habitually careful and equitable in his judgments, and restrained in his language, even when he cannot but condemn, he appears to find it difficult to judge the brilliant "adventurer," as he calls him, with charitable gentleness, and therefore seldom refers to him at any length. In the passage, however, in which, at the end of the Tory leader's public life, his character and career are summed up by Lord Selborne, it is evident that the great equity judge aims at being perfectly fair, and as little unfavourable as possible.

Lord Beaconsfield's political career was now at an end. . . . He rose to power by an adroit but unscrupulous use of the opportunity afforded by the repeal of the Corn Laws. . . . Those who had observed his course from the beginning gave him no credit for settled convictions upon any subject except the honour and interest of the race from which he had sprung; and his books confirmed the impression. He seemed to be an actor, in a mask which he never took off. He had courage, audacity, temper, patience,—an indomitable will; and by these qualities, and a study of men, too cynical to be deep, but useful for party management, he established his position. He had also a certain magnanimity, which made him generally impassive and unruffled, even when successfully attacked, and free from all appearance of ill-will or resentment against those who had attacked him; a hard hitter himself when it suited his purpose, he could take hard blows, as nothing more than the regular practice of the game. He seems to have drawn his own portrait when he said of Sidonia: "It was impossible to penetrate him. Though unreserved in his manner, his frankness was

strictly limited to the surface. He observed everything, but avoided serious discussion. If you pressed him for an opinion, he took refuge in raillery, or threw out some grave paradox." Lord Beaconsfield was a man of genius, certainly; those of his writings which have most the appearance of seriousness leave the impression that he was more Radical than Conservative, with a strong sense of the hollowness of the politics of his time. As an orator he was greatest when least serious; no man excelled him in the satirical vein. But his graver efforts were turgid and artificial. The one really great work of his life was to raise his own race to a footing of fuller social and political equality in this country with their fellow citizens. . . . It must be acknowledged that he appeared to most advantage in his greatest prosperity. . . . As he rose in power, he rose also in the general opinion of men. . . . He justified the ambition which forced its way against all obstacles to the highest place by bearing himself in that place with dignity and without undue elation; and it was his happiness to win, not the confidence only, but the personal regard of his sovereign.

The great grief of Lord Selborne's life was the breach between Gladstone and himself. The depth and bitterness of his feeling on this account are perhaps in a few words more distinctly and intensely expressed in one of his letters to Sir Arthur Gordon, like himself a friend of Gladstone from early years, as Gladstone had been his father's friend, than in any other passage in these Memorials.

Though I am no pessimist, all these things make me very weary of the world, and ready to say thankfully *nunc dimittis* whenever it may please God to call me out of it. Let the better cause prevail; but how can even that make up to me for the abandonment of it by the man, to follow whom I was content to sacrifice all the means and opportunities of public influence and usefulness which I might have once possessed? . . . Nor can I shake off the tenderness of feeling towards the man himself which the sense of a singular sort of personal consideration and kindness towards myself, on many occasions—the more singular, because *never* accompanied by any real intimacy or political confidence—has left behind. But the feeling of which I have spoken will always keep me from uttering more than half my thoughts, as to the descent which he has made.

If he did not utter all his thoughts, he did say again and again, in public also as well as in private, that he regarded Mr. Gladstone as having become "morally colour-blind."

Before bringing the Memorials to a close he devotes more than twenty pages to an elaborate estimate of Mr. Gladstone's character and qualities, in which his long sustained admiration and attachment and his later disapproval and bitterness of feeling seem to struggle with one another and are both described with singular force and fulness. In so pre-eminently historical and national a case of controversy as this, it will not be unbecoming if we cull a few sentences indicating the contrasted feelings which the veteran colleague and the close counsellor of forty years has summed up in this remarkable judgment, the summing up of a judge in equity who in the act of pronouncing sentence does his best to be impartial. Our extracts must be brief—we could have wished they might be longer.

The secret of his marvellous popularity was to be found in the opinion universally entertained of the purity of his motives, the height of his character, and his sympathy with the people and desire for their good, more than in his energy, eloquence, and intellectual gifts, however admirable. It was the manner in which these characteristics were blended in him, which raised him to so great a pre-eminence above other men.

His private life was without a flaw. . . . He preferred misconstruction to missing opportunities of doing good. In his conversation there was no moroseness or reserve; it was easy and agreeable, free alike from austerity and levity. . . .

All lights have their shadows; and to that rule he was no exception. . . . In all men there are some contradictory elements; but in most men one or other of the opposing elements prevails. . . . All the contradictory elements seemed in him to move together, with equal or almost equal power. Free from the lower forms of self-seeking, he was too much occupied with his own thoughts to give much attention to those of other people. His opinions, on some subjects of great moment, were in a constant process of flux and decomposition; and yet he was impatient of opposition to whatever might be the attitude of his mind for the time being. . . . He could see into millstones farther than other men; and, on the other hand,

he had a wonderful power of not seeing what he did not like. . . . Dr. Johnson said of the author of *Clarissa* (of whom he had no mean opinion) that he "could not be contented to sail quietly down the stream of reputation, without longing to taste the froth from every stroke of the oar." Mr. Gladstone's speeches to audiences on railway platforms and in other strange places could not have been so profusely poured out on so many occasions, but for some weakness of that kind. . . .

What was true of Alcibiades—*Cujus nescio utrum bona an vitia patriæ perniciosiora fuerint; illis enim cives suos decepit, his afflixit**—may possibly be the judgment of posterity. . . .

My belief is that there is still in him some remnant of the old Conservative instinct, repugnant to what he now thinks himself obliged to do, and consoling itself by the imagination that his political opponents are responsible for it. . . . Whatever he may have done, or may yet do, to increase the power of some of the adversaries of the Christian faith, he has himself not ceased to be among its defenders. Nor can I wonder that, to such as share his enthusiasms, see with his eyes, and judge with his judgments, he should appear not as he does to me, a Hercules no longer master of himself, but an Alexander who has discovered new worlds to conquer. . . . I was too long under the master's spell, not to have some fellow feeling with them, for I know how impossible it is not to admire, and how very easy to love him.

There can be no doubt that the break up of the party with which, sometimes at considerable sacrifice, he had worked so ably and faithfully for half a life time, was so keen a disappointment, and his breach with his old chief such a bitter sorrow, as combined to overcast the remaining years of his life. Still Lord Selborne's had been, as a whole, not only a life of high influence and great dignity, but one also of great happiness, though the death of his wife, which occurred at a comparatively early period, took the bright sunshine out of his life's evening. That bereavement left behind it a lasting grief which, however, was not all sorrow,

* "It is hard to say whether his good qualities or his faults were more pernicious to his country; for by the former he misled, and by the latter brought calamities on, his fellow citizens."

for the memory of his wife was precious and hallowed, and, as widower, he retained it intact as his cherished possession. His family life was singularly happy. Lady Selborne for grace and graciousness, for beauty, and for sweetness of manners, had few equals in the best society of England. Their union was a pre-eminently Christian union. Before he married he had worked late into or on occasion even through the night. After his marriage he changed his mode of life in this respect. He went early to bed, but rose early to work, sometimes hours before daylight. Family prayer and private prayer together with his wife rounded each day's work. His Sabbaths were sacred, no matter what pressure of business lay upon him. High Churchman though he was, in a certain anti-ritualist sense, he attended the church at which his wife and her family had been accustomed to worship, a church in which an earnest and experimental Evangelical ministry was unfailingly maintained. He taught a class, first of boys and afterwards of young men, on the Sunday afternoon, to prepare for which he not seldom rose at an early hour on the Sunday morning. His children all grew up earnest and decided Christians, and married (except the unmarried daughter who has so admirably edited these Memorials) in accordance with his best desires and his settled judgment. His son, the present Earl of Selborne, was united in marriage to Lord Salisbury's daughter; and Mr. Gladstone, as the common friend of the two families, made the congratulatory speech at the wedding breakfast. In his country parish he and his family gave themselves to every good work, and he saw the home which he had planned and made for himself and his family shape and develop into a lovely and restful retreat from the strenuous labours of his official life. In all these respects there is not a trace of disappointment, but every evidence of the fullest happiness in the records which he has left.

Lord Herschell, who succeeded him as Chancellor, bore his testimony in the House of Lords to the character of his predecessor. He spoke of Lord Selborne's supreme ability as a lawyer and judge. He referred to the great work which he

did in connexion with the consolidation of the Courts of Law, and the rearrangement of the system of judicature and administration of the law which now prevails in the courts. He referred in particular to the part he took in securing the concentration in one building of the various Courts of Justice, in connexion with which he received his earldom from the Queen, who was herself present on the occasion of the opening of the courts. "He obtained," said Lord Herschell, "the highest rewards of the career which he had chosen, but," he adds, "I believe that few men have ever less made them their ambition or their aim. I have met few who were more completely unworldly in spirit than was Lord Selborne. On his lofty sense of duty it is not necessary," he says, "to dwell." But, speaking as representative of the opposite party in the House, the party from which Lord Selborne had separated himself deliberately, Lord Herschell adds words that deserve to be quoted. "If there were some who thought at times that his judgments of those who differed from him on political questions were unduly severe, I am sure that they were all ready to recognise that this resulted solely from the strength—I may almost say the passionate strength—of his convictions, and was in no way prompted by personal ill-will, or malice, or desire to give offence." Lord Salisbury on the same occasion made an observation which is notable not only in itself, but because of the reference made to it afterwards by Lord Rosebery. "Abroad," said Lord Salisbury, "and to some extent in this country, you will find men who affect to think that attachment to Christianity, and a belief in its truths, is an indication of a feeble intellect. But no one who knew intimately either Lord Cairns or Lord Selborne, as I had the privilege to do, could doubt that, while they belonged to the acutest intellects which have ever adorned Parliament or the law at any period of our history, they were not less remarkable for the intensity of the belief and the conviction with which they cherished the Christian truths, which they supported by their conduct, and to which they had always been attached." These words of Lord Salisbury

were confirmed by Lord Rosebery in a passage which we dare not omit. The brilliant leader of the Liberal party said :

We have the memory of an industry which was in reality sleepless, and of which the traditions surpass, perhaps, all that is known of human industry. We have that disregard of worldly position, of worldly temptation, which led him in 1868 to refuse the great prize of his profession rather than palter with principles which he held higher than any prize or any profession.* I think he showed something of that in his appearance. There was something in his austere simplicity of manner which I think must have recalled to every onlooker something of those great lawyers of the Middle Ages, who were also great Churchmen, for to me, at any rate, Lord Selborne always embodied that great conception and that great combination. I congratulate the noble marquess who spoke last on having touched a higher and deeper note than any of those who preceded him; and I, at a great distance and with great humility, beg to associate myself most entirely with the praise which he passed on Lord Selborne in the religious aspect of his career.

Well may we thank Heaven for the succession of great statesmen, in our country and in these last years, who have been witnesses in word and life to the divine truth of the revelation of Jesus Christ. Of Chancellors who have upheld and adorned the Christian profession we can, besides the present holder of the office, mention in unbroken succession, Lord Hatherley, Lord Cairns, Lord Selborne, and Lord Herschell,† while Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury have both been steadfast and consistent exemplars of Christian profession and conduct. There has never, perhaps, before been such a bright and great succession, in the highest places of earthly power and dignity, of witnesses for the things that are unseen and eternal, and for the "kingdom that cannot be moved."

JAMES H. RIGG.

* The reference here is to his refusal to accept the Chancellorship because Mr. Gladstone had resolved upon disestablishing the Irish Church.

† As these pages are passing through the press, the startling intelligence of Lord Herschell's sudden death is telegraphed from Washington. So passes another great and good Lord Chancellor.

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS.

IN the present age of critical inquiry it is the destiny of all historical documents, sacred or secular, to pass through the assayer's furnace. Least of all could we expect or desire that the venerable formularies known as the Three Creeds should escape the most searching investigation. The results of recent inquiry, now becoming familiarly known, are historically of remarkable interest. We have learnt that the third and longest Creed, which bears the honoured name of Athanasius, is of Latin origin and later date; and that the Nicene Creed not only agrees but to a small extent with the formulary adopted by the first General Council, but probably belongs originally to the first Church of the Apostles, the Church of Jerusalem.* Still more remarkable has been the history of the "Apostles' Creed." At one time believed to be, according to its familiar name, the joint production of the twelve Apostles, it is now known to have grown by slow degrees to its present form, framed by no General Council, but by unknown hands. These particulars of the history of the Creed throw light on many of its peculiarities in form and contents. The first two sections indeed contain very little that is not both clear in meaning and striking in expression; one clause only, which speaks of the Redeemer's descent into Hades, still gives rise to controversy. The third, however, is in every way noteworthy. Had the Creed been originally a formal dogmatic standard, it is hard to say where the greater difficulty would be found,—in explaining the principle on which the later clauses are arranged, or in accounting for the complete omission of some fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith.

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* See Dr. Hort's *Two Dissertations*, pp. 107–8.

In meaning, these last five articles are, with one exception, clear. "I believe in the Communion of Saints" is a profession made by multitudes, who ask in bewilderment what is the precise significance of the words. If we turn to the usual authorities we find conflicting answers still. Each age has felt that the words express truth; each age has taken up some portion of the full significance of the words, sometimes exaggerating a truth till it has lost all its reality, or even perverting it until words of blessed promise have been turned into a deceitful hope and a refuge of falsehood. These perversions do not concern us in our present purpose. It is for the theologian to trace the doctrine of the participation of Christians in the merits of martyrs and beatified saints, and the power of the Church to dispense or withhold this heavenly treasure.

In the oldest forms preserved to us of the "Apostles'" or Roman Creed, the third section is brief: "and (I believe) in the Holy Ghost, (I believe) the holy Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the (or *this*) flesh." The word "catholic" and the clause which follows cannot be traced back farther than the fifth or perhaps the sixth century, first appearing in a creed variously ascribed to Faustus, Bishop of Riez, in Provence (about A.D. 470), and to Eusebius Gallus (about A.D. 600). The earliest comments apparently are found in certain sermons which were formerly ascribed to St. Augustine, and which are usually printed with his works. In one of these sermons "the phrase is explained to mean: 'We are bound in fellowship and in the communion of hope with those saints who have departed this life in the faith which we have received.' . . . It would seem as if, the opinion of one age having limited the application of the clause 'the Holy Catholic Church' to the Church militant, some teachers of eminence deemed it desirable to remind believers of their interest in the spirits of just men made perfect." * No student of Church history will need to be reminded of the causes which in those early

* *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. i., p. 710.

ages fostered this interpretation of the clause, when once added to the Christian "watchword." The thought itself is free from all superstitious taint or harmful effects. It comes over the mind with a tender influence and sacred power peculiarly its own. No Christian can fail to receive profit from dwelling on the oneness of the Church in heaven and the Church on earth; though the mysteries that cling to all our conceptions of the state of the departed oppress the mind, and, with many, render meditation on the theme either disquieting or impossible.

Should we take this as the real meaning, as it is the earliest interpretation we can trace, we are involved in difficulties as we seek more definite conceptions. Of what nature is this communion with the holy dead? Does it imply actual and conscious intercourse? Are they amongst the ministering spirits sent forth to do service for the heirs of salvation? They are witnesses to us of the power of faith: are they also, as a cloud that encompasses us, spectators of our struggles, failures, victories? Or is the communion no conscious intercourse, no fellowship that involves their knowledge of our life or our perception of their presence, but rather that ideal communion which is the expression of the oneness of all saints, whether living on earth or translated to a nobler life, in their one Lord? So interpreted, the words are a glorious confession that the Redeemer has abolished death. "Where I am, there shall also my servant be," are words which bring the two worlds together in the majesty of His changeless Being. Whatever answer may be given to the earlier questions raised, we may hold firmly to this truth: "Ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant."

But it is impossible to rest in this limited interpretation of this clause of the Creed. The Creed is to us authoritative as an embodiment of the teaching of the New Testament. By

whomsoever these words were first joined to the sacred formulary, which had in its substance been handed down from earliest Christian times, they were moulded in his mind out of apostolic teaching. It is therefore of less consequence to determine what was uppermost in his thought, what phase of "communion," what company of "saints," the men of his time had chiefly in their view as they uttered the words. "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another." These words of St. John, more manifestly than any others, stand forth as the origin of this article of the Creed, bringing together as they do the communion of believers with one another and their communion with their Lord. But these utterances themselves rest on the words of One greater than Apostles: "Neither for these only do I pray, but for them also that believe on me through their word; that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us." St. Paul's Epistles are full of the thought of the life "in Christ," and the oneness of all Christians in Christ Jesus (Gal. iii. 28): "We, who are many, are one bread, one body: for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor. x. 17).

So understood, the clause may seem closely to resemble that which precedes it. There is no reasonable ground for restricting "the universal Church" to the ranks of living men. Though in Hebrews xii. 23 the "Church" or "congregation of the firstborn" may very probably be a designation of the "myriads of angels," in other passages, as Ephesians iii. 21 and Ephesians v. 27, the Church of all ages is represented as one. But if the one clause is really to be regarded as an expansion of the other, there is no needless repetition or unmeaning tautology. Two of the three terms which the former article contains suggest memories of the saddest histories of human conflict. From age to age the words "Church" and "Catholic" have been

powerful to awaken strife. The one remaining word, "holy," is taken up here, "the communion of the holy." Hence if the two articles are not similar in signification, it is because the latter is more comprehensive; if they are in essence one, the second raises us to a higher level, bearing us away from the recollection of differences to the recognition of oneness. If we are unable to speak of "the Church" without calling to mind the existence of *Churches*, separate and divided, it is natural to ask whether the present age is not in this respect hopelessly divorced from primitive times. St. Paul and St. John may address "the Churches," but these are communities bound together into one Church, as they steadfastly adhere to the teaching and fellowship of the Apostles. But now must not we say that there is no longer "one body" of Christ for the world to behold? A deeper study shows that the deviation from the apostolic pattern is not an essential change. The unity is present still, but it is internal, and not manifested as yet in external form.

Yet even when we acknowledge with the fullest conviction that the existence of separate communities is an inevitable result of the constitution of man's mind and the nature of God's written revelation (a result therefore really contained in the Divine operation itself), and as a consequence look on these communities, not as a painful distortion, but as an integral part of the Divine purpose, there is still enough to excite the Christian's deepest emotions of sorrow as he beholds the existing state of the religious world. We are not now speaking of any whose profession of religion is merely external, but of true servants of Christ. Even with this limitation the scene before our eyes is one of eager contest, which too often presents the aspect of bitter strife and unrelenting war. May we venture into the field? It is hard even to describe the combatants without becoming involved in the conflict. We turn sadly away from the vast community which, at all events in her dogmas as commonly proclaimed, denies to all save herself the name of "Catholic Church"; but we do not forget the multitudes within her pale whose fellowship is wider than their creed. Among

Protestants also there are principles at stake. In the Church of England there are not a few who would follow the example Rome has set, and refuse to every company of Nonconformists the sacred name of Church. Many more seem unable to speak of Dissent without some measure of bitterness, or to regard members of the "Liberation Society" under any other aspect than that of deadly foes. A theory of Church government is persistently maintained which leaves no place for Dissent in the Christian commonwealth. On the other side, the leading principles are an intense repugnance to the sacerdotal idea, and a steadfast belief that the doctrine of Apostolical Succession must lead towards disloyalty to the Head of the Church. The vehement protest against an opposite extreme fosters almost of necessity a tendency to hold too lightly the teaching of past ages, and needlessly to break with ancient rules and lines of Church order. And yet the combatants on both sides acknowledge loyalty to the Lord Jesus Christ as the supreme principle. It is in their steadfast allegiance to Him that they are constrained to raise their voice in these contending cries. "Surely *this* is the will of the Lord, manifested in the past history of His Church, in His providential guidance, in the accordant interpretation of the doctrine of the Apostles through the long line of their successors in Christ's work." "Nay," is the reply; "surely *this* is the will of the Lord, who is Himself the Only Priest, the Living King whose providence makes manifest His present will, by whose provision it has been so ordered that the New Testament contains no rigid rules of Church government and order." Who can blame the disputants (we do not speak of the action of the worldly-minded, or of any to whom the religion of Christ is not a living power) if they contend strongly when such principles are at issue? But, asks the weary heart of the Christian who sees the advance of the common foe, is this strife to last? Must there not be some meeting-ground? Is it not vitally necessary that even such combatants as these should both believe, and manifest their belief, that union in the service of the one Lord is of

deeper and more sacred import than the barriers between Churches?

But, it is natural to reply, a hollow fraternity is full of peril and falsehood. Yes! better honest conflict than the illusive kiss of peace. No union is worthy of a thought that is not deep and real. No union that is not compatible with the firmest grasp of principles which, after close and reverent study, the Scriptures have appeared to teach, can lead to lasting good. Some men, whose charity might have seemed irresistible in its uniting power, have in great measure failed to accomplish their work of peace, because they have been thought to estimate too lightly the duty which binds every man to be scrupulously faithful to that which he holds as truth. It is for a union that is at once cordial and loyal to truth, that brings together all who love and worship the Lord their Redeemer, and that is manifest to the world, that we now plead. Trite and well-worn all this our plea may well appear. Trite and well-worn it is; but it is the expression of the duty towards which every Christian should feel himself impelled whenever he utters the words, "I believe in the communion of saints."

Is there not, however, something strange, if not indeed repulsive, in the association of such a word as "saint" with ourselves and our ordinary life? This question suggests another: What is the most fitting designation for those whose rule of life is the will of Christ? The name "Christian," given by enemies, and at first little used except by persecutors, was soon accepted with exultation by those who gloried in the cross of Christ and rejoiced to suffer shame for "the Name." But though it retains its full significance when speaker or tone or association has for the time banished all thought of laxer usage, yet in the common speech it has lost immeasurably in depth as it has been claimed by whole nations, in right of an outward profession rather than a change of heart. The intellectual conviction that "Jesus is the Christ" does not now carry with it all that St. Paul's converts felt and professed, but by common

consent it confers a right to bear the Christian name. In some measure this loss in significance may seem to be a gain. In this much-abused age of ours there is a striving after reality, an intolerance of insincere profession, that makes a designation most acceptable when it will express too little rather than too much. A name therefore which, rightly understood, reaches a height which cannot be surpassed, speaking to every one who bears it of the one Supreme Example, and which yet appears to claim for him no superiority above his fellows, becomes by its very ambiguity doubly welcome. But the reasoning is double-edged. Confessedly the name is shared by multitudes who think but seldom of a Christ-like life. The Lord Jesus spoke of His followers as *disciples* in their relation to Himself, and in every relation of their new life as *brethren*. Such names may be unsuitable now as applied to the members of a vast society, unless indeed some defining term were added, which would take from the words both charm and power. In the apostolic writings the characteristic name of the companies of believers is "saints," "saints in Christ Jesus." The very appellation could present a motive for an Apostle's exhortation (1 Pet. i. 17) and express the ideal to which all strove to attain. In our day, as the ancient Greek maxim forbade to account any happy who are still involved in the changes and chances of this mortal life, it seems presumptuous to give the name of "saint" to any save the departed. As applied to a living man it suggests mockery and a sneer. The impulse that puts aside the word and divorces it from present life is pardonable and even good in itself: every man who contrasts his experience with his ideal may well shrink from an appellation which seems to speak of attainment and satisfaction rather than of struggle and hope. And yet every name that we can bear as Christians really indicates an ideal towards which we seek to rise; and never was there greater need than now that all Christ's servants should have habitually present to thought that they belong to the community of saints. We may speak of the commonwealth

under names which we dare not apply to the individual; as we think of others we may use the designation which each one of us, with humble and awestruck shrinking, deprecates for himself. Would that it were possible to insure the constant presence of this conception with every servant of Christ! It is good to bear a name which cannot express merely the acceptance of a creed or a form of Church order, which brings before each one of us in the life of every day the standard of the life of every disciple—complete consecration and surrender to Christ, which carries with it the sum of our practical aim as His servants.

The "saints" are not united only in the possession of a common name. Those who are "saints in Christ Jesus" are *one* in Him. Not only are they one as possessing the same power and principle of life, aiming at the same object, obeying the same law, imitating the same pattern, contending against the same adverse influences, engaged in the fulfilment of daily work which, infinite in forms, is in essence the same; their separateness of being is conditioned, overruled, by a union with Christ which necessarily brings with it a unity in Christ. This truth has often been set aside as mysterious, and practically ignored. The plainest words of the New Testament have been treated as if they belonged to the realm of enthusiasm rather than that of common life. Christians who have appealed to their authority have been branded as mystics and disregarded as idle dreamers. But the New Testament ideal will become the guide and measure of the Christian's ordinary life. One hopeful sign of our times is an increasing readiness to accept the precepts of the New Testament in their simple meaning; and the recognition of their authority will lead to the experience of their power. There is "a cloud of witnesses" attesting the reality of life in Christ; but many of the results which must follow from this community of possession have as yet been but imperfectly revealed to the world. The obstacles to the revelation of this unity in Christ are many and great, for there are and must be many respects in which Christian men cannot be one. It is a gain

to face the difficulties, carefully to estimate those differences amongst Christians which no argument can explain away, and which are most powerful when their existence is least definitely before the mind. We *must* differ in our views of the organisation of the Church of Christ; the influences which attract one will repel another: so let it be, provided only all are sensible of the same gracious influence of the Spirit of God, drawing every soul nearer to the Lord. The doctrine of the Sacraments must continue to be a test of the charity which is higher than knowledge. The Christian to whom the Lord's Supper presents no more than sacred fellowship in prayer, and a memorial of the sacrifice offered by infinite love, must seem to stand far off from those who esteem all other means of grace as subordinate to that act in which they are wont to recognise their Lord's nearest approach to the soul, and the utmost fulfilment of the words which promise the body and blood of the Redeemer as the sustenance of spiritual life. Let us not minimise the difference or seek to explain it away:—the doctrine which to one is dear as life is to the other painful and repellent. In our own day certainly no separating influence is more powerful, and yet the ordinance which presents itself under aspects so different is to all the symbol of communion with one Lord, and the token of the profession of one faith. It is needless to go farther in the survey of varying types of Christian teaching. We recognise with thankfulness that, in the gracious providence of God, time has been the teacher of the Churches. Words which were once the symbols of opposite views of the doctrines of our religion, and which even in the last century could hardly be uttered without kindling excited if not angry feeling, have lost their power to disturb Christian peace. And if we are constrained to acknowledge that in those past years there was a unity in Christ which should have restrained the violence of the contests among Christians, let us apply the lesson to the controversies of our own times.

It is probable that the conditions of our political life exercise no slight influence on the growth of party spirit

in the communities of Christians. Amongst Englishmen, at all events, the necessity of political parties is freely admitted; and it has become almost an article of belief that by party action only is it possible to work out successfully the problems of government and social order. In the world of politics each man chooses and assimilates that type of doctrine which is most suited to his mental organisation. He who manifests a power of understanding and sympathising with discordant views is avoided rather than sought after; for though knowledge is power, a sympathy that is too wide and a knowledge that is too comprehensive are held to be destructive of force. If, in accordance with the prevalent belief, progress is most surely made by the alternate advance of the contending hosts, the bonds of party must naturally be strong and the discipline strict. And there is a superficial resemblance between this organism of political growth and the world of religious thought and service. In the one as in the other truth is most surely attained through the comparison, or even conflict, of differing opinions. Each Christian community, we may well believe, holds some part of the treasure of truth as a sacred and peculiar deposit. If the method of agreement and difference is valuable in research, how great the gain to the Christian world from the variety observable in the training, habits, and prepossessions of those who are the closest students of the revelation of God in the word and in the world! But the analogy is not complete. In every portion of the visible Church there are found, side by side, men who agree in their views of truth, but are widely severed in their inner life; for the one heart is in subjection to Christ, and the other is still unsubdued by His love. The habits of party politics tempt a man to think most of the outward bond, when the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus should bring him into a fellowship far more intimate with the brother whose spiritual life is in the same Lord, though he is reckoned with the members of another Church. The agencies which emphasise political distinctions and exaggerate political watchwords are not absent from the Church.

Gratitude to those who have been strong and faithful in the defence of principles which are dear to us leads us to stand aloof from men whom these defenders of the faith proscribe; and the taunt of laxity of doctrine is often sufficient to intimidate men who, though zealous for every article of their creed, would fain show that their charity towards every brother in Christ is even greater than their zeal. It is not by following any human analogies that we shall be led to the communion of saints. The "City of God" stands alone. All the lessons of secular history must prove delusive if the spiritual and unseen conditions are overlooked. To those whose eye is bent downwards the barriers between Church and Church will seem insurmountable: it is only when we look up to heaven that their comparative insignificance is seen.

We are painfully conscious that the most difficult question still remains, and also that towards the solution of this question very little progress has yet been made. How may the union amongst Christians be practically shown? Every reader will think of the beginnings that have been made in various societies. The Evangelical Alliance exists for this very end. The Bible Society and the Christian Evidence Society have exhibited the oneness in heart and purpose of multitudes of Christians. Schemes of social reform, organisations for the elevation of the neglected masses of our people, have attracted earnest workers of all creeds and denominations. And yet the history of all these efforts, could it ever be completely written, would show how powerful and how widespread has been the paralysing influence of the spirit of disunion. Is it too much to say that at this hour the impression made by our variance is far deeper and far more influential than any which the manifestations of Christian unity have produced upon the world?

It will be said that this is not a question of abstract principle, but of practical action. In all that has been urged there is, perhaps, very little that in itself has not been accepted by the Christian world as true. And what, it may

be said, is gained by the reiteration of familiar precepts in the absence of suggestions for definite lines of action? The objection is not unanswerable. The repetition of the watchwords of Christian duty may seem wearisome, but all evidence shows that it is a necessary task. That all who serve the Lord Christ are in some sense one, may be a truth which all acknowledge. That every Christian is bound to esteem this unity of higher worth than all the watchwords of his own separate company in the host of Christ's servants, is bound to meditate upon it day by day, to exhibit the working of the principle, not by spasmodic and artificial effort, but by steady and consistent action—this is a rule of life which perhaps few may directly call in question, but to which few are prepared to yield implicit obedience. But an acquiescence which rests short of the acceptance of such a rule will be dormant, idle. The painful and bitter contrast between Christian words and Christian deeds will come out again in boldest relief. But if the duty is recognised and the rule of life accepted, if communion in life and action is eagerly desired as an outward and visible sign of an abiding spiritual union, the problem is all but solved. The desire, the determination, will find modes of expression. A thousand outward channels will be seen in which the common streams of life may flow. No restraints can keep under the manifestations of a living power.

Meanwhile let each one of us remember that the influence which we long to see manifested is Divine, not human. It is not a mere cry for fraternity, even if inspired by noblest motives. The communion among Christ's servants must be the true expression of oneness with Christ, oneness in His spirit. Whatever raises the standard of Christian attainment, leading the company of believers nearer to the presence of their Lord, brings nearer the consummation we desire. Let each community of Christians put away from its own borders all that savours of railing and bitterness and distrust towards other Churches. Let every one, whilst seeking continually to grasp the truth more firmly, and

holding with steadfastness that which teaching and thought have brought to his hand, ever strive to show that what binds him to his fellow Christian is stronger than all separating influences. Let each one make it the subject of his daily prayer "that all may be one." The occasion is ready to our hand. Whenever in public worship or in private devotion we say, "I believe in the communion of saints," let the prayer of faith be offered up, and let a renewed effort towards its accomplishment be the Amen which confirms and completes the Creed.

WILLIAM F. MOULTON.

*** The above unpublished essay, written in the year 1883, has been found among the late Dr. Moulton's papers and is printed exactly as it stands. The keen interest which Dr. Moulton took in the LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW lends a special fitness to its publication here. It is not probable that there will be much in his papers which is in condition complete enough to justify publication. There is, however, one very considerable exception, the announcement of which may suitably be made now. His collection of Marginal References to the Revised New Testament, on which he laboured through twenty-five years, originally in collaboration with the late Dr. Scrivener, is practically in its final form throughout St. John's Gospel and the Acts; while abundant material on the rest of the New Testament only needs arranging by those who worked under him. The abridged edition of these References was published by the University Presses in October, 1898: an article upon this work in the REVIEW is unfortunately deferred by its author's illness. The Presses have now decided to publish the *full* References to the New Testament as soon as they can be put into shape; and they have committed the care of Dr. Moulton's work to his son, the Rev. James Hope Moulton. It is impossible to say how soon the book may be expected. The mass of detail is enormous, the body of references being far more numerous than in any edition yet published, and being arranged on a very elaborate plan. But every effort will be made to expedite the work, and place before the English reader material which will open to him wholly new possibilities for Bible study.

SPAIN AFTER THE WAR.

SPANIARDS explain their peculiarities by saying, "We are a nation of vice-versas." This is perhaps the reason why they are so enigmatical to foreigners, and especially to Englishmen. Anglo-Saxons and Spaniards often play at cross-purposes. Their ideas are cast in different moulds; their thoughts run for a time on parallel lines, and when there would appear to be every probability of the lines converging, without any warning they branch off in opposite directions. In order to understand and appreciate a Spaniard you must divest yourself of racial prejudice, change your customary standpoint, undergo metaphorically a transfusion of blood; and when the metamorphosis is complete, you will be able to form a fairly correct estimate of one who is too often misunderstood.

Foreigners are loud in denunciation of the vices and besetting sins of the Iberian race; but the Spaniard outvoices them all, and condemns himself and his fellow countrymen in terms no outsider would venture to employ. Nor is it all hypocrisy. He is sincere for the time being; but he is emotional, and his repentance is not as a rule deep enough to produce amendment and bring forth fruits of righteousness. A Spaniard is essentially idealistic, and this constitutes at once his weakness and strength. Possessed of a lively imagination, he peoples the immediate future with the creations of his fancy, but disappointment and depression of spirits follow closely in the wake of enthusiasm; his natural want of foresight borders at times on recklessness, and if the venture goes against him, with a little dash of fatalism inherited from long forgotten ancestors, he is ready to attribute his failure to an adverse destiny: it was to be, the stars in their courses

have fought against him, *loado sea Dios.* But though a Spaniard suffers keenly, he soon forgets his sorrows. A natural light-heartedness helps him to bear up under defeat and disaster which would crush a more matter-of-fact people. The present may be gloomy and menacing, but there is always a *mañana* ahead—a morrow in which fortunes may be retrieved and hopes realised.

Had the issue of the late war been unfavourable to America, the heated imagination of Spaniards would have interpreted success as the beginning of a new era, a return of the glorious days of the sixteenth century, when the armies of Charles V. and Philip II. were a power to be reckoned with, when Spanish dominion spread far and wide in both hemispheres, and when the galleons of Hernán Cortés, Pizarro, and other adventurers returned laden with the spoils of the West. But war is an uncertain factor, and not infrequently it is of greater service to the defeated than to the conqueror. Victory may be dearly bought if it leads to self-glorification and to the neglect of vital interests; and if, on the other hand, defeat reveals the source of a nation's weakness and stimulates to a serious and laborious work of reformation, then the rôles are changed, the real victors are the vanquished, and their temporary loss is ultimate gain. Just as the *débâcle* at Sedan rendered a service to the French which no amount of success at that period could have secured to them, so Cavite and Santiago, ever to be associated with crushing defeat, may prove to the Spanish nation a blessing in disguise. Whether it will prove so remains to be seen. It is unsafe to prophesy while a country is still in the throes of a crisis such a it has seldom been the lot even of Spain to experience, and the unexpected often happens. The country has arrived at a parting of the way, and the events of the next few months will determine its fate. In the opinion of many the nation is doomed to speedy and utter ruin. We confess to a more optimistic view, and without overlooking or minimising the gravity of the case are inclined to believe that Spain is taking to heart the lessons of adversity, and

will come out of the trial chastened and transformed, prepared to work out her own salvation. Our aim in this article is briefly to review the situation, and indicate the tendency of current thought and popular movements.

I. The late war has perceptibly widened the already existing breach between the ruling powers and the people. Government in England, being an elective body, represents more or less accurately the *vox populi*. It is not so in Spain. Universal suffrage is a sop to Cerberus. The people take little interest in elections, knowing full well that in the majority of cases the results are determined beforehand. The names of voters are made use of without their knowledge or consent, and citizens who for years have been resting peacefully in their tombs are alleged to revisit in a mysterious way the polling booths and emit their votes in favour of the government candidate. It would be a long story and foreign to the object of this article to enter into the details of this vast system of chicanery and political immorality. The whole situation can, however, be summed up in few words. Elections take place after a new government has come into power. The change affects employés, provincial governors, mayors, and even the petty clerks in municipal bureaus. The system is fraught with danger, and gives rise to numberless abuses. The tenure of office is uncertain; those in power live in constant apprehension of the next change, which will affect them as it did their predecessors, and not a few make use of their position to provide against the day of calamity. Is it surprising that between the people and the government there should be a great gulf fixed? The estrangement is complete, and a *rapprochement* can be effected only through the herculean labours of a conscientious and noble-minded statesman undertaking the ungrateful task of cleansing the Augean stables. But that man has yet to appear. There is an old legend to the effect that the Almighty, after having granted to Spain almost every imaginable favour, refused to concede the additional blessing of good government lest the Peninsula should become a paradise on earth. Something

was required to counterbalance Nature's prodigality, and the neutralising influence was found in corrupt administration. Popular legends often contain a great deal of truth. They are a kind of crystallized public sentiment, and the one we refer to is no exception to the rule. It is not our intention to represent the man in the street as a saint, or to make government a convenient scapegoat for the sins of the people. The rulers are not the only sinners, and there are evils too deep and widespread to be uprooted or even checked by any mere political reform; common justice, however, compels us to say that the average citizen has many good points of which not the least notable, strange as it may appear, is honesty. But a Spaniard draws a very fine distinction between individuals and a community. Private property, according to his standard of morality, is to be respected, though it is no crime to rob a company. A man may be trusted with untold gold belonging to his employer or neighbour; but it is at the most a venial sin, and with many a matter of self-congratulation and boasting, to defraud the State. Government oppresses the public, and the public watches its opportunity to retaliate. Conscience is easily quieted by calling a questionable deed recuperation, and thus the circle is complete.

Such being the general relations between rulers and people, how could the latter be taught by the recent war what they already knew? The answer is easy to find. Abuses may exist and be patent to all, but a great catastrophe or a crisis in the nation's history is needed to accentuate the evil and discover its dangerous tendencies. We are not prepared to join in the general outcry against covert negotiations, for diplomacy, especially when important interests are at stake, requires a certain amount of secrecy; but it is essential that the higher powers enjoy the confidence of the nation, and whatever faith the people had in their leaders has been rudely shaken if not altogether destroyed. An opinion prevails in some quarters, and was freely expressed in foreign newspapers during the war, that the people clamoured for a fight, and the government was obliged to

yield, knowing that it was marching to its doom. This is true, but it is only part of the truth. The public was kept in ignorance of the real state of affairs in the colonies,* and could not be expected to know the true condition of the army and navy; whereas a wise government, acquainted with the state of arsenals and exchequer, would have staved off war, whatever the grounds of the quarrel, until reasonable resistance could have been offered. The nation cannot close its eyes to facts which are gradually coming to light, all of which go to show that the country was not prepared for war, and that whatever advantages might have been obtained by courage and dash over an equally unprepared foe were lost through a vacillating policy. Spain was always a little too late, exemplifying the saying that the man who hesitates is lost.

Another serious matter is the lurid light thrown by these revelations on the incompetence of some who, in administrative and executive spheres, are entrusted with the defence of the country. Modern armaments are an expensive luxury if a false economy prohibits the use of powder and shot until battle-ships and cruisers are under the enemy's fire. Constant gun practice is universally recognised as necessary in order to secure the highest degree of efficiency, and in this respect the Spanish navy has been guilty of grave neglect. We have not the slightest wish to cast aspersion upon skilled and brave commanders. Their hands have been tied by a parsimonious policy for which they were not responsible. The phrase attributed to Admiral Cervera on leaving the Cape Verd Islands, "We are going to a second Trafalgar," honours a gallant seaman, while it condemns the policy under which he was acting. Moreover, when the voice of the people is heard, an accurate account will be demanded of the large sums

* A rigid censorship of the press facilitates the suppression of news unfavourable to ministerial as well as State interests. Martial law, removed only a few days before this article was written, aggravated the evil. To this day the truth concerning the *reconcentrados* has not leaked out.

which have appeared in the estimates for the purchase of arms and ammunition. Large quantities of stores when required for use proved to be seriously defective, pointing to a leakage which should become a matter for careful investigation.

The army, generally recognised as superior to the navy, has not come out of the ordeal scatheless. The rank and file are worthy of all honour, and many of the officers upheld the best traditions of their race. The brave lads, drafted off by thousands to the colonies, most of them raw conscripts with only a few weeks' training, have behaved in a manner highly creditable to themselves and to their chiefs, and have once more proved that for courage, patience, and power of endurance the Spanish soldier ranks high, and, all things being equal, is no mean foe. But what can mere bravery do when the sinews of war are lacking? The commissariat department may render all advantages nugatory, and there is more than a lurking suspicion in the mind of the public that America would never have had a pretext for making her voice heard in the matter had not the Cuban insurrection been unduly prolonged through being a paying concern for contractors and others interested in supplies. General Blanco had scarcely landed in the island when he cabled to the head of his department the startling news that he had been able to secure fresh contracts with a reduction of *sixty per cent!* The masses are unversed in diplomacy and ingenuously express their opinions. Their sympathies are naturally with the common soldier, for is he not of their own flesh and blood? As week after week the transport vessels bring back to the shores of Spain the decimated regiments from Cuba and the Philippine Islands, and the poor *repatriados*, many of them living skeletons, just able to crawl or hobble on crutches, wearily make their way homewards with three or four dollars in their pocket as an instalment of half a year's pay, a sullen murmur passes from lip to lip, forming a terrible but scarcely articulated indictment against those who, rightly or wrongly, are looked upon as responsible for

the great disaster.* The breach is becoming perceptibly widened, the divorce between the people and their present leaders is complete.

II. The attitude adopted by European powers has convinced Spain that in future she must be prepared to fight her own battles. We scarcely think it will be considered a gratuitous assertion if we say that Spain never expected to carry on the struggle alone. It was fondly imagined that as soon as war was declared the sympathies of Europe would be shown in a practical manner in favour of a weak State, resulting in an energetic protest against the much talked of Monroe doctrine. A coalition of the Latin races, or, failing this, the co-operation of France, was at least expected. When reality dispelled illusions a rude surprise was felt; but the lesson, if acted upon, will go a long way towards the rehabilitation of the nation. The thoughtful Spaniard will be led to reconsider his position and prepare against a recurrence of disaster. A policy of inaction, induced and fostered by a spirit of dependence, has proved to be fatal to the country's best interests. The demagogue in the press and on the platform can no longer enjoy the same prestige and popularity as formerly, and a humiliating capitulation is seen to be the inevitable result of going to war without a calm calculation of the risks involved.

When a strong nation comes forward in defence of a weak neighbour, the latter, in the exhilaration of conquest, is apt to forget its indebtedness to the senior partner, and attribute success to its own resources and skill. It was so in the part played by Wellington in the Peninsular War. The silence of Spanish textbooks on the subject is as gratifying to national pride as it is injurious to national interests. Spain is now conscious that she must stand

* The Red Cross Society, supported by voluntary subscriptions, does what it can to alleviate distress and suffering; but its resources are limited, and only the worst cases can be treated in the already overcrowded sanatoria.

alone ; and, further, that, in order to prevent decay and extinction, she must, by strenuous effort and radical reform, endeavour to regain her place in the concert of nations. Thus will the lessons of defeat be invaluable.

III. We come now to one of the most important aspects of the question. The most casual observer can scarcely fail to note the decided change of front adopted by the Liberal press and the bulk of the population with regard to the State religion. Painfully conscious of weakness, and looking with apprehension at the too evident signs of the nation's degeneracy, Spaniards are asking themselves whether after all the domination of Rome has not sapped the energies of the country and contributed more or less directly to the present crisis. For a long time the opinion has been gaining ground that the rule of monasticism and the subservience of the State to the Church can only lead to the enrichment and aggrandisement of religious orders at the country's expense. The poor, oppressed by excessive taxation, look with ill-concealed displeasure at the convents, monasteries, seminaries, and Jesuit colleges, superb palaces in the majority of cases, which are springing up on every hand. The insurrection in the Philippine Islands served to accentuate the note of discontent. The rising of the Tagals was not so much against Spanish rule as against the monastic orders who were the virtual feudal lords of those fair regions, and the private information which reached the Peninsula, and, by evading the censorship of the press, became public property, was confirmed by the sight of endless consultations of the government with the heads of those orders in Madrid. They deposed and nominated the military commanders, and constituted a consulting and directive power behind the State.* An advanced section of

* By one of the articles in the Treaty of Bacuabato the Spanish government pledged itself to withdraw all friars from the Philippines. Through failure to comply with that condition the insurrection broke out afresh, and the whole of the money received by Aguinaldo was devoted to the purchase of arms and ammunition with which to support the American invasion.

the press, strongly opposed to the Church, is conducting a vigorous campaign against clericalism, and especially against the religious orders. The movement is not confined to the press; the people are wakening. For some years they have remained in a state of apathy which boded ill for the country; for movement is a sign of life, and few sights are more painful than that of a people crushed under heavy burdens, with no spirit left in them and neither strength nor will to raise themselves from their abject condition. Had the events of the past year taken place ten or fifteen years earlier, the whole country would have been in a state of ferment; barricades, incendiarism, and civil war would have been the reply to war imposts, capitulation, and the signing of a treaty of peace on the conditions imposed by a victorious power. We are strongly opposed to the blind fury of revolutionary movements, and if liberty of conscience and of action, and freedom from corrupt administration can be obtained by a peaceful process of emendation, so much the better for all concerned. When Demos begins to mutter, it is a dangerous sign for others; but when his spirit is crushed, it is a bad sign for himself. The loss of moral fibre is even worse than the loss of confidence in the rulers of a nation's destiny. Years of oppression had reduced the people to a state of tutelage which contrasted strangely with the *hidalgo* spirit usually associated with the Spanish character. The declaration of war roused them momentarily from their state of lethargy, though the interest taken in the struggle was less than it would appear to a mere reader of newspapers; the safety of son or brother was of far more account than the fate of nations. What the clash of arms failed to accomplish is being brought about indirectly by other means, and the side issues will, in all probability, be of greater consequence to Spain than any of the direct results of the Hispano-American war.

In 1835, when the savage element of the populace broke loose, their long pent up wrath was directed against convents and monasteries. In the revolution of 1868 the same spirit was dominant, though the storm was less violent and its

effects less drastic and terrible. Once more clericalism is in danger of being tried at the bar of public opinion, and if the case goes against the accused, the results will be far-reaching. Seeing that the awakening is gradual, it may reasonably be hoped that the religious revolution will be peaceful and steadily progressive, and that its legitimate ends will be secured without riot or bloodshed. Be this as it may, the real cause of the country's decadence is felt and acknowledged. The fact that scapularies and papal blessing have been ineffectual to ward off defeat has opened the eyes of thinking people; the favourite daughter of the Church is beginning to realise that the love of her foster-parent is not wholly disinterested, and the matter is talked of in factories and workshops, in casinos, and in the home. We are not speaking of statesmen and politicians of retrograde ideas, or of the large and influential body of people whose interests are bound up with those of the Church, but of men who, whether free or enthralled, feel that they are at liberty to think, if not to speak, for themselves. A vast number even of the thinking population are so enslaved by social or business interests that they dare not ventilate their opinions in public; but not all who bow the knee are worshippers, and the Church reckons among its adherents multitudes who have been robbed of their faith. It is a critical moment in the nation's religious history, and the situation calls for careful consideration on the part of those who share our conviction that material and spiritual interests go hand in hand. The great danger which threatens Spain to-day is a gross materialism existing side by side with Roman Catholicism, and only the widespread teaching of Christianity in its uncorrupted form can preserve the medium between these extremes.

IV. We have given a cursory glance at the state of public opinion from the standpoint of an impartial observer; it remains to be seen whether there exists any political party representing the feelings of the majority, and from which the work of reconstitution may reasonably be expected. The symptoms of disease are too evident to be ignored, and

there is practical unanimity as to the need of reform. So far this is a hopeful sign. For months past the one cry raised on every hand, by newspapers and politicians representing every shade of opinion, has been *regeneration*. Each one comes forward to offer an infallible remedy; but in almost every case the main issue is lost sight of, and the specific which is to restore the nation to health and prosperity is the old programme of that particular party. Catholic unity, a military dictatorship, a strengthening of the present dynasty, a republic, a reversion to the Bourbon branch represented by Don Carlos, all these and many other ways are proposed for reaching the end which one and all acknowledge as desirable and necessary. We are prepared to give each party credit for sincerity, but confess to little confidence in any of the suggested reforms, which at the best are only partial, and, in some cases, are more likely to aggravate the evil than remove it.

The late lamented leader of the Conservatives, Señor Cánovas, who fell a victim to anarchist outrage, has left no real successor. The more advanced of his followers, the reactionary party, are rallying around Silvela and Polavieja: the former, one of the few public men who have made a stand in favour of political morality; the latter, the champion of the monastic orders, both extreme Catholics with a joint programme, of which the most salient note is "a return to the old paths." By the old paths is, of course, meant a return to Rome, as though the nuncio, a foreigner and owning allegiance neither to the monarch nor to Parliament, but to the Vatican, were not already at the head of affairs and the Jesuits in evidence in every department of the State! Ultramontanism confederated with a Conservative militarism is to lead the way to regeneration. The Carlists, with the Marquess of Cerralbo as leader, represent no inconsiderable section of the community, with well organised forces in Catalonia and the Basque provinces. Their hopes are centred in Don Carlos, the Legitimist pretender to the throne in virtue of direct descent in the male line from Charles IV. The belief was current that as

soon as peace was declared the signal for a rising would be given, and Don Carlos would recross the Pyrenees to pose as the guardian of his country's honour. The movement, on account of some unexplained cause, possibly financial, did not take place. At that time the Pretender might almost have overrun the country before any serious opposition was encountered; but the psychological moment has passed, and any attempt now to inflame passions and provoke a fratricidal war would, we believe, be fatal to the hopes of the Carlist party. Militarism with Liberal tendencies represents the doctrine of another party, under the leadership of General Weyler of Cuban renown; but his supporters are falling away for want of a definite programme, and Weyler, by coquetting with Carlists and Republicans, two bitterly opposed classes, has lost much of the prestige he once unfortunately enjoyed. Then comes the Republican party, perhaps the most numerous of all, but split up into factions with no leader to heal their dissensions and champion their cause. The eyes of many have been turned towards their former eloquent chief, Castelar, who publishes from time to time a manifesto without making any serious attempt to form a powerful and united body. Anything rather than the Bourbon dynasty, anything rather than clericalism, are the watchwords of this party. We regret to see the Republicans so closely identified with materialism; if they can secure for this country freedom safeguarded by moral and religious principles from degenerating into license, they will confer a boon, but they are not yet prepared to discharge so important a duty. The apparition of a new and popular leader is needed to give the party cohesion and unity of purpose. Meanwhile the Liberal party remains in power. We have no wish to sit in judgment; the Cortes now reassembling are prepared to undertake that task with more or less acrimony and bias. Sagasta is an enigma, and can only be described as the advocate of a policy of *laissez-aller*.

An important development which calls for a passing notice is the movement gradually gaining ground, especially

in the north, in favour of decentralisation. It is generally believed that an unpublished item in Polavieja's programme is the concession of autonomy, or at least of a modified home-rule to the provinces. Centralisation in Spain has been carried to excess. Local matters which can in no way affect the stability or prosperity of the State, minute details relating to local administration or to urban improvements, must be submitted to headquarters and pass through the endless ordeal of red-tapeism before any advance can be made. The cumbrous wheels of State machinery move slowly, and the result is costly and vexatious. Moreover, the different provinces have never been welded into one homogeneous community. Each district has preserved a marked individuality, local prejudices are strong, and the spirit of regionalism, to use a newly coined but expressive word, is in the ascendent. In Catalonia and the Basque provinces the tendency towards autonomy is strong. A native of Catalonia, for example, is above everything else a Catalan, and his affections and very existence are bound up in the district he is proud to call his *patria*. The affairs of the country in general occupy a secondary place in his thoughts. Some ardent spirits advocate a complete independence, but the idea is too extravagant to be admitted. A judicious concession in the direction of decentralisation would content the majority, prevent friction, and ward off danger.

V. Whilst the nation is eating out its heart in political strife, and a demagogue press is indulging in rhetoric not always to be taken at its literal value, it is pleasant to turn our eyes in another direction in which the prospect appears more encouraging. During the greater part of last year stagnation of trade was the cause of widespread distress. The cost of living was greatly increased, factories were closed or working half time, tens of thousands of hands were without employment, and bankruptcy seemed imminent. Immediately after the disaster at Cavite exchange went up by leaps and bounds, reaching the fabulous height of 116 per cent above par, and though it fell shortly, for several

months it oscillated between eighty and sixty per cent above par. Manufacturers not fortunate enough to have a large supply of coal and raw material before the crisis were compelled to stop their machines. But the country was favoured with an exceptionally good harvest. The corn crop was estimated at some two hundred million dollars, and whilst manufacturers and merchants were struggling under an almost impossible burden, the high rate of exchange which was ruining them enabled those engaged in the exportation of native produce to reap a golden harvest. Money literally flowed into the coffers of agriculturists, with the result that tradesmen are now benefiting by the increased amount unexpectedly put into circulation. With the signing of the treaty of peace came simultaneously a demand for goods for Cuba and a fall in exchange, enabling manufacturers and warehousemen to clear out existing stocks and share in the general revival of trade. The ten years' respite conceded by the United States government in the Philippines has saved, at least temporarily, that market, which is largely supplied by Catalan factories. The revival does not affect all classes; the paralysis of commerce has been too general and long-continued for matters to readjust themselves at once, and war imposts together with high duties are still pressing heavily on producers and consumers; but the peaceful music of the loom is beginning to be heard, and hope, well-nigh extinguished, is reasserting its dominion. And after the expiration of ten years will Spain be able to maintain her commercial position in the Philippine Archipelago? That depends largely upon Spain herself. If the present short-sighted policy be continued, with excessive duties that injure commerce instead of protecting it, the door will be closed and fresh markets must be found. But by a judicious modification of the tariff admitting raw material free, or considerably reducing the present exorbitant duties, Spanish manufacturers would be in a position to compete with other countries. During the last twenty years Catalonia has made giant strides, and if not so heavily handicapped would make still greater progress. Woollen and

cotton goods of all kinds are produced in large quantities; the deft fingers of Spanish women and girls seem to be peculiarly adapted to the manipulation of light machines, while their innate taste gives them a great advantage in making up articles requiring a certain amount of dainty finish. Catalans and Basques are the most enterprising people in the Peninsula. In some respects they compare very favourably with the rest of Europe; it will come as a surprise to many to know that in the Basque provinces almost every little hamlet at the side of a watercourse is lighted with electricity; in other respects they still have much to learn, but there are great possibilities before them.

The patriotism of the average Spaniard is confined almost exclusively to the fatherland. The people care little for the colonies except as a market for their goods. The loss of the South American colonies has long since been almost forgotten; the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines will soon be a thing of the past; and if a concentration of energy on the development of the country is the result of that loss, then, as we have already suggested, the victory of America will be the greatest blessing that ever came to Spain. Nature's lavish gifts are waiting to be appropriated. Between the Pyrenees and the Straits of Gibraltar every variety of climate is found. The soil is fertile in the extreme, and under the burning sun of Andalusia many of the products of the West could be successfully grown. With a commanding position between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, a vast seaboard with good harbours, immense mineral wealth contained in the sierras which only awaits capital and enterprise to become an almost unlimited source of revenue, mineral springs of all kinds issuing from nearly every hill-side, and well distributed rivers which with an extensive system of canalisation could be used for irrigating the whole country, converting what are now desolate and arid steppes into a smiling garden, what more can be wanted to make Spain happy and prosperous and restore her to her former greatness?

Close to the landing-steps in Barcelona harbour rises a noble column, supporting a statue of Columbus with outstretched arm pointing seawards, a constant reminder of the path of glory followed by the pioneers of colonial enterprise. And now, at the close of the nineteenth century, the remains of the great explorer have been brought back to the shores whence his caravels set sail for the unknown West, and in their final resting-place they are saying to the Spaniards of to-day, "Enough of conquest and colonisation; set your own house in order, develop your own resources, and with internal reforms, a wise administration, and careful, plodding toil, you may yet be great, wealthy, and happy." If the lesson be learnt, all Europe will rejoice.

FRANKLYN G. SMITH.

THE ORIGIN OF OUR UNIVERSITIES.

1. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages.* By Dr. HASTINGS RASHDALL. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1895. 50s. net.)

2. *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought.* By Dr. R. L. POOLE. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1884. 10s. 6d.)

DURING the latter half of this century we have witnessed in England a remarkable reawakening of interest in our university system. The older universities have aroused themselves from their sleepy traditions, purged themselves of obsolete shibboleths and customs, and revised their statutes, until some have wondered whereunto the passion for reformation would grow. Side by side with the new life of Oxford and Cambridge we have also witnessed the strange experiment of the University of London; while the legislation of 1898 saw the creation, after years of labour, of a real teaching university for the centre of the empire; thus at length removing from London the reproach that she was the only capital in Europe, save Lisbon, that had no university in its midst. London, in fact, has saved itself just in time from being hopelessly left behind by the provinces. The Victoria University of Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds is already a power in the north; while Birmingham is contemplating a Midland University to be endowed, according to the caricatures of *Punch*, with chairs of brewing and the like. Even Durham has sought to escape from its picturesque isolation by building a school of medicine and science at Newcastle. The question of the universities of Ireland, like the poor, is ever with us, and the solution of the one is as difficult as that of the other. Of one thing the student of politics may be confident: that the twentieth century will see a wonderful extension of the power and usefulness of the

great institution, our heritage from the Middle Ages, which we now call the university.

On the present occasion we propose to trace the origin of this wonderful institution. The roots of the present must ever lie in the past, and a clear idea of the conditions which led to its growth may be of advantage in discussing the adaptation of the university to present needs. It is no credit to our older universities that for many generations they were content to let that past remain a blank. When the enquirer asked for bread, the historian offered him fables. But the last quarter of the century has seen this reproach rolled away. The vast labours of Father Denifle and others have made the crooked plain, while in Dr. Rashdall's two great volumes (supplemented in the earlier portion by the able work of Dr. Poole) we have a history as complete as it is suggestive, one which for many years to come no student of mediæval men and movements can afford to neglect.

Like every other successful institution, the university was of slow development. We do not see it springing into sudden maturity, nor can it be traced to the clear design of statesman or thinker. Historical criticism has emerged from the dark days when the foundation of Paris was attributed to Charles the Great, while the chroniclers of the English universities could write learnedly of Alfred the Great and his school, or of the Greek professors, contemporaries of David, who settled at "Greeklade or Cricklade," whence by a later "migration" they established Oxford. The historian is equally unmoved by the claims of Cambridge when she flaunts in his face her charters from king Arthur. These curiosities of a past uncritical generation the modern dismisses, noting that university authorities, like monks, hesitated at no forgery whereby they could minister to the glory of their order. The origin of universities will not be found in either charters or fable; they were the outcome of the needs of their age, and their slow growth according to those conditions was no small element in their success and stability.

To estimate aright the forces which gave rise to this

movement, we must briefly refer to the intellectual outlook at the close of the eleventh century. In the sixth century there had burst over Europe a deluge of barbarism. As the greatest evil under which the Israelites had groaned was the taking away of their smiths, so the greatest curse of the barbarian invasions was not so much the loss of a culture, the survival of which had been no small if unconscious obstacle to the spread of primitive Christianity, as the destruction of the Roman municipal schools. From the seventh to the eleventh century such light as there was was confined to the cloister, and that light was rather the shining of a few stars in a waste of darkness than the flush of dawn. But with the eleventh century the spirit of new hopes moved on the face of the waters. Here and there amid the welter and chaos dry land began to appear; here and there a keener eye might discern the first shoots of verdure. As the nations emancipated themselves from the mere struggle for existence, men became dimly conscious of the buried treasures of the past. From the Crusades also the new fervour of study gained no little impulse as the rude warriors of the West came in contact with the knowledge of the more civilised East. Everywhere men roused themselves from the long night of darkness, and with the restless vigour of the newly awakened flung themselves into the pursuit of truth. Christendom hailed with enthusiasm the new power of mind as the hope of a world hitherto ruled by brute force tempered by superstition.

The new intellectual activity at first concentrated itself round the old centres, but the fatal defect of monasticism was its essential selfishness. Educational usefulness was no part of its real programme, and though the education provided was generous, nevertheless it bore the stamp of being an "extra." The schools for the monks and outsiders were kept strictly apart, and of course the first concern of the monastery was for its own inmates. During the twelfth century the monasteries one by one closed their gates to seculars, a course for which they might seek justification in the rapid rise of the more unrestricted schools of the

collegiate foundations, though the real reason was the loss of their vital force. The rapidity of the change may be marked when we remember that in Anselm * we have the greatest of monastic teachers, while half a century later, in Abailard, education had abandoned the monastery for the cathedral. This therefore is the first step to be noted in the evolution of the university. The universities of northern Europe, when not, like Oxford, the result of "migration," always rise in connexion with a great collegiate church; they are never the offspring of a monastery.† St. Gall, Clugny, Fulda, Bec, Malmesbury, or St. Albans might have retained to this day their once proud position of the intellectual centres of Europe; that they lost it for ever to obscure and modern rivals must be entered against them as the punishment of monastic selfishness.

From the career of Abailard ‡ to the rise of the universities the step is short and natural. By the middle of the twelfth century the schools of northern Europe had become grouped round the cathedrals, but owed their importance always to the individual teacher. If some noted "master" moved elsewhere, the school moved with him. The connexion between chapter and school was of the loosest; the latter half of the twelfth century saw this loose bond made permanent and vital.

Let us illustrate the various stages of growth by the history of Paris, the most famous university of Europe. We have first the school of Notre Dame, the education at which would be confined to "grammar." But with the widening intellectual activity the curriculum slowly broadened, while the growth of culture and the fall of monasticism as the ideal life led to a demand for the better education of the secular clergy. These the monasteries were reluctant to admit to their lectures unless they would first turn monk, so the chapter appointed certain of their

* († 1109).

† This involves the rejection of the idea that Cambridge was founded by monks of Ely (Clark), or Oxford due to the monks of St. Frideswide's

‡ († 1142).

number to give instruction in theology in addition to the usual course of "arts." At first the school had little repute; it was overshadowed by Chartres and Laon. To Abailard and the successors he trained Paris owed the foundation of her prestige. The width of his knowledge and the daring of his genius, aided no doubt by the natural pugnacity of youth, drew students from castle and town to the new species of tourney, where the partisans of hostile principles encountered one another in the lists of controversy with all the bitterness of feudal warfare.

The cathedral authorities naturally took steps to secure permanence for their prosperity. There was ever the danger lest the school should be broken up by the death of some famous master, or migrate elsewhere through the growing fame of some new teacher. Both perils would be avoided if masters as well as scholars could be attached to Paris by solid advantages. Whether through foresight or the instinct of preservation the chapter therefore flung open to all the profession of teaching. The one condition they imposed was that "masters" in their schools should receive a license from a special member of their body, their corresponding secretary or "chancellor." The chancellor, of course, before issuing his license, would satisfy himself that the "master" possessed the needed acquirements. As a result of these measures we find that, within a generation of the death of Abailard, the school of Paris had acquired European fame. To the island in the Seine, as to a new Mecca, "masters" and scholars crowded in their thousands.

A school which attracted students from different nations received the technical name of a *studium generale*. Like the English "public school," this title was at first very vague. Only gradually did it come to denote those definite characteristics which we associate with a university. At the end of the twelfth century there were two schools which had obtained this high international reputation: Paris, for arts and theology; Bologna, for the study of law. The "masters" of these two schools were held in such universal esteem, that general custom had granted to them the right of teaching in

any *studium generale* without fresh examination or license. This last privilege led to important developments. When in 1229 the emperor Frederick II. founded the *Studium Generale* of Naples, he granted to its masters the *jus docendi ubique*, to give the technical name by which this much-prized right of Paris and Bologna was known to the jurists. The pope, of course, could not submit to this claim of his rival to be the educational head of Europe, so when Gregory IX. founded his "spiritual garrison" at Toulouse (1233), a bull conferred on its masters a similar privilege. As other *studia* eagerly competed for the same advantage, it became the law that a true *studium generale* must have obtained by charter from one of the world-powers, either pope or emperor, preferably the former, the coveted *jus docendi ubique*.

The reader may ask why in the last paragraph we have used the cumbrous title *studium generale* instead of the more familiar university. It were well therefore to explain what precisely this last term represents. "University" is simply the common mediæval name for any corporation or guild. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries "the instinct of association swept like a great wave over the towns of Europe." Everywhere we witness the struggle of the "lesser folk" against the "greater folk," of the unenfranchised mass against the "guilded" few. On the Continent the struggle was protracted through a century of bloodshed. Even in more peaceful England the conflict was bitter and prolonged. But whether in England or on the Continent, the weapon of the oppressed was the same—the unenfranchised united in "guilds" which slowly wrested the franchise from the older oligarchies. Every such guild would in mediæval Latin be spoken of as a *universitas*; but for the fortunes of language the various livery companies of London might be styled to-day "the University of Fishmongers" and "the University of Skinners." * A "univer-

* Perhaps the most curious instance of the meaning of the word university and also of the mediæval freedom and instinct for association

sity" was simply a guild or club, in Bologna of students, at Paris of masters, banded together to secure their rights. By an accident this less essential element in a *studium generale* became so completely the dominating factor as to drive out the more exact and ancient title, for when a new *studium generale* was founded the founders either copied or carried with them the "universities" of the two great mother institutions; thus the guild became so inseparable an accompaniment, that by the fifteenth century the older title had become extinct save in their charters and codes.

The University of Paris was a guild of masters; a guild, that is, of those who had obtained from the chancellor of Notre Dame a license to teach. Of these the number was extraordinary. Northern Europe had been seized with a passion for the tournaments of logic. Students flocked in their hundreds to Paris that there they might obtain the new intellectual knighthood. The cloisters of the cathedral and even the *cité* became too small for the swarm of masters. Such masters were at first under the absolute control of the chancellor. He could not only grant or refuse a license, he could take away licenses already given. Evidently a guild was needed for mutual defence. The object of such "university" was twofold: first, to protect the masters against the arbitrary authority of the chancellor; and, secondly, to raise their emoluments by restricting new licenses. The student of modern labour movements or of the customs of lawyers will here observe that there is nothing new under the sun. Such a guild had at first no

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is the following: "When in 1284 the Pisans were defeated by Genoa, a large body of Pisan captives were kept in prison for eighteen years. While in their miserable gaol they assumed the right of using a common seal which bore the legend, 'The Seal of the University of the Captives at Genoa'" (Rashdall, i., 303 n.). With this instance in his mind, the reader will not henceforth need to be warned against the common delusion that a university is a *universitas facultatum*, an institution where universal knowledge is professed, or that is bound to be universal or unsectarian.

legal rights whatever. Like our modern trades unions it slowly won its emancipation, in spite of law, chiefly by a free use of boycotting, furthered by appeals to the papal authority. For from the first the Papacy, "with that unerring instinct which marks its earlier history, sided with the power of the future and against the efforts of a local hierarchy to keep education in leading strings." Rome saw that it would avail her nothing that she had crushed the independence of the bishops if the control of the new learning should pass into their hands. The power that controlled the schools would possess the future. So when in 1212 the chancellor, as the bishop's representative, sought to compel all masters to take an oath of obedience to himself, Innocent III. interposed and forbade the oath. When at a later date bishop and chancellor again attempted to strangle the growing guild, furbishing up for the purpose, like English manufacturers at the beginning of the century, an old ordinance against "conspiracies," Gregory IX. again stepped in. Henceforth at Paris the Guild or University of masters was free to develop itself on its own lines. The bishop had lost the control of his own *studium*; the "university" had usurped both name and power.

At Bologna the university was a guild not of masters, but of students. For the origin of this extraordinary difference we must look to the different conditions which gave rise to the intellectual movement in Italy. In the north of Europe the complete overthrow by barbarian or Saracen of the old Roman civilisation had flung upon the Church the sole task of educating the people. But in Italy the educational traditions, and to some extent even the educational machinery of the old Roman world still survived. In France all teachers were ecclesiastics, at any rate, were "clerks." But in Italy, where the race of lay teachers seems never to have died out, they were not subject more than other laymen to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, nor entitled like their brethren of Paris to the special privileges of the priestly caste. At Bologna, in fact, the "doctor" was simply a private adventurer—like the sophist of ancient Athens or the Cambridge

"coach"—whom a certain number of students had hired for their instruction. Each doctor lectured in his own room, and depended upon his reputation or powers of canvassing to enlist his pupils. In Italy the chief factor in the transformation of such a school into a *studium generale* was not so much the Church as the rivalry of the same vigorous civic spirit which in other spheres has shed immortal lustre on Florence, Genoa, and Venice, and to which in the England of to-day we owe the rise in our different provincial cities of numerous well-appointed "university colleges."

Of even more weight in the formation of the student-universities of Italy was the nature of the chief study. Bologna, from the days of Irnerius (1100–1130), had been the great law school of Europe. At Paris the military ardour of the North, when diverted to education, manifested itself in the endless tournaments of logic. But the key to the history of Lombard cities and Lombard schools lies in the recognition of the continued existence through the darkest ages of the old Roman system of jurisprudence. When the age of iron gave place to the first rude attempts at order, Roman law was bound to reassert itself, and appeal to its authority was furthered by the struggle between Empire and Papacy. In a land more conscious than any other of the root ideas of the Holy Roman Empire, both sides anxiously searched in the records of the past for evidence for their claims. The schools of Paris were distracted by endless questionings concerning the reality of universal ideas; for northern Italy and imperial Germany the solution of the most vital problems of liberty and politics lay in the study of Roman law. Now the law is a superior faculty. While therefore "the artist" of Paris was a mere lad whom the masters compelled to sit on the ground "that all occasion of pride may be taken away," the student of Bologna was a man, an "artist" probably of some other *studium generale*, who for the sake of his own advancement had found it necessary to obtain a knowledge of Roman jurisprudence. Such men were of all nations and from

many different cities. Nor were they adventurous lads for whom politics and citizenship had little meaning save the constant riot of town and gown. They were generally men of some rank in Church or State, men who could not afford to be outlawed. Now in Italy, as in ancient Greece, the citizens of one town had no civil rights in another. The students, therefore, of Bologna found themselves compelled, for their own protection, to form themselves into a guild, not so much to defend, like the "masters" of Paris, their educational rights against the chancellor, much less to resist the encroachments of their lay teachers, as with the object of creating an artificial citizenship which should save them from the perils and disabilities of the alien.

But whether the "university" was a guild of masters or of students, in both cases it won its freedom through the same means. Our universities rest for their privileges and immunities (tell it not in Oxford, whisper it not in Cambridge, though Manchester and Birmingham may rejoice to hear thereof) on the power of the purse. The schools of Bologna and Paris brought in to the craftsmen of those cities no small gain; the authorities dare not do anything that would drive them away. Great indeed in many ways is Diana of the Ephesians, and of this the guilds were fully aware. If the masters of Paris ordered a "cessation" of lectures, or threatened to migrate, citizens and court alike cried, "Peccavi"; while a boycott of an obnoxious professor by the student guild of Bologna spelt ruin for the unlucky master. In vain did the authorities seek by various devices to crush the guilds, and as a first step to take away the power of migration. Such measures were wholly inoperative, for the university or guild had no buildings or wealth or other hostages of fortune. Its sole property, the common chest and seal, was kept in the sacristy of some friendly convent; for its "congregations" it would borrow a neighbouring church. With these powers of flight its wings could not be clipped, more especially as every city of Europe would gladly have received with open arms and valuable charters such profitable guests.

To the reader, acquainted only with universities formed on the model of Paris, a "university of students" will seem an extraordinary anomaly. It may be of interest, therefore, to note the development of this rival type. The Guild of Foreign Students at Bologna did not, of course, seek a charter any more than an international golf club at Cannes. They elected, however, a chairman or head, called the "rector." Like any other club, they passed their own rules, none of which at first had any legal validity. But by threats of migration they gradually wrung the recognition of these by-laws as valid statutes, binding alike on citizen and student. By judicious boycotting they also acquired control of all matters relating to their landlords, and over all classes of tradesmen engaged in the production of books. By slow steps but sure we see the power of their rector expanding until he was formally recognised as ranking in Bologna above all cardinals and archbishops. Two liveried servants testified to his dignity, while during his year of office he could on no account leave the city without giving security for his return. His first duty after his inauguration was the providing a banquet for all the students, the wine at which must be of a certain quality, a by-law passed by convocation as the result of bitter experience of rectorial vinegar. Another expense was a tournament, for which he furnished two hundred spears and gloves. When we remember that all the income of this onerous position was a share of the fines, we are not surprised that so few students were anxious for the honour that, like the modern shrievalty, it was made compulsory. But if the financial burdens of the rector were excessive, his powers were almost unlimited. With the help of a council chosen by "the nations," he carried out completely the principles of Mr. Anstey's *Vice Versâ*. All doctors were compelled to swear obedience to the regulations of the Student University. If a professor desired leave of absence, he must obtain it from his pupils; if through lack of ability he failed to draw five to his lectures, he was treated as absent and heavily fined—a weapon of use against other than incapable teachers. He was fined also if not

punctual, while great was the penalty if he did not finish to the tick of the clock. To postpone a difficulty to the end of a lecture, when due opportunity of heckling could not be given, was a most grievous offence. The law texts were divided for the doctor into portions called *puncta*, and a time-table made to which, like the modern *Bradshaw*, he must rigidly keep. For every day that he was behind time, the pound of flesh was exacted. Nevertheless, such was the reputation of a doctor of laws of Bologna, so valuable also the emoluments derived from his fees, that we find no lack of candidates. Space forbids us from entering into details of the "rigorous and tremendous examination," and the subsequent ceremonial whereby he was made free of the Doctors' Guild: how he delivered his thesis in the cathedral, how the gold ring was put on his finger, and the book of the law into his hands, how he was then escorted through the town in triumph, preceded by the three university pipers and the four university trumpeters, and how he ended the day by giving a banquet to his colleagues, not forgetting the students.

We have seen that a university found weapons of freedom more powerful than the sword in threats of migration. How this worked may be seen in the following illustration. During the carnival of 1229 certain students of Paris entered a tavern, and, as Matthew Paris quaintly puts it, "by chance found good and sweet wine there." We note in passing that ninety-nine out of a hundred university riots begin in an inn, by some dispute either over the reckoning, or, as in the case of the "Great Slaughter" at Oxford in 1354, over the quality of the wine, leading on "to the pulling of ears and the tearing of hair." In this case the victory at first was with "the trade." The innkeeper called in his neighbours and the students were worsted. The next day they returned with their fellows, set all the taps running, and in other ways amused themselves at the expense of mine host and his friends. In the midst of their fun behold the arrival of the provost with his savage police. A battle followed, the police won the day, and the students fled, leaving

several of their number dead. For such outrage there must be full redress, so the masters suspended their lectures until a wicked court should hand over to justice the enemies of learning. Finding the "cessation" ineffectual, the masters resolved that if redress be not given within a month they would dissolve the university for six years. They were as good as their word, and retired to Oxford, Cambridge, and Angers. If Pope Gregory IX. had not interposed Paris might have lost its university for ever. But court and city alike were alarmed by the loss of prosperity and prestige, so readily obeyed the pope's orders for the immediate punishment of the unlucky provost. This done, in 1231 the university returned in triumph, with a sheaf of bulls and charters crippling alike the powers of court, bishop, and chancellor, and giving to the rector and the university unlimited jurisdiction over their own. Universities, in fact, fattened upon their misfortunes; every riot generally ended in a new charter; every crushing blow from its enemies in the secure possession of a fresh privilege.

To these frequent "migrations" Europe owes most of her universities. The third great university of Europe was Oxford, the origin of which was not due either to the fabled king Mempric or to king Alfred, but, in all probability, to a migration from Paris about the year 1169. Like Paris, Oxford was a University of Masters, but, unlike Paris, the *studium* at Oxford had no organic connexion with any church. Oxford was in the bishopric of Lincoln, and during the early years of its foundation the see was vacant. Not until 1214 do we find the institution, at the date of its first charter, of a bishop's chancellor. At Paris the chancellor soon became a cipher overshadowed by the rector, but at Oxford the bishop lived so far off that the chancellor ceased to represent his interests, and became a member of the University of Masters "with an extraordinary amalgamation of authority, academic, ecclesiastical, civil, and criminal." In 1209 a brawl at Oxford, and the subsequent execution by king John of two scholars, led to the dispersion of the university. Some of the masters fled to Reading, the

more part to distant Cambridge, thus giving rise to that illustrious university. Up to the downfall of scholasticism Cambridge was but a third-rate *studium*. It owed its real rise to its reputation for orthodoxy. For when Oxford became impregnated with the social and religious heresies of Wyclif, Cambridge "came into fashion with cautious parents." In 1238 there was another dispersion from Oxford, due to a feud between the scholars and the legate Otho. A poor Irish chaplain was begging at the kitchen door of the abbey of Oseney when the legate's brother flung a kettle of boiling water in his face. As redress could not be obtained many migrated to the future city of cobblers. But alas for the "University of Northampton"! At the siege of that town in 1264, the scholars did such execution among the king's forces with their bows and arrows that they narrowly escaped hanging by the infuriated monarch, and were ordered to return to the parent universities. In 1334 the "Northern Nation" at Oxford, after a pitched battle with the Southrons, in which they had been ignominiously worsted, retired to Stamford. Unfortunately for the interests of higher education in England, this effort, like the others to add to our universities, ended in failure. Such, however, was the fear cast upon Oxford by this secession that until recently an oath was exacted from all masters that "they would not lecture at Stamford."

In the rise of the universities the student can discern the older internationalism strangely blended with the growing consciousness of the new nationalism. Of these two forces we have a striking illustration in the history of the University of Prague. Up to the middle of the fourteenth century Germany possessed no university at all. Through political causes German scholars were chiefly attracted by the study of law. They therefore crossed the Alps to Bologna, where their special privileges gave rise to the system of "nations." With the loss of Italy to the emperor, Germany realised that the old internationalism of letters would no longer supply her needs. So in 1347 Charles IV., king of the Romans and Bohemia, founded the University of Prague. At Prague,

from the very first, the new nationalism manifested itself in constant quarrels between the Czechs and Germans. But the endless fights in the streets soon became more than a battle between two "nations." Whatever opinion was embraced by the Teutons was sufficient reason for its rejection by the Czechs. The Teutons were nominalists; the Czechs must needs be the champions of realism. When therefore in 1403 the doctrines of the realist Wyclif were defended by the realist rector, John Hus, the Germans flung themselves into the defence of Rome with all the ardour begotten of national hatred and the *odium philosophicum.** The end of the old internationalism was seen when, in 1409, the Germans at Prague, to the number of five thousand, migrated in a body and founded the strictly Teutonic University of Leipzig. The old cosmopolitan life, the brilliance of which was due to the absence of all parochialism, had given place to the new national spirit so triumphant in the Reformation. Henceforth every separate state sought to establish its own universities, and by pains and penalties to forbid its students from journeying to foreign centres.

By the Englishman the stately colleges of Oxford or Cambridge are generally confounded with the university itself. He is accustomed to boast of them as one of the peculiarities of his island, and to look down upon all universities which possess them not. In reality, the true home of the collegiate system was Paris; but even at Paris colleges did not arise until somewhat late. In the thirteenth century the student at Paris or Oxford was free to live where he pleased. In the records of the times we see the lads by the thousand,† huddled together in filthy lodgings,

* The reader of the newspaper will note how little altered in 1899 is this undying hatred of Czech and German. A parallel to this is the extraordinary proposition at present agitated in Bohemia to turn Protestant wholesale, because the (Austrian) Germans are Romanist. We shall be interested in seeing what becomes of a movement founded on no conviction but hatred.

† The numbers have been as a rule greatly exaggerated. Wyclif

drinking, begging, playing dice on the altar of Notre Dame, or throwing stones at an unpopular master, "nation" fighting with "nation," and in general allowed a degree of liberty and license that seems to us incredible. "From an evening tour through some of the worst dens of the Seven Dials and Ratcliffe Highway, before the institution of the metropolitan police, there might be gathered some faint conception of what life in a mediæval university town must have been like, say at the end of the thirteenth century." Nor was the origin of the college due to any desire to introduce discipline into this seething mass of turbulent youth. It was the natural evolution of the system of untrammelled life. Instead of living in lodgings, parties of students soon found it convenient to hire a house, and for purposes of common finance and government to elect one of their number as head or principal. Such a house was called a "hospice," and a college was, in origin, but a hospice endowed to secure board and lodging for poor scholars. The first endowed hospice that we read of was when "Dominus Jocius of London," just returned from the Crusades, bought a room in the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, with "sufficient beds for eighteen clerks." This led in 1257 to the foundation of the Sorbonne "in Cut-throat Street," and the beginning of the college system as we now know it. But for the history of this later development we must refer the reader to the many excellent histories of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, warning him only that similar colleges once existed in almost every university of Europe. Paris alone had over sixty. They were swept away for the most part by the Revolution.

There is one final matter to which modern politics bids our attention. So much party capital has been made by the defenders of shibboleths out of the supposed "religious atmosphere" of the mediæval universities, that it is necessary

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speaks of "once sixty thousand students." Probably even at Paris the students never numbered more than six thousand. By 1438 they had fallen off at Oxford to a thousand, a number still further reduced by the Reformation. See the full examination by Dr. Rashdall. Vol. ii.

to nail down the fiction once for all. We owe it to the fierce theological strifes engendered by the Reformation and the Catholic Reaction that the universities of Europe abandoned their secular character and became the strict preserves of orthodoxy, fenced round with tests and oaths and inquisitorial fires. The universities of the Middle Ages were far more "the schools of the modern spirit" than Seminaries of the Church. By this we do not mean that the mediæval universities were framed on the model of London or Victoria, or that room was made in them for "the conscientious objections" of Dissenters. The unity of the Church was still unbroken; Dissent, save as occasional outbursts of heresy, was unknown; while every detail of life whether in the market-place or the school, was regarded as connected with religion. Nevertheless, the universities were in a true sense "the protest of the lay spirit." Of special religious instruction they provided for the "artist" absolutely nothing. Until 1352, there were only two universities of Europe at which it was possible to obtain a degree in theology. So far were the popes from displaying any anxiety to extend "religious education," that they were the most zealous defenders of this monopoly of Oxford and Paris. In the universities of Italy the teachers were always laymen. As for the great medical universities of Southern France, the object was strictly commercial. Languedoc, before the Albigensian Crusade, was the richest district of Europe, its cities were numerous and wealthy, their trade far reaching. Now, before the modern application of mathematics to mechanism and electricity, there was no branch of speculative knowledge that had a better commercial value than medicine. Hence the rise of Montpellier as the great medical school of Europe, whose statutes provided for "at least one anatomy in two years." Even in Paris, the theological faculty sought rather unto Aristotle and his Arabic interpreters than to Augustine and the Fathers.

The reader will best grasp this essentially secular character of the mediæval universities by remembering two striking

facts. Every schoolboy knows that Luther passed through a distinguished arts course at Erfurt without ever seeing a copy of the Bible; but not every student remembers that for three centuries the universities of Europe, with the exception of Paris, Oxford, and Prague, contributed no leader to any movement for reform. Even Prague is but an apparent exception, for the reform movement under Hus was in its origin only the struggle between Czech and German under another aspect, the lay spirit manifesting itself in the new nationalism. We are not praising "the lay spirit," we are simply insisting on fact. As for praise, if we were careful to bestow it, the debt which Europe owes to the two great universities at which alone theology was studied, Oxford and Paris, far exceeds, in our opinion, her obligations to all the other universities of the Middle Ages. Bologna, it is true, supplied Europe with lawyers; Oxford and Paris gave the thinkers. The one crushed the rising spirit of liberty with the iron bands of Roman law and canon law; the other sowed the seeds from which sprang the mighty and beneficent revolutions of the future.

HERBERT B. WORKMAN.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

The American Revolution. Part I., 1766–1776. By the Right Hon. Sir GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899. 16s.)

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN has been singularly fortunate in the moment of this book's appearance. After a century of mistrust and suspicion, the great Republic which has grown out of the American colonies of Great Britain has ceased to harp upon past wrongs and injuries, has realised by an almost startling intuition that the mother country is no sullen enemy, but a stanch and loyal friend, and has exchanged the resentment of a hundred years for warm and exuberant friendship. To external observers this change has seemed a sudden revolution, but its causes have been many, and have been long in operation. Among them all, few have been more potent than the unifying influence of a common literature, and the enthusiasm of Americans for historical studies has led them to excel more eminently in that branch of literature than in any other. History is a more prominent subject of education in American schools and colleges than among ourselves, with the result that every American boy has a considerable acquaintance with the leading events of Republican history. Undoubtedly the use of historical text books, full of bitterness against England, in elementary schools, has been one of the main causes of the hostility against us so long felt by the masses of the United States. But the best work of the best historians is certain, sooner or later, to control the teaching of the elementary books; and there is no doubt that the calm, scientific, and dispassionate study of the events, which led to the Declaration of Independence has done much to remove the animosity naturally resulting from a contest so

distracting as civil war. On the whole, both English and American historians of the subject have tried to dissipate rather than to increase prejudice, and the more complete understanding of the past has helped to bring about an understanding between the two nations in the present. The classic book is of course the great work of Bancroft, which is really more a prolonged and passionate oration on the greatness of his country than a history. It is a noble monument, full of learning, inspired by an ardent and generous love of liberty; but it unfolds the panorama of the past in order to enforce a fixed view of political morality, just as Bossuet would parade historical events in order to support his teaching.

Historians of that prophetic temperament, men with the mind of the advocate, are often the most interesting, the most impressive, of any. But if they treat of events such as this Revolution, they often recall into existence those passions and prejudices which made it inevitable, they work upon their readers as a great orator upon his audience. The secret of Bancroft's admitted force and charm is that he places himself in the position of those American colonists who were compelled to resist, but therein also lies his serious limitation. If his imagination enables him to revive in his own mind the ardour of resistance, his understanding of those who were resisted is narrowed within the mental limits of those who fought on one side in the struggle. Admittedly his side is the right one, but an historian should be able at least to comprehend the motives of the side which was in error. No Englishman can read the eloquent denunciations of Bancroft without feeling, at times, that though England was grievously in the wrong over this matter, yet that more ought to be said in order to explain the adoption of so disastrous a policy by the majority of the English people. It is a remarkable and creditable fact that no English historian of distinction has written on the Revolution from the distinctively English standpoint; but if an English writer of Bancroft's powers had attempted an apologetic work, no more partisan than

his, the effect upon American opinion would have been exasperating. Fortunately the common sense of Englishmen has admitted their error, and that common sense has been reflected in the judgment of their historians. Mr. Lecky's chapters on the subject display the highest qualities of a judicial and impartial mind, and in the successive works of American writers since Bancroft there has been a steadily increasing fairness and moderation. Notably is this the case in the massive *Narrative and Critical History of America*, edited by Mr. Justin Winsor, which is the most erudite product of the American historical school. The point of view from which the Revolution is viewed is strictly scientific, as is shown by the following sentences. "The American Revolution was not a quarrel between two peoples—the British people and the American people,—but, like all those events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the Conservatives in both countries as one party, and the Liberals in both countries as the other party." "It was not, in its earlier stages at least, a contest between opposing governments or nationalities, but between two different political and economical systems, to each of which able and honest men then adhered, and now adhere." It is no easy task to obliterate from the memory of nations the harshness following upon a breach between colonies and their parent state, and if at this moment that task seems to be nearing its consummation, some credit must be given to those who have made the causes of the original breach more clearly understood.

The sensibilities of the most patriotic American will not be hurt by Sir George Trevelyan's book. It is not impartial, but the writer's partiality is for the Americans. He adopts, indeed, that historical view of eighteenth century events which was a heritage from those among the Whig party who followed Charles Fox, whose descendants regarded Holland House as the hub of the universe, and were fortunate enough to possess in Macaulay a brilliant writer, who expressed their ideas with conviction, and gave them

circulation throughout the world. It has been something of a fashion to sneer at Macaulay, and critics speak of him in a manner they would not adopt if he were alive to answer them in his own trenchant manner. No man ever wielded more effectively a heavier bludgeon in literary contests. But while admitting to the full his almost unequalled brilliancy and fascination, it is wise to remember that Macaulay was pre-eminently a controversialist, and only secondarily an historian. Just as Dr. Johnson when composing the debates of the House of Commons took care that "the Whig dogs should not have the best of it," so Macaulay never forgot his own adherence to Whig principles, and never even hinted a doubt that the Whig party was in the right at all times and on all occasions. His essays and history were the canonical books of the Whig party. Sir George Trevelyan approaches his work from much the same standpoint; he has the same ideas about method, and, like Macaulay, believes that history should deal not only with the evolution of states, but also with the daily habits and lives of the people; his style has much of Macaulay's brilliancy, his party is the same, and his belief in that party is as profound and as serene. He speaks in this book of the retrospective loyalty which he owes to Lord Rockingham, as a former leader of his own party, and when that is said we know exactly how he will view the American Revolution. We do not urge this as a criticism, but merely because it implies that Sir George Trevelyan's book belongs to the category not of scientific, but of moralising, history. He is not unfair to those whom he criticises, but his object is not so much to explain the Revolution as to point a moral and adorn a tale. In these days, the scientific school is lord of the ascendent, and while we consider that the most permanently valuable work is done by those who belong to that school, yet the almost superhuman impartiality of the scientist often drains a book of its life-blood, and it is undoubtedly an interesting and agreeable change to encounter a writer who is confessedly human and partisan.

Probably no man living has so intimate an acquaintance

with the personalities of prominent Englishmen who lived during the latter half of the eighteenth century as Sir George Trevelyan. His earlier work on Charles Fox displayed the knowledge of men's characters, habits, foibles, pleasures, vices, follies, and ideals which we find in this later work. This knowledge, combined with vivid powers of description, makes his book a striking picture of the times, and the quality of characterisation is as high in the chapters devoted to the austere, simple, and devoted colonists of America as in those devoted to the men of fashion and pleasure, who were all powerful among the political classes of Great Britain. The dramatic contrasts of the story are vividly set forth, and nowhere is there any equally stirring account of the personal aspects of the Revolution. This is the feature of the book which will win for it a great multitude of readers, and make it a valuable addition to English literature. Occasionally the defects of this quality are visible, as for example when some pages are devoted to Newton, Cowper, and the placid doings of Olney, which were certainly remote from the main stream of revolutionary events. A long quotation from a letter of Newton's to Dartmouth contains no information more important than that "Mr. Cowper's servant can throw a casting net, that we love fish at both houses, and that, relying on your lordship's goodness, we have sometimes thought of employing the servant to catch us some if he can." This is dangerously near to anecdotage; but all historians of the picturesque school occasionally drag in wholly unimportant details, and Carlyle, in a posthumous work recently published, even finds some mystic significance in the fact that Englishmen of the seventeenth century were in the habit of breakfasting early.

While in its presentation of the personal aspects of the Revolution the book displays the brilliancy and distinction we expect in Sir George Trevelyan's work, we cannot pronounce it a complete or comprehensive account of its great theme. In the first place, it begins too late. The year 1766 is in no sense the commencement of the Revolution. In

order to understand either the American or the English position, the Seven Years' War and its results must be taken into account. The peace of 1763 which marked the end of that war marked also the end of the French empire in Canada, and of the undefined French power connecting Louisiana in the south with Canada in the north, and confining the English colonies between the ocean and the Alleghanies. So long as that French power existed it was necessary for the English colonies to depend upon Great Britain and the protection of her navy. The destruction of that power was the first great event making possible the independence of America. George Grenville, the ablest advocate of the taxation of America by the British Parliament, argued that the expulsion of the French from Canada established an obligation on the colonists to share in the expenses of imperial defence. The national debt had risen from seventy millions in 1756 to one hundred and forty millions in 1763, and economy had become the first duty of British ministers. While the eight million inhabitants of Great Britain bore this vast debt of one hundred and forty millions, the two millions of Americans bore a debt of only eight hundred thousand, and in three years their prosperity had been so great that they had paid off nearly two millions from their previous debt. The civil and military establishment in America cost Great Britain only seventy thousand a year in 1748, but three hundred and fifty thousand in 1764. There was a general belief that France would attempt to recover Canada, and in order to guard against that danger Grenville proposed to maintain a British army of ten thousand men in the colonies, free quarters for which the colonists must provide, and he introduced the Stamp Act in order to raise a revenue to pay part of the expenses of maintaining the civil and military establishment. There was much to be said in favour of the general principles on which this policy was founded. No reasonable man could doubt that the American colonists might properly be asked to take their share in insuring an adequate defence of the American empire. But the methods of Grenville's policy were

disastrously mistaken. He underrated the American repugnance to a standing army, he forgot the great assistance their armies had given in the conquest of Canada, and that the valour they then displayed proved their ability, with the aid of the navy, to defend their borders against any renewed attack; and he forgot, too, that the colonies had assemblies of their own, and, like all Englishmen, regarded the right of being taxed by their own representatives only as the cardinal principle of political freedom. England had treated her colonies with infinitely greater generosity than any other colonial power; in several instances they possessed wider democratic privileges than the inhabitants of the mother country; they were practised in the arts of freedom, and liberty was the breath of their life. A people never existed more sensitive to the slightest hint of any encroachment upon their existing rights. Grenville's narrow and pedantic mind was wholly out of sympathy with their character, which he was incapable of understanding. He was a sincere Whig of a certain type; he believed that the supremacy of the House of Commons was the necessary and sufficient guarantee of good government, and that the colonists had no more right to reject a tax levied by that House than the people of Manchester or Birmingham. A man of more insight would have endeavoured to raise money in the accustomed manner, by request made to the various colonial assemblies for a free grant, and would have exhausted every means of securing an amicable agreement about the army. Difficulties would doubtless have been made by some of the assemblies, but if satisfactory assurances had been given that the money should be spent for American purposes, in all likelihood a reasonable fund would have been raised and the question of defence arranged.

Another branch of Grenville's policy was the rigid enforcement of the trade laws. The gravest defect in Sir George Trevelyan's book is that it contains no adequate account of these laws, though they were the oldest cause of American discontent, and the distinguishing feature of that old colonial

system which regarded the colonies as existing for the benefit of the mother country. These regulations aimed at securing for British manufacturers and merchants a monopoly of the colonial trade, and for British ships the exclusive right of carrying goods to and from all colonial harbours. By the Navigation Act of 1660 no goods were to be exported or imported except in English ships, and certain "enumerated articles" might not be shipped to any country except England or some English plantation. By extensions of the Act in immediately succeeding years European goods intended for the colonial market were ordered to be landed in England before being shipped to America, and goods sent from one colony to another were made liable to the same custom duties which they would have paid if brought to England. There is a paper in the Record Office written in 1726, and quoted by Mr. Egerton in his interesting book on *British Colonial Policy*, which tersely explains the views of trade that dictated these Acts. "All advantageous projects," says the writer, "for commercial gain in any colony which are truly prejudicial to and inconsistent with the interests of the mother country must be understood to be illegal and the practice of them unwarrantable, because they contradict the end for which the colonies had a being." Great care was taken to prevent any colonial manufacture that would enable the colonists to provide themselves with any article that could be advantageously exported from England, and they were not permitted to send into England goods that would compete with home made articles. These laws were, in fact, harsh and stringent, and were conceived in a spirit of monopoly; but several considerations must be remembered before they are entirely condemned. They are repugnant to our modern ideas of free trade, but the great writer who exposed the fallacies of mercantilism and elucidated the advantages of unrestricted commerce only published his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Edmund Burke was the one politician who had penetrated that secret before Adam Smith revealed it to all the world. Moreover, the Navigation Act was successful in its main object, and

made Great Britain the first naval power of the world. Professor Cunningham describes the old mercantilism as a system of power, and free trade as a system of plenty. The wars of the eighteenth century were an abundant proof that the years devoted to the building up of power had been well spent. And notwithstanding restrictions the trade of the American colonies had increased by leaps and bounds, partly because English statesmen gave back with one hand what they took with the other. Bounties were granted to Americans on the export to England of such articles as tar, pitch, and ship timber; English merchants could only purchase tobacco from America or Bermuda, so that the planters of Virginia enjoyed the monopoly of a rich market; some of the principal American productions, such as grain and rum, were not among the "enumerated articles" of the Navigation Act, and might be exported to foreign ports; while some articles sent from Europe through England were, by a system of "drawbacks," freed from the duty payable at the English ports, and were sold more cheaply in America than in the mother country. No doubt these exemptions and advantages were granted primarily to subserve British ends, as Adam Smith points out, but taken as a whole his own judgment on the commercial policy which he criticised is a fair one. "Though the policy of Great Britain with regard to the trade of her colonies has been dictated by the same mercantile spirit as that of other countries, it has, upon the whole, been less illiberal and oppressive than that of any of them."

The colonists naturally disliked the restriction, yet up to Grenville's ministry the revenue laws were slackly enforced and the customs duties systematically evaded. The stern Puritans of New England regarded the moral delinquencies connected with smuggling as leniently as the Methodists of Cornwall, and, says Sabine in his *American Loyalists*, "nine-tenths probably of all the tea, wine, and fruit, sugar, and molasses consumed in the colonies were smuggled." This was a very dangerous situation, as the moment an attempt was made to enforce the law all the elements of resistance

were aroused. George Grenville found that the revenue from American customs amounted to from one thousand to two thousand pounds a year, and that it cost seven thousand to collect. The import of molasses and sugar from the West Indian islands of France and Spain was prohibited by a heavy duty; and yet as a matter of fact, the most profitable traffic of the New England colonies was in the exchange of their timber for the French molasses, which were necessary for their famous rum distilleries. Naturally enough, the molasses were smuggled; but Grenville was determined to enforce the duty, and chose his methods with his usual lack of insight. He laid upon the naval officers stationed on the American coast the obnoxious duty of discovering and punishing smugglers, and he directed that the "writs of assistance," which were general warrants authorising customs officers to search any house for illicit goods, should be returnable in the courts of Admiralty, and cases arising out of them heard without a jury. Nothing could have been better calculated to enrage the colonists, who were accustomed to trial by jury in all actions, and who regarded it as one of their most important safeguards. If the English government of the colonies had previously been harsh and tyrannical, Grenville's measures might have passed almost without observation; but he proposed to tax people who had long taxed themselves, he interfered with a very profitable trade that had grown up with the connivance of Great Britain, and established an arbitrary jurisdiction over men who knew and cherished that trial by jury which was the "palladium of British liberty." Grenville was not responsible for the writ of assistance, which had long been used, or for the trade laws, but the determination to use force which was evident in his measures was a new and disastrous feature in colonial policy.

The Americans received a year's notice of the Stamp Act, and they concentrated their strength upon resistance to that measure. In this first act there is a forecast of later years. The colonies had not been previously united, they had frequently quarrelled over questions of boundaries and

of policy; but in 1764 a congress met in which nine out of the thirteen provinces were represented. Its proceedings were marked by that plain dignity, that grave assertion of legal rights and of ordered liberty, which were the highest features of the Revolution. It resolved that "it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives," yet at the same time acknowledged its allegiance to the Crown and all due subordination to that august body the Parliament. A flow of pamphlets streamed from the printing presses of the country, and the constitutional question was keenly argued and readily understood by the whole white population; for the colonists had their common school in every village, and were far better educated than their compatriots at home. In these pamphlets the notable feature is that they discuss the whole theory of government and society, they go to the roots of things, and lay bare the foundations of the State. That is the sure accompaniment of revolutionary thought, the presage of every great social upheaval. The ideas of Locke, the theory of a social contract between governors and governed as the origin of the State, constantly appear in the argument, and may be said to inform the mind of this Revolution, as the same ideas expressed by Rousseau informed the mind of France. But while the gravity of the issue was not minimised, there is no suggestion of demanding independence during this first period, although the logical result of many arguments used was separation from the mother country. We find, too, in 1765 the Americans adopting the acute and characteristic device of an agreement to buy nothing from England, and to postpone the payment of all English debts, until the Stamp Act should be repealed. These outbreaks of disorder, the persecution by a crowd of unpopular individuals, which were the most discreditable features of later years, are also incidents of the first resistance.

The effect upon English opinion was immediate. The

Stamp Act had passed almost without observation, and we commend to Sir George Trevelyan's notice the fact that the Whigs who followed Rockingham did not oppose it. Pitt, the one English statesman who realised its true significance and understood the Americans, was away from the House through illness. But now that English merchants could not obtain payment from their American debtors a great stir was made, and public opinion demanded repeal. Fortunately George III. had quarrelled with Grenville, and when Parliament met at the close of 1765 to discuss the first grave internal crisis in the British empire, the government was in the hands of Rockingham. But the ministers had no majority of their own, and it is very doubtful whether they had any clear policy. For some weeks after Parliament met it was uncertain whether they intended to propose repeal or not; but the advent of Pitt and his great oration against the Act gave them decision and courage. That speech was one of the most important incidents in the Revolution, coming as it did from the greatest Englishman of the day, whose name was revered by the colonists because he had delivered them from the French during the recent war. "I rejoice that America has resisted," that sentence of the great Commoner passed from man to man; it seemed ample justification of their conduct, and acquitted them from any charge of unpatriotic action. The Stamp Act was repealed, and at the same time an Act was framed declaring that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies. "The proceeding was intensely English," says Sir George Trevelyan, "but unfortunately it lacked the most important condition of a great English compromise, for it was not accepted by the beaten party." That is true; yet the question to-day is whether Rockingham was wise in declaring the right to tax. It is always urged that he could not have won the king's consent to repeal if he had not added this declaration; but George III. might have been coerced if ministers, backed as they were by public opinion, had taken a firm stand. Pitt strongly opposed the Declaratory Act, and there is little doubt that if he had been Prime Minister

he would have passed the repeal without asserting the right of Parliament to create again the mischief it was now publicly repenting. It is noteworthy, as illustrating George III.'s views, that at this time he preferred Pitt to Rockingham, notwithstanding the fact that Pitt was more devoted to the Americans.

The colonists paid no attention to the Declaratory Act at the moment, regarding it as a mere naked form; but its effect on English politicians was to crystallize the idea that Parliament might tax America if it pleased, and that even those who were friends of the colonists admitted the right. Nevertheless the discussions on the Stamp Act left an even more dangerous idea in the air. Pitt, and the American writers themselves, in rebutting a direct tax frequently admitted the right of Parliament to regulate the commercial revenue. Of course, to put a duty on wine imported into America was to tax every American who bought the wine, as much as the Stamp Act taxed those who bought stamps, but, none the less American apologists admitted the right of Parliament to regulate the commerce of the whole empire. They distinguished between custom duties or external taxation and internal taxes. This is clearly brought out in Franklin's examination before the House of Commons, and there was no man who understood the situation so well as Benjamin Franklin, that great apostle of common sense. He told the House that an external tax was a duty laid on commodities, that it was added to the first cost, and made part of the price. "If the people do not like it at that price they refuse it, they are not obliged to pay it." He even justified the levying of such a duty: "The sea is yours; you maintain by your fleets the safety of navigation in it, and keep it clear of pirates; you may have a natural and equitable right to some toll or duty on merchandise carried through that part of your dominions." This admission of the right to regulate commerce, coupled with Parliament's renewed affirmation of its supreme control over the colonies, pointed to the speedy reopening of the whole question. Notwithstanding their admission of Parliament's right of external taxation, the

Americans resisted any enforcement of the revenue laws. They had gained a great victory, and respect for their own logical consistency was not likely to prevent their attempting to secure further advantages. In Massachusetts, which was a stern Puritan colony and probably the most democratic community at that time existing in the world, the Americans quarrelled violently with their governor. They resisted his attempts to secure supply for the British troops, and the cry of "no representation, no taxation" became the much larger and more formidable watchword, "no representation, no legislation." Undoubtedly this temper of resistance, following immediately the loyalty evoked by the repeal of the Stamp Act, produced a bad impression in England, and even Pitt, now Lord Chatham, blamed the Americans for their infatuation, and declared that "the torrent of indignation in Parliament will, I apprehend, become irresistible."

But the infatuation of the Americans was as nothing compared with the infatuation of Charles Townshend, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a ministry of which Lord Chatham was nominally head; Chatham's illness at this moment was of disastrous import, as it deprived him of all influence, and left the government to Charles Townshend and the king. Townshend boasted that he would find an American revenue, and in May, 1767, the second act of the Revolution was inaugurated by his budget, which levied a duty on paper, tea, and other articles imported into the colonies, and made further provision for enforcing the revenue laws by creating a Board of Commissioners to superintend them. Thus he took advantage of the idea that external taxation was legal and constitutional. He also passed an Act suspending the assembly of New York until provision had been made for the free quartering of British troops. From this time forward there was no peace between Parliament and the colonial assemblies, which openly challenged Townshend's policy, and though, frequently dissolved by their governors, steadily and unanimously expressed the sentiments of resistance. A striking

and memorable feature of the Revolution is that it was a quarrel between parliaments, and constantly illustrates the important political truth that one parliament will not long remain actually subordinate to another.

It is impossible within the limits of a short article to give any detailed account of the following years. Townshend died in the year of his budget, and Lord North became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He depended more than any previous minister on the king and on that party in the House of Commons which was called the king's friends, and voted exactly as George III. wished. The sovereign believed that the royal honour was at stake in the struggle with the Americans, he had disliked repealing the Stamp Act, and was determined to maintain British supremacy. But the ministers he chose secretly dreaded the probable results of the impending struggle, and although a weak subservience to the king prevented them from yielding altogether, their policy alternated between irritating threats and concessions which came too late. A perverse fate dogged their footsteps; when the Massachusetts Assembly sent a circular to the various colonies urging united resistance, Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State, sent an official dispatch harshly threatening dissolution of any assembly that agreed to the Massachusetts suggestion, although the cabinet had agreed that a conciliatory dispatch should be sent. The majority of the cabinet were strongly opposed to Townshend's budget; but Chatham was ill, and no other man ventured to tackle the daring Chancellor of the Exchequer. The inner history of English politics at this time is as perplexing as it is deplorable, and the only clew is the obstinate will of George III., who was determined to be obeyed. That will prevailed and forced on the conflict; but when the conflict came the same paralysis attacked the ministers, and the army and navy which had defeated France and Spain proved powerless against what was scornfully called "a handful of colonists." Apart from the merits of the contest, Captain Mahan has shown that if the naval power of Great

Britain had been wisely disposed the northern colonies might have been isolated from the southern, and their submission compelled; but the actual disasters of Saratoga and Yorktown, and the uselessness of the navy, are measures of the demoralisation, administrative and military, which resulted from the determined though inefficient despotism of George III. This trial came upon Great Britain at the moment when she was least able to bear it; a problem that would have searchingly tested the highest political wisdom was presented to an obstinate king, medium ministers, and a corrupt Parliament.

From the moment of Townshend's budget opinion in America moved, very slowly but very steadily, towards the logical solution of independence. The famous *Farmer's Letters* declared that "an Act of Parliament commanding to do a certain thing, if it has any validity, is a tax upon us for the expense that accrues in complying with it," and when once that was realised and asserted, the shadowy distinction between external and internal taxation failed, and the whole fabric of Parliament's authority was dissolved away. But a great number of Americans were devoted to the English connexion, and even so late as 1774, after the famous Boston tea incident, and after the penal laws against Massachusetts, the first Continental Congress said, in its address to the people of Great Britain, "Place us in the same situation that we were in at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored." In Congress Washington denied that the colonies wished for, or could safely, separately or together, set up for independence. Lord North attempted to ease the situation by an offer that when any colony made a voluntary contribution to imperial defence, it should be free of all taxes levied; but unfortunately, before the Congress met again in May, 1775, to consider this offer, the first blood had been shed in the skirmish at Lexington, and Lord North's proposal was rejected. No further attempt at conciliation was made by the government, and on July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was formally passed, in a form which for the

first time laid the blame upon "the present king of Great Britain," and not on Parliaments or ministers. "The History of the present King of Great Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World." Such is the conclusion of the paragraph commencing with the famous words: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

Mr. Lecky, as the result of his study of these events, arrived at the conclusion that the American Revolution, like most others, was the work of an energetic minority. Adams declared that throughout the war one third of the population was opposed to independence, and the difficulties of Washington in keeping his army together are evidence of this truth. It is almost impossible to ascertain the exact proportion of those who opposed separation, but, if it be true that a majority of the population was adverse, the greatness of the accomplishment of Independence, of the federation of the thirteen States, is not slightly magnified. Franklin declared that a miracle was needed to produce union among the colonies; but this miracle was found in George III.'s desire for "an absolute tyranny," and for those concerned in the business of government the moral of the Revolution is that comparatively little bad government may produce almost immeasurable effects. Whether or not the cleavage between Patriots and Loyalists in America followed the lines of any other social distinction is a disputed question; it was a great democratic movement, but it owed its success to men of birth and standing, just as Cromwell's army did; it was inspired by the ideals of the Puritan struggle in England, and ministers of religion played a great part in its inception, yet many who had been trained in the Established Church were on the side of the Colonies. On the whole, however, the distinction

between Loyalists and Patriots were, broadly speaking, that between Episcopalians and Dissenters. One of the Loyalists, Galloway, wrote: "The disaffection is confined to two sets of Dissenters (*i.e.*, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists), while the people of the Established Church, the Methodists, Lutherans, German Calvinists, Quakers, Moravians, &c., are warmly attached to the British Government." That statement exaggerates the truth, says Dr. Ellis, yet he continues: "It was in New England that the Puritanism of which Galloway wrote had the prevailing influence; and a very energetic and effective influence it was, working with other agencies in making the English civil government all the more odious because of the lordly prelates who ruled not only in Church, but in State. The inherited and traditionary spirit of New England had kept alive the memory of the ecclesiastical tyranny which had developed Puritanism in Old England, and of the trials and sacrifices by which deliverance had been secured." The moment George III. showed signs of reviving Stuart absolutism the old temper of Cromwellian times was born anew.

In England probably the majority of the people were at one time hostile to the American cause, and typical Englishmen such as Dr. Johnson regarded it as part of the duty of patriotism to oppose the American pretensions. But the enmity of the majority did not continue for long, and there was an enlightened body of politicians who joined with important sections of the population in steadily supporting the colonies. Chatham was their most strenuous advocate, though in his last and fatal speech in the House of Lords he announced that he would never agree to the dismemberment of the empire. He and many of the Rockingham Whigs, as well as Edmund Burke, believed that if America were conquered there would be an end of political liberty in Great Britain, and this naturally stimulated their ardour for the American cause. Chatham would not allow his son, an officer in the army, to serve against the colonists. Franklin said that all Ireland was for the Americans, meaning all the articulate classes in Ireland, that is the Protestants, many of

the leading traders, and all the Dissenters. The opinion of John Wesley, who of course did not call himself a Dissenter, is well known, and there is a very interesting and characteristic letter from him to Lord Dartmouth, in the Dartmouth papers, which shows that many of George III.'s English subjects were as hostile to him as the Americans themselves. It is dated August 23, 1775, about a year before the Declaration of Independence.

I aver that in every part of England where I have been (and I have been east, west, north, and south within these two years) trade in general is exceedingly decayed, and thousands of people are quite unemployed. Some I know to have perished from want of bread; others I have seen creeping up and down like walking shadows. I aver that the people all over the nation are so far from being well satisfied that they are far more deeply dissatisfied than they appear to have been even a year or two before the Great Rebellion, and far more dangerously dissatisfied. The bulk of the people in every city, town, and village where I have been do not so much aim at the ministry as they usually did in the last century, but at the king himself. He is the object of their anger, contempt, and malice. They heartily despise His Majesty and hate him with a perfect hatred. They wish to imbrue their hands in his blood; they are full of the spirit of murder and rebellion. . . . It is as much as I can do to keep this plague from infecting my own friends. . . . Even in Leeds, I had appointed to dine at a merchant's, but before I came the bailiffs were in possession of the house. Upon my saying, "I thought Mr. —— had been in good circumstances," I was answered, "He was so; but the American war has ruined him."

The struggle was in fact disastrous to English trade, and this naturally made it unpopular, but nothing save the ruin of his armies would convince George III. that he was urging a mistaken policy. The more we know of the history of the time the more clearly indubitable it becomes that it was the sovereign who caused this great breach in the English race. It was a severe lesson to him, and he was a wiser ruler in his later years; but the event is a standing illustration of how much evil a good man can do. For us, as an imperial race,

the lesson is clear. Free colonies must be equal states bound in one great confederation to one another and to the mother country; we must not regard them as existing for our advantage, as good or bad, simply for the reason that we make money out of them or lose money by them, but as nations with a life of their own. To the men of a hundred years ago it seemed that the sun of England had set when Americans separated themselves from us. It has proved far otherwise, and to-day the British empire extends its dominion beyond the horizons which limited the gaze of Chatham. Over many millions of subject races a rule of justice, order, law has been established, with benefit to those who are governed, and with equal benefit to the character of those who rule. But even of these dominions we are not so proud as of the free colonies where our kinsmen govern themselves and build up other Englands. Their freedom and their equality with ourselves are among the things which we take for granted, because we have not forgotten the lesson of 1776. The British empire is stamped with the moral of the American revolution. And now, when the moment of expansion has come for the people of the United States, when they are beginning the difficult and arduous task of ruling other peoples, they turn for an example to the empire of their kinsmen, which they themselves have so profoundly influenced, and they find that it is very good.

WALFORD D. GREEN.

THE MISSION OF METHODISM.

IN the *Life of Dr. R. W. Dale* reference is again made to the passage in the *Report of Proceedings of the International Congregational Council*, in which the eminent preacher of Carr's Lane set forth what he conceived to be the special mission of Congregationalism. These are his words:

There are organisations that go down and reach the lower classes and lift them up. God bless them! But that has never been the special province of the Congregational Church, and it is not likely to be in the future. Our province is to take men and women that are capable of thought, capable of intellectual as well as moral and spiritual development, and lift them up to a higher plane as human beings; make them more sensible of God and the things that God has put into this world, so beautiful and so full of His love; lift them up to make them worthy of His work, and able to do His work, instead of treating them as babes sucking milk, just keeping enough life in them to get them into heaven before they die of inanition, of marasmus—that is Congregationalism, and that is its mission.

This statement was promptly challenged in the Council itself, but in the introduction written by Dale to the *Authorised Report* of the Council he re-asserted his position in the following terms:

I venture to think that no weightier words than these were spoken at the Council—none that deserve the more serious consideration of English Congregationalists. There is no question about the imperative duty resting upon Congregationalists, as upon all other Christian people, to reach the lowest, the feeblest, the most ignorant, and the most vicious of mankind, and endeavour to draw them to Christ; but while we share this duty with all Christian men, this is not our *special* mission. The vigorous and the cultivated need salvation as

well as the ignorant and the wretched. The intellect as well as the heart has to be claimed for Christ, and it is the special duty of Congregationalists so to present the Christian gospel as to draw to Christ those who are never likely to be reached by the Salvation Army, and to discipline them to the highest intellectual and ethical perfection. The truth is, that the Americans have retained the old Congregational tradition. The Congregationalists of the Commonwealth times had many of the qualities of an intellectual aristocracy; and for many generations Congregationalists were accustomed to assert the claims of the intellect in religion far more earnestly than other Evangelical Churches.

It was easy to misrepresent the position of the Congregational leader, and, as a matter of fact, many of his fellow Churchmen vehemently disavowed his definition of the genius and mission of Congregationalism; but history and obvious facts being duly considered, the dispassionate critic will allow that Dale's view was substantially correct. Dale himself heartily sympathised with the evangelistic work of Moody and Sankey; yet personally he was not specially successful as a missioner, thus becoming an unconscious witness to his own contention touching the limitations of the ecclesiastical system in which he so fully believed. Dale could not despise the poor and ignorant, or unfeelingly disregard their pathetic plea; that was to his noble nature a simple impossibility; but he discerned the fact that popular evangelical work was not the *special* mission assigned to Congregationalism by Him who walks amid the golden candlesticks. And, indeed, none need stumble at this. As workers in the world have diverse faculties and aptitudes fitting them for special vocations; as in a marked degree individual Christians have singular gifts and callings, like Henry Drummond with his unique felicity for student evangelism; so the several denominations are mysteriously dowered and designated to the end that the vast and complex mission of their common Master may be thoroughly and effectually achieved. In consistency with this view, Congregationalism has been led to recognise the claims of the understanding in matters of religion; its ministry has

been a teaching ministry, it has striven to make clear to vigorous and enquiring minds the reasons for the Christian hope, it has attracted to itself and become the instrument of salvation to thousands of reasoning souls who find Christ by intellectual pathways, and who retain the Christian faith only by constantly harmonizing it with the claims of the understanding. That Matthew Arnold did not discern any intellectual aristocracy in these quarters was because of the blindness that happened to him. The author of *Felix Holt* and George Sand are always anxious to show that a true rise in life does not necessarily consist in a man's quitting the class in which he was born, but rather in his rendering the appropriate work of that class worthy of any class by thoroughness, honesty, artistic or scientific skill.* These writers discerned an intellectual aristocracy that is not clothed with soft raiment, nor yet marked by academic insignia; and to this order Congregationalism has ministered in a distinguished degree. A large section of the middle class, together with a goodly number of the working people gifted with a vigorous understanding and earnest spiritual aspirations, have found in despised Salems the intellectual light and satisfaction, as well as the spiritual consolation and force, they could not find in the parish church or in the Methodist chapel. And who may estimate the value of the services of Congregationalism to the race? The type of man reached and influenced by that religious system is one of the most valuable items in the wealth of nations, and the debt owing to the later Puritanism for its splendid contribution to the intelligence, liberty, and righteousness of the commonwealth all fair-minded men thankfully acknowledge.

If the Congregational Church has specially served the intellectual aristocracy of the people, it is equally clear that the Anglican Church has found in the social aristocracy its main sphere of influence. Royalty, the titled, the rich, the landlords, the cultured, the fashionable, the official classes, the professional classes, and such as affect a connexion

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* Myers: *Modern Essays*, p. 80.

more or less remote with these, have constituted the strength of the congregation worshipping in the Anglican Church. A great wave of awakened spiritual life has during the last half century passed over that community, and it has put forth earnest efforts to reach the masses; yet it is undeniable that hitherto it has chiefly contemplated the upper classes and those who nestle in the social sunshine. Richard Jefferies, in his essay on *The Country Sunday*, writes thus:

When the church doors are thrown open by the noiseless vergers, and patchouli and macassar, and the overpowering, rich smell of silks and satins rushes out in a volume of heated air, in a few minutes the whole place is vacant. Bethel is not deserted in this manner. All those who have come from a distance have brought with them their dinner in a black bag or basket, and quietly settle themselves down to take their dinner in the chapel. There is something in this primitive hospitality, in this eating their dinners in the temple, and general communion of humanity, which to a philosopher seems very admirable. It seems better than incense and scarlet robes, unlit candles behind the altar, and vacancy. Not long since a bishop addressed a circular to the clergy of his diocese, lamenting in solemn tones the unhappy position of the labourer in the village churches. The bishop had observed with regret, with very great regret, that the labourer seemed in the background. He sat in the back seats behind the columns, and near the door where he could hardly hear, and where he had none of the comfort of the stove in winter. The bishop feared his position was cold and comfortless, that he did not feel himself to be a member of the Church, that he was outside the pale of its society. He exhorted the country clergy to bring the labourer forward and make him more comfortable, to put him in a better seat among the rest, where he would feel himself to be really one of the congregation. To those who have sat in country churches this circular read as a piece of most refined sarcasm, so bitter because of its truth. Where had been the clerical eye all these years that Hodge had sat and coughed in the draughts by the door? Was it merely a coincidence that the clerical eye was opened just at the moment when Hodge became a voter?*

* *Field and Hedgerow*, p. 55.

And when moved to deal with the masses the Anglican Church finds itself hampered by its venerable liturgy and inelastic system. Dean Pigou, in a paper in *The Anglican* on Home Missions, gives expression to this sense of difficulty in attempting the evangelization of the common people. After speaking of the dismal lives of many of the lower class he continues: "You cannot expect these careworn, poorly clad, half-starved, poverty-oppressed ones to come in any number to our churches. They are not at home there. The utmost you can do is to bring the Church and her ministrations, all her evangelizing, humanising, philanthropic, kindly agencies to them. If Max Müller's calculation be correct, that a poor man's vocabulary is limited to about three hundred words, then the language of our Prayer Book, archaic to educated ears, is simply unintelligible to the costermonger, the waifs and strays of human life, the special species of the *genus homo* to be found in crowded rooms and stifling dens. But these have souls to be saved, and these have been redeemed by the precious blood-shedding!" He continues: "For the poor the language of our Liturgy is archaic and unwonted, and might for all practical purposes be in an unknown tongue." And for this and other reasons the dean urges the necessity of missions outside the ordinary worship of the parish church, with a simpler service and a ministry in which the missioner shall preach in a more simple and direct style the doctrines of repentance, faith, and obedience. Every one can see that the stately worship, the classic music, the archaic Liturgy, and the serene sermon of the Anglican Church do not promise any large spiritual advantage to the million.

The national Church has rendered high service to all classes and conditions of men; but its work has been and still is largely limited to royalty, to the nobility, the squirearchy, and those of social status. Christianity has a mission to the rich and great; Cæsar and his household have their religious needs as well as the obscure and simple. In the primitive Church Christ's Spirit touched the heart of

a seller of purple; and the wearer of purple may also be partaker of the same grace. The Establishment has principally gathered to itself this social aristocracy; it has never been the religious home of the working class. But whilst history compels this admission, we must not be unmindful of the value of the special service it has rendered to the nation. Observers competent to form a judgment on the subject declare that the upper ten of our country are distinctly superior in faith and morals to the aristocracy of the Continent. The *élite* often enough compromise their order by base deeds; but we must not forget the reminder of the old poet, that whilst the crow may light on unclean places and "fly unperceived away," the noble swan staining its silver down draws general and sorrowful attention; and whatever the notorious exceptions may be, it is simple justice to acknowledge the high character of our aristocracy, and their prevailing reverence for religious truth and worship. The close relationship that has existed between our historic Church and the sons and daughters of privilege explains much in this significant fact. The brilliant scholarship of the Anglican Church has extorted the admiration of the intellectual; its solemn and stately worship has satisfied their sense of reverence; its reasonable faith has conciliated the thoughtful; its noble Liturgy and service have charmed the cultured; and its simple ritual has helped without distracting the sincere worshipper; generation after generation, our leading families have been baptized at its font, married at its altar, buried in its graveyard; and its general influence upon the noble class has been deep and salutary. That it has left much to be desired is clear, but we may still cordially recognise its patriotic, moral, and religious service. Congregationalism has often included members of the social aristocracy, and many also who have fallen below the rank of an intellectual aristocracy; yet, in the main, we believe Dale was correct when he inferred that his Church was best fitted to reach and serve those strong, independent souls who belong to the aristocracy of nature without attaining social rank. And after the same manner, while

Anglicanism has often comprehended the poor and ministered consolation to them alike in solitary and crowded places, yet its main mission and service have been to the man with the gold ring.

The mission of Methodism from the beginning was strictly a mission to the people, and the several limitations of such a mission it has been compelled to obey. In its very origin it was such a mission. Intellectually and socially Wesley was an aristocrat, yet his sympathies were all with the people, and from the first hours of his benign career he not only went to those who needed him, but to those who needed him most. The Evangelical revival touched the aristocracy as primitive Christianity in some measure did; if Talma acted before a pit full of kings, Whitefield occasionally preached in drawing-rooms thronged by peers and peeresses; but this was not the feature of primitive Methodism any more than it was of primitive Christianity. Wesley did far less amid the genteel than even Whitefield did; his heart was moved toward the multitude, and in many pathetic and self-sacrificing ways he sought to reach and save them. Whilst his natural instincts and tastes were lofty and refined, his love to God and man urged him to live and die among the wandering, lost, shepherdless sheep. As the first saints in Corinth and Rome were slaves, so the apostles of the Evangelical revival won their greatest success with the helot of the fields, with the pitmen of Wednesbury and Kingswood, the stockingers of Leicestershire, the miners of Cornwall and the Dales, the seamen of Hull and Bristol, the weavers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and the motley rude crowds of Moorfields. Wesley bore the not altogether inglorious reproach of being the leader of a ragged regiment. And ever since the opening period Methodism has ministered to the mass, and in that ministry found her truest vocation and purest triumphs. Her best periods were those in which she was truest to the dream of her youth, and fulfilled her stewardship in the highways and hedges; her precarious days were those in which, lulled by the anæsthetics of prosperity, she

was most in danger of sinking into a selfish respectability "He that hath the seven Spirits of God" has kept Methodism true to its destiny. The Bishop of Delaware speaking of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America says: "She is attracting to herself, as no other religious body is doing, many members of all the various denominations represented in the country." * So that the Anglican Church on the western side of the water follows the course of the older branch on this side, and recruits largely from other religious denominations. But Methodism does nothing in this line; nearly her only recruit is the man in the street, and with the godless masses she is concerned to-day perhaps more vehemently than ever before. This genius for the lower classes stands equally revealed in her foreign work. Her missions have not been to the *élite* of the pagan world, but chiefly to the red Indian, the slave of Jamaica, the pariah of India, the savage of Fiji. The biography of one of her latest missionaries gives a touching expression of this compassionate temper: "The matter that weighs on me now is the question of what to do for the *lost* of Chinese society. These people are the very class Jesus would seek out and save, though I am not quite sure that the publicans and sinners were quite so low in the social scale as the lost I speak of. The people I refer to are simply the scum of Chinese society, chiefly opium-smokers and gamblers. They have no bedding and very few clothes. They somehow or other scrape ten cash (a halfpenny) together during the day, and thus are able to pay for a night's lodging in the poor man's inn, where they sleep, and drink or smoke the morsel of opium they have been able to get through the day. When they come into the streets they are unshaven, wretchedly ragged, shivering in the cold—lost. Now what can be done for such men? They have lost name and fame and money and face and self-respect—in fact, everything except life. And yet it was among such men that Jesus found more that was salvable than amongst the religious

* *The Church in America.*

and the orthodox. Is it really so now? Now here is a problem. I have sometimes thought that I might or ought to give my whole time to try to do something for these lost." * And the close, tender, spiritual friendship which existed between David Hill in China and Dr. William F. Moulton shows how modern Methodism through all her ranks thrills with the condescending, compassionate spirit of Him "who came to seek and to save that which was lost."

Each denomination is based upon mysterious affinities, and cannot escape its limitations. The ideal Church comprehends the intellectual and the simple, the rich and the poor, the great and the small; but the actual Church never corresponds with the ideal Church. On the Continent we see cathedrals of the utmost grandeur of architecture; their solemn gloom lighted by immortal pictures, their altars decked with splendours of gold and velvet, their windows streaming jewellery; and yet within the same temples are shrines disfigured by the most vulgar and tawdry ornaments —bedizened dolls, tin spangles, daubs of pictures, artificial flowers, and the meanest trash. The problem of bringing together within the same walls the rich and the poor, the exquisite and the vulgar, is thus solved. This rough and superficial device of reconciliation does not, however, go far; it will not avail in other spheres where the appeal is necessarily to the mind and not to the senses. A cosmopolitan, eclectic Church that embraces the social aristocracy, the intellectual aristocracy, and all grades of the democracy, we have not seen, neither are we likely to see. The Roman Church regards itself as the Church of the race, yet, although its theory is so mechanical, it has very imperfectly realised its ideal; the Anglican Church assumes to be the Church of the nation, yet with all its strained and ingenious compromises it fails to include in its actual fellowship vast sections of the population. Souls obey occult laws in grouping themselves in religious fellowship, as atoms do in crystallization; and just as believers are true to the secret

* *David Hill, Missionary and Saint*, p. 209.

bias and calling of the Spirit do they best serve the common Lord, and within the limits of their calling they must contentedly abide. "Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." The Anglican appealing successfully to the opulent reveals the defects of his qualities in dealing with the humble; Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, eminently successful with the middle class, do less with the upper class and the lowest; whilst Methodism, working prevailingly in the lower stratum, fails to attract the educated or to retain the rich. The Church of Wesley will continue to include scholars as able as any in the universities, to produce preachers who would grace cathedral pulpits, to find a religious home for men of great wealth and standing who yet hold lightly social caste; but its great work and calling will abide as one of God's elect messengers to bring home to the common people the knowledge of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Methodism must not complain of its social limitations. The Society of Friends, the Congregational Church, and Methodism in a still larger degree, are ever losing their wealthier members and the children of such members, who find their way into the Anglican communion. Methodists are sometimes nettled at this fact; and looking at the thing with the carnal eye there is no wonder that they should. Naturalists tell of the skua which gets an easy living by swooping down and filching the prey some modest bird has caught in the deep; and it is natural that Dissent should wince when the silverlings, the goldfish, the plump rich, the many-hued shapes of fashion which she first rescued from the social deep by her genius and sacrifice are captured and borne hence by the imperial denomination. If all who attain to culture and wealth in fellowship with Methodism remained in her communion, she would boast the most brilliant congregation in Christendom. But really Nonconformity has little reason to murmur. A Church does not exist to the end of becoming rich and influential,

but for the purpose of building up believers in spiritual and personal religion; a Church is great and glorious not on account of the social rank of her communicants, but because she saves the lost and makes fallen men to stand upon their feet. When the sons and daughters of fortune climb the golden stair, and fascinated by the flowers and music of high life toss a light farewell to their quondam godly companions below, by whom perchance they were rescued from a lower deep and assisted on the first rungs of success, the faithful are tempted to charge their deserting comrades with ingratitude and disloyalty; but, remembering all that has been done for these aspirants, their old friends may cheerfully bid them adieu, hoping that the golden stair also is a section of Jacob's ladder. A Church needs to be ashamed only when it makes its members poor, or keeps them so. The Methodist Church ought not to desire to retain any in her fellowship except those who feel the supreme importance of personal religion, and who sympathise thoroughly with the salvation of the people. If Methodism is kept socially inferior through her fidelity to this twofold aim, let her frankly accept her destiny and be thankful.

Neither must Methodism complain if her peculiar mission implies some intellectual and political insignificance. The Roman Catholic Church is represented in the palaces and parliaments of the nations by purple-robed ambassadors; the Anglican Church with its picturesque bench of bishops in the House of Lords is manifestly a great political power; Nonconformity also has often thought well to take a conspicuous part in national controversy: but Methodism, owing to her peculiar constitution, history, and spirit, has the least political significance. Her worst periods, the periods in which she was most divided and inoperative, were those in which she permitted herself to be seduced from political neutrality. And so to-day, although she is an immensely greater factor in the life of England than Roman Catholicism—Roman Catholicism being one of the smaller sects—yet the priest and cardinal are obtrusive shapes in all

political *séances*, whilst the Methodist as such is usually conspicuous by his absence. The individual member brings his convictions to bear upon national legislation, but the strange genius of Methodism prevents it becoming in its collective capacity a political agent. The biographer of Dr. Dale notices that he drew a distinction between the genius of Methodism and the genius of Congregationalism. These are Dale's words: "Methodism is simply anxious to make men Christians: Congregationalism is anxious that men who are Christians should realise in their Church life Christ's own conception of what their Church life should be; and we believe that only by restoring the true conception of the Christian Church is there any chance of Christianising the English people, and that the Church exists at once for the discipline of Christian perfection and the evangelization of mankind." That is, in the view of Dale, Congregationalism contemplated the larger education of its members, seeking to discipline them as churchmen and citizens. "Methodism is simply anxious to make men Christians." This is exactly true, whatever shortcomings it may imply on the part of Methodism; its programme is most meagre, it exhausts itself in attempting to make men Christians. Much that belongs to the largeness of human life does not occupy its direct attention, its one contribution has been to the spiritual element of the commonwealth. But we may remember that if this simplicity of aim reduces Methodism to a certain social and political insignificance, it secures also a wonderful unanimity and force in its evangelic mission. The scientist tells us that in any bar of iron, each molecule of which it is composed is itself a magnet. The poles of all these innumerable minute magnets, however, point in all directions; they thus entirely neutralise one another, and the bar as a whole remains entirely inert. But when the bar is encircled by a coil of insulated wire, through which an electric current is passed, the poles of all these molecular magnets which compose the bar arrange themselves in one direction, namely, parallel to the sides of the bar. Thus acting all

together in one direction, the bar immediately becomes a magnet of great power. This theory of electro-magnetism fitly expresses the value of spiritual concentration in a religious society. In whatever religious community several or many aims are allowed and encouraged, where the poles of the individual magnets point in all directions and the members accordingly follow independent and contradictory courses, the unity and effectiveness of the body as a whole must be seriously impaired; but when under the action of the Spirit of God all the members of a Church conceive one purpose, arrange themselves in one direction, and act together to one end, such a community must become a spiritual magnet of extraordinary power and efficiency. "This one thing I do," is a good motto for a Church, as well as an essential one for an individual; at any rate, it is the legend of Methodism.

The absorbing question to-day is, What Church will distinguish itself by reclaiming the great majority still beyond the walls of any religious denomination whatever? We hear of this party, or the other party, capturing the universities, capturing the public schools, capturing the bishops; but the supreme question is, Who shall capture the unconverted millions, the seventy-five per cent of the population outside any place of worship? Who can reach these, attract these, convert and discipline these into godly men and women? The Church of the future will not be determined by any technical or strategic party victory within the Church itself, but by the suffrage of this outside population. Which of the religious denominations will secure this suffrage by bringing the godless multitude into the fellowship of Christ? The questions of ecclesiastical rites and procedure now agitating the religious world are painfully frivolous to many who deeply feel the irreligiousness and wickedness of great masses of the people. Sincere, unsophisticated men within the Church and without it, weary of paltry strife, are longing for some practical attempt to solve the problem urged upon us by popular ignorance and iniquity, and they are ready to forgive much if only an

earnest effort is made in this direction. The almost universal sympathy cherished towards the Salvation Army testifies to this. It is easy enough to spot the serious defects of this movement; but the Army enthusiastically set itself to redeem the outcast, and in so doing evoked the kindly feeling and support of thousands beyond its pale. And the toleration with which the Romanising section of the Anglican Church is regarded by many convinced Protestants is largely based on the fact that it fervently and disinterestedly labours in the poorest neighbourhoods. Men are more than institutions; and statesmen, philanthropists, patriots, and even ecclesiastics, stand ready to forgive serious doctrinal and ecclesiastical vagaries in genuine workers for human salvation. Has not God fashioned Methodism for this hour? It is a Church with a unique equipment for popular evangelization,—its organisation has been perfected through more than a century of effort, and yet remains sufficiently supple to deal immediately with novel environments; its ministry has arisen out of the masses whose salvation it seeks; it is governed by a popular assembly, representative and pastoral; it is undistracted by internal dissensions; it is unembarrassed by political masters or interests; it is literally and freely sustained by the consecrated wealth which it creates; and, as its founder desired, it has nothing to do but to save souls. What glorious things may we not reasonably expect from such a Church worked wisely, purely, and zealously? If a system like this fails to give a good account of itself, it will be to the infinite shame of those who were in charge of it.

At this critical moment it is the solemn duty of Methodism to shut its eyes upon the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, and humbly concentrate itself upon its task of promoting personal religion among the people. The Head of the Church will greatly honour its faithfulness. Some of its members may resent the lowly view here taken of its intellectual and social status and aspirations. In the Diary of Andrew A. Bonar occurs this passage: "I spent most of this day in reading Dr. Chalmers' Life. In the

midst of my reading a man came in to ask me to go with him to settle a quarrel between him and his wife. The Lord does not use me, like His servant Dr. Chalmers, for great things, but my way of serving the Lord is walking three or four miles to quiet a family dispute! The Lord shows me that He wishes me to be one of the common Levites who carry the pins." Some may think that we have represented the election of Methodism too much after the experience and calling of Bonar; that God does not use it for great things; that it is a common Levite among the Churches, carrying the pins. But could any Church have a more glorious vocation than that granted to this chosen people? Does it not immediately associate them with Him who came to seek and to save that which was lost? Very high and sacred is the calling of any section of Christ's universal Church, but surely no calling and commission can be more distinguished than those which summon and empower Methodism to follow so closely in the Master's steps. Let the ministers of this Connexion count all things loss so that they approve themselves to the common people; let each of its congregations become an evangelistic centre; let the fulness of its energy, ability, and wealth be consecrated to the simple end of making them a people who are not a people; and Methodism shall gain infinitely more than social prestige or political authority—in the end, perhaps, not missing these.

THE EDITOR.

The World of Books.

I.—THEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL SCIENCE.

Grammar of New Testament Greek. By Dr. FRIEDRICH BLASS. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 14*s.* net.)

A VERY obvious criticism strikes one who takes up Blass's *Grammar* in the original and then in its English form. The book as made in Germany costs 5*s.* 5*d.* in paper or 6*s.* 5*d.* bound. As made in England it is 14*s.* net, and weighs thirty-three ounces as against twenty, though only a dozen pages longer. Now Dr. Blass avowedly wrote for those who thought "a big book a big nuisance." His *Grammar* contains less than half the matter contained in the English Winer, which is half a crown cheaper. The very *raison d'être* of the book as a handy cheap manual has been sacrificed. It is a thousand pities English publishers should so often imagine that a student prefers one book on superfine paper to two printed on decent average material.

So much for the English publishers. The translator's work invites only the briefest comment. Its unpretentious excellence is especially welcome to a reviewer hailing from the same Cambridge college. It could indeed be wished that Mr. Thackeray had effaced himself less completely, to judge from the modest footnotes in which he occasionally, very occasionally, rebels when Dr. Blass's brilliant audacity wanders farther than usual beyond bounds.

We turn then to Dr. Blass himself, whose researches on St. Luke have in the last four years made him as famous in the theological as he has been for a generation in the classical world.

The present reviewer enters on his task with some difficulty, as a hereditary partisan of Winer is only too likely to be suspect when he accuses Dr. Blass of heresy. Some of the details of this indictment will be found in a critique of the original work in the *Critical Review* for 1897, which was read in proof by Dr. Moulton. (It may be noted, by the way, that Dr. Blass seems to have attributed that review to Dr. Moulton himself, if one may judge from his addition on p. 291 f.) Here the details must be taken as read, and a general criticism suffice. The sum of the whole matter is that Dr. Blass is a most stimulating and suggestive teacher for those whose scholarship is mature, but a most unsafe and unhelpful guide for students who cannot form independent judgments. His Grammar is *unsafe* because of his arbitrariness and his subjective principles. Dr. Blass fixes his text according to his own canons of grammar or exegesis, and any MS. or none at all is good enough support for his intuition. It may be doubted whether a single scholar will accept one in five of the brilliant guesses which are thrust into the text with such decisive conviction. The evidence for the N.T. text is far too good to allow of the methods which classical scholars rightly apply to the emendation of corrupt mediæval MSS. More serious still is the reactionary treatment of N.T. syntax. On the evidence of later Greek, Dr. Blass ruthlessly levels grammatical and lexical distinctions which the great exegetes of the last fifty years have taught us to value highly for the interpretation of Holy Writ. Of course scholars will have to reckon with his argument, and fight their redoubtable antagonist on his own ground to regain the threatened preciseness and clearness of the New Testament language. But beginners will be in grave danger of bettering their master's instructions, and learning to regard the N.T. Greek as very much like the "wax nose" which Winer found grammarians twisting into any shape they pleased. Finally, Dr. Blass is *unhelpful* except to the mature scholar. The ordinary student of the New Testament wants nothing about the divergences of Hellenistic from Attic, except when this directly bears on the determination of grammatical problems in the New Testament itself. He needs accidence only so far as he has to parse words correctly; and as for hiatus, "figures of Gorgias," *et hoc genus omne*, they are just as useful as the integral calculus. Probably nearly a quarter of this three hundred page volume is sheer superfluity from the standpoint of those who most want a short

and handy manual of N.T. Greek. This, joined with what has been said above concerning the other three quarters, makes one hope that the fresh, original, and scholarly book before us will never be the daily companion of any student below the rank of a professor.—J. H. M.

Reconciliation by Incarnation; the Reconciliation of God and Man by the Incarnation of the Divine Word. By D. W. SIMON, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The reconciliation meant, it is distinctly stated, is that of God with man as well as of man with God. This high subject is treated, not theologically, but rather in the light of analogy and reason, or philosophically. The thoroughness of the treatment may be estimated by the fact that one of the first chapters defines the cosmology presupposed in incarnation and atonement, and that the first fifteen chapters discuss the principles and postulates involved in a true atonement. "God as the Environment of Man" is an awkward expression for the relations of God to man. These preliminary chapters deal with the dependence of God's relation to man or man's to God, the normal or abnormal state of these relations, the consequences of "abnormality," the conditions of "rectification." These conditions are substantially three: Confession of sin from God's point of view, sorrow because of the divine sorrow, satisfaction to the divine honour. The purpose of the last nine chapters is to show how these conditions are met in the incarnation. All the questions arising out of these difficult subjects are discussed with great ability and thoroughness. The reader will notice many points of contact with other thinkers. The whole question of analogy between the natural and the spiritual is a favourite theme in our day, and a fruitful one to the apologist. Dr. Orr has said, "Even creation is built up on redemption lines,"—a sentence which well defines our author's point of view. The chapter-title, "The Constitutional Relation of the Logos to the World, apart from Sin and under Sin," recalls Dr. Dale's suggestion that fuller knowledge of the original relation between the Logos and man would shed great light on the doctrine of atonement. Both the subject of the book and the line of treatment make the work difficult reading; but to the trained student, to whom alone the work appeals, perhaps this will present no difficulty.

Theology as a Science and its Present Position and Prospects in the Reformed Church. By W. HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow : MacLehose & Son.)

Dr. Hastie's enthusiasm for his subject is contagious. No theological student who reads these three introductory lectures can fail to feel a deeper interest in his work. The professor regards theology as the queen of the sciences, supreme in the realm of knowledge, and the purest offspring of the Divine Intelligence. He shows how its field has been extended by the study of the history of religions. Every religious expression in rite, or symbol, or word, has always had a certain theological import and value. The lecture on the theology of the Reformed Church is a noble defence and exposition. Dr. Hastie claims that the Reformed doctrine is "the only system in which the whole order of the world is brought into a rational unity with the doctrine of grace, and in which the glorification of God is carried out with absolute completeness." That claim no Arminian who shrinks from what Calvin himself called a *decretum horribile* can admit, but the lecture stirs both intellect and heart.

University Sermons, 1873–1898.—*University Addresses.* By JOHN CAIRD, D.D., LL.D., Late Principal and Vice-chancellor of the University of Glasgow. (Glasgow : MacLehose & Son. 6*s.* each.)

These sermons and addresses justify Dr. Hastie's description of Principal Caird as the Chrysostom of Scotland. A sermon like that on "Corporate Immortality" seems to lift thought and labour to a nobler platform. All the discourses, expressed in exquisitely clear and graceful language, are full of the true and deep teaching of a great Christian thinker. The Addresses have a wider range. The life and work of such men as Galileo, Erasmus, Bacon, Hume, and Butler, are described and discussed with wonderful lucidity, freshness, and force. Academic subjects are handled in a way that is in itself a liberal education. "The Art of Public Speaking" contains some hints that no preacher should overlook. The Addresses are the luminous judgments of a profound thinker and a great scholar.

Our Prayer-Book. Conformity and Conscience. By W. PAGE ROBERTS, M.A. (London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1899. 6*s.*)

The twenty-one sermons in the volume discuss and defend the main constituents of the Prayer-Book from the Broad Church standpoint. The policy of comprehension advocated, the charity and peace animating the pages, the light hold of definite doctrine, remind us strongly of Maurice and Kingsley. The only censure pronounced refers to certain Old Testament lessons, certain Psalms, and the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed; the rest is apology and eulogy. As the sermons were preached several years ago, there is no direct reference to present discussions of the subject. On this account the judgments and counsels given have greater weight. "Would that our ligatures of uniformity were relaxed in order that place might be found within the Church of their country for multitudes of Nonconformists!" "I am fully persuaded that the incessant services carried on from morning to night in some of our Churches have no profit commensurate with the labour expended. If the clergy gave up the same time to the cultivation of their teaching powers and to the enrichment of their minds now devoted to incessant services, at which the very same handful of already pious ladies are perpetually present, they might seem less busy, but they would be more useful." "The only priesthood in the early Church was that of the whole Christian people; and the Greek word 'priest' in its sacrificial sense is never used in the New Testament of any ministry produced by the primitive Church." "Confession of sin to a priest, as a constant compulsory discipline of the Christian life, is neither scriptural, primitive, nor profitable."

Horæ Synopticæ, Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem. By Rev. Sir JOHN C. HAWKINS, Bart. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is a collection of materials for use in determining the problems of the origin, mode of composition, and mutual relations of the three Synoptic gospels. The materials are almost exclusively linguistic, and take the form of tabulations of verbal and grammatical usages, including transpositions of words, doublets, enlargements of the narrative, and various

other literary indications of a writer's originality or dependence. Against such a statistical method there are obvious objections; but of necessity the Synoptical problem does not admit of solution otherwise, and every advanced student will be grateful for these scholarly and well-designed lists. They preserve work which required to be done, and which succeeding workers need only check and then use as the foundation of further study. At present Canon Hawkins wisely refrains from theorising, and rarely allows himself even to adopt for a time a working hypothesis. When he does occasionally hint at the bearing of his results, his suggestions are attractive and interesting. He thinks, for example, that the Petrine source used by Matthew and Luke was St. Mark's Gospel almost in its present form, that Luke must be placed at a considerably earlier date than Acts, that the influences both of oral transmission and of a written Greek original can be traced in the Synoptists, and that the hypothesis of translation from the Logia or from any Aramaic source is extremely improbable. It is to be hoped that our author will now proceed to elaborate his conclusions; but meanwhile he has supplied students with an example of detailed and exact research, and with a time-saving apparatus of the most valuable kind.

The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom. By S. A. GREEN, B.A., D.D. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s*.)

Dr. Green's lectures were delivered at Regent's Park College in connexion with the Angus Lectureship. The science of Christian symbolics is of vital importance, and Dr. Green's treatment is both scholarly and popular. His opening lecture shows that symbolics have to do with faith on its intellectual side. "The Faith" is the system or framework of facts and doctrines presupposed in coming to God. There is a natural tendency to formulate this into propositions, and out of these propositions the Christian creeds have been evolved. The lines along which investigation must proceed are laid down with sound judgment, and apt quotations add considerably to the value of the discussion. From the creeds Dr. Green passes to the confessions, which are theological manifestoes not intended for liturgical use, but setting forth the views of truth taken by great communities or Churches.

The Apostles' Creed. A Sketch of its History and an Examination of its Contents. By THEODOR ZAHN, D.D. Translated by C. S. & A. E. Burn. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s.*)

Dr. Zahn thinks that the legend about the apostles composing this creed before they started on their missionary journeys contains more historical truth and wisdom than the view that it was produced in the fifth or sixth century. His examination of the evidence is most instructive, and the comments on each article are of great interest and value.

The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews. With a critical Introduction. By GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 6*s.*)

Mr. Milligan's book is dedicated to his father, and it does honour to that great Christian thinker whose memory the Churches still cherish. The critical introduction is a clear outline of the views that have been held as to the authorship of the epistle. Mr. Milligan accepts the negative conclusion that it was not written by St. Paul or by any one closely associated with him. He thinks it was addressed to the Church at Rome. But the value of his book lies in the clear analysis and exposition of the epistle.

Spiritual Apprehension. Sermons and Papers. By Rev. J. L. DAVIES. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*)

Mr. Davies is about the only living representative of Mr. Maurice's original disciples. Drinking deeply into his master's spirit, he has remained true to his early faith. No writings of our day show the marks of Maurician influence more plainly than his. A paper on "Broad Church Teaching" read at a recent Church Congress and included in the present volume, is an almost impassioned declaration of faith and admiration for his old teacher. The title, "Spiritual Apprehension," is a fair index to the volume and to the author's teaching. The position is that God is to be known and approached rather by the spiritual faculties—faith, hope, love—than by the intellectual powers. Broad Church teaching shows itself in this volume again to be vague and hazy as ever. Creeds and doctrinal definitions are tacitly depreciated. Apart from this cardinal defect, there is a fine ethical tone as well as much that is suggestive in a high degree.

The Unheeding God. By THOMAS G. SELBY. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

We recently heard a well-known critic bracket Mr. Selby and Dean Paget as the finest sermon writers of the day. We wish Mr. Selby would blot out some awkward words, but the force of thought and felicity of phrase which made his *Imperfect Angel* an homiletic classic are as conspicuous as ever. The first sermons in the volume are a protest against those distorted views of God which poison the springs of human character. "The fluid creed within us crystallises into a superstructure of character." "Sin is the tragic schism, the great divide, parting off worlds in which God hides His face from those in which He reveals the glory of His lovingkindness." The noble sermon on "Mistrust that destroys" ought to be read and re-read. The illustrations are sometimes superb.

Key to the Apocalypse. By H. GRATTAN GUINNESS, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Guinness thinks that the vision of the Woman and the Beast that carried her, in Revelation xvii., is the Rosetta Stone of the Apocalypse, supplying a key for all the mysterious symbols of the book. The Roman empire is the beast, the Papacy the harlot. This is his key, and he applies it with much skill to many locks.

Visions of Sin. By JAMES HOPE MOULTON. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 2*s.*)

Mr. Moulton's portraits of "Four Bad Men" are prefaced by studies of Achan and Saul with a brief paper on "Sin," and two thoughtful and musical supplementary poems on "The Vision of Darkness in Light," and "The Vision of Light in Darkness." The studies are scholarly and practical.

The Preacher's Magazine, Volume IX. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 5*s.*), holds its ground well. It is full of helpful and stimulating matter, not only suggesting topics for the pulpit, but furnishing many good hints as to books.

The Biblical Museum has long been a favourite with teachers and preachers, and the cheap edition which Mr. Elliot Stock is publishing at a shilling a volume net ought to have a large sale. Its exposition is good, its homiletic and illustrative notes better.

II.—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Catholicism: Roman and Anglican. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

DR. FAIRBAIRN's interest in the Oxford Movement was first aroused in comparative youth by reading Newman's *Apologia*, and the whole complex problem of the motives and methods of the Tractarian leaders has fascinated him ever since. His book has a twofold character. It is a study of principles and a series of appreciations or judgments passed on the Anglican leaders and their work. It is generous and catholic in spirit, but marked by all Dr. Fairbairn's logical acumen and skill in marshalling an argument. He regards it as nothing short of a calamity to the English Church that her claim to Catholicity has been made to turn so much on the question of Orders. The immense emphasis laid on the apostolic defence of the priesthood has created a body which can only live whilst its priests regard themselves as invested with apostolic authority. The Anglo-Catholic movement was the child of a greathate—the hate of Liberalism. Newman's bulwark against this monster was authority. "The ghost of a mediæval Church was evoked to exercise the resurgent spirit of Christ in man." Newman missed a glorious opportunity. The age needed an apologist like St. Augustine, and Newman had in a higher degree than any teacher of his day "the quickening spirit, the power to search the conscience, to rouse the heart, to fire the imagination, to rouse the will." He might have led men to a nobler faith, but he yielded to despair. Submission to Catholicism is after all the victory of unbelief. The man who accepts authority because he dare not trust his intellect is really untrue to himself and to God. The more organised authority becomes the more imperious it grows. The Church experiences a kind of apotheosis, God suffers a sort of political incarnation. The title of the book is not altogether satisfactory, and it lacks symmetry and cumulative force, but it is full of good things forcibly put.

Lawlessness in the National Church. By the Right Hon. Sir W. VERNON HARCOURT, M.P. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1*s.* net.)

Sir William Harcourt has risen up like a new Latimer in the hour of the Church of England's disgrace and danger. Mr. Walsh supplied a vast body of facts, Sir William has forced them home on a reluctant bench of bishops. His impeachment of the two archbishops, his call to the Bishop of London to do his duty, and his exposure of the lawlessness among the clergy, come with all the weight of a great judge's deliverance from the bench. Sir William has never done work that was more needed, and has never shown more complete mastery of his subject, or more clear vision and judgment than in these noble letters. He calls on the laity to do their duty. "Those who wish to save the Established Church must compel the clergy to observe its conditions." He also warns bishops and clergy of their imminent peril. "Their time is short, their sands are running out; if they continue pusillanimously to shiver on the brink, their impaired authority will be finally extinguished, and the existence of the Church they have so ill tended will be, and indeed is to-day, at stake." These letters have already roused the nation, and in this collected form we hope that they will have even wider influence. Our outraged Protestantism sorely needs such a champion.

The Position of the Church of England. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., Bishop of London. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 6*d.* net).

Dr. Creighton holds that the Church of England's position rests on an appeal to sound learning which England's freedom from political disturbance, at the time of the Reformation, gave her an opportunity of applying more calmly and dispassionately than continental countries. A mass of accretions had to be removed from the system of the Church which had grown round it through its endeavour to meet the demands of popular devotion. The great system of purgatory had thus to be treated. "It is the function of learning to assert what is known, and to leave perverse ingenuity steadily alone." Every problem cannot be solved. There is always a sphere for human questionings and human ingenuity. Where God has not spoken, man must keep silence. This was the principle on which the Church of England

dealt with doctrine and discipline. The bishop attempts to show what are the principles underlying the present disquiet, and to bring out the grounds on which opposition to such principles is based.

The Secret History of the Oxford Movement. By WALTER WALSH. Fifth Edition. (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

This book has done more to open men's eyes to the perils of Popery inside the Church of England than any single book beside. We have already called attention to it in two of our reviews, but this edition has its own value because it contains Mr. Walsh's answer to his critics in the *Church Times*. The most searching criticism has only brought out one or two trifling errors on unessential points. Mr. Walsh is plentifully abused, but his statements cannot be impugned, and opposition has only served to establish the unique value of the most damaging indictment of the Oxford Movement that has ever appeared.

The Story of the Oxford Movement. By G. H. F. NYE. (Bemrose & Sons. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The fact that Dean Gregory blesses this book shows that it is written from a High Churchman's point of view. Nonconformists are not, in Mr. Nye's opinion, branches of the "Catholic" Church of Christ, and the work of such men as Hurrell Froude is glossed over. The comments on Newman's secession to the Church of Rome are pitifully weak. The book is largely made up of quotations and appeals altogether to Churchmen whose eyes will remain entirely sealed, if they trust Mr. Nye, to the grave perils that menace the Church of England. Statistics are given to show the remarkable activity of the Anglican Church, but Mr. Nye is strangely mistaken when he represents seventy-two per cent of the population as professed members of the Church of England.

The Post-Apostolic Age. By LUCIUS WATERMAN, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 6*s.*)

With this volume, Messrs. Clark conclude their "Eras of the Christian Church." We cannot say that on the whole we consider the series a success or equal to the reputation of the

publishers of the "International Commentary" or the "International Theological Library." For one reason of failure we should look to the utter absence of all unity of view. The series forms a patchwork-quilt rather than a history. What would be thought of a history of England in which the chapter on Laud was written by say, Dr. Mason; the following on Cromwell, by Carlyle. The variety might be interesting, but the resultant views would be anything except clear. The same must be said of a series in which *The Age of Hildebrand* is treated by Bishop Vincent, between whom and Dr. Waterman, in the volume before us, there is scarcely a point in common. That the series is decidedly American we do not regret. In Church history, it is an advantage to have the freshness of view of those whose outlook on ecclesiastical history is not so cribbed and confined by the past or present, as writers on this side the water are apt to be. Of this greater wealth the volume before us is an illustration. Dr. Waterman recognises facts which an English Anglican would blindly ignore. But that a series intended for England should be printed in New York, and inflict upon us its special spellings, we consider unworthy of a firm like the publishers.

Dr. Waterman's volume seems to us above the average of this disappointing series. It is well written, clear, and interesting, and there is in it no trace of *theologicum odium*. The author strives on every page to be fair. We must add that there is scarcely a chapter over which we should not quarrel with Dr. Waterman's conclusions. He writes in the interest of a thorough-going (American) High Anglicanism. The student would do well to compare with his conclusions the opposite standpoint so ably set forth by two recent volumes of the "International Theological Library," Dr. McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, or Dr. Allen's *Christian Institutions*. The whole period is a battle field, and Dr. Waterman has marshalled his special forces with ability and tact. We believe none the less in the ultimate triumph of other conclusions. But the grounds of our dissent from Dr. Waterman would lead us beyond the limits of a notice.—H. B. W.

Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity. By Rev. JAMES ORR, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Professor Orr prepared these three lectures for the Mansfield Summer School. He thinks that the numerical spread of

Christianity in the first centuries was much greater than is ordinarily supposed, and its influence on the higher ranks of society and on the pagan world deeper. His position is enforced by the testimony of the Catacombs with passages stretching for 587 miles and with nearly four million graves; further support is found in facts as to the early Christian Churches culled both from apologists and opponents. Professor Ramsay's statement that Christianity "spread at first among the educated more rapidly than the uneducated" may need revision, but it is nearer the truth than the generally received opinion.

St. Francis of Assisi: the Mirror of Perfection. Written by BROTHER LEO, of Assisi. (London: David Nutt. 2*s.*)

M. Paul Sabatier discovered and pieced together these reminiscences of St. Francis. They were written within six months of the saint's death by one who had been his companion and friend. Dr. Sebastian Evans has given us a version of Brother Leo's provincial and mediæval Latin which well preserves its quaintness and its fragrance, though it is disfigured by some ugly expressions. The privations of the first friars come out in the sentence: "In beds and beddings a plentiful poverty did so abound that he which had a tattered rag over his straw did hold the same for a feather-bed." It does one good to watch Francis, who was a rare discoverer of character, expose the "brother that did hardly pray at all and never did any work. He would not go forth for alms, but he did eat bravely." Another section tells us that "no idle man might ever appear in his sight but he would straightway rebuke him with a biting tooth. Forasmuch as he himself, the example of all perfection, did humbly toil with his hands, allowing naught of the most precious gift of time to run to waste." The charming little book brings St. Francis nearer to us than any other biography.

The Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln. Translated from the French Carthusian Life, with large additions. By HERBERT THURSTON, S.J. (London: Burns & Oates. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Ruskin declares in his *Præterita* that "our own Hugo of Lincoln is to my mind the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to me in history." Without subscribing to this perhaps exaggerated estimate every student of the Middle Ages will

gladly own that Hugh of Avalon (1140–1200) stands out from a careless and immoral age in the radiant beauty of purity and devotion. By Englishmen perhaps he is chiefly remembered as the chief builder of our finest cathedral, whose exquisitely beautiful "angel-choir" was added in honour of his memory. Hitherto, however, the English reader has had to content himself with either the magazine sketches of Froude in his *Short Studies*, or Dean Spence's *Cloister Life in the Days of Cœur de Lion*, or the excellent but now somewhat antiquated *Life of St. Hugh* by Archdeacon Perry. He will therefore welcome this volume as a most important contribution to the history of the mediæval Church. There is of course much that does not meet with our acceptance, but, on the whole, we have been struck with the moderation and liberal spirit of the editor. Nominally the work is a translation of a life of St. Hugh by a monk of the Grande Chartreuse, to which the editor has attached most copious and valuable illustrations from civil, social, and religious mediæval history. The result is somewhat confusing so far as form is concerned, though what the book loses in form it gains in interest. There is a peculiar far-off old world charm about the style of the monk of the Grande Chartreuse, while we have been astonished at the access to modern literature which the work displays. Evidently the monks in that respect are not shut out from the world. Of the value of its illustrations let us take one which we will use for a different purpose to that which its author would approve. Father Thurston points out that in the twelfth century the canons of Lincoln remained seated in their stalls during nearly the whole of the mass, "an inheritance from the different system of an earlier age." Dean Stanley once showed (*Christian Institutions*, p. 206) that the fact that the Pope to this day maintains the sitting position behind the altar was a precious relic of early usage going back to the times when the altar was a table and the mass the simple Lord's supper of Nonconformist Churches. We thank our editor for further proof. Here and there we have noted a few misprints, but the work commends itself to every student of the past.—H. B. W.

The Course of Conscience. By H. J. PYE. (London: Burns & Oates. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a powerful and subtle argument for a visible Church as the guide of conscience. The writer singles out Dr. W. B.

Pope as representing the Methodists, whilst Dr. Dale stands for the Congregationalists. He makes much of the appeal to Rome in the early centuries, and passes daintily over the charges against the Popes. His own theory of headquarters with all its speciousness really dishonours the Divine Spirit, who is not limited to time or place, and it breaks down under the test of facts. Even such a life as Manning's shows, as Dr. Fairbairn has pointed out, that "a Catholicism seated at Rome, or, indeed, with a head localised anywhere, can never again govern the world."

Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations. By Rev. A. H. SAYCE. (London: Service & Paton. 6*s.*)

Professor Sayce regards Palestine as a centre of ancient Oriental history reflecting the fortunes of the great empires of the Eastern world. Its geographical position and the characteristics of its people linked it so intimately with surrounding nations that its record cannot be properly understood apart from theirs. At one time it seemed useless to expect much external testimony to the Bible narrative, but our own day has witnessed discoveries that have revolutionised our conceptions of ancient Oriental history. The book is full of interest for Bible students and it is very brightly written.

1. *Ecclesiastical Curiosities.* Edited by WILLIAM ANDREWS.
2. *Bygone Church Life in Scotland.* Edited by WILLIAM ANDREWS.

(London: Andrews & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* each).

These are two of the best volumes in the Bygone Library. Mr. Tyack has five papers in the first volume dealing with the most interesting subjects of church doors, watching-chambers, church chests, mazes, and the building of our cathedrals; and in the second volume he writes on the cross in Scotland, and the stern "discipline in the Kirk." The Rev. R. W. Rees has a couple of entertaining and instructive papers in each volume, which bring out his encyclopædic reading, and are among the best things in the books. The paper on witchcraft in Scotland states that, in the last forty years of the sixteenth century, no less than eight thousand persons suffered, almost invariably by burning, for witchcraft. The Kirk was more disposed to kindle the pile than the Inquisition.

III.—HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

History of the New World called America. By EDWARD JOHN PAYNE. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 14*s.*)

MR. PAYNE'S second volume has been eagerly awaited by those who studied the earlier one. He here deals more particularly with the conditions of life in Aborignal America, searching the language to discover traces of a society that has long since vanished. Portions of this book appeal mainly to students of philology and primitive customs, but there is much that will fascinate every reader. Assuming that the region of the Mexican Gulf and Caribbean Sea was dry land at or about the same time no obstacle would have prevented the general spread of man over the New World in all its parts, and the area from which the migration set out probably comprised almost all Northern Siberia as far as the frontier of Europe. The first settlers wandered into the New World before it was separated from the Old by a depression of the earth's restlessly heaving crust. Mr. Payne's descriptions of the early beliefs of Mexico and Peru are of the deepest interest. Mexico rested for its supplies on perpetual extortion from defenceless tributaries, and a system of constant war against neighbouring peoples remorsely sustained, "ostensibly to procure victims for sacrifice, but really to provide animal food for consumption by the privileged class engaged in it; and the religious ritual had been so expanded as to ensure for them, by a sacred and permanent sanction, an almost continuous cannibal carnival." This cannibalism and perpetual war are happily absent from Peru, where there was sufficient animal food for a relatively sparse population. Mr. Payne has brought unusual gifts to his great task, and has bestowed infinite pains upon it. The result is a monumental work, profoundly instructive and of absorbing interest.

Spain: its Greatness and Decay (1479–1788). By MARTIN A. S. HUME, with an Introduction by EDWARD ARMSTRONG. (Cambridge: University Press. 6*s.*)

This book shows with pathetic clearness the process by which nations are ruined. The moralist may draw many an argument

and illustration from this storehouse. "He who runs may read the lessons that unsupported pride and unwarranted ambition are as disastrous to nations as to men, that riches gained without labour produce no extended or lasting prosperity, that the true basis of wealth is industrial production, that beneficent ends cannot be attained by means which disregard human sufferings or trample on human rights." Mr. Armstrong regards Spanish history as "the tragic result of an embarrassing wealth of alternative policies." Mr. Hume takes up the threads with the accession of Philip II., and gives an impressive sketch of the ruin of a great nation.

Modern England before the Reform Bill. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P. (London: T. F. Unwin. 5*s.*)

This is the first of a pair of volumes in which Mr. McCarthy describes the social and political development of England since the beginning of the century. He has had an eye to the youngest reader, and his narrative lays hold of us on the first page and never loses its interest. It is not always satisfactory in the proportion of attention given to a subject. We should have liked some events more fully discussed and others passed over more lightly; but the book abounds in good things, and some of its verdicts are very happy. The contrast between the aggressive military genius of Napoleon, and Wellington as the embodied genius of resistance, is well brought out. Mr. McCarthy's views on Irish matters naturally appear in his discussion of certain subjects, but he writes as one who acknowledges "the cheering fact that we have learnt to deal with our political enemies in a more tolerant and a more Christian-like spirit than that which once found favour" in England. Some of the illustrations are very good.

Annals of Westminster School. By JOHN SARGEAUNT. (London: Methuen & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

This is a singularly bright and readable book. Mr. Sargeaunt does not weary us by long citations from charters, though he gives ample material for those who wish to pursue that subject in his Appendix. His aim, and he has succeeded in it, is to give a history of the school which every "Westminster" may read and enjoy. Busby made Westminster the chief school in England. Under his successor, Knipe, the school which has trained so many distinguished poets and divines became a

nursery of statesmen. Freind raised Westminster to still greater prosperity. The list of statesmen is catholic enough to include all parties, "bishops and archbishops are too numerous to mention, Lord Mansfield and Charles Wesley too great to omit." Mr. Sargeaunt gives details as to boarding houses, allowances for Queen's scholars, and studentships which we have not seen in any other history of Westminster School. A studentship at Christchurch, such as Charles Wesley held, was almost enough for an undergraduate to live on, though its nominal yearly value was only £20. It was, perhaps, the most valuable preferment that a school boy could obtain. We are told, on p. 159, that Charles Wesley boarded at Hutton's in Little College Street in 1720. We thought he lived with his brother Samuel. Charles Wesley is also said to have been learned enough to teach Hebrew to his Carthusian brother, but it is scarcely likely that a boy of twelve would do this, and Samuel Wesley's report to his father seems to show that he was the tutor. "Jack is with me, and a brave boy, learning Hebrew as fast as he can." Probably, however, the boy had already begun Hebrew under Dr. Walker at Charterhouse. Samuel Wesley wrote the epigram to the play of 1718, enforcing the duty of contribution to the building of the new dormitory, and the triumphant satire over the heavenward course which Curll the bookseller, who had insulted the school, took from the recesses of a blanket, is said to have been his work. Mr. Sargeaunt's book is beautifully got up in the pink colours of the school, and has some illustrations of great merit and interest.

The Story of the Malakand Field Force. An Episode of Frontier War. By WINTON SPENCER CHURCHILL. New Edition. (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Lieutenant Churchill belongs to a cavalry regiment, but was allowed to accompany Sir Bindon Blood's march into the Mámund Valley, and thus enjoyed the most valuable and fascinating experience of his life. His book won great popularity when it appeared a year ago, and this cheap edition should not be overlooked by those who wish to understand what frontier war really means, and to gain insight into the political and military problems involved in our Indian policy. The defence of the Malakand camp, the fort at Chakdara, and the

Mohmand campaign, are exploits of which England may well be proud, and they are splendidly told in this story. The descriptions of the country and the tribesmen are very fine. Lieut. Churchill regards the Pathan as "a finer shot, a hardier man, a better marcher, especially on the hillside, and possibly an even more brilliant fighter" than the Sikh. The latter is not so tough but delights in feats of strength, and is cleaner and more careful than the Pathan. The wicked little Gurkhas, never without a cheery grin, combine the dash of the Pathan with the discipline of the Sikh and spend all their pay on food.

Memoir of Lady Russell and Lady Herbert, 1623–1723. Compiled from Original Family Documents. By LADY STEPNEY. (London: A. & C. Black. 5*s*.)

Lady Stepney lived four generations ago, but her MSS. well deserve the tardy honour of publication. Every woman must feel prouder of her sex as she turns these pages. Lady Russell is one of the noblest wives and mothers of English history. Her father had been Lord Treasurer under Charles II., her mother belonged to the French Protestant house of De Ruvigny. William Russell was a younger son, so that his marriage with the widowed heiress, Lady Vaughan, was a brilliant one. She was thirty-three, her husband thirty. They were knit together by a passionate affection for thirteen years. Lady Russell survived her husband forty years, and saw ample justice done to the memory of the great patriot. Her wise care of her children, and her letters to Tillotson, Burnet, and other eminent men, show that she was a woman of rare gifts. Lady Herbert was cast in the same mould, though she had the happier fortune to save her husband from dying on the field, after the battle of Naseby, and also secured his escape from the Tower, where he lay under sentence of death, by taking his place in his cell. Every English lady should read this book.

Cavour. By the Countess EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO. (London: Macmillan & Co. 2*s*. 6*d*.)

Cavour lived to see his dream of Italian unity accomplished, and paved the way for that occupation of Rome which crowned his work ten years after his own death. He early conceived the great idea which it was his life-work to realise, and pursued his aim with a tenacity of purpose, an unselfishness, and a loyal

regard to liberty which form a title to enduring fame. He never purchased power by the sacrifice of conviction. "My principles," he wrote, "are a part of myself." He was able to say, "you know that I care nothing for power as power; I care for it only as a means to compass the good of my country." The close of his life forms a pathetic picture of a man sacrificed on the shrine of duty.

A History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races. By SIR HARRY H. JOHNSON, K.C.B. With eight maps. (Cambridge: University Press. 6*s.*)

If any student were limited to a single book on Africa this would be the book for him to choose. In three hundred pages the whole history of colonisation, exploration and missionary work is traced from the dawn of history to the present day. Justice is done to the missionary and philanthropic labour of all nations, and a fine spirit pervades the work, especially in dealing with the Dutch and French. The eminent services of Mr. Rhodes are duly recognised, and the writer's own experience is drawn upon to illustrate the horrors of the slave-trade. The maps add much to the value of an invaluable little book.

Some Account of George William Wilshere, Baron Bramwell of Hever, and his opinions. By CHARLES FAIRFIELD. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* net.)

This record appeals not only to lawyers but to politicians and political economists. Baron Bramwell could never resist the temptation to join in a legal or economical controversy, and his letters to the *Times* and *Economist* deserved to be gathered into such a volume as this. Bramwell owed nothing to interest. He sprang from an old Westmorland race of yeomen. His father was head clerk and ultimately partner in the banking firm of Dorrien, and his son started life in the bank, but in 1830 began to study as a special pleader under Fitzroy Kelly. He only earned a pittance as a special pleader, but in 1838 he was called to the bar, and soon gained a reputation. After thirteen years of hard work he became Q.C. in 1851. That year he earned £3,414, in 1852 £4,549, and in his last year, when acknowledged leader on the Home Circuit, his fees were nearly £8,000. In 1856 he became Baron Bramwell. Jurymen found his summings up as terse, clear, easy to understand as his

letters to the newspapers, and no man was so popular with the bar. At the great farewell dinner given him by the profession, the old man said: "I declare that if I had the choice whether to be a great judge or a good judge, I should prefer the latter." As the *Times* said, "it was his rare fortune to be both."

Edward Thring, Headmaster of Uppingham School. Life, Diary and Letters. By GEORGE R. PARKIN, C.M.G. 2 Vols. (London: Macmillan & Co. 17*s.* net.)

Edward Thring represents the hero as schoolmaster. He fought the battle of the dull boy, whose mind he felt to be a wise man's problem. His own school life had made him understand that every boy was entitled to receive adequate individual attention, and he saw that proper tools were as necessary in shaping mind and character as in making a deal box. He found a sphere at Uppingham of which school he became the real founder. The governors, with the exception of General Johnson, the representative of the original founder, were a stake in his flesh. A greater work has seldom been done under more disheartening conditions. Friends and relatives were indignant at Thring's sacrifices for the cause he had at heart. For years he was tortured by debt, and when a glorious success was won governors and masters tried hard to make the victor unfaithful to the principles for which he had toiled and suffered. In sturdy loyalty to conviction he is the Athanasius of the scholastic world. He weathered all his storms, and carried off his school to Borth in Wales when the Uppingham people trifled with fever and would not even flush their drains. Thring was at heart a soldier, and his fighting instincts found full play. Before the end of his life he had won a notable victory. Uppingham grew friendly, the trustees began to understand their lion-hearted headmaster, his ideals affected the whole course of English education and attracted great attention in the colonies and America. Mr. Parkin allows Thring to expound his own views and quotes extensively from his diary, which is almost painful in its intensity and its constant record of struggle. But the real tenderness of the man's nature is well brought out. His friendship with Mrs. Ewing is almost romantic, and his testimony to the value of good stories for children is very impressive. Thring was the first English schoolmaster to establish a gymnasium, and paid great attention to athletics. He tried to teach boys to take an interest in real life, and the Uppingham

mission in the East End of London led the way in the movement which has done such service not only to the slums but to our schools and universities. Music was a notable feature of Uppingham school life, and Thring's efforts to establish and guide the Headmasters' Conference and his sympathy with the Headmistresses in their Conference exerted a powerful influence on national education. We can quite understand that some people must have found Thring "gey ill to live with," but his work marks an epoch in scholastic life and methods, and this book will take rank as a classic in the educational world.

John Stoughton, D.D. A Short Record of a Long Life. By his DAUGHTER. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Mrs. King Lewis has gracefully performed her filial task, and though Dr. Stoughton had forestalled the memoir by publishing his own *Recollections* this volume is both fresh and instructive. Dr. Stoughton was the son of a Norwich solicitor, who left the Church of England and joined the Methodists. His mother was a Quaker, whose singular beauty won her many admirers among the young men of the city. A pleasant sketch of life in Norwich at the beginning of the century is given in the first chapter. Dr. Stoughton was famous for his catholicity of spirit, and it is easy to understand how he learned his lessons amid such an environment as that of his youth. He became an Independent from a conviction of the scriptural character of that system, and his two pastorates at Windsor and Kensington were marked by rare devotion to pastoral work and great popularity as a preacher. It is as a religious historian that Dr. Stoughton will be longest remembered. He enjoyed the intimate friendship of Dean Stanley, and had much of that pictorial power and eager chivalry which characterised the dean. The book is a beautiful picture of a noble-hearted and richly gifted man. "Benson Bunting," on p. 9, rather staggers a Methodist reader. The two men would certainly have made a wonderful combination.

The Life of Henry Drummond. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Henry Drummond's character is enshrined in his little book, *The Greatest Thing in the World.* Mr. Moody, who watched him closely, said: "Some men take an occasional journey into the

thirteenth of First Corinthians, but Henry Drummond was a man who lived there constantly, appropriating its blessings, and exemplifying its teaching." He had a rare grace of manner and wonderful tenderness of heart. Religion never robbed him of his humour or of his keen delight in life. His absorbed interest in others, and his conception of Christianity as the crown of the evolution of the whole universe were the key-stones of his influence. Mr. Moody captured him on his first visit to Scotland, and the youth of twenty-two found himself launched on two years of exciting work as a young men's evangelist. There was no attempt at oratory in his addresses nor any sense of strain. He spoke calmly with exquisite taste, and a nameless radiance surrounded him like that of a fresh spring morning. No one's attention wandered for a moment when Drummond was speaking. He gained a terrible insight into life and conscience. To a friend who found him bowed down one Sunday night he said: "I am sick with the sins of those men! How can God bear it!" It was hard to return to college after two years' wandering as an evangelist, but Drummond finished his preparation for the ministry. Then a congenial position as Lecturer on Natural Science in the Free Church College, Glasgow, opened, and he found his life work. Dr. Smith has written the story with great tenderness, but the book is somewhat dull considering the rare interest of the subject.

The Life and Letters of Lewis Carroll (Rev. C. L. Dodgson). By STUART DODGSON COLLINGWOOD. Illustrated. (London: T. F. Unwin. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Lewis Carroll was well described as "The Man who loved little children." He made friends with them at the seaside or in the railway train, sent them his books, wrote them the most delightfully absurd letters, and was never weary of a real child. He was a mathematician of rare power and originality, who did great service to Christ Church College, but his fame will always rest on his work as the child's guide to fairyland. He once told a friend, "My life is so strangely free from all trial and trouble, that I cannot doubt my own happiness is one of the talents entrusted to me to 'occupy' with till the Master shall return, by doing something to make other lives happy." He used his talent so well that the world seemed darker for his going. His nephew has given a living record of a devout and

gifted man, broad minded, large hearted, over-flowing with the quaintest humour, modest amid all his popularity, and full of eccentricities.

Memories of Father Healy, of Little Bray. (London : Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

This is the fourth edition of the *Memories of Father Healy*. The book deserves its popularity as a collection of stories. Father Healy had a rare fund of wit, and he used it fearlessly, turning any chance topic to his purpose with wonderful versatility. His wit was always pure and kindly, and he conveyed many a severe moral lesson to his parishioners with this consoling flavour, and checked many a young man in doubtful talk. To meet him in the street was like passing suddenly into sunshine.

One Hundred Years : Being the Short History of the Church Missionary Society. (London : C.M.S. 1*s.*)

This brief record of a great society ought to be read by all lovers of missions. The C.M.S. was born in a first-floor room at the "Castle and Falcon," in Aldersgate Street, on April 12, 1799. Henry Martyn was its first English volunteer, though he went out technically as a chaplain. For three years the Society failed to find a single missionary, and in its first decade it only sent out five men. What a contrast to the seven years, 1887–1894, when, despite deaths and retirements, the number of missionaries on the roll leaped from 309 to 619. The book gives a good idea of the principal stations of the Society and of the secretaries and home workers who have played the chief part in the development of the Society.

The Romance of Christian Work and Experience. By W. Hay M. H. Aitken. (London : John F. Shaw & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Aitken has gathered together a wonderful set of stories. Speakers and teachers will find telling incidents on every page. The scoffer who was brought to Christ by a child's question, "Sir, aren't you afraid to mock God?"; the burglar who got converted while waiting to begin "a job"; the man who thought the preacher's "Beware, beware, beware" was "Despair, despair, despair!" and was led to repent and pray, represent the romance of such a life as Mr. Aitken's.

IV.—TRAVEL.

West African Studies. By MARY H. KINGSLEY. With Illustrations and Maps. (London : Macmillans. 21*s*.)

MISS KINGSLEY'S opening chapters show that she has not lost her humour or her love of adventure. She gives the oddest description of her fishing expedition to Corisco, and makes us hold our breath as she and the witch doctor, who has called her in to one of his patients, stumble at dead of night against a great python, who is sleeping off a heavy meal in the middle of the path. The account of the driver ants and their attack on plants, which Nature protects with an exceedingly slippery stem, is a wonderful bit of description ; and Miss Kingsley pays off old scores by a scathing attack on the insect pests of West Africa. Life there is no easy thing. Woe to the man who cannot stand perpetual uproar ! Miss Kingsley's chief business in this book is trade and fetish. She has come to the conclusion that the African intellect is essentially logical. Soaked in fetish from infancy, the mission convert is very apt to revert to it when sudden affliction comes with its awful problem of an omnipotent God and a suffering world. He thinks he can propitiate the evil spirits and dodge and avoid them by his old fetishism. A mass of information as to the ideas that lie below fetish, the power of the witch-doctors, and the real state of things in the Forest Belt region, makes this part of the book invaluable for all students of African religion. Miss Kingsley is an enthusiast on this subject, and her enthusiasm is contagious. The most practical part of the volume is the discussion of our colonial methods. Miss Kingsley regards the Colonial Office as a drag-chain on English development in West Africa. Mr. Chamberlain has done a great deal to help our merchants, and Miss Kingsley appeals to him to formulate an entirely new system suited to West African conditions. As it is, we have no definite policy, no commercial experts are allowed a voice in the management of affairs, but we drift along with some nebulous notion about elevating the African in the plane of civilisation. Miss Kingsley supports her position by a formidable array of facts which must receive the attention of the

authorities. The day for inefficiency is gone, and we shall not be content to let England suffer by obsolete methods. The Crown Colony system destroys native society and has no power to reorganise it on a better basis. What we want is a system in which Englishman and African should work together for the common good, and Miss Kingsley sketches such a system with its English and African committees of experts. The book is a real contribution to the well-being of Africa, and Miss Kingsley has set the whole problem before us with a key to its solution, which we hope Mr. Chamberlain will lose no time in using.

1. *In the Australian Bush and on the Coast of the Coral Sea.* By RICHARD SEMON. With eighty-six Illustrations and four Maps. 21*s.* net.
2. *The Valley of Light. Studies with Pen and Pencil in the Vaudois Valleys of Piedmont.* By W. BASIL WORSFOLD. 10*s.* net.
3. *Observations of a Ranchwoman in New Mexico.* By EDITH M. NICHOLL. 6*s.*

(London: Macmillan & Co.)

1. Mr. Semon left Jena in June, 1891, on a scientific journey to Australia, New Guinea, the Moluccas, and Java. His object was to study their wonderful fauna, and besides the actual discoveries his two years of travel have influenced all his modes of scientific thought, increased his belief in the inborn kindness of human nature, and widened his mental horizon. A cheery optimism marks the book. He spent much time in the solitude of the Australian bush, where an intimate relationship with Nature seemed to spring up, and the close observation of plants and animals afforded constant enjoyment. The book is full of a trained observer's notes on snakes, spiders, birds, and all that makes Australia the Eldorado of the zoological explorer. Mr. Semon's book is crowded with pictures, and its maps are excellent.

2. *The Valley of Light* describes the lovely Vaudois country with rare charm, and gives many thrilling pages from its heroic history. Janavel is a figure such as the story of patriotism and religion can scarcely match elsewhere. The Vaudois family to-day numbers 20,000 within the valleys, 500 in various Italian cities, 2,000 at Marseilles, 2,500 in America. The country

orms a little Switzerland, and its capital, La Tour, has been compared to Geneva; but there are no suitable hotels, and nothing has been done to attract tourists, for the Vaudois are sadly unprogressive and conservative. Nevertheless the attractions of scenery in the Piedmontese Alps are as great, though entirely different in character, as those of the Italian lakes. Mr. Worsfold's book is rather spoiled by its epistolary form, but it gives delightful sketches of scenery, and appeals powerfully to all lovers of religious liberty.

3. *A Ranchwoman in New Mexico* is a fresh and spicy record. Mrs. Nicholl was driven to New Mexico in quest of health, and found it. But she had a hard struggle with the natives' hate of work, and the entire lack of combination among the farmers. On these subjects she delivers her soul. The adobe houses with walls nearly three feet thick are the very acme of comfort. The country has much in its favour. The fruit far surpasses that of California in quality, and the climate approaches perfection. Mrs. Nicholl has much to say also about our English foibles and on American character. Her American mother's help would make the fortune of any book. Mrs. Nicholl thinks the American lady a perfect hostess, who draws out the very best of which her guests are capable, but she is sorely tried by the travelling Englishman, who is perpetually praising his own institutions.

Through New Guinea and the Cannibal Countries. By H. CAYLEY-WEBSTER. With Illustrations and Maps. (London: T. F. Unwin. 21*s.*)

Captain Cayley-Webster traversed a greater distance on foot in German New Guinea than any white man has ever done, and was able to prove that the so-called Bismarck range of mountains on the chart was really non-existent. He has a very pleasant way of describing the adventures and incidents of his two journeys, and his book is beautifully illustrated.

The men of New Guinea are finely built, the women are shorter and more hideous in appearance, though some young girls have passable features. All are well nourished. Captain Webster has seen a mere infant remove the tobacco pipe from his mouth and suck his mother's breast, and watched one woman suckling a child and a young pig at the same time. She seemed most anxious for the pig's welfare because it had

the greater market value. The natives of the Solomon Islands are the most treacherous cannibals in the South Seas, and aptain Webster hardly ever had his revolver out of his hand. At Etna Bay he had a terrible encounter with the natives; yet he felt repaid tenfold for his dangers by the interest of the journey, and the scientific discoveries which he was able to make in the most interesting two years of his existence.

A Shuttle of an Empire's Loom. By HARRY VANDERVELL. (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons. 6*s*.)

This is the best description of life on board a cargo steamer that has ever been written. Mr. Vandervell's health broke down under the strain of London work, and he shipped at eight-pence a day on board a steamer bound for Australia. The routine of daily duty, the life of the forecastle, the charm of an escape to shore, and all the incidents of a sailor's strange existence are vividly but artlessly sketched. The insatiable craving for printed matter of all kinds and the way in which the forecastle would discuss Tennyson, Carlyle, Kipling, and other writers, will be a revelation to some readers of this volume. Many a good yarn brightens the pages.

Over Fen and Wold. By J. J. HISSEY. With fourteen full page (and some smaller) illustrations by the Author, and a map of the route. (London: Macmillan & Co. 16*s*.)

Lincolnshire has no lack of interesting towns and its churches are full of delights for the antiquarian. Its country seats, such as that of the Dymokes, at Scrivelsby, and its village inns, furnish Mr. Hissey with much pleasant material for his pages. He has also a keen eye for every bit of human nature and had the good fortune to meet some quaint characters. Stamford strongly appealed to the tourist as "a town, every square yard of which is history," and of Lincoln he endorses Ruskin's verdict that the cathedral "is out and out the most precious piece of architecture in the British Islands, and, roughly speaking, worth any two other cathedrals we have got." The Fenland seemed a strange, weird world, especially when seen under a brooding sky, "and there is a peculiar quality of mystery that baffles description and cannot be analysed in the deep blue-gray palpitating gloom that gathers over the Fenland distances, when they lie under the threatening shadow of some coming storm." Mr. Hissey has some pleasant pages about Somersby and about

Woolsthorpe, Sir Isaac Newton's birthplace, but we are sorry to miss Epworth. A book on Lincolnshire without John Wesley is certainly shorn of its chief attraction for many readers.

In the Shadow of Sinai. A Story of Travel and Research from 1895 *to* 1897. By AGNES SMITH LEWIS. (Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes. 5*s.* net.)

The Hon. Robert Curzon long ago opened our eyes to the romance of Bible MSS., but a few years ago it seemed as though our lot had fallen on more sober times than those of Curzon and of Tischendorf. The days of stagnation are now over. Discovery follows discovery, giving new life to the science of textual criticism in all its branches, and investing university professors and Eastern prelates with the new *rôle* of explorers and discoverers as well as that of *savants*. The chief interest of this new era of the romance of Biblical science centres round two Scotch ladies, the twin sisters Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, who have mastered Arabic and Syriac, learnt all the arts of the student and copyist of MSS., braved the discomforts of desert sandstorms, tent life, and camel riding, learned to manage monks, dragomen, and Bedawin, and to turn everything to account in their enthusiasm for the study of ancient MSS.

Highways and Byways in North Wales. By A. G. BRADLEY. With Illustrations by John Pennell and Hugh Thompson. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*)

Mr. Bradley knows North Wales, and has a contagious enthusiasm for its manor houses, its exquisite scenery, and its stirring history. He takes us into the country by way of Shrewsbury, and never permits us to know a dull minute till we part company at the Liverpool lake reservoir, not far above Barmouth. Some helpful hints are given as to the pronunciation of Welsh names, and many facts are given as to the nepotism and neglect of other days which have brought their nemesis to the Established Church in Wales. Illustrations abound, and add greatly to the charm of a delightful book.

Mr. Fred. Reynolds' *Across Three Oceans and Through Many Lands* (Charles H. Kelly, 3*s.* 6*d.*) will make a tempting volume for a school prize. The story of the writer's tour is briskly told with details that bring the life of other lands before our eyes, and the traveller's camera has been freely and skilfully used.

V.—BELLES LETTRES.

Sir Edward Burne-Jones. A Record and Review. By MALCOLM BELL. (London: Bell & Sons. 7*s.* 6*d.* net).

THE favour won by previous editions of this work has encouraged the publishers to issue it in a size more convenient for a book of reference. It has been carefully revised, and many new reproductions of pictures have been added in place of a few studies which would have been less valuable on the scale necessitated by the present volume. Mr. Bell's description of the way in which Burne-Jones plucked the flower improvement out of the nettle failure, and at last succeeded in *Rosamond*, "in that most difficult of all tasks, the pleasing of himself," is a fine lesson for artists. His upward path is marked by the long roll of achievements. This book is full of illustrations which make it a real Burne-Jones exhibition.

Ruskin, Rossetti, Pre-Raphaelitism. Papers, 1854 to 1862. Edited by W. M. ROSSETTI. (London: G. Allen. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. W. M. Rossetti has done good service in collecting and publishing this medley of letters concerning his brother Dante and others of the famous Pre-Raphaelite group. In spite of the editor's disclaimer, we think that many things to the discredit of Dante Rossetti might well have been omitted. The papers are arranged roughly in chronological order, introduced by explanatory notes from the editor. Among other items of special interest is the earliest prospectus of "Messrs. Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co.," the renowned "fine art workmen." The chief interest of the volume, however, lies in the relationship of Ruskin to Rossetti and Miss Siddall. Throughout Ruskin is the generous, much enduring patron of this wayward couple. But even Ruskin's patience almost fails, and he is constrained to write to Rossetti: "What I do feel about you is that without intending it you are in little things habitually selfish—thinking only of what you like to do, or don't like." Of great interest are the letters to and from the Brownings, and the correspondence with Professor Norton. High praise is due to the excellent reproduction in photogravure of several of Rossetti's most characteristic pictures.

Lamia's Winter Quarters. By ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet Laureate. With Ten Illustrations. (London: Macmillans. 9*s*.)

It is a privilege to see Florence through such eyes as Mr. Austin's. His graceful and vivacious style well befits a book consecrated to the Sunny South, and he is steeped in the history and poetry which constitute the charm of Italy, and possesses a poet's sensitiveness to the varying moods of the land and the gay inquisitiveness of its people. Mr. Austin brings a band of old friends. Veronica once more plays the part of practical genius, finding homelike homes for those who are far removed from "the garden that they love." Lamia is as bright as ever and as discursive, whilst Mr. Austin reserves for himself a double personality, as the poet who translates every mood and experience into song, and the master who reflects and philosophises on every event. The charm of this book lies in the pictures of Italy and her people.

Charles Lamb and the Lloyds. Edited by E. V. LUCAS. With Portraits. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 6*s*.)

Some indication has been given in various periodicals of the wealth contained in the two masses of correspondence relating to the Lloyds of Birmingham, which were discovered in 1894, but the documents are now published for the first time in their entirety. Among them are three Coleridge letters written when Charles Lloyd was domesticated with him as pupil in 1796. Twenty-three new letters of Charles Lamb, one or two in his best manner, are the chief treasures of the collection, and show the great essayist in a light that makes him even more lovable. He describes a visit to Oxford, and says that "portraits of illustrious dead" were the only species of painting he valued at a farthing. "But an indubitable good portrait of a great man is worth a pilgrimage to go and see." The Lloyds were a rarely gifted family. Priscilla Lloyd married Christopher Wordsworth, and became the mother of the Bishops of Lincoln and St. Andrews, and the grandmother of the present Bishop of Salisbury. She died in 1815 at the age of thirty-three. In a letter written a few weeks before her death, she says, that the future Bishop of Lincoln "is remarkably backward, and will never, I fear, have any taste for learning." So much for the insight of mothers. The book is a charming introduction to a charming circle.

Letters of Walter Savage Landor. Private and Public. Edited by STEPHEN WHEELER. With Portraits. (London: Duckworth & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. A. J. C. Hare has recently given the world a picture delicious in its mingled oddity and tenderness of the poet friend of his family. Within the last year Mr. Landor's grandson has brought the familiar name prominently before us by his unique record of adventure in Thibet; the moment was therefore opportune for the publication of this volume. The private letters were written to Miss Rose Paynter, niece of the Hon. Rose Aylmer, who was the object of Landor's boyish romance. A more beautiful and tender correspondence with a young friend we have never seen. The gracious chivalry that runs through the letters is refreshing to one's mind and heart, and the young lady's portrait shows how she was fitted to inspire it. Felicities of phrase abound such as lovers of Landor would expect. Southey's second marriage leads his brother poet to describe him as "the most perfect of mortals, at least of men mortals." The hopeless state of an old friend's health makes him say, "She is the only visible link in a chain to me more than golden." He asks Miss Paynter if she has any old pensioners for whom he may act as almoner. "This month and next, I am resolved to spend on myself only half my large income. My heart sinks and aches every time I go out of doors, such is the misery of the poor." The private letters are followed by a series of communications to the *Examiner* ranging over the years 1838 to 1855. Their interest is mainly political, though they furnish a valuable index to public feeling in years of stress and revolution.

Drift from Longshore, by a Son of the Marshes (Hutchinson & Co., 6*s.*) contains fifteen papers packed with facts and impressions. Mr. Jordan's marshland home was at Milton, next Sittingbourne, and to him the longshore, with its birds and its fisher folk, is an open book. He pays tribute to the courage with which the crews of the luggers used to put out to save life in a tempest, takes us out from Kent to see the rural delights of Sussex, and gives us the fruit of a lifetime spent in studying nature. The unaffected way in which Mrs. Owen tells the story adds greatly to the charm of a book that is an education for a townsman and a world of delight for every naturalist.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The Torpedo in Peace and War. By FREDERICK T. JANE. (London : W. Thacker & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

MR. JANE describes the social side of torpedo life as no one has ever done before. Despite hard work and discomfort, for no one washes himself or removes his clothing all the time he is at sea, there is a charm about a torpedo craft which appeals to officers and men alike. Freedom from restraint and easiness in little matters of discipline, such as smoking, make the sailor fairly happy on board. There is little chance for cooking. The staple contents of the larder when Mr Jane went for a cruise in No. 65 were *pâté de foie gras*, plum-pudding, and sardines—especially sardines. All the china must be tinware. Mr. Jane gives a sketch of the history and present stage of torpedo manufacture, describes the torpedo catcher, and the precautions adopted against attack. He also passes in review the chief naval actions in which torpedoes have been used. Mr. Jane's clever illustrations add greatly to the charm of this bright and fresh book.

The Works of George Berkeley, D.D., Bishop of Cloyne. Edited by GEORGE SAMPSON. With a Biographical Introduction by the Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR, M.P. Three vols. 5*s.* each. (London : George Bell & Sons.)

A cheap and accurate edition of Berkeley was greatly needed. Professor Campbell Fraser gave philosophers a magnificent edition in 1871, but that left a considerable portion of the reading public untouched. Mr. Sampson has supplied just what we needed. He has carefully collated the original editions, and given any variation of the least moment in the notes, whilst an appendix furnishes a list of commentaries and criticisms which the student can consult. Mr. Balfour's introduction, reprinted from his *Essays and Addresses*, will add greatly to the popularity of the edition. Scarce any man of his generation touched comtemporary life at so many points. The subtlest of intellects was lit up with a humour the most delicate and urbane. Berkeley's life at Cloyne, his famous

tar-water specific which made the doctors tremble for their monopoly, and his work as an Irish patriot, are pleasantly sketched. Berkeley was a true patriot who wished to remedy the woes of Ireland, but he lived unknown and died unlamented by the mass of his countrymen.

The Unconscious Mind. By ALFRED T. SCHOFIELD, M.D., M.R.C.S. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. A. T. Schofield's treatise is a valuable collection of facts and opinions relating to the (so called) unconscious mind. At many points in the discussion the writer makes important contributions of his own. He argues warmly for the use of the expression "unconscious mind" to cover the facts discussed. It must be said that while he forces us to share his belief in the facts themselves and in their exceeding importance, he fails to convince us of the appropriateness, or expediency, or accuracy of the term in question. His own use of psychological terms is exceedingly loose and inconsistent. The words "conscious" and "unconscious," upon which so much of the reasoning hangs, are used in quite a number of different senses, causing confusion to the argument and a feeling that the writer is spending his strength in beating the air. Apart from this, the book is a rich storehouse of material for the psychologist interested in this department of research, and will compel the conviction that the "unconscious mind" demands, and will repay extended and systematic consideration, especially in its bearing upon education and therapeutics.

The Oxford English Dictionary. Edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Vols. IV. V. Gaincope — Hod. (Oxford: University Press.)

The three latest instalments of Dr. Murray's monumental work abound, like their predecessors, in articles in which the learning industry, and ingenuity of the contributors find full scope. That all points should be satisfactorily determined we cannot expect; and it is certainly appropriate that a little doubt should still cleave to the etymology of *hazard*. Readers of Dante may perhaps regret that the graphic description of the game ("il gnoco della zara") in Purg. vi. 1, *et seq.*, is not quoted; but they will be consoled by a reference to William of Tyre in support of its Arabian origin, and Professor Margoliouth's

identification of the castle, Ain Zarba, during the siege of which it is supposed to have been invented. There for the present etymology halts; but the literary history of the term is traced with abundance of detail. Under *head* we observe that the connexion with *caput*, which to us has always seemed tolerably obvious, is treated as doubtful on the ground of the difference of the root vowel; but no similar scepticism is expressed as to the connexion between *heave* and *capere*, though it would seem to us as easy to explain the modification of the radical as the result of the metathesis in the one case as in the other. Again, if *heart* is, as it admittedly is, radically related to *cor*, analogy is surely in favour of the identification of head, haupt, kopf, κεφαλή, and *caput* as variants of the same root. The connexion of *heaven* with *heave* is decisively negatived on the ground that the *e* in the latter word is radical, and so heaven is left without any ultimate etymology whatever. To the judgment of such learned philologians we must bow; but at the same time we confess to a lurking suspicion that even they may be applying their theories with excessive vigour and rigour. Too high praise cannot be bestowed on the typography of the Dictionary. Perhaps it is not too much to say that equal accuracy and clearness have never yet been exhibited on a similar scale. We doubt whether even the great work of Littré would in this respect bear comparison.

Charles Kingsley and the Christian Social Movement. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. (London: Blackie & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Dean Stubbs claims that it was the doctrine of Maurice, rather than that of Pusey and Newman, which for forty years kept the whole forward movement in the social and political life of the English people in union with God and identified with religion. His was a Christian ideal for society. Selfishness and competition were the direct results of man's disorder. This book brims over with living interest.

The Spiritual Letters of Dr. Pusey (Longmans, 12*s.* 6*d.*), serve to illustrate the reality of his religious life. They show also that his vast experience and his common sense led him, especially in his latest years, to give sound and sober advice in restraint of the extravagances of some of his disciples, including the "rigorism" of those who would allow of no eucharistic com-

munion which was not partaken of fasting, and also such excessive and offensive ritualism (so even Dr. Pusey regarded it in 1880) as has during the last twenty years become quite common in the most advanced Romanising churches. But these letters cannot wipe out the terrible letters published in his official biography, which show how far he himself carried his Romanising practices, or undo the evil effects from which, in necessary historical sequence, the Church of England is now suffering as in an agony, and which are mainly the fruit of Dr. Pusey's own daily and nightly labours during forty years of misguided religious zeal.

Messrs. George Bell send three volumes of their Cathedral Series (1*s.* 6*d.*) Few churches in England exhibit so complete a school of Gothic in all its gradations from the time of the Conquest as Gloucester. The beautiful and graceful tower, the west front with its impressive simplicity, the richly decorated south porch, all repay study. No one could desire a better guide to the cathedral than this charming little volume. Mr. Brock's *York* is one of the best books in the series. None of our cathedrals is so stately and magnificent as York, and there is hardly a church in Europe that appears so vast. *Beverley Minster* is a study of the magnificent fabric and its history, which no visitor or student should overlook.

English Cathedrals Illustrated, by Francis Bond, M.A. (George Newnes, 6*s.*), is the best single volume on our cathedrals that we know. Mr. Bond gives a life history of each building, seeking to show how additions and alterations were made to meet the claims of saint worship with its troops of pilgrims or to repair damage caused by the jerry-building of the much over-rated monastic builders. Some of the pictures are very effective, and the glossary of architectural terms is a capital feature in a delightful book.

1. *Bygone Punishments.* By WILLIAM ANDREWS.
2. *Literary Byways.* By WILLIAM ANDREWS.
(London: Andrews & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.* each).

1. Mr. Andrews has been writing on old-time punishments for a quarter of a century, and the present volume gathers up the fruit of previous study and publications in a way that makes it a complete guide to a gruesome but absorbing set of subjects. The book is full of out of the way facts, in which the moralist and student of social life will find great interest.

2. This is a pleasant companion for a leisure hour. The first three chapters give many details as to authors at work, with their earnings and their struggles to find a publisher. Poets and storytellers whose names are almost forgotten find a renascence in these pages, and bits of out of the way information are scattered through the volume.

Wild Life at Home. How to Study and Photograph it. By R. KEARTON, F.Z.S. Illustrated by C. KEARTON. (London: Cassell & Co. 6*s.*)

Mr. Kearton has not lost sight of the general public in his hints for the photographer. His book tells the story of many a successful attempt to fix birds, insects, and fishes by the camera, and brings its readers into delightful fellowship with nature. The enthusiasm for such studies has scarcely produced any finer pair of observers than the brothers Kearton. Some of their photographs are artistic gems, and the record of the devices resorted to, the patience needed, and the happy success that crowned these bloodless victories is simply fascinating.

Autumnal Leaves. By FRANCIS GEORGE HEATH. (London: Imperial Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The first edition of this book appeared sixteen years ago. It is a volume dear to all lovers of nature's colouring. The scenes are laid in the New Forest, and Mr. Heath allows none of the autumnal glories to escape him. The twelve coloured plates are very well executed.

Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare. By E. W. BRABROOK, C.B. (London: Blackie & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Brabrook is perfectly familiar with the history and practical working of provident societies. His book contains a mass of information, but it is so well digested and arranged, and so happily lighted up by an occasional anecdote, that it is always interesting. There is no small volume on the subject to compare with this.

London in the Reign of Victoria (1837–1897). By G. LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A. (London: Blackie & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is one of the most useful books even in the Victorian Era Series. The material was so enormous, so interesting and so varied, that it was exceedingly difficult to arrange and condense it. But experts will find their impression of the value of this book deepen as they study it.

The Reader's Handbook of Famous Names in Fiction, Allusions, References, Proverbs, Plots, Stories, and Poems. By Rev. E. COBHAM BREWER, LL.D. A new Edition. (London: Chatto & Windus. *7s. 6d.*)

This volume would be regarded by some people as ample employment for half a dozen lives, and there is no careless work in it. The writer verified everything and read all the works to which he alludes. The book has fifteen hundred pages with double columns and clear but often small type, so that it is a library in itself, and one that will grow more and more indispensable.

Fights for the Flag. By W. H. FITCHETT. With Portraits and Plans. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. *6s.*)

This book will increase the reputation which Mr. Fitchett won by his earlier volume. That bull-dog tenacity which has made our soldiers and sailors triumph over every obstacle and snatch renown and victory out of the jaws of coming defeat gleams on every page. Admirals and generals, soldiers and sailors, all live again in these enthralling pages. We get a vivid bird's-eye view of their exploits, and every English reader will be prouder of his country when he closes this volume.

Table Talks with Young Men. By W. J. DAWSON. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. *3s. 6d.*)

Mr. Dawson has had much "friendly debate with great numbers of young men on every variety of subject which could suggest itself to the hungry and inquisitive mind of youth," and these have supplied the basis for his book. He has always something good to say, and a bright quotation or allusion to clinch it.

The Religious Tract Society send us a parcel of very attractive books. Mr. Gordon's *Midland Sketches*, Mr. Treanor's *Cry from the Sea*, and some of the other volumes ought to be in every school library. Messrs. George Bell & Son's *Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (vols. iii. and iv., *3s. 6d.* per volume), show with what trenchant irony the flippant infidelity of his day was treated by the great satirist. Dr. Whyte's *Sir Thomas Browne* (Oliphant & Co., *2s.*) is a congenial subject treated with contagious enthusiasm. Arthur Wood's *Summary of English History* (Relfe Brothers, *1s.*) is very effective and clear. Mr. Clay's *Linear Shorthand* (Bemrose & Sons, *1s.*) is the outcome of much skill and experience.

VII.—FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 15).—M. Lamy discusses the German Emperor's visit to the Holy Land. He says that even if William II. wished to exercise a real protectorate over the Christians of the East he would find permanent obstacles among his own people who are divided into two great masses of Protestants and Catholics. That division which he fancies to be his strength is really his weakness. Affording a pretext to intrigue for two protectorates it takes away the means for exercising any. If there can be no true protectorate without a religious faith in the protecting nation, and if that faith alone links the mother country with the needs, triumphs and trials of its religious colonies, the influence will be greater in proportion as the nation is unanimous in its belief. In Germany Catholicism and the Reformed doctrine are too equal in number of adherents for the nation to be able to propagate either of those cults. But Germany also lacks the gift of the apostolate. The great act of her religious history was a separation not a conquest. Of all Protestant races, from Luther's time to our own, Germany has consecrated the least effort to proselytism. General Baratieri, in a short paper on "The English in the Soudan, and the Abyssinian question," describes Fashoda as the key to the upper basin of the Nile. Marchand could not have chosen better. The great rivers of the region converge there, and the lines of communication of the ancient equatorial Egyptian provinces. It is a geographical and strategic position of great importance because it opens the way which the Soudan possesses for expansion towards the equatorial lakes and the most fertile districts. The European power which holds Fashoda in its hands, and by consequence the communications of that point with Abyssinia, must necessarily exercise a preponderant influence in the solution of the Abyssinian question.

(February 1).—M. Vié in a short paper on "The German Commercial Colonies" pays tribute to England's genius for colonisation. Frenchmen love their own country too much to emigrate. Manners, sentiment, and education, all combine to bind them fast to their native soil, though the idea of a vast colonial empire flatters the national *amour-propre*. Germany does not seem to run after any conquest. Its aim is to secure openings for its commerce. German emigrants have a precise end in view. In whatever country the colonists settle they preserve their nationality, though the esteem and love of the natives give them a kind of moral domination. The traders receive goods for sale from Germany and act as bankers among the agriculturists. The colonies are more important in wealth and influence than in number. The goods they sell are suited to the needs of the people, and German manufacturers and vessels find profitable employment through these colonists. France struggles for new territory but draws no profit from commerce or agriculture. The sole idea seems to be administration and dominion. England is the head of an immense colony, and the rest of the Empire pays commercial tribute to her. When France gives a real chance to her industry and specially to her commerce, she will succeed in getting colonies, rich, productive, and profitable.

(February 15).—M. Bellessort describes "A Week in the Philippines." He arrived in November, 1897, and found Manilla totally unlike any of the cities which he had visited in the extreme East. It was filthy, ruinous, dusty, muddy. The air seems saturated with perfume. The half-breeds and Indians have a passion for cock-fighting. They would sell wife and children to feed a favourite bird, and if a fire broke out, the cock would be saved before a thought was given to the children. The Spaniard cares nothing for cock-fighting, but he would sell his soul for a fine jewel. The most humble functionaries have their fingers decked with rings and their cravats fastened with brilliants. Custom house officers are distinguished by their jewels.