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THE PRIMROSE AND DARWINISM.

1. *Cross and Self-Fertilisation of Plants.* By CHARLES DARWIN. (London: John Murray. 1891.)
2. *Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the same Species.* By CHARLES DARWIN. (London: John Murray. 1892.)
3. *Darwinism.* By A. R. WALLACE. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.)
4. *Natural Selection.* By A. R. WALLACE. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.)
5. *British Wild Flowers considered in Relation to Insects.* By the Right Hon. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1897.)
6. *Chapters on Popular Natural History.* By the Right Hon. SIR JOHN LUBBOCK. (London: National Society.)

PERHAPS some of the most elaborate experiments of Darwin in reference to the cross-fertilisation of flowers are found in connexion with the Order of the *Primulaceæ*, as given in his book, *The Different Forms of Flowers*

on Plants of the same Species. This Order contains the common and well-known flowers—the cowslips and primroses. To these we shall confine our remarks in our review of the books at the head of this article. Both Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Wallace in each of their books mentioned above adopt as to cross-fertilisation the opinion of Darwin on the above two flowers; they also accept the other conclusions of Darwin concerning cross-fertilisation of flowers generally, which he had himself arrived at from his system of experimenting. If the results of Darwin's experiments in regard to the cowslips and primroses are found unsatisfactory and untrustworthy, the result cannot but materially affect also the scientific value of Darwin's other experiments, conducted exactly on the same system, with respect to the other heterostyled dimorphic and trimorphic plants as well.

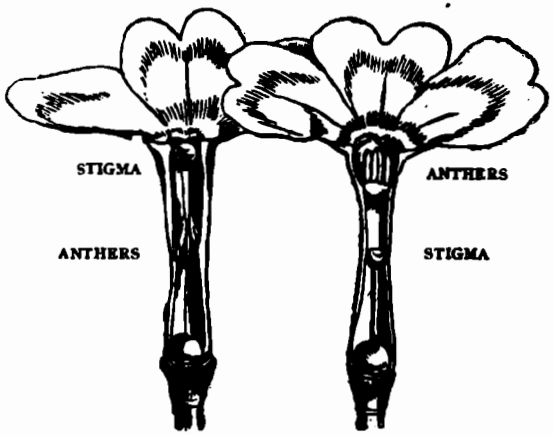
We may here explain one or two terms to the more general reader, which are technical terms, but which cannot well be completely avoided in such a subject.

The word "heterostyled," which will be met with in the following pages, means that flowers of one and the same species, as the common primrose and cowslip, have each their styles of different lengths in different flowers. These different forms grow on different roots. Such flowers are also called dimorphic—of two forms—as having flowers differing in the relative position or length of their styles and anthers. When there are three different kinds or lengths of styles and anthers in different flowers of the same species, such plants are said to be trimorphic or of three forms. The flowers generally of the primrose tribe *(Primulaceæ)* are heterostyled and dimorphic.

There are few observers of flowers but know that there are these two different forms in the primrose. Some of the flowers have their stigmas—which are the terminations of the styles—at the mouth of the corolla tube (these are commonly called "pin-eyed"), and their anthers midway down the tube. These are the long-styled flowers. Others, on the other hand, have their anthers at the mouth of the corolla tube (these are commonly called "thrum-eyed"), and their

stigmas half-way down the tube. These are the short-styled flowers. A few wild or garden primroses or primulas will immediately illustrate the difference between the two forms. Thus the chief difference between the two forms of flowers lies in the different lengths of their styles, and in the interchange of the relative position in the flowers of their stigmas and anthers. These two different kinds are found on different plants growing side by side with each other, and both forms are equally common.

Now Darwin found that when these two different forms grew naturally in the fields and woods, that those flowers



Long-Styled form of Cowslip and Primrose. Short-Styled form of Cowslip and Primrose.

which had short styles—styles ending with their stigmas half-way down the corolla—were much more productive as to weight or number of their seeds than those which had long styles. Darwin marked, as they were growing wild in spring, an equal number of each kind of flower of the cowslip and the primrose, and gathered these marked ones when fully ripe in the autumn.

We give first the following summary as to the weight of

seeds in the two different forms of the wild cowslip, the long-styled and the short-styled, as taken from Darwin's *Forms of Flowers* :—

TABLE II., p. 19.

	Number of plants.	Weight of seed in grains.	Number of umbels.	Weight of seed in grains.	Number of capsules	Weight of seed in grains.
Short-styled cowslip...	10	92	100	251	100	41
Long-styled „ ...	10	70	100	178	100	34

A similar experiment was repeated the following year. The wild plants were transplanted in the autumn into his own garden, into good soil, and all were treated alike. The result in the weight of the seeds of the two kinds was the following :—

TABLE IV., p. 20.

	Number of plants.	Weight of seed in grains.	Number of umbels.	Weight of seed in grains.
Short-styled cowslip ...	100	1585	100	430
Long-styled „ ...	100	1093	100	332

"In all these standards of comparison," Darwin says, "it is evident that the flowers containing the short styles, growing naturally, were the most productive. In the first case in the ratio of nearly 4 to 3. In the last case, where the plants were placed in better soil and not in a shady wood or struggling with other plants in the open field, the actual produce of the seeds was considerably larger. Nevertheless, there was the same relative result in favour of the short-styled plants (taking the fairest test, that of the umbels) as in the former case, nearly as 4 to 3." *

Now to carry out his experiments as to cross and self-fertilisation † of these flowers, Darwin was obliged, in order

* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 20.

† Self-fertilisation means that the pollen of its own flower, or of a flower on the same root, was allowed to fertilise its own stigma. Cross-fertilisation, on the other hand, means that pollen from a flower growing on a different root was applied to the stigma.

to prevent bees or other insects from carrying pollen from flower to flower, to cover the plants with a fine close-meshed net, "so that no insect but a thrips" (which is a very minute insect, so minute that the shank of the thinnest pin is thick in comparison to it, and so small that it is scarcely much more than noticeable to the naked eye) "could pass through the net."*

"In 1860," Darwin says, "a few umbels on some plants of both the long-styled and short-styled form, which had been covered by a net, did not produce any seed, though other umbels on the same plants, *artificially fertilised*, produced an abundance of seed, and the fact shows that the *mere covering of the net itself was not injurious.*" †

Now how Darwin could come to such a conclusion with the fact before him that all the plants, which were not artificially fertilised from seed naturally grown outside the net, produced no seed whatever, very much surprises us. On the contrary, we are very decidedly of opinion that the covering of a very close-meshed net was, for the following reasons, most injurious to the fertility of the flowers.

The influence of the solar rays would be greatly diminished in passing through a close-meshed net, and consequently they would be much debarred from exercising their maturing power on the anthers. Radiation would likewise be almost entirely prevented by the net, and the dew consequently would fail to fall on the anthers. ‡

The importance of this influence cannot be over estimated. In the mornings of early spring after clear nights we have frequently found the flowers of the primrose bedrenched with dew. Occasionally the dew deposited on the anthers, especially noticeable where the anthers are of the short-

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 24.

† *Ibid*, p. 21.—The italics are ours.

‡ This test may be very easily made by placing any fine close-meshed net on any grass or lawn, or raised a few inches above it, and removing the net in the morning before the sun is on the grass. After a clear night in spring or summer the grass outside the net will be covered with dew, whilst that under the net will be almost entirely dewless.

styled position, has been so great as to lie upon the anthers, and entirely to fill the orifice of the corolla. Thus the anthers could not attain under such conditions their natural condition for fertilisation. The stigmas would likewise be affected. Moreover, in calm weather the covering would prevent the free access of the air, and so would prevent its freely distributing and applying the pollen. So close were the meshes of the net in order to exclude all insects except the tiny thrips, that Darwin tells us that in his experiments with the *Linum perenne* it required the wind to be high to pass through the net.* His words are, "they were covered by a rather coarse net, through which the wind, when high, passed." In that experiment there were one hundred meshes to the square inch. In the experiments with the primrose and cowslip the meshes were equally close.† "Fertility," as Darwin on several occasions tells us, "is a very variable element with most plants, being determined by the conditions to which they are subjected."‡ The withdrawal of such natural influences as those mentioned above was quite sufficient in many cases to sterilise the flowers. Such sterilisation was only overcome by *applying artificially pollen naturally grown*, and thus "those flowers to which it was applied produced abundance of seed."§ The rest were unproductive.

That such sterilisation arises from the use of the net is again conclusively shown by the following two experiments of Darwin's.

These two experiments, the one on the red, or purple, clover *(Trefolium pratense)*, the other on umbels of cowslips, amply suffice—though similar instances might be almost indefinitely multiplied—to prove that such sterilisation arose from the influence of the net.

"One hundred flower heads of the red clover," Darwin says, "on plants protected by a net, did not produce a single

* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 93.
† *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 11.
‡ *Forms of Flowers*, p. 40.
§ *Ibid*, p. 21.

seed, whilst a 100 heads on plants growing outside the net which were visited by bees, yielded 68 grains weight of seeds; and as 80 seeds weighed two grains, the 100 heads must have yielded 2,720 seeds. I have often watched this plant and have never seen hive bees sucking the flowers, except through holes bitten by humble bees. It is at least certain that humble bees are the chief fertilisers of the common red clover."*

Yet in contrast to this last sentence Darwin was fully aware how little humble bees—on account of the extreme length and narrowness of the tube of the corolla of the red clover—contribute to such fertilisation. Some pages further on in the same volume (pp. 428, 429) Darwin says, "I have already alluded to bees biting holes in the flowers for the sake of obtaining the nectar. The plants when the nectar is thus stolen from the outside there can be no cross-fertilisation. I have seen whole fields of red clover *(Trefolium pratense)* which had every flower perforated." Similar or closely similar treatment, we may conclude, would necessarily be applied to the "red clovers growing outside which were visited by bees."

Hence in the experiment above we have a 100 heads of flowers, generally beyond the influence of bees for fertilisation, but fully exposed to sun, dew, wind, and all other natural atmospheric influences, producing 2,720 seeds, whilst a 100 heads of the same flowers under the net *produce not a single seed.*

But we pass to one example more—Darwin's experiment with the umbels of cowslips.

In 1861, twenty-four umbels of short-styled cowslips and seventy-four umbels of long-styled ones were similarly covered "just before they expanded their flowers. † The result of this experiment—and here there was no artificial fertilisation introduced—was "that the 24 umbels produced but 1½ grains weight of seed, and the 74 long-styled

* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 36.
† *Ibid*, p. 21.

ones produced none at all." As the plants outside the net produced at the same time abundance of seed, Darwin accounts for the contrast between the produce of the flowers outside and under the net, by the presence of insects in the former case, and the absence of insects in the latter, and draws this conclusion: "We see thus that the visits of insects are absolutely necessary to the fertilisation of the cowslip *(Primula veris)*."*

But such an experiment, for the reasons given above and for others which will be adduced below from the primrose, proves in our opinion nothing of the kind; but on the contrary, that the presence of the net alone fully and adequately accounts for the non-fertilisation of the flowers. Minimise the sun, the dew, the wind, and other atmospheric influences, in such a way as practised in these experiments, and not all the insects in the world would have caused sound and full fertility.

Let us now turn to Darwin's experiments where the two different kinds of cowslips, the long-styled and the short-styled, are covered with a net, and where the two kinds are subjected to exactly similar treatment of intercrossing. In one set of flowers the long-styled stigmas are crossed with pollen from the short-styled ones, and the short-styled flowers are crossed with pollen from the long-styled.

The result is as follows:† Under the net one hundred capsules of

The long-styled
cowslip crossed by pollen of the short-styled produced 62 gr.;
The short-styled
cowslip crossed by pollen of the long-styled produced 44 gr.

Again, one set of flowers, the long-styled, are fertilised by their "own form" pollen, and the short-styled flowers are similarly fertilised by their "own form" pollen.‡

* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 22.

† Table VI., *Forms of Flowers*, p. 25.

‡ The term "own form" pollen is used by Darwin to signify pollen taken not from its own flower, but from a flower with the same kind of style, growing on a different plant.

This result follows: Under the net one hundred capsules of

The long-styled
cowslip fertilised by "own form" pollen produced 42 grains;
The short-styled
cowslip fertilised by "own form" pollen produced 30 grains.

By this we see that in both the experiments above the long-styled cowslips are the more fertile of the two, in the proportion respectively of 3 to 2 and 4 to 3.

Thus we see that under Darwin's method of experimenting the natural productiveness of the two sets of cowslips is *completely reversed*. When naturally grown, we have seen from Darwin's tables that the short-styled were in productiveness to the long-styled as 4 to 3; but under the net the long-styled were superior to the short-styled, in one case of 3 to 2, in the other as 4 to 3.

Let us now take in the same way the case of the primrose.

The primrose, as the cowslip, has the two forms. Under the net, when the primrose was treated in exactly the same way as the cowslip above, it gave the following results as to the average number of seeds.*

The long-styled
primrose crossed by pollen from short-styled produced 66 seeds.
The short-styled
primrose crossed by pollen from long-styled produced 65 seeds.

And again

The long-styled
primrose fertilised by "own form" pollen produced 52 seeds;
The short-styled
primrose fertilised by "own form" pollen produced 18 seeds.

Now when Darwin gathered capsules from primroses growing together in their natural habitats he found that "the seeds from the short-styled weighed exactly *twice as*

* Table ix., p. 37

much as those from an equal number of long-styled plants. So that the primrose resembles the cowslip, in the short-styled forms being the more productive of the two forms." *

But here under the net in the first case they are placed on an equality, in the second case the long-styled in fertility is to the short-styled as 5 to 2. So that in both cases there is a *great reversion* under the net from what takes place under natural conditions.

Such a system of experiments, which actually *reversed* in both crossed and uncrossed flowers that found under nature, in both cowslips and primroses in weight and in number of seeds respectively, is evidently most untrustworthy as a scientific indicator of what takes place in these two flowers in a state of nature.

Let us now consider whether cross-fertilisation or self-fertilisation is most probable when the primrose grows wild in its natural habitat and with its natural surroundings.

Everybody is well aware that the tube of the corolla of the primrose is of very considerable length. It requires consequently an insect with a long tongue or proboscis to reach the nectar at the bottom of it. Such insects are chiefly the humble bees, moths and butterflies. Humble bees and hive bees are not in the habit of visiting the primroses. If such a case occurs it is most exceptional. Darwin, speaking of his own experience, says, "the primrose is never visited, and I speak after many years of observation, by the larger humble bees, and only rarely by the smaller kinds." † ‡

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 36.

† *Ibid.*, p. 56.

‡ This rare visitation of the primrose by the smaller kinds of humble bees (*i.e.*, the workers)—irrespective of what is stated below—is very easily accounted for. The tubes of the corolla of the primrose (and also of the cowslip) average 12–14 millimetres in length (25 millimetres being the equivalent of an inch). The tongue of the smaller humble bees averages from 7–8½ millimetres. The only smaller humble bee that even approaches it would be that of the *Bombus hortorum*, whose tongue varies, according to its size, from 8–11, and ocasionally 12 millimetres. But strangely these smaller humble bees never appear until primroses

In all our experience we have never seen a humble bee, nor a hive bee, visiting the flowers, and only once a smaller bee, *Andræna nigroænea*; even this small bee was only sunning itself, as its proboscis was too short to reach the nectar. One insect and one insect only, and on one occasion only, with a long proboscis, have we seen visiting the primrose and probing for honey. This was a diptera, the two-winged Humble bee Fly *(Bombylius discolor)*. This single instance was when the season of the primroses was well on, past the middle of April. Darwin suggests that they are visited by the night-flying moths, but of this there is no evidence. On the contrary, neither butterflies, nor day-flying moths, are seen to visit them. It is therefore an equal probability that they are unvisited by night-flying moths at night.

To account for the absence of bees from primroses whilst they are accustomed to visit the cowslips, Darwin says, "they (the primroses) emit a different odour, and perhaps their nectar may have a different taste."* If so this condition would equally affect the night-flying moths, as it does the day-flying moths and the butterflies. The nectar which was distasteful to the one, would be equally so to the other; night or day would make no difference whatever in this respect.

Moreover, in March and in the early days of April, when the primroses bloom, preceding in this respect three or four weeks the cowslips, bees, butterflies, and moths are infinitely scarce, whilst the primroses in many situations are infinitely numerous. The clear nights of March and of early April are also very frequently frosty, and unfavourable for insects, even if they were existing in their imago form, being upon the wing at night.

Yet in spite of this negative relation in which the prim-

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generally have been several weeks out of flower. The primulas of our gardens might possibly be alluded to by Darwin. All other bees, such as hive bees, whose tongue is only 6 millimetres long (*Flowers and Insects*, p. 61), are necessarily excluded.

* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 56.

roses stand to the bees, even according to Darwin's own experience, Sir John Lubbock applies to primroses in particular Darwin's ingenious exposition of the action of a bee in effecting cross-fertilisation, which Darwin had applied generally to the *Primulaceæ.** "An insect thrusting its proboscis down a *primrose*," Sir John says, "of the long-styled form would dust its proboscis at a part which, when it visited a short-styled flower, would come just opposite the head of the pistil, and could not fail to deposit some of the pollen on the stigma; and conversely, an insect visiting a short-styled plant, would dust its proboscis at a part further from the tip, which when it subsequently visited a long-styled flower, would again come just opposite to the head of the pistil. Hence we see by this beautiful arrangement insects must carry the pollen of the long-styled form to the short-styled, and *vice versâ*." † Mr. Wallace repeats the same exposition of the action "of bees and moths visiting the flowers" of the cowslip, and then adds, "the same thing was found to occur in the primrose." ‡

Now this beautiful arrangement in Sir John Lubbock's idea whereby insects "*must effect*" cross-fertilisation in the primrose might be true in the case of the cowslip, but cannot be true in any way in the case of the primrose, as unfortunately for such a theory, neither bees, nor butterflies, nor any insects generally with a proboscis long enough to reach the nectar, are accustomed, as we have seen, to visit the primrose.

We are thus driven in the case of the primroses to smaller insects: to insects which must pass up and down the corolla, such as the thrips, for their supposed cross-fertilisation. But even of insects generally Darwin says: "It is surprising how rarely insects can be seen during the day visiting the flowers." § With this observation every one

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 22.
† LUBBOCK: *Flowers and Insects*, p. 39.
‡ *Natural Selection*, p. 465.
§ *Forms of Flowers*, p. 36.

who has at all carefully noticed and examined the primrose flowers will agree. It is not only rare, as Darwin says, but it is a remarkable exception to see any insect except a thrips present on a primrose. During one year we gathered very considerably over a thousand primroses from more than a thousand different roots, and in different situations, as woods, and open hedge rows, and road sides, from March 17 to considerably past the middle of April, which we opened and examined, and we found besides the thrips only one small beetle, and one beetle caterpillar. But besides these primroses we observed thousands upon thousands of ungathered primroses, and yet that was all the living insect life excepting the thrips, and the one short-tongued bee (*Andræna*) and the *Bombylius* found or seen upon them. Cross-fertilisation could not in any way therefore be effected by insects in the primrose.

Moreover, the thrips is so minute an insect, that the pollen of a single flower, on which, as far as we have been able to observe, it chiefly feeds, would amply supply the wants of many of those insects. Darwin allows that even the amount of pollen which the thrips would convey could have very little influence in causing any effectual fertilisation of the stigma. "A cross of this kind" (from a thrips) "does not produce any effect, or at most only a slight one." * Even the little influence which it might exercise would necessarily arise from its conveying the pollen of the flower, down which, or up which, it passed, to that flower's own stigma, and so would contribute to the self-fertilisation of that flower. Darwin allows the fact of such insects causing the self-fertilisation of these flowers. "Minute insects, such as thrips, which sometimes haunt the flowers, would be apt to cause the self-fertilisation of both forms; and this self-fertilisation would be much more apt to occur when it was visiting a short-styled form." †

Darwin says that he has "more than once seen a minute

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* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 22.

† *Forms of Flowers*, p. 23.

thrips with pollen adhering to its body fly from one flower to another flower of the same kind." * We are not astonished at the rarity of the occasions, as his words "more than once" indicate, on which he witnessed the thrips in flight. Yet in his examination of the flowers he must have seen hundreds of these tiny insects. Darwin, too, must have had keen eyesight to have followed the thrips on its way at all. We have never seen it fly. We have frequently tried it on the palms of our hands in the woods, and have brought it back from the woods with us, and provoked it to fly with a piece of grass or primrose stalk, but have never succeeded on any single occasion. It would only give a very minute leap of about ⅓ of an inch. This seems to be, as far as our experience goes, its usual habit. This habit necessarily would confine it, as a rule, to a single root, and so to a single form of the primrose. It would debar it, except on rarest occasions, from being an agent in cross-fertilisation.

In the short-styled form the anthers—as the flower stalk is, whilst in flower, naturally erect—are placed above the stigmas, and when the flowers are shaken by the wind, or disturbed by an insect, as the thrips, passing down the flower, or more particularly when the thrips is feeding on the pollen above—for they are found when the flower is gathered chiefly among the stamens—some portion of the pollen would be dislodged, and would drop down upon the stigmas below. "These stigmas are eminently liable," Darwin says, "to receive their own pollen, for when I inserted a bristle or other such objects in the corolla of this form, some pollen was almost invariably carried down and left on the stigma." † ‡

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* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 420.

† *Forms of Flowers*, p. 23.

‡ There is a minute difference in the size of the pollen grains in the two forms when examined under a micrometer. Darwin, from the case of *Linum*, and of other flowers, says: "These cases seem to prove that the difference in size between the grains in the two forms is not determined by the length of the pistil down which the tubes of the pollen grains have to grow. That with plants in general there is no close relationship between the size of the pollen grains and the length of the

In examining very considerably over five hundred stigmas of each kind, both of the long and short-styled forms, we found as a rule the pollen in the short-styled deposited on the top and upper half of the stigma; on the other hand, in the long-styled the pollen was in most cases deposited on the bottom and the lower half of the stigma. So much so was this the case that we could almost without fail (when the pollen was shed) decide by the position of the deposited pollen to which form the stigma belonged. Such distinctive difference generally in the position of the pollen on their respective stigmas would not have been seen if it had been deposited by insects.* Moreover, the anthers in both forms, but more particularly so in the short-styled form, as in the long-styled they are pierced and kept apart by the style passing through them, curve inwardly at the top toward the centre of the corolla tube, and with their triangular apices they form in the short-styled, when the pollen is ripe, in very many cases, an almost perfectly closed roof over the tube of the corolla below, so that the corolla is almost a

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pistil is manifest." (*Forms of Flowers*, p. 250.) Yet Sir J. Lubbock to subserve the theory of cross-fertilisation in these heterostyled plants, and in spite of these statements and conclusions of Darwin, and without affording any proof against their correctness, seems to adopt the opinion of their relationship as probable. "The importance of this difference is probably due to the fact that each grain has to give rise to a tube which penetrates the whole length of the style, and the tube which penetrates the long-styled stigma must therefore be nearly twice as long as in the other." (*Flowers and Insects*, p. 40.) It might with equal or rather greater probability, from the above observations and conclusions of Darwin against the former, be said that this minute distinction in size and consequently in weight is in each case exactly suited to the position in which the heavier and the lighter grains of pollen stand relatively to their respective stigmas, the heavier over its stigma, and the lighter under its, so as to effect more assuredly the self-fertilisation of each. Might not also the minute difference in size and form be attributable merely to the fact that the stamens of the larger pollen grains are found in the short-styled form, where they are from their position fully exposed —in contrast to the other kind—to the sun and other atmospheric influences?

* In making such examination care must be taken in removing the corolla that no pollen falls upon the stigmas.

closed box with its contained stigma within. This is a most noticeable feature in the short-styled primrose. It would consequently be most exceptional for any foreign pollen to pass from the outside into the corolla of the short-styled. The anthers open on their inner and under surface into the corolla tube, and into it discharge their pollen.

If there were any validity in the idea so strongly pressed by Sir John Lubbock * after Darwin's † that Nature has in many cases made arrangements that *self-fertilisation should be prevented*, such an idea in this case is singularly inapplicable. Nature, indeed, would seem to be acting in wanton waywardness to trap the corolla tube with a close covering of anthers, with their hard backs facing outside; to place these anthers directly overhanging the stigma; to arrange that the anthers should burst inwardly, and that the pollen grains should be the heaviest of their kind; and yet that, with all these arrangements for self-fertilisation, other pollen for the full fertilisation of the stigma below should have to come from another flower and from another root; that it should have to pass the block of its own stigma; to travel to, and to pass through, the covering of the close-trapped box formed by the short-styled anthers when the pollen and stigma are mature, before it could ever reach the stigma of the short-styled primrose at all. Moreover, to make the waywardness of Nature in this case more complete, such a necessity would tend to bring about, from any failure in the transmission of the pollen, the sterilisation, and so the ultimate extinction of the form itself, and that, too, after such guarded arrangements to ensure its fertilisation. Nature is scarcely open to the charge of being guilty in her *natural* course of such "fantastic contrariness."

From all the above considerations we cannot see how it could be concluded otherwise than that the *short-styled primrose is purely self-fertilised.*

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* *Flowers and Insects*, pp. 36–38; *Popular Natural History*, p. 122.

† *Forms of Flowers*, p. 49.

These short-styled primroses, moreover, Darwin shows are when growing naturally the most productive of the two forms.*

In face of this superior fertility of the purely self-fertilised short-styled form of primrose, we think that Darwin had no evidence to support his statement, but rather strong evidence against it, "that one kind of primula must unite with the other kind in order to produce full fertility."†

These conclusions which Darwin arrived at so mislead those who adopted them after him, that Mr. Wallace could write in reference to the results of such experiments in the case of the primrose, the following sentence: "The meaning and use of these different forms was quite unknown until Darwin discovered first, that primroses are absolutely barren if insects are prevented from visiting them, and then, what is still more extraordinary, that each form is almost sterile when fertilised by its own pollen." ‡

Mr. Wallace then adopts the exposition of Darwin which we have already quoted above from Sir John Lubbock, and accounts for the superior fertility of the short-styled to the long, by saying that "whereas the long-styled plants might often be fertilised by their own form, the *short-styled* must be all fertilised by the pollen of the other." Now such an explanation is absolutely contradicted by the natural facts in reference to the short-styled flowers.

The long-styled primroses, on the other hand, though chiefly self-fertilised, as we have seen, by the general position of the pollen on the bottom and the lower half of their stigmas, would yet be slightly more exposed to cross-fertilisation by the wind on account of the exsertion of their stigma from the corolla tube by the pollen of the short-styled, whose anthers are also generally exserted from their corolla. The more papillose character of the long-styled form would also slightly conduce to such cross-fertilisation.

Whatever may be the cause of the superiority of the

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 36. † *Ibid*, p. 29.

‡ *Darwinism*, p. 157.

short-styled form, as Darwin found in his examination of the flowers, in productiveness to the other in number of seeds, both kinds of primroses, whether short-styled or long-styled, though both are quite unvisited by bees or insects for cross-fertilisation, are each more productive than the cowslips, which are visited by humble and other bees, and so are in a measure subject to cross-fertilisation. "Both the long-styled and short-styled forms of primroses," Darwin says, "when naturally fertilised, on an average yield many more seeds per capsule than the cowslip, namely in the proportion of one hundred to fifty-five." *

Thus the cross-fertilised cowslip is surpassed by both kinds of primroses in productiveness, and still more surpassed by that form of primrose, the short-styled, which is least subject, if at all, to cross-fertilisation.

We see from the above instances that Darwin has no ground for his statement, as far at least as it bears upon the primrose, except that which his own misleading net experiments afforded him, "that the superiority of a 'legitimate' over an 'illegitimate (in Darwin's application of those terms) union' admits of not the least doubt." † ‡

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 57.

† *Ibid*, p. 28.

‡ When a stigma is fertilised by its "own form" pollen, Darwin calls this union "illegitimate"; when fertilised by the pollen of a flower of a different form, he calls this union "legitimate." Surely when Nature herself unites pollen and stigma in the same corolla, that is Nature's "legitimate union." To call it "illegitimate union" is merely subserving an unproven theory. Moreover, the origin and application of these terms in this manner arose from Darwin's net experiments (*Forms of Flowers*, p. 26), by which he was misled; experiments which, like his own application of the above terms, traversed in their result the absolute arrangements of Nature. Nor have we perhaps arrived at that perfect and complete knowledge in this matter, as to venture to appear wiser than Nature herself, and so divorce what she has naturally and so "legitimately" joined together. Such forced transpositions in terminology of the arrangements of Nature should we think, for the sake of clearness and to avoid all appearance of subserving a theory, be most carefully eschewed. For Darwin to set up as judge in Nature's divorce court, and to give a decision for divorce, when the evidence against the legitimacy of the union of the occupants of the same corolla has not yet

Darwin's idea also that "the individual plants of the primrose and cowslip, and of the other members of the *Primulaceæ* are divided into two sets, which cannot be called distinct sexes (for they each have their stamens and pistils), yet they are to a certain extent severally distinct for they require reciprocal union for perfect fertility," * the short-styled primrose adequately and fully disproves.

We see thus that the *primrose* holds a *special position* in reference to several theories of Darwin about heterostyled plants, which except for it could scarcely be disproved, or shown to be built on misleading net experiments. The same could not be shown, as far as we are aware, by any other member of the *Primulaceæ*, nor by any other heterostyled flower.

The primrose disproves the following theories of Darwin: "that every known heterostyled plant depends on insects for fertilisation, and not on the wind";† that "heterostyled flowers need intercrossing between different forms for perfect fertility";‡ that "flowers which are self-fertilised are less productive than flowers of the same order subjected to cross-fertilisation";§ and, lastly, that "the heterostyled flowers stand in the reciprocal relation of different sexes to each other."‖

These cases of the cowslips and primroses support the eminent botanist Axell's opinion that cross-fertilisation under equal conditions in a state of nature is rather injurious than beneficial to the fertilisation of flowers. Axell allows the beneficial influence of cross-fertilisation by bees and insects as a secondary agency. Such secondary agency doubtless is constantly occurring. The pollen of a flower might be imperfectly developed and imperfectly matured from various causes; from the position of the flower in

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been thoroughly sifted, much less established, and when many a primrose strongly testifies to the legitimacy of their union, transgresses a little, we think, the bounds of modesty.

* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 28.

† *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 250.

‡ *Forms of Flowers*, p. 28. § *Ibid*, p. 28. ‖ *Ibid*, p. 2.

field or hedge, on stem or branch, as being more exposed to injury from wind or weather; from its growing under any shade, and so deprived more or less of the solar rays or dew; from the character of the soil; or from the flower's own internal defective growth. From all these and many other accidental and natural causes this might constantly arise. In such cases pollen from flowers more favourably situated, and consequently more healthy and vigorous in growth, and so, with anthers more matured, would, by the conveyance of bees and other Hymenoptera and butterflies, most beneficially act. In such cases it would exert what Darwin called a "prepotent" influence over the legitimate influence of the pollen of its own flower, but its "prepotency" would be usually limited to such weaker cases amongst the flowers.*

* We do not ourselves believe that the floral world in its ordinary course is utterly dependent (as we have been assured by some writers) upon insects, but rather, that it is by the insects through their seeking for food, beneficially assisted. Such a statement as the following by Sir John Lubbock, "It is not too much to say that if, on the one hand, flowers are in many cases necessary to the existence of insects; insects, on the other hand, are still more indispensable to the very existence of flowers" (*Flowers and Insects*, p. 5), seems to us to diverge very far indeed from and to reverse the facts as found in Nature. All purely nectar-feeding insects, as bees, fossores (diggers), butterflies, and moths, which are the acknowledged chief agents in effecting cross-fertilisation, would die out in less than a single year if they had no food provided for them by the flowers. The inconspicuous flowers generally are acknowledged by all to be self-fertilised. Nor do we see any sufficient reason for placing the more conspicuous flowers—many of which, as well as the primroses, are quite unvisited by bees, and very many others only very partially visited by them—in a different category from the inconspicuous as to their general independence of insects for their existence. The reasons alleged, which we do not here enter upon, are in many cases very weak and very unconvincing. Moreover, Mr. Wallace tells us, "An immense variety of plants are habitually self-fertilised, and their numbers probably exceed those which are habitually cross-fertilised by insects." (*Darwinism*, p. 321.) Again, Mr. Wallace says: "As opposed to the theory that there is any absolute need for cross-fertilisation, it has been urged by Mr. Henslow and others that many self-fertilised plants are exceptionally vigorous, while most plants of world-wide distribution are self-fertilised." (*Darwinism*, p. 323.)

But it might be objected that Darwin, in his experiments detailed in his volume *Cross and Self-Fertilisation of Flowers*, has shown that seedlings from cross-fertilised flowers are more vigorous than seedlings raised from self-fertilised ones. On this subject we do not propose to enter at any length, as it is beyond the purpose of our present article, more than merely stating our reason for considering the method of Darwin's experiments there detailed, renders questionable or rather, in our opinion, vitiates, and renders untrustworthy the results and conclusions at which Darwin arrived.

Now, the objection in this case is not so much from the net itself, for the self-fertilised and the cross-fertilised were both under a net. It is in the method adopted in these experiments which, in our view, vitiates the results. "My experiments were tried in the following manner," Darwin says. "A single plant, if it produced a sufficiency of flowers, was placed under a net, stretched on a frame. On the plants thus protected several flowers were marked and were fertilised with their own pollen; and an equal number on the same plant were at the same time crossed with pollen from a distinct plant; the crossed flowers had not their anthers removed." In these experiments consequently the cross-fertilised flowers had a great advantage. The self-fertilised flowers had only their own pollen, and that developed under a net, to fertilise them; but the cross-fertilised had not only their own pollen—for, as we have seen above, their anthers were not removed—but pollen from another plant applied to them as well, and that too grown naturally outside the net, as Darwin wished by leaving the flowers their own pollen, and at the same time crossing them with other pollen naturally grown "to make the experiments as like as possible to what occurs under nature with plants fertilised by the aid of insects."*

The cross-fertilised had consequently two sets of pollen to choose between, and whichever happened to be most in its

* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, pp. 10-11.

prime that would exercise a "prepotent" influence in the fertilisation. But the self-fertilised flower had no other pollen but its own to depend upon, and none to choose between. It must be its own pollen, and that developed under a net, which must fertilise it, or none at all. Such a system of experiments evidently gave to the cross-fertilised flowers a very great advantage over the self-fertilised ones, and consequently a very great advantage to the healthy maturing of its seeds, and to the growth and vigour of the seedlings raised from them. It is no wonder under such conditions that the "seedlings of the self-fertilised" were in comparison with the others "somewhat weakly in constitution." It is this inequality of conditions under which the seeds, whence the seedlings were produced, which in our opinion vitiates, and renders scientifically untrustworthy the results which Darwin obtained.

We are therefore quite unable to accept Darwin's conclusions deduced from experiments conducted under such a method, as that expressed in his last chapter, "General Results," of *Cross and Self-Fertilisation of Plants.* "The first and most important of the conclusions which may be drawn from the observations given in this volume," Darwin says, "is that generally cross-fertilisation is beneficial, and self-fertilisation often injurious. The truth of these conclusions is shown by the difference in height, weight, constitutional vigour, and fertility of the offspring from crossed and self-fertilised flowers." *

Now the primrose singularly enough is actually never mentioned nor alluded to in this volume, though it occupies so important a position, as we have seen, in his *Forms of Flowers.* This is a very singular omission indeed, as not only the cowslip is introduced in these experiments, and in a dozen different allusions, but all the other principal primulas as well—as elatior, Sinensis, Scotica, &c.

But notwithstanding that omission Darwin in that volume makes this general assertion concerning the *Primulaceæ:*

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* *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, p. 439.

"The *Primulaceæ* seem eminently liable to suffer in fertility from self-fertilisation." * The primrose, as we have already seen, as a test flower, holds a special position in reference to the question of cross and self-fertilisation, and absolutely contravenes for itself, and equally in our opinion from their analogous formation contravenes for its Order, this aspersion upon their natural and independent productivity. Insects may visit them for their nectar, but that is no proof whatever, in face of the primrose, that any beneficial influence in fertilisation under ordinary conditions is derived from their visits. Doubtless had Darwin included the primrose among those which he experimented upon as recorded in his volume of *Cross and Self-Fertilisation*, he would have caused that flower, under the influence of the net (or greenhouse), to lose its natural virility, and would have formed the same conclusion about it as he does about the Order of *Primulaceæ*, "that it was eminently liable to suffer from self-fertilisation."

The unnatural results in the case of the cowslips and primroses under a close-meshed net as those given in the preceding pages—first, the long-styled flowers being more productive in seeds than the short-styled ones when they are each cross-fertilised; and, secondly, the same result occurring when they are each fertilised by their "own form" pollen; and next the short-styled being the most sterile of all, when so fertilised by its "own form" pollen, seem consequently quite to invalidate the value of experiments conducted under such a method, and to render all conclusions in respect to the heterostyled *Primulaceæ* drawn from such experiments eminently unsatisfactory and even scientifically untrustworthy. Nor can they fail to render similar conclusions drawn from exactly similarly conducted experiments on the other heterostyled dimorphic and trimorphic forms, such as *Lythrum salicaria*, equally questionable, and equally untrustworthy.

We are consequently very far indeed from accepting

* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 319.

Mr. Wallace's absolute dictum: "There is thus the clearest proof (!) that these complex arrangements" (in the trimorphic plants) "have the important end of securing a more abundant and more vigorous offspring."°

Why the two forms of the cowslip and primrose exist in nature is distinctly, by the above facts, not solved by the idea of Darwin, that it was "to ensure cross-fertilisation of distinct plants"; † nor is it solved by the alternative form in which Sir J. Lubbock expresses the same idea that "this condition of the heterostyled *Primulaceæ* is one of the principal modes by which self-fertilisation is prevented." ‡

The distinction of the two forms has been considered as Darwin allows "as a case of mere variability." § The probability that it is nothing more than a mere variation seems necessarily to arise from what has previously been said, and from the following additional facts.

First, equal-styled forms are found in species of Primulas; in such forms the anthers and styles are of equal lengths in the same flowers. Darwin says of the Primulas in general "some species are home-styled; that is, they exist only under a single form," ‖ and of the cowslip that "with this species and several others, equal-styled varieties sometimes appear." ¶ Mr. Scott, of Edinburgh, sent Darwin a cowslip where the stigma and anthers stood on the same level and "the flowers were highly self-fertile when insects were excluded." °° Of the primrose, from what Darwin met with in his experiments, he says, "It is therefore probable that an equal-styled form of the primrose might be found, and I have received two accounts of plants apparently in this condition." †† But in addition, the four following Primulas produce equal-styled forms: *P. Sinensis, auricula, farinosa,* and elatior (Oxlip). ‡‡ Of the first, *Sinensis,* Darwin says, "it is often equal-styled." §§

° *Natural Selection,* p. 466. † *Forms of Flowers,* p. 30.
‡ *Flowers and Insects,* pp. 36-38.
§ *Forms of Flowers,* p. 14. ‖ *Ibid,* p. 49. ¶ *Ibid,* p. 32.
°° *Cross and Self-Fertilisation,* p. 235.
†† *Forms of Flowers,* p. 225. ‡‡ *Ibid,* p. 273. §§ *Ibid,* p. 38.

In our own examination of over five hundred flowers of the long-styled form of primrose, each gathered from a different root, we found styles of every variety of length. Some exceeding the length of the corolla tube, others half-way between the top of the tube and the anthers below; eight shortened styles touching the top of the anthers with the base of the stigmas, and eight perfectly healthy in style and ovarium actually below the anthers placed in the middle of the corolla. *

The same variation in the length of style was also found among five hundred specimens of the short-styled form, gathered from different roots. In six instances the stigmas all but touched the roots of the anthers at the corolla mouth. Every variation in length was found between such long ones, to, in one instance, an almost sessile stigma.

Secondly, the one form will produce the other form. "Seeds from the short-styled form of cowslip fertilised by pollen of the same form, produced 14 plants, which consisted of 9 short-styled and 5 long-styled plants."†

And again, 162 plants were raised from long-styled cowslips fertilised by their "own-form" pollen, and these consisted of 156 long-styled and 6 short-styled plants.‡ The Primula auricula produced from the short-styled form, fertilised from its "own-form" pollen, 25 long-styled and 75 short-styled offspring.§ "Dr. Hildebrand raised from the long-styled form of *P. Sinensis* fertilised by its 'own-

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* In thirty-four instances we found the stigmas involved in the midst of the anthers; but in these cases both the style and ovarium were invariably discoloured and unhealthy. The latter—the ovarium—wrinkled and dark-coloured. The stigmas in these cases seem to have been arrested in their progression towards the top of the corolla by the anthers—which, as we have pointed out above, curve inwardly at their top—as these styles were generally bent and distorted. They occurred chiefly in the month of March, when perhaps the frosty nights affected them. We also found a few unhealthy stigmas and ovaria, as well as the above healthy ones, below the anthers placed in the middle of the corolla.

† *Forms of Flowers*, p. 228. ‡ *Ibid*, Table xxxvi., p. 269.

§ *Ibid*, p. 269.

form' pollen 17 plants, of which 14 were long-styled and 3 short-styled. From a short-styled plant similarly fertilised by its own pollen he raised 14 plants, of which 11 were short-styled and 3 long-styled."* †

Lastly, the two forms have been found on the same plant of a Primula, and even the three forms—long-styled, short-styled and equal-styled. Herr Breitenbach found on one hundred and ninety-eight plants of the Primula elatior (Jacq.)—the Oxslip—growing wild on the banks of the Lippe, a tributary of the Rhine, 894 flowers, of which "467 were long-styled flowers, 411 short-styled, and 16 equal-styled. In eighteen cases the same plant produced both long-styled and short-styled, or long-styled and equal-styled flowers; and in two out of the eighteen cases long-styled, short-styled, and equal-styled flowers."‡

From all the above facts it seems impossible to come to any other conclusion concerning the heterostyled *Primulaceæ* than that the two forms are mere variations. Nature, from the two last instances, markedly herself decides, we might say, the question. This being so, in the case of the *Primulaceæ*, we may assuredly infer by analogy, supported as it is by the facts quoted above in the last note concerning *Polygonum fagopyrum* and *Lythrum salicaria*, that it applies equally also to all the other heterostyled dimorphic and trimorphic plants as well.

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* *Forms of Flowers*, p. 217.

† The production of one form by the other extends to other heterostyled dimorphic and trimorphic plants. The dimorphic *Polygonum fagopyrum* is a remarkable instance of it. The short-styled form fertilised by its "own form" pollen produced 13 long-styled offspring, and 20 short-styled ones (*Forms of Flowers*, Table xxxvi., p. 269). The mid-styled form of the trimorphic *Lythrum salicaria* fertilised by pollen from longest stamens of short-styled produced all three forms, 14 long-styled, 8 mid-styled, and 18 short-styled offspring (Table xxxvii., p. 270). From a short-styled form of *Lythrum salicaria*, grown in the open air, Darwin raised 12 plants, 1 long-styled, 4 mid-styled, and 7 short-styled. I will only add, Darwin says, "that any single plant of a trimorphic species in a state of nature produces all three forms" (*Forms of Flowers*, p. 372).

‡ *Forms of Flowers*, p. 34.

It is not possible from the above considerations in reference to the method of Darwin's experiments, and especially also from the above case of the primrose, to avoid the conclusion that Darwin has not established his theory that cross-fertilisation is necessary to the full fertility of flowers. On the contrary, we are of opinion that the primrose gives strong confirmatory evidence to Axell's view, that under *natural* and equal conditions self-fertilisation of flowers is both the *legitimate* fertilisation, and the most productive.

A FIELD NATURALIST.

A PURITAN EDUCATIONIST.

A Light to Grammar and a Gate to Sciences. By HEZEKIAH WOODWARD. Circ., 1640.

IT is the lot of some men to become immortal through the tributes and laudations of others more famous than themselves. Arthur Hallam died untimely and so did Edward King, but putting abnormal cases aside we may still ask what interest people would continue to take in Sir Horace Mann, in John Sterling, in Mr. W. H., but for the relation in which they respectively stood to a brilliant letter-writer, a master of imaginative prose, and the greatest of poets. Among the vicariously renowned may be counted Samuel Hartlib, the seventeenth century "progressive" and Friend of Humanity, to whom Milton dedicated his *Tractate on Education.* Were it not for this association and the organ-voiced compliments of Milton, Hartlib might well be set down among the forgotten worthies of England, or rather of north-eastern Europe, for he was by origin a German from Elbing in Prussia.

Milton was not singular in identifying Hartlib with the cause of educational reform. Under the title of *Advice to Mr. Hartlib* Sir William Petty inscribed to him a treatise advocating rational and technical education for boys (more especially for sons of "the menu") in the place of their spending their years "in a rabble of words"; and Hezekiah Woodward, B.A., a second Puritan schoolmaster, who became later the unordained vicar of Bray, addressed a work to him which almost entitles its author to be called an embryonic Froebel. It is with this curious little book of Hezekiah Woodward's that the present writer proposes shortly to deal.

The reason, no doubt, why Hartlib was selected as sponsor for three contributions to "paidology" was that he had undertaken the dissemination in England of the scholastic reforms of Comenius, law-giver and prophet to all the educational "progressives" of the time throughout Europe. A few words on this once famous Moravian innovator are necessary to explain the standpoint of the English school reformer of the seventeenth century.

Poor Amos "Comenius" (or Komenský,) despite the wild-fire success of his books, seems to have had almost as sorry a time of it in life as Paracelsus. His reputation has suffered equal vicissitudes. During his own age he passed for the morning-star of education; while in the eighteenth century he was considered a suitable person for inclusion in a *History of Human Folly*. Our time has partially reinstated him, giving him in 1896 the honours of a tercentenary, and recognising him as a man of genius and first of the moderns in placing education on a scientific and even psychological basis.

What Comenius formulated in his *Janua* was that languages should be taught on a system, not of fortuitous words, but of words in association with objects or facts. He hereby forestalled the Gouin method, now so *répandu*, and of which, by the way, Mr. Squeers, too, proved himself an instinctive professor when he supplemented the philology of "winder" by immediate practice in cleaning the same. Comenius, in his *Orbis Pictus Sensualium*, emphasised, furthermore, the then novel suggestion of the senses as the sole avenues of knowledge. Everything a child can look at with his bodily eyes he should look at, and when any object cannot conveniently be seen in the schoolroom or on the daily walk, as in the case of a whale, say, or an angel, a picture of it must be provided. Comenius, in short, applied to education Bacon's principle of fidelity to Nature, and tested every method by its accordance with natural methods. He combated the never extinct error of making verbal memory the standard of culture and put understanding or intelligence in its place.

Thus far, of course, Comenius was on the right track, proving himself a mind of light and leading amid the purblind pedagogues of his period. It was when he declared his system an infallible short cut to omniscience that his utility became swamped in practical, if unconscious, charlatanism, or at best degenerated into a Utopian air-castle.

Throughout and after the Middle Ages, and certainly up to the time when education began thus to be debated and sifted in a century of general reformation, children had been merely victims as regarded their schooling. The belief in the innate depravity of the child heart was at the core of school government, and the result was that schools, far from being "gardens," were purgatories of terror and torment. And the nature of the instruction was on an equality with the manner of its application. It was a putting to sleep of every faculty but that of gabbling by rote doggerel lines of Latin grammar, a training in sheer stupidity, casualness crystallised by centuries of mechanical tradition. The school was, in fact, the place where the elsewhere obsolete darkness of the Middle Ages was making its last stand. The curriculum was as preposterously out of relation to real life and interest as the curriculum of Chinese students is nowadays. Average seventeenth century class-rooms were places of din and nausea, where, it was remarked with surprise, the more the teachers taught the less the scholars learned! It is the schoolmaster Milton who, with his customary prose energy, defines school teaching as an "asinine forest of sowthistles and brambles," while Woodward vividly paints the school-sentiment of his own youth as follows:

> We wished our Master no good, none at all, neither going forth, nor returning home, nor lying down, nor rising up: we wished it might raine pouring downe, especially all the morning, though the fruits of the earth lay in the suds, so we might stay at home. We were content with sore eyes and Rybed heeles but that they hindred our play; we would wish ourselves dead too, when we had not learnt to live; and though

we could not be sick when we would, yet we would faigne it pretty well, and finde a time to steale to the Cupboard (not discerned) for provision of a crust against the next day (when we did forecast trouble).

Woodward was a Comenian, it is true, though not unreservedly, while there is much in his own sober Didactic in no way derived from that of the sanguine and over-ambitious "Teuto-Slav." Certainly no one unacquainted with the pedantries of contemporary "education" could form an adequate idea of the freshness and intelligence of Woodward's contributions to the subject. Judged by the average standard of their day they may truly be said to have represented "an America and untravell'd part" of truth.

Hezekiah Woodward published several books on education, to wit, *A Child's Patrimony*, *The Child's Portion*, and *A Light to Grammar*, with a second part, *A Gate to Sciences*. All that is least discursive and most distinctive of him at his best is included in *A Light to Grammar*, addressed to Hartlib, which with its sequel appears to be the scarcest of his treatises. The leading characteristic (in that age a promising one) of its pages is their sympathy with children as children, not as "travellers towards fulfillments." A child is not to be regarded as a reluctant receptacle for so much syntax, he is to be carefully considered as to his natural structure and capacity, and his contents are to be poured in or dribbled in accordingly.

> Our endeavour shall bee to put the Child in a good forwardnesse, before he knows where hee began; he shall doe his worke *playing*, and play *working*; he shall seeme idle and think he is in sport, when he is indeed serious, and best imployed. . . . [Our endeavour shall be] a stealing upon the understanding, unfolding unto it that the childe *knowes not* by that he *knew before*.

There was nothing fresh, then, in the famous educational dictum "From the known up to the unknown"!

The rational time to begin lessons is when a child can already distinctly observe what is before his eyes and call it

by its name. But, in Hezekiah's opinion (or *Ezekias's*, for he wavers between the two forms of his Biblical but unbeautiful name), a child at this early period is only to be "wound up" very gently; he is to pass "by an easie Slide" from the passive receptiveness of his infant senses to the systematic training of his childish faculties; he is not to be given rules, only examples, for "examples are rules" asserts the Puritan with a rare flash of brevity. A child is not to sit long, for it is "contrary to his nature" and makes against his health. "Sitting with his pen may make him grow crooked too." Hezekiah is impressed by the passion of the child for play and ponders it:

> We shall finde him still in action, here and there and everywhere, with his sticke, or with his gun, or with his casting stones; perhaps if these be not at hand he is blowing up a feather; I cannot reckon up his Implements; I beleeve hee is as well stored for *the driving his pleasant trade* as is the best Merchant in the Towne for his so gainfull. He hath his Exchange and Warehouse, too, both his boxe and his pocket. And we shall see anon, that by his dealings in the world, he hath learned good part of his *grammar* (that dull booke, as it is taught) before he came at it.

The naïveté of the seventeenth century sentences throws the ability of their thought into relief, for this Froebelian out of due time does not stop with observation, but draws from child's play the practical conclusion of education by self-activity:

> We observe that the child is all for action, and very earnest therein, never quiet except in motion. We must observe too, or else we observe nothing, that the child is as desirous after knowledge, very curious and enquiring that way. What is this? What is that? All is newes to him. It is as a little Ape taken up by imitation. [*Woodward had not read Wordsworth!*] What he sees the governour doe (hee must take heed what he doth) the childe will make offer to doe the like, though he has neither strength to doe it, nor knowes hee the manner how. You cannot gratifie him better than to suffer him to try his skill by putting his hand to the work, which you must move

altogether, but hee will think he hath done the deed. When the child finds himself a party in any worke, he speaks of it willingly, remembers it accurately, and much good there is in all that.

On the teaching of arithmetic our Puritan is as modern as Sonnenschein. The child is to start with tangible objects and evolve his own rules. Red-sided apples are to represent his first numerals, their only disadvantage being that "in such cases he careth not for *division*." A child, writes Woodward with forcible earnestness, "doth taste or relish no knowledge but what is drencht in flesh and blood," therefore, to discourse to him of "Generalls" is to beat the air, and if the teacher would have his instruction sink into the heart and not only swim in the brain he must so speak "as if he *painted* his words." A sufficiently surprising departure, all this, from the accepted methods of education, *circ.* 1640, when the book was written! Woodward is almost fiercely aware of it—"The way the Master must take with his Scholler is clean contrary to the common practice, which is tasking the memorie onely."

A theorist, who happens to be a "practical" schoolmaster as well, is not likely to make the mistake of supposing that all children are alike. Some, says Woodward, are "bird-witted," others "squirrill-headed," while the rank and file may be divided into two classes, Hastings and Hardings. Far from abetting the vulgar practice of giving all the attention to the "Hastings," Woodward counsels "Praise must help the Dull-wit; when he hath it, he holds fast, and may prove somebody. (What a jolly fellow is this! I must insert words of encouragement; that promoteth greatly the little thing.)"

At the same time it is fatal to make things too easy. Our Hezekiah is as emphatic on this point as the present Master of Haileybury. The teacher who peptonises every hard sentence makes a boy a very slug, "for the easie gaining of a thing makes us all slack." Like every schoolmaster in every age, Woodward has a poor opinion of "the boys'

parents," considering them frivolous, irresponsible, and fitted to foster no nobler cares in a child "then that he eate and drink and rise up to play."

Woodward's pet educational notion is that of "anticipations" or "Precognitions." Just as, following Comenius, he makes his method "hold hands all along with the senses," just as he declares "grammaticall learning a triviall point"—the object of education being to make "the world our book," so he sets up what he calls the "precognition" of the child as the teacher's pilot. It is difficult to define precisely what Woodward intends by "a precognition," though one might state it in a roundabout manner as being the mental furniture the child has collected by means of his senses during the earliest stages of growth. To stimulate and intellectualise this self-education already begun is the sole business of right-minded teachers. Woodward draws a lively picture of the average schoolmaster, the book in one hand and a little twig in the other, "which the child marks as earnestly as we would have it do the lesson," and gives a feeling description of the child newly arrived in school—a turkey poult waiting to be stuffed: "He heares of *Vowels* and Consonants. What are they? *Latine;* poore little *Englishman,* he cannot skill of that. Then hee must put these together and spell. What is that?—Greeke; indeed so it is to the childe."

Instead of this artificial system, Woodward urges that children learning a new language in school should repeat the method of children learning their own language in the nursery, *i.e.,* gain much practice in words associated with things before any rules are proposed to them. In learning reading, he advocates the system now known as *Look and Say.* In learning writing he entreats that the child's natural faculty for drawing be allowed full play, for drawing is "Cosen-Germane to writing, a precognition or training principle thereunto."

Woodward's exposition of his method of language-teaching incidentally includes some impressions of the domestic life of two centuries and a half ago. From the

enthusiastic pedagogue's own point of view every timber and stone about the boy's home is but an occasion for a lesson in something, but it interests *us* more to know that in the middle-class home—where the mother herself concocted *Apple-pies*—the cook was sometimes a man, though to Joane, the maid, was relegated the minor offices of scumming the pot and scraping the trenchers. The old folk sit in the hall, the young ones are to be found in the kitchen—and all the meat cooked is either "sod or rosted." When recommending pictures as the most intelligible books for children, Woodward writes pure Comenius, but he is his Puritanical self when he rigidly excludes "naked Pictures." He foams at the mouth at the mere thought of sacred or church pictures—"Dunghill-gods" he says the Scripture warrants his calling them—and his sketch of the natural history of Art would be amusing if it were not so impious.

Woodward's name ought to be in the Liber Aureus of Infant School assistants by virtue of his strongly expressed conviction that elementary teachers should be the picked teachers, because their labour, "small in shew is great for process," and that consequently they should have "answerable pay." On the question of the character, the "conversation," of teachers the Puritan is as a rock. The problem of talent *v. morale* he solves trenchantly thus: "The Master must be a pious man, there is no remedy. It hath been said, *A bad man may be a good Citizen*, but that distinction was not subtle enough for the Devill, for taking away the *bad man*, the *good citizen* followed for company."

In reading this and various other contemporary books one is struck by a general seventeenth century "precognition"—that of the stress nowadays laid upon the Modern Side. As early as 1582 the revolt against Latin had been expressed by Richard Mulcaster, Head Master of St. Paul's School, and during the next hundred years the vernacular and neighbour languages came more and more to the fore. An impatience of the classics was in the air, an impatience

partly due to Puritanic scruples as to their subject-matter, but not entirely so, as Osborne's *Advice to a Son* shows.

At the end of his *Gate to Sciences* Hezekiah Woodward writes, "Let me say once for all, the Master may learn much by teaching. I know no such looking glasse wherein to see the man's heart as the face of the child." The resemblance of this to Wordsworth's sentiment in the *Anecdote for Fathers* and to Wordsworth's language in the great *Ode* is extraordinary; but, as has been said, Woodward certainly had a knack of plagiarising Wordsworth, and posterity generally. Contrariwise, one may wonder whether Coleridge in his desultory reading ever came across this concluding sentence of Woodward's,

He teacheth most that prayeth most.

FLORENCE MARY WILSON PARSONS.

LINES OF CLEAVAGE IN CHRISTIANITY.

1. *The "Mystical" and "Sacramental" Temperaments.* By the Rev. J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. *Expositor*, August, 1899.

2. *Hulsean Lectures on the Gospel of the Atonement.* Lecture IV. By the Ven. Archdeacon J. M. WILSON, M.A. (Macmillan. 1899.)

THE present condition of English Christianity seems to be raising the old problem of the divisions of the Church in a form more hopeful of solution than has been witnessed for long. How many essential and permanent types are to be recognised in Christendom? Some answer, One—by the easy process of disqualifying all who are not of their-doxy. Others will enumerate something short of three hundred—by the equally easy process of counting lines in a certain veracious page of *Whitaker*, and leaving an indeterminate margin for bodies of British or foreign origin which have not yet obtained recognition before that somewhat irregular court of ecclesiastical appeal. That after all there are *two*, and only two, irreconcilable types of Christianity, other differences being transitory and unessential, is a thesis, not very novel perhaps, but which it may be helpful to establish as a thought for the present discontent. Two essentially different conceptions of religion can be traced, we venture to maintain, in the history of non-Christian systems, and in the Christian Church from the time of the Apostles to the present day, and recognised broadly without risk of serious error among all the endless varieties that lie

between the Pope, Pobedonostzeff and the Plymouth Brother. That the division is reasonable, and while humanity remains at its present level inevitable, seems to be shown by the fact that the postulated plane of cleavage roughly corresponds with that which is universally recognised in learning, in politics, and well nigh every sphere of life.

The present argument for a dichotomy of Christendom these lines had been drafted some years before the appearance of the two independent arguments described at the head of this article. In both of these, as will be seen later, the area of the Church is divided in two, and though the dividing line is defined in very different ways by the two writers and in the present article, it will soon be seen that essentially there is not much distinction in the practical result. The establishment of the fact that Christians do differ and must differ in their conception of their common religion is encouraging rather than the reverse, when it is shown that minor matters are becoming more and more eliminated and the strife reduced to a plain issue. Even the two camps which remain may become more tolerant of each other when they have ceased to eye suspiciously as possible or actual foes the hosts ranged on their own side of the field, and can thus concentrate attention on the enemy. The process of agreeing to differ, when thoroughly learnt and practised on our friends, may ultimately enable us to see much that is respectable in our foe.

Is this then all that we may hope for in the future development of the Church? May we not dream of a day when Christians shall all think alike, worship after one model, acknowledge one form of Church order? Are all the efforts at reunion to produce no better proposals than to strip whole Churches of institutions justly cherished, that they may attain the blessing of outward uniformity bought with the pledges of future strife? The answer, if negative, is not necessarily a pessimistic one. Nothing can be more obvious in human life than that men *will* differ; and all the evidence leads us to believe that while unity of spirit in

religion may be attained, unity of thought never will be attained in this world. Most of us, being human, fervently desire all men to hold our own political creed, especially when a general election draws near. But if our wish were gratified we should instinctively feel it extremely unnatural, and we should expect so abnormal a uniformity to be short-lived. And even so in religion, we could wish, most fervently, that the type of Christian belief which satisfies our own convictions were universally prevalent; but we none of us really expect to convince those who at Rome and elsewhere hold to a type which differs as widely from ours as we can easily imagine. Is then this invincible diversity merely another mark of original sin? Surely not. The New Testament is full of diversity, and the unity which shines there is deeper than any identity of institutions or of theology, deeper than all that is human in man. The Lord promises that there shall be One Flock, One Shepherd—not "one fold." His sheep shall be one because He leads them, though the green pastures and the still waters and the valleys of deathly shade be far as the poles asunder. It is not mere poetry which compares life to a prism, bending into a rainbow of infinitely varying hues the "white radiance of Eternity," "the Light which lighteth every man, coming into the world." Let us only try to recognise all these hues as real elements, more or less deflected, of the pure white that illumines a world where broken lights are no more.

Mr. Illingworth's paper is an able and quietly reasoned plea for the recognition alike of the "mystical" and the "sacramental" temperaments, and especially of the latter, which is the mark of his own school. He gives his illustrations almost exclusively from the so-called "Catholic" side, but his words have a general application.

Wherever we look, through the length and breadth of Christian history, we find an antithesis between two temperaments, or tendencies, or types, which, for want of better names, may be called the mystic and the sacramental. The two may at times coalesce, though not without an emphasis on one or the other; while, on the other hand, at times, they are sharply,

decisively divided. The peculiarities of a race, or the circumstances of an age, raise now the one and now the other to ascendency. But both alike are human, fundamentally and radically human, ingrained in the very make and constitution of man, and the permanent suppression of either would be a psychological impossibility.

At first when we find "hermits and monks and recluses" selected as examples of the former, and "sacerdotalists, militant ecclesiastics, political Churchmen" for the latter, we are tempted to ask in bewilderment, "Where do *we* come in?" But further explanations make it clear that, however little we Protestants may seem to resemble monks and recluses, all the essentials of Mr. Illingworth's "mystical temperament" lie at the very root of Protestantism; so that Protestant and Sacramentalist will still serve as generic titles for two divisions of Christendom.

Turning to Archdeacon Wilson's Hulsean Lectures, which made a considerable stir in Cambridge last autumn term, we find a striking passage in which the lecturer divides Christianity according to the predominance of the Greek or of the Roman spirit. The thoughtful and freedom-loving Greek centred his theology on the truth of God's Immanence; the imperial, law-worshipping Roman fastened on the doctrine of God's Sovereignty. The result was that the Greek sought an inward light to guide feet that refused to walk perforce in paths of human making; the Roman must create vicegerents for the Divine King, and realise His edicts in commands issued by a recognised human Church government.

The mere word "Roman" in this dichotomy, like the "sacramental" in the last, makes us feel that we are not far away from the more popular and less recondite division on which the present thesis had been based. Protestant and non-Protestant, mystical and sacramental, Greek and Roman, Liberal and Conservative Christianity; all would appear to be terms which generally speaking range the same people on the same sides of the dividing line, although the idea of the division may appear to differ. Let us try

to apprehend impartially the essential features of them both.

To begin with the "sacramental" type. To find a popular name for it is not easy. The name most favoured by its representatives is one we cannot possibly allow. It is a "bull" of the very best Hibernian breed to call "Catholic" those whose principles forbid catholicity, to describe as "the Universal Church" certain highly exclusive sects which form at best only a majority of professing Christians. "Episcopal" will not serve, for a very large section of the English Established Church ranges itself decisively on the Protestant side, not to mention the Methodist Episcopal Church, the largest Christian body in the English-speaking world. "Historical" is a name that, with some reservations, suits them as well as any other. That is to say, their foremost motive seems to be the link with the past, which for such minds "must always win a glory from its being far." "As it was in the beginning, hath been and ever shall be," is for them sufficient proof of divine authority: the Past is their King, who can do no wrong. Distance of time has caused the Past to assume a unity which is not apparent when sacrilegious enquirers take up a telescope to examine its teaching; and it is easy to see how thorough becomes the conviction that the changes which time has brought in the *Semper Eadem* are merely latent beliefs made patent by the action of an indwelling inspiration. This innate conservatism has perhaps something to do with the dependence on ceremonies and externals which is the mark of the whole school. For example, we find everywhere an astonishing emphasis laid on the form and significance of vestments which are to be used in various rites of worship. Historically, these vestments are merely the ordinary dress of periods in which particular rites first arose, dress which religious conservatism forbad to go out of fashion. As with other survivals, a meaning had to be found for them, and a whole system of symbolism is the result. On the other side, a characteristic of minds so constituted is their reliance on what is external and tangible.

As Mr. Illingworth puts it, "There will be those who think more highly of the realm of matter; they feel its importance in their moral experience; they know its reality as a scientific fact; and their religion must find issue in material expression before it can be regarded as in any sense complete. Life must for such have its external rules of discipline; sacraments be duly, ceremonially observed; and penitence poured forth, in human hearing, that pardon may be emphasised by human lips." If such be the expression of this temperament in its higher development, it must not be forgotten that with the masses it works out in a much less complex form: external rites and ceremonies become objective *means* of grace, and Divine blessing can be conveyed through material channels automatically. Such a conception demands the Priest as a necessity. He is required to perform the ceremonies duly, for a flaw is serious when ceremonies have to carry so much. He is required as the incarnation of a supernatural element which cannot be taken in until it appeals to the senses. And he is required to represent in the sphere of religion the principle of authority and government which is innate in this type of mind. It is needless to point out how Roman all this is, and how completely this "sacramental temperament" tends to the same ends as those which Archdeacon Wilson deduces from the Roman school of thought. Authority was the principle which gave birth to the Roman Empire, and outlived it in the Roman law. Ceremonialism—in the severely logical form of a bargain struck with the gods, carried out with scrupulous observance of forms, and requiring of heaven a loyal and honest deliverance of that for which the bargain was made—built up in all its details the old Roman religion, the spirit of which largely transfused itself into Roman Christianity. And if this type of religion is described as conservative, where could we expect to find it more perfectly exhibited than in the nation which of all nations in history was most penetrated by the conservative temper and inspired by conservative ideals?

One feature of this school I leave to the last, because in it

there lies the main obstacle to anything like union with the rest of Christendom. It is the characteristic inability to recognise the existence of any other possible point of view, which rises naturally from the idea of authority. Since external organisations and external forms of worship are regarded as stamped with divine authority, any dissent from these is impious and must be suppressed by material force if necessary—for *ex hypothesi*, moving in the realm of the material so largely, Christ's kingdom *is* of this world after all, and attains its ends by human methods of government as well as by more spiritual means. Hence if latitudinarianism be the Scylla of Protestantism, bigotry is the Charybdis of its opposite. The Romanist suppressing Methodism in Austria, the Orthodox stamping out Stundism in Russia, and the Ritualist tyrant manipulating coals and blankets in an English village, all show that in the matter of intolerance the old spirit is still alive, and that each strand of the "triple cord" is of much the same quality when it comes to making a rope's end for the Dissenter's back.

It is of course much easier for a Protestant to delineate fairly the opposite of all this; for, with the utmost desire to be fair, he is constitutionally incapable of transporting himself into his opponent's manners of thought. He is much more capable of this thought-transference than the other man, since it is part of his creed to permit the existence of other creeds than his own; but an impartial and sympathetic treatment is another matter. We do our best, but turn with relief to delineate what lies at the very centre of all our own convictions. Protestantism is essentially the religion of those who love freedom and progress. Since progress may take a thousand directions while conservatism can only stand still in one way; since again freedom implies the absence of the discipline which alone can keep a party externally united, we have an easy explanation of the fissiparous tendency of Protestantism, which never made a fetish of organisation, order or government. Protestantism is impatient of authority, and refuses to submit till the authority is proved Divine. Even then, accepting from

God Himself the charter of human freedom, it will not submit slavishly, but in the spirit of man made in the likeness of God. The Bible itself does not win allegiance by mere authority: it must show its credentials; and when it has testified of a Man whose divinity convinces all that God can appeal to in man, it has won a loyalty which is not born of force or fear but of the loftiest powers the Creator could bestow. The whole-hearted service of a Divine Master makes the man incapable of servitude. He will accept an elaborate system of Church government, simply because in Church as in State anarchy brings a train of evils with it, and because free men animated by the same spirit may reasonably agree to follow a convenient constitutional government which they all help to frame. But he will permit no sacerdotalism. No mere man shall stand between him and his Maker, usurp the right to think for him, or pretend to hold the keys of the door which Christ Himself has opened that none may shut. His helper in religion is not a priest but a prophet, one whose words—whether accredited or not from any Church on earth—come to him with the unmistakable ring of a message from heaven. External ordinances he regards as means consecrated by centuries of experience, and likely to bring him the same guidance and teaching as they have brought to thousands in the past, if he comes to them in a right spirit. He is not insensible to the helpfulness of æsthetics, in architecture or music, as a handmaid of devotion:—was it not a Puritan who sang of "high-embowed roof and storied windows and pealing organ"

> and anthems clear
> As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstasies,
> And bring all Heaven before mine eyes?

But he is often more or less suspicious of these accessories, lest they should usurp a place that does not belong to them. Naturally, therefore, sacred art and music have owed comparatively little to Protestant genius, which rarely begins to

court the Muses in the cause of religion until they rise into the sphere of literature.

An interesting example of the difference between these two temperaments may be seen when on religious grounds men abstain from sundry enjoyments belonging to the material world. The "Catholic" fasts in Lent, and his priests, monks and nuns abstain from marriage and from various worldly pleasures, often pushing their abstinence to an extraordinary degree of self-torment. The Protestant, in thousands of cases, forswears intoxicants, and amusements like dancing and the theatre. But mark the difference of motive. The former bases his abstinence on the essential evil of matter, on the victory which the spirit gains by inflicting even purposeless humiliation on the body, on the store of merit laid up before God by the accumulation of "good works." The Protestant, who does not believe in "good works" except as the natural and inevitable fruit of a spiritual life within, undertakes these abstinences without the least idea that he is thereby achieving merit for himself, without believing that any creature of God is essentially evil, or that any creature of man can by entering his mouth defile him: he takes the common sense view that the body interferes least with the soul when it is kept in health, and he abstains from pleasures only when he finds that in practice they hinder the highest interests of himself or (more particularly) those around him. If like St. Paul he buffets his body and brings it into bondage, it is not by asceticism that he makes it keep its place: he forces it to obey his higher nature, and smooths the task by freely granting all that the body was taught by its Maker to require, so long as this can be granted without diminishing its full tale of service, for which it alone exists.

The sketch may be completed by showing how far Protestantism coincides with Mr. Illingworth's "mystical temperament," and with Archdeacon Wilson's "Greek" type of theology. It is not of course pretended that the coincidence is complete: there have been plenty of "Catholic" mystics, and one may suppose that some

survivals of Greek theology may be found behind the sacramentalism of the Greek Church to-day. But it will hardly be questioned that it is among Protestants that we shall mostly find those who, in Mr. Illingworth's words, "emphasise the soul's immediate intercourse with God in a way and degree that makes all outward mediation, whether of priest or sacrament, a secondary thing—a symbol, at the utmost, not a factor of the spiritual life." And if Greek is the name best fitted to the type of theology which Archdeacon Wilson expounds, we cannot fail to see how the Protestant's passionate love of freedom answers to the old Greek spirit which in politics would sacrifice everything for the autonomy of every little town, and in thought demanded room to range beyond all the shackles that narrow minds could impose. The conception of God as an indwelling Presence, a "Light that cometh into the world and lighteth every man," rather than as a Monarch who lays commands on men which they have nothing to do but obey, without reasoning why, is essentially the spirit of Protestantism, which owns God's sovereignty when the King has deigned to *convince* the intellect which He has given.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to labour further the assertion that there *are* two types of Christianity. But they are not two in the sense that contending armies in the field are two. The spectrum analogy, referred to before, is the most helpful. world." The single white ray is diffracted into a band of hues varying from blue to red, and we cannot say at which point in the central yellow light the dividing line should come. It is enough to notice that there the two types insensibly fade into each other, receding thence into the ultra violet of superstition and on the other side into the ultra red of "free thought." All that we mean by our classification is that we recognise generally the wide difference there is between red and blue. And, in spite of this difference, we are reminded, there is unity after all, for it is the same light which the prism of human imperfection has broken up, and when we cease to

"know in part" the light will be one again for ever. Even now we can see the essential unity when we take the best men produced by these strangely different disciplines, and look below the surface of mere opinion to the real man beneath. If devotion to Christ, earnest love to man and uncalculating self-renunciation be the notes of true religion, neither party can reproach the other. The difference is of head, not of heart. Nevertheless, it is a difference which, we must sorrowfully admit, precludes all hope of effective co-operation or external unity. Those who live at one end of the spectrum are passionately convinced that all light is blue; those at the other end are equally convinced that light must be red; and the idea of a combination outrages convictions dearer than life to the best men on each side. All we can hope for is that for the love of Christ they may agree to differ—and even this at present is certainly "hope," in that it is "not seen."

Finally, as to differences *within* the two rival parties—differences between the violet and the green, the orange and the deep red, to say nothing of the shades of yellow which seem to belong to both sides. The Protestants are—paradoxical as it may seem—much less divided than the "Catholics." Even before the Archbishops' judgment "cut the English Church away from the rest of Christendom" by forbidding incense (except when used to overpower musty odour), it is to be feared that the schisms in the "seamless robe" were painfully apparent. The Roman frankly believes that the Anglican is anathema; and the Greek Orthodox as frankly damns them both, as being on the wrong side of the *Filioque* ditch. And yet—O blessed bond of union!—they all alike possess bishops, priests and deacons. There are indeed some efforts at reunion. The Greek has lately been telling the Roman that he will welcome him if only he will disown the supremacy of the Pope and a few other unconsidered trifles. Meanwhile, he has been giving the Archbishop of York a seat within the communion rails (if that is the correct term). The Roman Pontiff has been paternally issuing a Bull to assure the Anglicans that

he loves them, and that their Orders are all wrong. The Anglican, eager for alliance with any and everybody except the poor Nonconformist Lazarus at his gate, pleads with his Holiness to take a more reasonable view of the matter, and works hard in his Society of Corporate Reunion to secure a complete submission to him. But as the correctitude of his Orders is just the one point in which the modern Anglican is anxious to preserve a semblance of independence, it does not appear as if Rome will swallow him whole just yet; it is quite convenient to do it piecemeal. The divisions of "Catholic" unity are, therefore, not within visible probability of being healed. Yet, when the Anglican movement has gone on a little further, and has eliminated the few remaining traces of difference from Roman doctrine and practice, we may see strange things happen. The unity of Protestantism, as is natural in th[illegible] which depends on freedom and progress as its principle, is being much more swiftly advanced. The growth of the Free Church Council movement has been the outward symptom of a *rapprochement* which has been coming on for years. The death and decent burial of old-fashioned Calvinism—if we except the Highlands and some parts of East Anglia, where its decrepit form may still be seen—has left the Free Churches nothing of importance to differ upon; and the new Catechism has revealed to the astonished Anglicans that their much-persecuted opponents have now the unity which is strength. There remain the Protestants in the Church of England. The memorable deputation at the Hull Conference last year is one among many indications that the common danger is showing them where their real friends lie. They are, of course, decidedly in the yellow part of the spectrum, and their attachment to Church order is naturally deeper than ours; but since we ourselves have only come out into the orange within the last half-century, we can afford to be patient, and hope that before the twentieth century is far advanced the ecclesiastical differences of the past will have resolved themselves into the one permanent opposition between

Protestantism and its sacerdotal, or sacramental, or Roman rival.

It remains that we should go further afield, and trace this dichotomy in other regions of thought. We have already indicated the general similarity to the division universally recognised in politics. It is not a mere accident that Clericalism and Conservatism, Nonconformity and Liberalism, are generally found in close alliance. Our political fights are so largely pitched upon certain concrete applications of principle that we are prone to forget, in our denunciation of particular measures, how fatuous it is to pronounce either Conservative or Liberal to be universally and inherently *wrong*. Men are born to one party or the other as inevitably as they are born with brown or blue eyes. And in their essence the line which divides men into Conservatives and Liberals is only produced into a higher sphere to divide them into "Catholic" and Protestant. In both spheres we have on the one side of the line a party bound to the Past, instinctively regarding the ancient as probably good, full of the principle of authority, and disposed to limit as much as possible the suspected freedom of the individual; and on the other side a party which looks eagerly to the Future, regards ancient institutions as generally in need of repair, rebels against the idea of authority save when broad-based upon the will of those who submit to it, and passionately believes in the absolute liberty of the individual to think as he pleases. The parallel would not need proof were it not for the very obvious fact that there are hosts of Conservative Protestants and a good many "Catholic" Liberals. The latter phenomenon is a problem in psychology which is not easy to solve, and which space forbids us to essay. The former is quite simple. Protestantism has itself become an ancient institution. The greatest glories of our national Past are bound up with it; and it finds its natural defenders in those who look lovingly back no less than in those who look longingly forward.

Perhaps this doctrine of the natural bent of human minds towards one side or the other of this great dividing line will

help to solve the perplexing question of the racial distribution of Protestants and "Catholics." Is it the Keltic strain in us that is relapsing into the old creed? Are the sturdy German races the chosen home of freedom and progress in religion, while the fast degenerating Latins are tied up to the dreary alternatives of superstition and materialism? It may be that the new birth of Protestantism in France will help us to an answer before long. It is not hard to see how racial characteristics may keep a country bound for centuries in the chains of the darkest superstitions. Innate conservatism and respect for authority may predispose a nation for a form of faith which is innocent enough in its first developments; but its very principles open the door to corruptions. Once let in the priest, and the whole science of comparative religion shows how slavery must follow. When Nature rebels and freedom forces its way in, the idea of a truly *religious* freedom is an absolute stranger. France is "Catholic" or infidel to-day simply because she quenched Protestantism in blood, and has not yet learnt to recognise it as it rises from its grave.

It would be impossible to close this enquiry without going back to our final court of appeal. What has the New Testament to say to this division? Now that the dust of the Tübingen controversy has been mostly laid, we are at liberty to recognise the germs of truth that lay beneath Baur's fantastic exaggerations. We have been accustomed to regard the Judaising party as hardly Christian at all, a clique of factious and bitter men who employed themselves in spoiling the work of the Apostle Paul. But it seems clear that these miserable schismatics were only pushing to a logical issue the practice of the Twelve and of James the Lord's Brother. In the central doctrines of Christianity we can see no inconsistency between the views of the Apostle of the Gentiles and those of the "pillars" of the Church at Jerusalem. St. Paul declared that Abraham was justified by faith; St. James, that he was justified by works. The two statements are just as inconsistent as when one man says he reaches his destination by steam, and another man that he

reaches it by train. The elder Apostles publicly proclaimed their assurance that the Law was not binding on Gentiles, and that Jews and Gentiles alike must be saved by the grace of the Lord Jesus, and not by any rites of Judaism. And yet they clung to these rites, and remained, most of them, rigid Jews all their lives. It was not consistent, no doubt, but the large-hearted toleration of Jesus would have allowed them the excuse He made for the Jews of His own day. "No man having drunk old wine desireth new, for he saith, the old is good"; and though, as the Lord implied, the new was better, men must learn that fact gradually. St. Paul's affection for the Jewish ceremonial had been burnt out of him by his vision on the road to Damascus. He learnt there that his lifelong endeavour to win salvation by legalism was a hopeless failure; and henceforth to him the Law was nothing but the παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν, which had fulfilled its purpose when it had brought him to the door of Christ's school. But so long as legalism did not mean aloofness towards Gentile Christians—as in St. Peter's melancholy fall at Antioch—St. Paul made no protest against it. The Church was divided in individual practice on matters which were recognised as unessential, and lived in perfect harmony. But we can easily see the tendencies which reappear exaggerated in later days. On the one side is the party that clings to the Past, whatever logic might say, that maintains lovingly the familiar ceremonies though they had lost their meaning, and pleads anxiously for the historic continuity of the new Church with the old. On the other side are those who live in the Future, who have no time to spare for worn-out rites which no words of Christ can be found to encourage, and who are too full of the new universal Church established at Pentecost to care very much for continuity with that which had had its day and ceased to be. It is not accidental that Rome has chosen St. Peter as her patron, however topsy-turvy the exegesis, however wildly legendary the history on which the choice is based: Rome represents the perversion and exaggeration of a tendency which St. Peter too often

allowed to rule him. With equal or greater reason we Protestants trace to St. Paul the Apostolical succession of Wiclif and Tyndale, Luther and Wesley. Only, alas! to-day the Petrine and Pauline developments stand to one another in the relation assumed by the Peter and Paul of the Clementine forgeries, not in that which the historical Peter and Paul occupy, giving one another the right hand of fellowship and endorsing one another's teaching. May the day come when the professed followers of St. Peter shall see how the Lord they have denied looks upon them in tender pity, and turn back to Him!

For, though we can freely recognise the beauty of the type of devotion so often fostered by "sacramental" Christianity, though we admit that there is much true light on the other side of the spectrum from our own, we cannot but see that the light soon deepens into a colour which cannot illuminate, and that the devotion tends, as in Spenser's allegory,* to become the blind mother of everything that is vile. The best part of the sunbeam comes to the end of the prismatic band where the heat rays are concentrated. If we say so, it is not merely because that is *our* end. The dislike of advanced "Catholics" for the Bible is confessedly due to their finding in it so little that the Church's ingenuity can wrest in their favour. Reverence for the past and submission to authority in religion may seem to appear in Christ's teaching, but at best only as subordinate virtues, and He showed that the past was honoured best by letting it lead to that which fulfilled it, that all human authority must bow before the One to whom all authority hath been given in heaven and on earth. His kingdom is "within;" it is not "of this world," governed by sovereign popes and lord bishops, but has its rules of precedence based on the very opposite principle. Other religions place their golden age in the past. They may well, for in every one of them the poison of priestcraft and superstition has eaten away the life of a prophet-founder's

* *Faery Queene*, i., 3.

revelation, and to return to their first estate is the loftiest hope they can cherish. But Christianity has no past save in Him who is the same yesterday, to-day, yea, and for ever. If His Church looks back, she is petrified. Before her lies the golden age, when the Kingdom shall come, as in heaven, so on earth. Unhasting, unresting, forgetting the things which are behind and reaching forward to the things which are before, she must press on to the goal for the prize of her upward calling, her aim a Paradise regained, and her inspiration the Powers of the World to come.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

NIGERIA.

1. *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa.* By Dr. HENRY BARTH. (Five Vols., London, 1857; New Edition, in Two Vols., 1890).

2. *Hausaland; or, Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Soudan.* By C. H. ROBINSON. (London, 1896; New Edition, 1897.)

3. *Hausa Grammar.* By C. H. ROBINSON. (London. 1897.)

4. *Historical Geography of the British Colonies.* By C. P. LUCAS. Vol. III. West Africa. (Oxford. 1894.)

5. *History of the Colonisation of Africa by Alien Races.* By H. H. JOHNSTON. (Cambridge. 1899.)

AN exceptional interest attaches at the present moment to the broad and comparatively well-populated regions lying between the Lower Niger and Lake Chad, which have been won and preserved to the British Empire mainly through the energy and ability of Sir George Taubmann Goldie. Here the initial stage under the guidance of a chartered company has been quickly and prosperously closed, and the country has entered upon a new and permanent phase of its development under the direct rule of the Imperial Government. Commercial enterprise, which has of necessity hitherto submitted to the limitations and restrictions incident to even a generous monopoly, will henceforth be untrammelled and free. The political rivalry, which fought as it were with one hand behind its back, while a private company contended against the national resources of France and Germany, has now

been laid to rest by recent conventions and boundary commissions. And a country rich and fertile, inhabited by an intelligent and industrious people, but under its native masters cursed by a peculiarly vicious form of the slave trade, has been thrown open to the influence of Christianity and European civilisation. Not inaptly or without prescience has "Nigeria" been termed the India of Central and Western Africa, and Sir G. Taubmann Goldie, to whose foresight and perseverance both Great Britain and Africa owe so great a debt, likened to Lord Clive,—winning for the Empire a new land and people, and handing over his conquest to the British nation to guard and to keep. That the inheritance may be well and faithfully preserved will be the desire and aim of every true son of "Greater Britain."

The Royal Niger Company, which has now ceased to exist as other than a mere commercial association,* was incorporated in the year 1885 as successor to the National African Company. The latter had been formed six years earlier under the name of the United African Company for the purposes of trade on the Lower Niger, through the personal exertions and tact of Sir G. T. Goldie, then a captain in the Royal Engineers. He combined into a single enterprise all the varied commercial interests of British subjects in these districts, bought out two rival French companies, and applied for a charter from the British Government. This work of consolidation was completed immediately before the Berlin Conference of 1883–84, at which, in words often quoted, the British representative was able with truth to declare that "the whole trade of the Niger basin is at the present moment in British hands." A Royal Charter of administration was accordingly granted, placing the supreme control of the territories named in the hands of the company; and rarely by associations of this character has the trust confided to them been discharged

* The resolution in favour of the continued existence of the Company for mercantile objects was carried *nem. con.* at a meeting of the shareholders held on August 23. The Earl of Scarborough holds the office of first Chairman of the new Board of Directors.

with so great faithfulness and success. Within the last few years difficulties with France have been almost incessant owing to attempts made from her colonies in the west to break through to the Lower Niger, and to cut off the hinterland of the British colony of Lagos. German rivalry also at one time threatened to become serious in the same region. This however was frustrated in 1885 by the late Joseph Thomson, who succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Sultan of Sokoto, forestalling by the narrow margin of only two months a German expedition sent up the country with the same object.

The conditions upon which the charter has been surrendered to the Crown, and the compensation granted for risks run and for plant and other material taken over, are hardly subjects for discussion here. There has been not a little discontent expressed at the terms which the Government has imposed; and an authoritative statement has been issued, contradicting certain premature expressions of satisfaction at the supposed generosity of the treatment meted out to the Company. Such discontent is perhaps natural and inevitable, nor is it possible for an outsider to determine how far complaints are really justified. The Company however and its Directors have deserved so well of the country that it is most regrettable if any soreness of feeling is allowed to remain. The British nation would gladly condone over-generous dealing in such a case. They will be apt to have little patience with or pity for the negotiators of a hard bargain.

The area of the country which has thus come under direct British rule, and of which the Hausa-speaking states form the largest and most important part, is slightly less than half a million square miles, and the population is estimated at about twenty-five millions. With these figures it is interesting to compare those of the largest native state in India, Haidarabad, which with an area of only eighty-two and a half thousand square miles yet supports eleven and a half million inhabitants. The limits of Nigeria on the north and west have been finally determined by the recent Con-

vention with France, signed at Paris on June 14th of last year. The line is drawn from Ilo on the Niger about midway between Say and Busa north-east and east to Barrua on Lake Chad, and southwards to meet the border between Lagos and Dahomey. On the east Lake Chad, and on the south-east the frontier of German territory as settled by treaty in 1893, form the boundary; while on the south Nigeria touches the so-called Niger Coast Protectorate, and the Colony of Lagos. With these two British possessions there can be little doubt that the administration of the new district will ultimately be united. For the present three distinct provinces under separate governments have been formed, namely—Southern Nigeria including the Niger Coast Protectorate, Lagos, and Northern Nigeria. Of the last Colonel Lugard is to be the first Governor. His name, which has been so long and honourably connected with Africa, is a sufficient guarantee that all that is possible will be done for the advancement of the country and the welfare of the native inhabitants.

It appears strange, in presence of recent controversies and the late "scramble for Africa," to recall the fact that within the memory of many living, almost the whole of the Sudan, the land of the blacks, was practically unknown except along the coast and for a few miles inland. Shut in on the north by the desert tracts of the Sahara, over which the fierce and cruel bands of the Tawareq roamed, and added to the well-known perils of exploration those of robbery and murder; bordered again on the south by the fever-stricken coast-lands, whose notorious and deadly character was without reason credited to the regions of the interior, and many of whose inhabitants profited too much by their position as middlemen to willingly allow the European to prospect their territory; the central Sudan was practically accessible only from the west. As a matter of history it was from the west, the regions of the Upper Gambia and the Senegal, that the earliest successful explorations were directed. In this work Englishmen and Scotchmen led the way. And were the rights of discovery alone

in question, almost the whole of the Niger from its source to the sea would be a British river.

The delta of the great stream was known long before its course was mapped out, or even conjectured, under the name of the Oil Rivers, because of the quantities of palm oil thence exported. The title is hardly after all a misnomer. For the mouths through which the Niger discharges into the ocean have in many instances a fair claim to be regarded as independent, receiving as they do tributary streams that have no connexion with the main river. The three or four hundred miles that lie between the apex of the delta and the foot of the rapids at Busa were the last to be traced out on the map. With the discovery and exploration of the Niger the name of Mungo Park is as inseparably connected as that of Stanley with the Congo, or Livingstone with the Zambezi. Long before his time, however, rumours of the great river had been carried to Europe, and explorers, English and French, had endeavoured to reach the stream and to solve the mystery of its half-fabulous merchant city of Timbuktu. But Mungo Park first of Europeans stood on its banks and trusted to its waters, as Stanley later to the Congo, in the attempt to navigate it to the sea. Starting from the West Coast in 1795, the young Scotch doctor reached Pisania on the Upper Gambia, and journeying north-east crossed the Senegal into the countries of Kaarta and Ludamar. Taken captive he succeeded in escaping, and through great difficulties made his way to the Niger at Segu. Thence he travelled down the stream in hope of entering Timbuktu, but was compelled to return after covering about eighty miles. From Bamaku on the Niger he struck across country again to the Gambia and returned home, where he was received with great enthusiasm.

Ten years later, in 1805, Mungo Park set out again for West Africa with several companions, among whom was his brother-in-law, Dr. Anderson. Travelling by the same general route they reached the Niger at Bamaku not without the loss of most of the party through accident and disease, and journeyed down to Sansandig, thirty miles below Segu.

Here at the end of the year a boat was built with the intention of descending the river, and Mungo Park sent back to England his letters and journals. Nothing more was ever heard directly either of the leader or his small party. All that was subsequently learnt from the natives was to the effect that in face of constantly increasing opposition, due probably to his inability to pay blackmail, Mungo Park had forced his way down the river more than a thousand miles as far as the rapids at Busa. Here his boat was wrecked, and he himself with his few remaining companions drowned.

Numerous explorers followed in the steps of Mungo Park, and met with greater or less success in their attempts to penetrate to the Niger. From Tripoli also and the north expeditions were sent, whose objective was the same countries and especially far-famed Timbuktu. The first to actually gain the shores of Lake Chad and to pass through the Hausa states seems to have been Lieutenant H. Clapperton, who in the years 1822–27 made two great journeys from the north and from the south. In the latter, starting from Badagri, he succeeded in traversing the Yoruba country and reaching Busa; thence crossing the river he travelled to Sokoto, where he died of fever. The honour of completing Mungo Park's work, and of following the course of the Niger from Busa to the sea, was reserved for the brothers Lander, who in 1830 made their way in canoes down the stream to the mouth of the Brass river. Since that time the Niger basin and the adjoining states have been the scene of many exploring expeditions, which have made the country almost as well-known as any in Africa. Few have surpassed in interest and importance those of the German scientist, Dr. Henry Barth, in the years following 1850. Dr. Barth's works on the geography and languages of the Central Sudan will not soon be superseded. One of the most recent journeys of which an account has been published is that of the Rev. C. H. Robinson, sent out in 1894 by the Hausa Association, a society that owes its origin to the Church Missionary Society and endeavours to promote at home an intelligent interest in the Hausa land and people.

Mr. Robinson travelled through the whole of the Hausa states, with the object especially of determining the need and opportunities for missionary work; and his book is to all intents and purposes an eloquent and reasoned plea for the cause which he has at heart. Since his return Mr. Robinson has been appointed the first Lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge.

This last mentioned fact of the establishment at Cambridge of a lectureship in the Hausa language, and the inclusion of the same language in the list of those in which candidates for the post of student interpreter in the British Army may qualify, shows the great importance attached in the eyes of the authorities at home to the Hausa tongue and people. Many are of opinion, and it can hardly be gainsaid that they are right, that the Africa of the future will be divided, broadly speaking, between four great languages,—Arabic and English in the north and south respectively, Swahili on the east coast and inland to the centre of the continent and perhaps beyond, and Hausa in the Central Sudan stretching out long arms to the north and south and west. Other languages will of course be heard; as French in Senegambia and her great Niger Empire, German in the Camaroons and her territories on the east and west coasts, Portuguese and Dutch further south, Italian in Somaliland and with Greek sporadically on the north coast and in Egypt, endless native tongues and dialects. These four however will predominate. In Nigeria, especially, Hausa competes with Arabic and Fula. The former is the language of religion. As long as Muhammadanism prevails Arabic will maintain its ground; and it will always be studied for its own sake, apart from any requirements of creed or intercommunication. Fula is the language of the conquerors who entered Hausaland at the beginning of the present century, and established there the great empire of Sokoto with more or less independent chiefs or courts at Nupe and elsewhere. The name is said to mean "light" or "fair"; and their appearance to be distinctly marked off from that of the Hausa or the ordinary negro by a lighter complexion with

straight hair and nose. Their national relations are probably with the Wahuma and pastoral tribes of Central Africa. From their later home in Senegambia, under the guidance of a great leader El Hadj Omar, these raiders and warriors overran the whole of the Central Sudan. In 1854 and the following years they were defeated and pressed back by General Faidherbe and the French. And now that their power has been finally broken by the Royal Niger Company, their language is hardly likely to survive.

The number of petty tribes and kinglets inhabiting Nigeria is almost infinite. Over them all the Fula sultan of Sokoto claimed to exercise control, and from them he was wont to extort tribute. To this shadowy overlordship the Royal Niger Company succeeded when, in 1885, Joseph Thomson concluded a treaty with the sultan by which his rights were transferred to the British. The task of converting this claim into a reality has not been unattended with difficulty. It will be remembered that it was the refusal of the chief and people of Nupe to recognise the authority of the British, together with their persistent slave-raiding, which led to the recent expedition against them, when Sir G. Taubman Goldie, with a few Hausa troops led by British officers, scattered the Nupe forces consisting largely of irregular cavalry, and took possession of their chief city of Bida. This capital is described as for Africa strikingly well built, surrounded by a strong mud wall ten feet high, and with broad streets leading from gate to gate. Close to the palace of the late emir, Meliki by name, a solid and pretentious building, was found the chief slave market, where as many as two hundred slaves, raided from the neighbouring countries and as far south as Lokoja, were frequently sold in a single day. The town contained dye works, with every indication of a prosperous trade in indigo, leather and glass. There were also many schools with Arabic books. During the expedition at places along the river the people came out in excited crowds to greet the British forces, rejoicing at the defeat of their Fula tyrants. The same demonstrations met the officers and soldiers on

their return later from the Yoruba town of Ilorin. Here the emir was reinstated in power, after signing a treaty with the company and giving sureties for his good behaviour. Ilorin was found to be larger even than Bida, although not so well built; the houses were more scattered and often in a condition of decay and ruin. The outer wall measured nine miles in circumference, but within this circuit were enclosed large open spaces and meadowland. Numerous traces were discovered here also of the cruel treatment meted out by the ruling race to slaves and criminals. After the entry of the British forces, "a curious episode was the fact of the 'Fall in' for the guard being sounded that evening in the market-place of Ilorin by an ex-bugler in the Lagos Constabulary, a few hours previously a slave in the same town, and still with the chains on his legs." In every case the Hausas of their own accord took part with the conquerors.

Of Kano also, the commercial although hitherto not the political capital, several writers have given striking and favourable accounts. It is a town of great size and importance, the containing walls being fifteen miles in circumference, with about a hundred thousand inhabitants of whom one half at least are slaves. This estimate of the population is necessarily rough, and the conclusions of other travellers present considerable variety. Mr. Robinson bases his calculation on the number of daily *funerals!* Within the walls also, as in all African towns of any pretensions there are open spaces and much cultivated ground. That the resident settled population is very large admits however of no doubt, and there is an incessant coming and going of merchants and traders. The market of Kano is the most frequented and important in Central Africa, whence radiate caravan routes, whose extremities touch the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. The native industries of weaving, tanning and dyeing are carried on within the town on so large a scale that half the population of the Sudan is said to wear Kano cloth, and scarcely a less proportion to make use of Kano shoes. Other articles to be found on sale in the market are ivory and ostrich feathers,

gold dust and salt,—the last a necessity of life to the natives, but not produced within their own country. Native salt is imported from the southern parts of the Sahara. In the regions nearer the river English salt has already supplanted it. Slaves also, to the number of five hundred at a time, are on sale. Camels, horses and cattle may be bought. Sugar comes from Egypt; other European products generally from Tripoli, across the desert. But the most extensive import trade is carried on in the kola nut, which is brought great distances, principally from the interior of the Gold Coast Colony and from the Upper Gambia. This fruit grows within a pod like a large bean, and is described as similar in shape and size to a chestnut, but varying in colour from white to a deep red. The natives universally put the nut to the same use as the betel in India; and claim that it possesses wonderful invigorating and sustaining powers, enabling them to do a hard day's work without other food. Europeans, however, mountain-climbers and others, who have made personal trial of its efficacy, have found that in their case the result hardly answered expectations. To the inhabitants of Hausaland the kola nut is one of the first necessities of life.

The current of all this trade will of course be diverted when the railway from Lagos, which has already reached Abbeokuta, shall have been prolonged to and beyond the Niger. That Kano, about three hundred miles from the river in a direct line, will be its main objective seems to admit of no doubt, even though the line should not stop there. Passing through important towns like Ibadan, Oyo, Ilorin, and Rabba on the Niger, it can hardly fail to command from the first a large trade.

A further advantage of the opening up of the country will be the introduction of a suitable currency. Hitherto slaves and cowries have been the two *media* of barter. All large transactions were effected by means of slaves. The tribute paid by the various subject states to Sokoto has been assessed in the same way, at so many slaves per annum, besides horses and other articles of value; and the wherewithal to pay seems to have been usually obtained by a raid

upon the nearest convenient village. The value of the cowry increases, as would be expected, with the distance inland or from the river. On the middle Niger a thousand cowries are worth about sixpence, in the interior at Kano half as much again. The carriage and counting of even a small sum in so troublesome a currency would be a formidable matter, offering every facility for treachery and dishonest dealing. And the introduction of the British or Indian coinage will be one of the first and greatest boons conferred upon the country by the new government.

The exceptions to the general rule of tribal insignificance in Nigeria, besides the Fulas and Hausas, are the Songhai on the north-west and north, and the men of Bornu on the north-east and east. Neither however of these can for a moment compare in interest and importance with the Hausa-speaking peoples. The number of these last is estimated by Mr. Robinson, a very competent observer, at no less than fifteen millions; or as he himself puts it, one in every hundred of the population of the world employs Hausa as his native tongue. "Every day as a rule," he writes, "we passed two or more villages of considerable size, and about every fifty miles we came across a town containing from ten thousand to thirty thousand inhabitants." The Hausas form the great mercantile and trading class of the Central and West Sudan, and their merchants are in constant communication with places as far distant as Tripoli, Tunis and Alexandria on the north, and on the east Suakim and the coast of the Red Sea. In all these towns and countries permanent Hausa settlements have been formed, the Hausa language may be heard, and goods, especially cloth, manufactured in the centre of Hausaland may be purchased. In order to learn Hausa preparatory to his travels in the country Mr. Robinson proceeded to Tripoli, where he found a colony of more than six hundred Hausa-speaking people, and had no difficulty in obtaining a teacher. At the present time the Church Missionary Society has agents in Tripoli studying the language with the view of entering upon mission work in Nigeria. Hausa is

the only tongue of the Central Sudan that possesses a literature, and in which native manuscripts may be obtained. This literature is said to consist mainly of ballads, songs of love and war, with translations from Arabic historians and other writers.

The relation of the language to those of the surrounding tribes has been much discussed; but the materials for a final judgment are scarcely yet available. Even if its genealogy could be securely and confidently traced, the result would not be decisive as to the origin of the people themselves. Hausa writers employ the Arabic alphabet, but give a different value to several of the characters; *e.g.*, *thâ* is *ch* as in church, *dâl* is *z*, *dâd* is *l*, *ghain* is simple hard *g*, and the guttural sounds of the Arabic are absent. The introduction of this alphabet is of course not anterior to the Muhammadan invasion of Africa in the seventh and following centuries. To the same source, and to the influence of Muhammadan missionaries and traders, may be ascribed the large element in the vocabulary that is obviously borrowed from the Arabic. On the other hand there are features of the language, belonging to its essence not its accidents, which are hardly likely to have been taken over from a conquering race, and which appear to link it in its origin with the Semitic group, and especially with the Coptic. Among the most persistent and characteristic elements of a language, where it is least probable that a foreign tongue would be able to make its influence felt, are the personal pronouns; and these in Hausa, both independent and suffixed, are Semitic. *Mai* or *mad.* also, prefixed to noun or verb stems, denotes as in the Semitic languages either the place or the agent. The genitive is expressed by *n* or *na*, precisely as in Coptic; and there are very considerable analogies in the mode of formation of the tenses. On the other hand the numerals up to nineteen are non-Semitic, with the exception of *shidda*, six; but the words for twenty and the following tens are borrowed from the Arabic—a fact from which the curious will perhaps draw the precarious inference that before the coming of the Arabs the

Hausas could not count beyond units and teens. There is further in the language no system of triliteral roots, the absence of which, although merely a negative indication, would tend to connect Hausa with Coptic, and its mother tongue Egyptian, rather than with any later or more developed branch of the Semitic family. While the composite hybrid nature of the language may be illustrated by the system of connective pronouns, which it possesses in common with the widely-spread Bantu group. The general cast and construction of the sentences, however, appear to be rather Semitic than Bantu.

Were the character and relations of the Hausa speech determined in the sense above indicated it would not follow that the people themselves were in their origin Semites. Languages migrate much more readily than nations. And to infer a common descent from a common speech is to go beyond the warrant of the premises. In all such instances there must however have existed a migrating agency on a smaller or larger scale. The transference of language or linguistic influence can only take place through the intercourse of peoples. There can hardly therefore be a doubt that earlier than the Muhammadan irruption into Africa a wave of Semitic influence penetrated as far at least as the Niger basin. Whence it came, or by what means it was carried to the Central Sudan, are questions that with our present knowledge scarcely admit of definite answer. That the Hausa peoples in general, like the Fulas and most if not all other tribes of these regions, are of very mixed stock is patent. Their own traditions bring them from the far east, and from beyond Mecca. But to such traditions it is not possible to attach a great value, in view of the length of time that they have been established in their present home. Kano, the commercial capital of the country, is said to have been a Hausa town for more than a thousand years. It must not be overlooked, moreover, that more than one line of reasoning points to an extent and far-reaching influence of Egyptian civilisation towards the south and south-west, which only a few years ago would have been scouted

as impossible. Many will remember the excited and enthusiastic description which M. Félix Dubois gives in his book *Timbuktu the Mysterious* of the "Egyptian" architecture of the town of Jenne on the backwaters of the great river above Timbuktu. And it may well be that the early debt of the Niger to the Nile is more real and permanent than has yet been conceived.

Whatever uncertainties are met with in the endeavour to penetrate the secret of the origin of the Hausa peoples, their material prosperity for the future is now assured. They have shown themselves possessed of singular energy and perseverance, intelligent and tractable, skilled in the arts of peace, but receptive of military training so as to make effective soldiers. With the Fula yoke now for ever broken and the curse of the slave trade removed, there is little doubt that they will hold more surely in the future than in the past the leading place among the peoples of West Africa. In numbers and solidarity, in commercial enterprise and extent of influence, there is no single race that can compete with them. The wise and humane policy of the Royal Niger Company has hitherto excluded from the country, as far as possible, all firearms and spirits. That prohibition is to be continued under the direct rule of the British Government. The difficulties of enforcing it, and of preventing smuggling on an extensive scale across the French and German borders, will be very great. But that the attempt should be made for almost the first time in history over so wide an area to introduce the white man's civilisation and his gifts of freedom and internal peace apart from the white man's vices contains in itself the promise of almost infinite good.

It is evident also how important and attractive a field Nigeria in general, and the Hausa people in particular, offer to the enterprise and zeal of the Christian missionary. That Hausaland will prove to be a second and greater Uganda is a prophecy about which there is little of the risk that besets most forecasts of the future. The parallel between the two countries is however not very close, and in many

respects the balance of advantage lies with the peoples of the Niger. Uganda is smaller and much less thickly populated; until recent times entirely self-contained, the inhabitants have neither sought nor cultivated relations with distant lands. Hausa traders and pilgrims on the contrary have for centuries travelled far and wide. Thousands cross the Great Sahara every year. Robinson, for instance, gives an account of one man whom he knew at Tripoli, who from Bida with his wives and family had made his way right across the continent through Wadai and Darfur to Omdurman and thence to Suakim. There he had taken steamer to Jeddah, and had successfully accomplished the pilgrimage to Mecca; returning by way of Jeddah, Suez and Alexandria to Tripoli, from which town he hoped to reach his home in about a year's time, travelling direct through the desert. The greater part of the journey was made on foot, the total distance covered being not far short of seven thousand miles; and so great had been the difficulties and delays that, when Mr. Robinson met him, the time of his absence from home had already extended to seven or eight years. Were such men as these touched with the spirit of Christ, they would form the finest corps of itinerant evangelists that Africa has ever seen.

A serious obstacle in the way of a Christian propaganda among the Hausas would seem to be the religion which they profess. Nominally at least the greater number of the Hausas are Muhammadans. And where Islâm has firmly established itself in so congenial a soil as that of Africa every attempt to break down its sway has hitherto been made in vain. All accounts however agree that the national profession of Muhammadanism is very imperfect and formal. The absence of religious fanaticism is noticeable, and the witch doctor hardly pauses in his incantations as the Muslim preacher passes by. In Kano itself there is only one small mosque, which is said to be little frequented. Muhammadanism in fact has been imposed upon the Hausas from above by the Fula conquerors, and has laid no effective hand upon the super-

stitions or affections of the people. The native fetichism and idolatry have been glossed over by the forms of Islâm, that is all; but they retain their strong hold upon the hearts of those who nominally conform to the established religion. From the point of view, therefore, of the Christian missionary the difficulty of the presence of Muhammadanism is more apparent than real. Every year however will strengthen its hold upon the country and people. Whatever is done by the missionary societies concerned should be done quickly and without delay, if the opportunity is not to be let slip.

The Church Missionary Society, with the promptness and zeal which so honourably characterises all its actions, is preparing to despatch a party of missionaries up the country from Lokoja, the most advanced post which is held on the Niger. It is fitting that the town which witnessed the labours of the first Protestant negro bishop, Samuel Crowther, who died at the close of 1891 after a period of service prolonged for more than twenty-five years, should be the starting-point of new endeavours to reach the interior. On the Lagos side the most advanced station at present is at Ogbomosko, about thirty-five miles south-south-west of Ilorin, where workers both of the Church Missionary Society and Wesleyan Missionary Society are engaged. The latter Society had indeed at one time an agent at Egga or Eggan on the Niger itself, a hundred miles above Lokoja; but the work there was never vigorously supported and the position was soon abandoned. That the road from Lagos and not the line of the Niger will be the great trade route of the future when the railway is completed can hardly be disputed. To prepare the way and the people for a higher culture and religion, to elevate and to guide the great civilising influences that will now pour into the country, is the task that lies before the two Missionary Societies, whose outposts are side by side looking towards the new field, and whose agents have always worked in the completest harmony. The opportunity is unique. But the tide must be taken at the flood if the foundations of a lasting success are to be laid.

It is improbable that Nigeria will ever become a colony in the sense in which South Africa is colonised and inhabited by Europeans,—the home of a healthy and vigorous stock of white settlers, who are able to rear children of a hardihood and capacity like their own. The altogether tropical nature of the country, with its moderate elevation above the sea-level, creates a difficulty for the present perhaps insuperable. The parallel is rather with India than with other parts of Africa. A tropical land, rich and fertile, fairly healthy except in the river and lake valleys, with a sober industrious and trade-loving people, well watered and possessing considerable mineral resources, will be ruled more or less despotically by a few white men, and will attain a high level of prosperity. The natives will benefit immediately by the cessation of the practice of slave-raiding, and by the introduction of a just and strong rule. Their share in the future well-being of the country will depend upon their willingness and capacity to receive moral and intellectual training; as to both of which their past history and present condition justify very high hopes. It is evident that in Nigeria has been added to the British Empire a country of exceptional value and interest from every point of view. To the late Chairman of the Royal Niger Company has fallen the rare happiness of presiding over its development almost from the very beginning to the successful completion of his task, and to him primarily that success is due. In the British roll of honour, which fortunately shows no sign of coming to an early close, the name of Sir George Taubmann Goldie will deservedly hold an honourable and foremost place.

A. S. GEDEN.

MODERN OXFORD AND NONCONFORMITY.

THE most brilliant student in Oxford to-day—of course, a Balliol man—is a Wesleyan. Among the intellectual influences of the University there is one that ever touches its thought to finer issues; and this influence emanates from a Nonconformist college, at the head of which is a distinguished Dissenting divine. Oxford, the old-time clerical, and the erstwhile exclusive, seat of learning, nowadays is disposed to dispute with Nonconformity the universal distinction reflected from association with Dr. Fairbairn's life and work. If it cannot yet be said of Mansfield College that it is permeating the life of Oxford with a new earnestness, the Congregational foundation may at least be credited with a position and power in the University which was undreamt of by those belated adherents of a once dominant dogmatism who somewhat contemptuously resented the intrusion of democratic Nonconformity upon the peculiar preserve of Church and Aristocracy. And were one asked to name the live church of the City in which the reformed religion took root the more firmly because of the vicissitudes of its early local history, there would be little hesitation in citing New Road Chapel —that wonderful historical revival of the old Baptist cause —as an individual religious centre in which well-organised denominational vitality pulsates healthily and strong.

Lest these sayings be attributed to a personal enthusiasm which, however laudable in Nonconformist eyes, is not the likeliest source of exact history, a hard fact or two may be introduced at this point. Oxford has gone out of its way to confer upon the Principal of Mansfield College, by decree

of Convocation, the *full* M.A. degree, carrying with it all the privileges of membership of the University—an honour not to be confused with the Hon. M.A. degrees conferred at the Encænia upon those more or less distinguished, and certainly interesting, national personalities who are made the butt of undergraduate wit. As for Mansfield—is not its name and fame written in the Honors Lists? And, lastly, a string of scholarships testifies to the correctitude of the compliment paid at the outset to that student of parts whom the Wesley Guild claims as a University recruit.

It *may be* significant—and at any rate, it *is* certainly suggestive—that the Church of England, though entrenched in her privileged position, is not at this juncture characterised either by the commanding personality of her preachers or the increasing numerical superiority of her active adherents in the ancient University. Oxford boasts neither a Pusey nor a Gore to-day. When it is remembered how aggressive some sections of the Church as by law established have become in recent years, and "the Oxford Movement" is also recalled, some difficulty is experienced in reconciling the comparative apathy of Churchmen in the University with the ecclesiastical tendencies of the hour. Possibly, in this respect the Wesleyans share the immediate characteristics of the Church from which their separate denomination sprang on this very spot. So far as Oxford is concerned, the Connexion may be momentarily conspicuous by reason of the absence from among its leaders of a single individuality to which anything more than circuit or congregational interest attaches. Even Oxford Wesleyanism cannot always be maintained at the white heat of enthusiasm aroused by Mr. Hugh Price Hughes; moreover, whilst the splendid organisation of Methodism maintains churches though men may come and men may go, and, if there be any change at all in the strength of Wesleyan causes in the City, they do but suffer the smallest and the most temporary retrogression, there is a note of progress in the University itself which stirs old memories, as the adherents of John Wesley are seen clinging with tenacious loyalty to the

traditions of their Church and keeping alight the sacred fire with glowing ardour.

The Wesley University Guild—the characteristic concept and organisation of Rev. William J. Hutton, the superintendent minister of the Oxford Circuit who, in University parlance, has just "gone down"—is a revised version of the "Holy Club" of the Wesleys, in which Methodism had its birth. And, just as the earlier creation, which was to make religious history, won to it the choicer spirits of a University less open to pious influences even than the Oxford of to-day, so this Wesley Guild may boast as its most distinguished adherent that brilliant student to whom allusion has twice previously been made. To-day he is among the lay-workers of the Circuit. To-morrow—who knows?—he may have become the Dr. Fairbairn of Methodism, an admired embodiment of the sincerest piety and the deepest learning.

Nor does the Guild stand alone as a direct Nonconformist influence upon the spiritual life of the students. Every Sunday morning in term sees a hundred members of the University in attendance at the service conducted in Mansfield College Chapel by some one or other of the better known Congregational ministers. And, apart from evangelical Nonconformity, there are similar services at Manchester College, prominently associated with which are the names and tenets of Martineau, Drummond, and Estlin Carpenter, which have something more than "a local habitation and a name." The time is ripe for Nonconformist progress in the University. Some evidence has been given that opportunities have been seized. But what is the attitude of modern Oxford toward Nonconformity?

If we will but look—as we should exclusively—to the broader minds, and more representative, of the University, we shall find that, whilst a former generation of Oxonians, fast bound with Clericalism, substituted for a tyrannous intolerance toward Nonconformity an almost insufferable toleration of Nonconformists in their midst, to-day tolerance has, in the sunshine of a saner, sweeter intellectual atmos-

phere, graciously ripened into recognition, which has been followed even by the removal of social inequalities. At the time of the advent of Dr. Fairbairn in Oxford there was only too great occasion for his outburst of indignation on account of the social barriers which kept Nonconformists outside the circle of the elect. Perhaps the smaller minds of the smaller men may still be capable of this pettiness, but the Principal of Mansfield himself has no greater admirers to-day than among the men whose official position and University rank entitle them to be regarded as representative. Dr. Fairbairn is not to be outdone in courtesy. He has only recently paid a generous tribute to the newer and nobler attitude of Oxford toward her Nonconformist sons, than whom she has none more devotedly loyal and grateful. In the course of an intimate and tender expression of all his obligations to Mansfield and to Oxford which ran throughout his acknowledgment of the fine portrait presented to him at the last annual meeting of the College, the Principal spoke in fervent terms of the liberal tolerance and the kindly spirit in which they had been received in the University.

A wonderful change has, indeed, come over the whole attitude and atmosphere of Oxford. That memorable scene in Convocation on December 13th, 1883, when the University did violence to its own better nature, now appears as remote as the squalid mediæval halls and inns which have been replaced by the colleges of to-day, each of which has its own architectural "thing of beauty" that your true lover of Oxford will find "a joy for ever." On that dark December day the University, true only to its worst traditions, rejected the appointment of the Rev. Robert Forman Horton, as an Examiner in Divinity, by the overwhelming majority of 576 to 155. For that rash resurrection of old sectarian feuds and clerical narrowness, which ought to have been suffered to rest where they were laid in the decent burial of University tests, Oxford has since made ample amends. To-day, Church candidates and Nonconformist neophytes are impartially "ploughed" by Church and Nonconformist examiners.

The Warden of Merton (who, by the way, was the first to accord a hearty welcome to Manchester College), in a charmingly broad and sympathetic address to the thousand University Extension students in attendance at the summer meeting in July of this year, on "Half a Century of University History," spoke for Oxford in no grudging spirit on this very theme:

> The relaxation of the "classical monopoly" and the opening of scholarships was supplemented, in 1871, by a still more important reform—the complete abolition of University tests, already reduced by the Act of 1854. This great concession to religious liberty was brought about by a persistent movement, chiefly emanating from the Universities themselves, and I may say that I took an active part in promoting it. The contest in Parliament lasted no less than nine years, and one Bill after another was defeated or withdrawn, but in 1871 the abolition of University tests was adopted as a Government measure and accepted by the House of Lords. Experience has not justified the fears of its opponents, and neither the religious character nor the social peace of the University has been in the slightest degree impaired by the admission of Nonconformists to its degrees and endowments.

As the Hon. Charles George Brodrick would be the first to allow, Oxford has, the rather, profited immeasurably by taking unto herself the brainy, strenuous, earnest men that Nonconformity breeds. As far as that recognition, replacing toleration, to which allusion has been made, is concerned, the brilliant successes of Mansfield men in a greater, and Manchester men in a lesser, degree in the schools has unquestionably exercised a supreme influence in overcoming the last lingering symptom of ancient arrogance and prejudice. It is a delightfully sane quality of the Oxford of to-day that it refuses to accept the new plutocratic standard of esteem, and persists in judging a man on his intellectual merits. "What is he worth?" is not the solicitous enquiry of the University, however it may be in "Society" so-called. With an altogether acceptable conservatism in this instance, it persists in asking of every man who aspires to be a son of

Oxford, "What has he done?" This is a test which Nonconformity welcomes.

Mansfield College has, by sheer force of success in the schools, compelled respect. When the young squire and the rector's son come up to "hunt in couples" at the University, bringing with them the air and airs of the exclusive Anglican circle in the country parish or the social prejudices created by the aristocratic atmosphere of Eton, they are disposed to still affect the superiority which they cannot establish over Nonconformist students. Instantly they learn that this is anything but "good form," and, like the sound-hearted Englishmen they are, as speedily drop the pretence. The University has grown proud of the scholastic achievements of Mansfield "outsiders," and the young squire and the rector's son cheerfully conform to Oxford usage with respectful courtesy to Nonconformity. Since 1883 *the* Master of Balliol has spoken. The late Dr. Jowett welcomed Mansfield with open arms:

I want to point out how many and how important the points of agreement between us are, and how comparatively trifling are the points of difference. Do we not use the same version of the Scriptures? Are not many of the hymns in which we worship God of Nonconformist origin? Is there any one who is not willing to join with others in any philanthropic work? However different may have been our education, are our ideas about truth, right, and goodness materially different? . . . The great names of English literature, at least a great part of them, although they may be strictly claimed by Nonconformists, do not really belong to any caste or party. The names of Milton, of Bunyan, of Baxter, of Watts and Wesley are the property of the whole English nation. This, again, is a tie between us. We may be divided into different sects—I would rather say into different families—but it does not follow that there is anything wrong in the division, or that there should be any feeling of enmity entertained by different bodies towards one another. These divisions arise from many causes—from the accidents of past history, from differences of individual character, from the circumstances that one body is more suited to deal with one class and another with another. Nor do I think that much is to be

hoped or desired from the attempt to fuse these different bodies into one. Persons have entertained schemes of comprehension which look well on paper, but they are perfectly impracticable and they really mean very little. ***But what does mean a great deal is that there should be a common spirit among us, a spirit which recognises a great common principle of religious truth and morality. And as we begin to understand one another better we also see the points of agreement among us grow larger and larger and the points of disagreement grow less and less.***

Here we have an expression of the mental attitude of all that is worthiest in modern Oxford towards Nonconformity on which it is impossible to improve.

Dr. Fairbairn, who confessedly came to Oxford with misgivings as to the wisdom of the policy that had removed Mansfield from its original centre, has lived to prove the modesty of his own timidity and to justify the great expectations of "one who more than any other in his generation has served the cause of progress and the higher education in this University." Said the Principal at the inauguration of Mansfield College:

> It was not without much failing of heart and varied anxieties of spirit that the enterprise was undertaken, but yet it was with the clearest and distinctest sense of duty, in the belief that it was a needful thing, not only for the Churches of our order, but also for the future of religion, of liberty, of good feeling and of academic discipline in England. . . . And there is, too, the great need of carrying out the work of reconciliation that was begun when University tests were repealed, and from our various homes our sons were attracted hither that they might seek culture and gain knowledge.

Then, in a sincerely grateful spirit, he tells of hopes more than fulfilled:

> Let me thank the members of the University of Oxford for their varied and generous kindness. I can say, "I was a stranger and ye took me in," and I feel that I have been taken in to as generous a hospitality and friendship and confidence as a man in this life can ever feel it fit for him to possess.

There is, of course, much to be placed to the other side of this personal account. Dr. Fairbairn said much of his indebtedness to Oxford and Oxonians. Mansfield particularly and the University generally are convinced that they are the greater debtors. When, in 1893, the Queen called Dr. Fairbairn to act on the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, her mandate but placed the national imprimatur to the high esteem in which Oxford held the distinguished authority on the philosophy of religion and history. "I may say of Dr. Fairbairn that he is deeply respected for his learning and ability; that he knows how to win the hearts of youth, and to make himself acceptable to this place, and that he has great gifts of administration." There again, Dr. Jowett spoke for Oxford, and the tribute is as adequate as it is simple and direct. It was not without a purpose that Dr. Fairbairn was born north of the Tweed. His conduct and direction of Mansfield, which have contributed so much to the position which the College holds in the University to-day, have been adroit, politic, far-seeing, in the best sense of these terms. Mother-wit is largely responsible for the profound respect which Dr. Fairbairn commands from the dons of Oxford. The Principal of Mansfield is a living reproof to those shallow reasoners who contend that study is inimical to the development of the administrative instinct and that business and letters are incompatible. Acute, able, suave, and strong, with a true Scottish grasp of affairs and mastery of detail, Dr. Fairbairn has given Mansfield all the advantages of those characteristic traits of his northern race which have carried the sons of Scotia to the front in every walk of life and in all climes.

And here we arrive at the moral of these gratified musings on the relations of modern Oxford and Nonconformity. If Methodism may boast at all, it can assuredly take pride in that genius of organisation which has expressed itself in every denominational development, and never more impressively than in recent years. "Organise! Organise!! Organise!!!" As long ago as 1725, Methodism had acquired the secret of sectarian and secular success in any

propagandist movement. It is, indeed, the greatest monument the modern world beholds of what inspired organisation can accomplish. When, therefore, the Wesleyan Methodists set about their Oxford College scheme in real earnest, we may expect to see a new and greater Mansfield, fortified by the resources of a devoted membership which has set Religion at large a noble example by its splendidly generous support of the Twentieth Century Fund. But it must also find another Dr. Fairbairn!

The Mecca of Methodism is in Oxford. Methodists the world over owe an incalculable and irredeemable debt to the University. The impressionable visitor to Oxford, as he makes his tour of the colleges and gives to that magnificent collection of portraits in the Hall of Christ Church the close attention which its merits demand, with its noble galaxy of worthies of the Church, of Religion, Literature, Politics, Science, and the Arts, must needs pause beneath the canvas on which the saintly sweetness of John Wesley's nature, and something of its great moral strength, have been caught by the painter. Wesley's near neighbour, by the doorway, is a bishop born to rule, and in accidental but most suggestive juxtaposition there is another bishop, in episcopal splendour, looking out upon us from the massive gilt frame on the other side of the doorway. John Wesley, with a bishop on either hand, holding him in countenance—or is it in custody?—as a son of the Church of England is a symbol to the thoughtful Nonconformist.

In the light of the knowledge that the eyes of Wesleyans are to-day fixed on Oxford, and that a project for the consolidation of the four existing colleges of the Connexion in one foundation, within the walls of the ancient University, has been mooted, there is no lingering doubt that the sense of indebtedness to Oxford is felt by those who know and admire the history of that great religious body which now covers the known world with its evangelising agencies. The latest *History of Oxfordshire* (an admirably succinct study of a great subject, written by J. Meade Falkner, and published by Elliot Stock) contains a few brief references to

the Wesleys and to Whitefield which may profitably be quoted here:

The new religious departure of the Methodists forced the Church to look to her ways. John Wesley went up to Christ Church in 1720, and was followed thither by his brother Charles in 1726. John's first sermon was preached on October 16th, 1725, in the little Church of South Leigh, near Witney, and an inscription on the oak pulpit there records the fact. An entry in his diary for Wednesday, October 16th, 1771, says: "I preached at South Lye. Here it was I preached my first sermon six and forty years ago. One man was in my present audience who heard it. Most of the rest have gone to their long home."

And then of Whitefield and the "Holy Club":

It was his interest in a prisoner who had tried to commit suicide in Bocardo (old Oxford) that first brought Whitefield into connexion with the Wesleys. The little band of earnest men who set such store on visiting the sick, on weekly communion, on fixed hours of private devotion, on gatherings for reading the New Testament, and on general soberness of life, were first christened at Oxford the Holy Club, and afterwards the Methodists, a name so soon to become one to conjure with. John Wesley was ordained by Potter, Bishop of Oxford, of whom he spoke with veneration and affection to the day of his death, calling him a "great and good man." "These men," said the Bishop on his side, "are irregular, but they have done good, and I pray God to bless them."

The voices of the Past and the claims of the Present alike make their clamant call upon Methodism, which was never so alive as it is to-day to its duties and responsibilities. Oxford gives generously to her sons from her rich stores, but she exacts from them that they in their turn shall aid her strenuously and with a single purpose in the diffusion of that true learning which is light and healing among the nations. The nobler spirits of the University in the Victorian era have been actuated by a lofty purpose. "Oxford has done much for me; what can I do for Oxford?" In this exalted sentiment we see the inspiration of Oxford missions,

of Toynbee Hall, of University Extension, and many another expression of the highest culture. No great church like the Methodist Connexion has become can be worthy of the day of her greatness unless she associates herself with the most splendid instrument for the diffusion of knowledge which the world has ever possessed.

The lower, but still laudable, motive of self-interest draws Wesleyan Methodism as with a magnet to the University famed among all the schools of theological research as the best equipped and most amply endowed.

> These are days when men who believe the same truths ought to pursue their studies together, with a view to a completer service and knowledge of the truth. The efforts of students and scholars in search of the truth can be adequate and satisfactory only when concurrent, complementary and converging to a common end; and how can these things be achieved if men dwell apart in polemical or disdainful isolation? And the nearer men come as students the more will they approach as men, the greater will be their fellowship and their sympathy in intellect and feeling.

Dr. Fairbairn's justification of the presence of Mansfield students in Oxford—"that we may do something to serve the theology of our faith"—may well be adopted by those leading Methodists who, wise in their day and generation, are advocating an Oxford foundation. And they may surely say, with unction, to the Alma Mater of John and Charles Wesley:

> It is love that brings us, love of our people, of our sons, of our struggles in the past, our hopes for the future, of the University we are once more free to call our own. Our fathers loved these classic groves, the memories that hallowed, the fellowship that endeared, the studies that consecrated ancient hall and cloistered college; they went out sadly and with many a backward look, as men who loved not Oxford less, but conscience more. . . . We have come to resume, under forms suitable to our century, the work of our fathers within sight of the spires and under the shadow of the towers they loved so well. . . . We dare not, even were we able, deprive ourselves of

our inheritance, with all its responsibilities, dignities and duties. We belong to the larger and greater Church of England.

It comes to this, then, that Methodists have to ask themselves whether they will sacrifice, by disuse and neglect, the great inheritance which has been restored to them. For long years, as the late Dr. Dale so aptly figured it, they were shut out from the orchard, though the branches of the trees, laden with ripe fruit, hung temptingly over the wall. Now they may enter, none daring or caring to question their right. Only one decision is possible. To believe otherwise would be to doubt the continued possession by Methodism of that spiritualised good sense which has been the savour of the life of the denomination. For remember what a university—what *the* University—is and the illimitable influence it exercises in these days when culture is a common possession! There is an unforgettable definition by John Henry Newman, but now recalled to the memory of Oxford by that true educationist, Dr. Percival, Bishop of Hereford. It is a felicitous and even fascinating picture, which we may here leave for Methodist contemplation:

A university is a place of concourse, whither students come from every quarter for every kind of knowledge, and to listen to living teachers. It is a place to which a thousand schools make contributions, in which the intellect may safely range and speculate, sure to find its equal in some antagonistic activity, and its judge in the tribunal of truth. It is a place where enquiry is pushed forward, and discoveries are verified and perfected, and rashness is rendered innocuous and error exposed, by the collision of mind with mind and knowledge with knowledge. It is a place which wins the admiration of the young by its celebrity, kindles the affections of the middle-aged by its beauty, and rivets the fidelity of the old by its associations. It is a seat of wisdom, a light of the world, a minister of the faith, an Alma Mater of the rising generation.

HUGH W. STRONG.

THREE GREAT ASIATIC REFORMERS: A STUDY AND A CONTRAST.

1. *Das Leben und die lehre des Mohamad.* By SPRENGER. Three Vols. Berlin.
2. *Life of Mahomet.* By Sir WILLIAM MUIR. Third Edition. 1894.
3. *History of the Saracens.* By Mr. Justice AMIR ALI. 1899.
4. *Buddhism, Primitive and Present in Megadha and in Ceylon.* By Bishop COPLESTON. 1892.
5. *Buddhism, in its connexion with Brahmanism and Hinduism.* By MONIER-WILLIAMS. 1889.
6. *Das Leben des Baba Nanak.* By Dr. E. TRUMPP.
7. *The Adi Granth.* Translated by Dr. E. TRUMPP. Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council.
8. *Buddha, Sein Leben.* By OLDENBERG.
9. *Life of the Buddha and the Early History of his Order.* By ROCKHILLS. 1884.

IT has been well said that "to whatever age they may belong, the greatest, the most god-like of men, are men, not gods. They are the offspring, though the highest offspring, of their age." As men they will be found in a greater or lesser degree to have the weaknesses and infirmities of men; those weaknesses and infirmities which are inseparable from an imperfect human nature, though they may be more pronounced in one case than in another, more under control and less observable in one instance and more

unbridled and, consequently, more prominent in another. As men they have the ambitions, the aspirations, the passions of their fellow human creatures, though these may be suppressed entirely or partially by an overpowering will in one case, or allowed to shape themselves according to the particular tastes or idiosyncracies of the individual in another. We must consider their title to greatness not with reference to their nearness of approach to an unattainable ideal perfection but mainly with reference to the age in which they lived, the society to which they belonged and to the surroundings of their daily life. If when judged by this standard they are found to rise pre-eminently above their fellow men and to have laboured in a good cause, for the advancement of a purer religion, for the recognition of a more elevated code of morality, for the emancipation of their countrymen from a degrading superstition or the thraldom of a hateful and pernicious system of slavery, we must not refuse to acknowledge their greatness merely because we cannot always approve of the means they adopted to attain their ends, or because we trace in their recorded sayings or doings some of those weaknesses which are inherent in human nature. It is only by comparison with their contemporaries, and by their possession of a larger share of those qualities which serve to distinguish genius from mediocrity, that the great names handed down by history can claim to maintain their position on the pedestal of fame.

Abstract greatness like abstract perfection is a mere ideal, and since the most god-like of men are merely men, we cannot hope that they will attain one or the other. If we were to judge by such an abstract standard of greatness the three great Asiatic reformers whose life and work form the subject of a brief comparative study in this article, we should be compelled to deny them a title to which, nevertheless, each of them is entitled when judged by a proper relative standard of worth and merit. Two of them, Muhammad and Baba Nanak, not only bequeathed a reformed religion to their country, but they laid the foun-

dation of a new nationality destined to acquire great fame and glory. The third, the pious and contemplative Buddha, by the irresistible influences of truth and holiness succeeded in establishing a religion which could once, and which perhaps can still boast of the largest number of followers of any other religion in the world. However wanting in that knowledge which we honour as learning, however open to criticism their teaching may be from the stand-point of nineteenth century enlightenment, however we trace or think we trace an occasional inconsistency of conduct in their recorded actions with the principles they proclaimed, such men are still entitled to be called "great" for the courage they displayed in championing the cause of reformation, in denouncing the corruptions of the age and society in which they lived, and for the general purity and elevation of the doctrines they preached.

Glance for a moment at the condition of things which each of these reformers had to contend against, and we shall be more disposed to do them simple justice.

Let us commence with Muhammad. Descended from the Koraish or merchant tribe of the Arabs of Hijaz, who claim Ishmael, a son of Abraham, as their great ancestor, Muhammad was early distinguished for his simple tastes and a deeply religious sentiment. At this time the religion prevailing in Mecca, his birth place, was the Sabian, whose worship was distinguished by the grossest forms of idolatry. It is said that there were no less than three hundred and sixty idols in the great Kaaba or Meccan temple, in whose precincts imbedded in the wall was the famous Black Stone which still exists, and which Muhammadan tradition regards as having been introduced by Abraham himself. Human sacrifices were not infrequent at this great national temple, where crowds flocked every year from all parts of Arabia to offer sacrifices and take part in the worship of the great Beit-Allah. It was a temple venerated from the most ancient times, a national sanctuary uniting the different tribes of Arabia in one common religion, the sanctuary of which Muhammad's family

had the superintendence and around which centred all the family interests. To stand up against the national polytheism, to denounce idol worship of which his grandfather Abdul Muttalib was a rigid devotee, and to proclaim that there was only one true God may not have required any uncommon originality of mind, for it is conceded that Christian and Jewish forms of a monotheistic religion had actually reached Mecca; but it did require a strong personal conviction of the need of reformation and also a courage and resolution which were not to be daunted by the fear of popular wrath and persecution. Others, like Zaid Ibn Amr, had attempted the difficult task of reforming the corrupt and degrading national religion, and had signally failed. Muhammad himself met with the opposition and persecution that the reformer of an ancient religion might expect. Dejected but not conquered he was driven from his home, and he found no welcome asylum in Tâyef, his first place of refuge. The people of that city pelted him with stones. At last he fled to Yathreb, and a flight which seemed to mark the collapse of his hopes and the failure of his efforts to purify the religion of his forefathers was destined to be known to distant centuries as the commencement of a new era, the Hegira of the Muhammadan calendar (622 A.D.). A few years later, when Muhammad's mission had been accepted by his faithful Yathrebites and their city had been named *Medînat-al-Nabi* or the "City of the Prophet," and he was able with their assistance to march against and re-enter his native city as a conqueror, the true greatness of the man was nobly displayed. No spirit of vengeance now fills his soul; no recollection of the persecutions he had lately undergone impels him to acts of retaliation. He enters the city of his birth as a conqueror, but a conqueror who offers pardon and peace. His triumphal return is heralded by a general amnesty, and by the glorious announcement proclaimed by the conqueror himself standing amid the idols which he has overturned and cast out of the Kaaba, "Truth has come and falsehood vanisheth." A religion inaugurated by such

a spirit of moderation was deserving of the title *Islam*, which implies the notion of "peace and safety," a notion unhappily too often forgotten by its later followers.

If we pass to the state of religion in India when the great founder of Sikhism (1469–1538 A.D.) began to drift away from that labyrinth of Hinduism which he had endeavoured in vain to understand, we find that it was in a condition when there was a popular craving for personal objects of faith and devotion, and when the numerous sects into which the ancient Hindu religion had split up in its struggle with Buddhism had each exalted its own god to the place of supreme. Baba Nanak's chief aim, like that of Muhammad, was to free religion from the taints of idolatry and superstition, and in carrying out his puritanical reforms he was brought into direct antagonism with the prevailing forms of religious belief. Instead of pandering to the current demand for personal deities, Baba Nanak boldly emphasised the existence of the *Ek-Unkar* (the One God), the *Sat Nam* (the True Name), the *Akal-murat* (the Endless Being), the *Ajuni-Sen-Bhin* (the Uncreated), who was without fear and without enmity. In the presence of triumphant Brahminism, which had victoriously emerged from its long struggle with Buddhism, for a poor *Khattri* of the obscure village of Talwandi on the banks of the Ravi in the Punjab to proclaim that there was no Hindu and no Muhammadan, to dare to reject the *Vedas*, the *Shastras* and the *Koran*, and to preach a pure monotheism, was to incur the wrath of a powerful priesthood whose existence depended on the predominance of Brahminism.

And lastly, although we have little reliable information of the condition of India in the latter part of the sixth century before Christ, when Gautama began his Buddhistic teachings, we know that it was a period when the air was full of intellectual effort and moral earnestness, when idol worship and caste divisions were beginning to lay hold of the minds of the Aryan population, and when the purer and simpler religion of the ancient Vedas had already become a forgotten stage of a remote antiquity in the his-

torical development of Hinduism. But we can at all events realise and appreciate the moral earnestness and devotion which induced the son of a Sakyan chief to leave his comfortable home, his wife and family, to become a hermit in the jungles of Ayodha; and having regard to the intellectual and religious darkness of the period, it is impossible not to accord a high degree of admiration to Gautama for the lofty precepts he enunciated, for the gentleness and sereneness which pervade his utterances, for the deeply sympathetic and profoundly humanitarian spirit which underlie his doctrines, and for the manly endeavour he made to arouse a true feeling of self-reliance amongst a people prone to lean for support upon others, teaching them that their ultimate salvation was in their own hands.

In each case there was revolt against the prevailing religion with its accumulated burden of idolatry and superstition, the same longing for a purer and simpler faith, and the same resolute and unhesitating sacrifice of temporal self-interests for the sake of what was believed to be the cause of truth and eternal salvation. There was the same fervour of belief, the strong personal conviction that each had a special mission to fulfil, and the same dauntless courage to preach it regardless of consequences. The ways part, indeed, later on and become very divergent. But at the outset each of the three men mentioned stands forth as the most remarkable character of the age and nation in which he lived; the one most striking figure in the history of his own time, whose authority so far from waning has increased with the centuries, and whose name and memory are still venerated by hundreds of thousands of devoted followers. Of the three Baba Nanak is perhaps the least known to Europeans, yet those who know perhaps little of his history and still less of his doctrines, have heard of that lion-hearted sect each member of which bears the distinctive name of *Singh* (or Lion), so suitable to their manly courage, and whose military name of *Khalsa*, given by the tenth Guru (the famous *Guru Govind*), is so imperishably connected with some of the most glorious feats

of arms in the history of Northern India. Baba Nanak was the original founder of this sect, although the Sikhism introduced by him was of a milder and more strictly religious type than it became under his successors, and particularly under the leadership of that soldier-priest Guru Govind. His name is linked in this article with the other two great Asiatic reformers because he, like them, was the founder of a new system which is still a living force amongst the religions of the world, although Sikhism never gained the universality of Islam or Buddhism and cannot be compared with them in point of the numerical strength of its followers.

Baba Nanak had a distinct personality of his own. He had sought spiritual enlightenment under different leaders of religious thought, but none of them except Kabir (1450 A.D.), who may be called the John Baptist of Sikhism, satisfied his ardent longing for truth. Kabir, who was said to have been a disciple of Ramananda, the founder of Vaishnavism, was himself the founder of the *Kabir Panthi* sect whose teachings spread over a large part of Northern India, and he undoubtedly influenced Baba Nanak to a considerable extent. Kabir's inveterate hostility to all forms of idolatry and his refusal to admit the authority of the *Shastra* and *Purana*, are reflected in the leading tenets of Baba Nanak's teaching. Kabir had all the uncompromising combativeness of the Baptist, while Baba Nanak had the softer nature and more conciliatory spirit of a Master whose mission is to pluck the good out of every religion, to purify and not to condemn, to hold out the hand of fraternal welcome to every seeker after truth, to proclaim monotheism, and to establish a universal brotherhood. If Baba Nanak like Kabir rejected the Shastra, the Purana, and the Koran, he nevertheless inculcated respect for the Brahmin, and was devoid of bigotry. His mission was to show mankind the means of salvation, what would free from sin and the misery of it. This salvation was only to be ultimately gained through the union of the soul with the fountain of light whence it emanated, and it is through

the intervention of the *True Guru*, or spiritual guide, that this state of beatitude can be reached. The Guru is the mediator between man and the Supreme Being, and through his intervention prayer is made effectual. This dependence upon the guidance of a Guru is a cardinal doctrine of Baba Nanak's system, and the very name he gave to that system—*Sikh*, or disciple—points to this dependent relation of his followers. In this respect Sikhism is inferior to both Muhammadanism and Buddhism, for in neither is man's salvation left to be worked out by a living spiritual guide. Buddha expressly tells his followers that they were not "to look to any one but themselves as a refuge" (*Maha-parinibhana*—sutta II, 33), and his last words were to enjoin them "to work out their own perfection with diligence" (III, 66). It is, nevertheless, noteworthy that while Baba Nanak surrendered the emancipation of his disciples or Sikhs to their individual Gurus, he never exalted himself into the position of an infallible teacher. So his precursor Kabir invites his disciples to judge his doctrines by the light of their own reason, and in the *Rag Gauri* the Sikh is encouraged to seek the Lord in his own heart. But Nanak was strongly imbued with the doctrine of election, and as it was only those "whose destiny it is" that the Guru could help to be "united with Hari," the intervention of the Guru put man in no worse position in the working out of salvation. It was not left with the Guru to accomplish it for him: if it was a man's destiny to reach the final desired goal the same destiny would provide a teacher who would show the right way.

In the religion of Islam we find nothing corresponding to this doctrine of Sikhism. Muhammad himself is there represented as the only mediator and intercessor with God, and the *Rawyat* mentions the glorious voice which came to Adam saying, "O Adam, I have pardoned thee and condoned thy sins; and (I swear) by my own glory, (that) whoever of thy offspring takes him (*i.e.*, Muhammad) for a mediator and presents him to me as

his intercessor, him I will pardon and his wants supply." And the same work quotes a tradition that the prophet himself declared that "his intercession is due on the day of resurrection" to whomsoever visits his tomb. But an intercession of this kind on the part of the inspired founder of a religion, which is common to Islam and other earlier systems, is obviously very different to the intermediary which the Sikh religion supplies to every devout follower in the person of a self-chosen living spiritual guide. Baba Nanak was doubtless familiar with Islamic teaching on the point, and feeling that man needs some sort of intermediary with the Sinless One, and yet shrinking from elevating himself to that position for all time, he devised the expedient of providing such an intercessor in the person of every true Guru who was chosen in lifetime as a spiritual guide. The Guru is the boat that carries man over the water of existence. Oppressed with the difficulty of reconciling the necessity of performing religious works, of purifying the heart from the vices of lust, anger, greediness, infatuation and egotism, with a preordained destiny to which man must inevitably arrive in the end, Nanak could find no more satisfactory solution than by inculcating the need of his followers to seek a spiritual guide who would act as a mediator between them and Hari, or Brahma.

"*So ham*," "I am that, I am identical with the Supreme," is the key note of the Guru's teaching, and the attainment of that absorption in the Supreme which releases him from transmigration, is the ultimate hope which the Sikh, like the Buddhist, is instructed to cherish. The emancipated one is absorbed in the absolute, says Nanak in the *Rag Asa*, "like water in the atmosphere," a beautiful metaphor showing how complete the extinction of individual existence is represented to be. The soul, as a *scintilla animæ divinæ*, having emanated from the Absolute or Supreme returns now to its source and shares the immortality of the uncreated and never ending Supreme One, the Causa Causans of the universe. Unlike the Buddhist, the Sikh is not required to abandon the world and its occupations, but is enjoined

to take part in those duties which devolve upon him as a social being. In this respect Baba Nanak showed practical wisdom in not alienating religion from secular pursuits, and in maintaining that attention to the latter in the particular calling in which a man was engaged was not incompatible with the practice of the former. On the other hand, the fatalism of Nanak is more pronounced than that of Islam, as may be clearly seen from what is said in the tenth *Sabd* of the *Gauri Rag*, and in the third *Sabd* of the *Sri Rag, Mah. I.* Man being thus deprived of the *liberum arbitrium*, the soul is not directly affected by his acts, the initiative of which proceeds from his material nature. But owing to the intimate connexion subsisting between the soul and the body, it is only when the soul is completely freed from its corporeal environments that it can attain absorption in the Absolute, and till then it is naturally in sympathy with the material body in which it is imprisoned for the time being. To fit himself for this union with the Supreme the disciple must pass through three stages of probation, in the last of which he becomes *niras*, or *hopeless*, that is to say he is no longer sensible of desire, of hopes or fears, and he simply awaits the summons of death to return to the light whence he emanated. Such is Sikhism. If to some extent influenced by the pantheistic Hinduism of an earlier period, it is vastly more advanced in liberal sentiment; and it is distinguished by a distinct recognition of a Supreme Being with attributes worthy of such a divine conception, by purity and simplicity of worship, and by the preaching of the universal brotherhood of mankind. If it is darkened by the paralysing dread of a destiny that is preordained, it is illuminated by the exaltation of holiness and purity of life. If it has no bright heaven peopled with an angelic host to attract its followers, it holds out the final absorption in the Absolute as the consummation of the pious individual's hope of rest from labour, pain and suffering. If it is open in some respects to the objection of mysticism, it at least shares that objection with many other systems. And lastly, it is dis-

tinguished for maintaining that abandonment of the world is not essential for a religious life.

Islam in point of age falls midway between Buddhism and Sikhism, and also marks a distinct progress in religious and moral development. It has already been pointed out how difficult was the task the Arabian prophet set himself to accomplish, and it is remarkable within how little time he entirely supplanted the old idolatrous religion of his forefathers by the reformed monotheistic religion which he fashioned after the Jewish and Christian systems, of which he undoubtedly had more than a mere hearsay knowledge. He overthrew the idols to which his grandfather Muttalib was ready to sacrifice one of his sons, and which were under the superintendence of his family as guardians of the temple at Mecca; but the *Kaaba* itself he wisely preserved as a national monument round which centred the sacred traditions of the past and which was henceforth to become the rallying point for the new religion of Islam. Muhammad himself was one of those highly-wrought hysterical natures which are easily impressed by the supernatural or marvellous, one prone to dwell upon a single idea with such earnestness and constancy that the creation of the imagination is gradually invested with the attributes of reality. Hence it was that the lonely nights he was accustomed to spend in the solitary cave of Hira, before he ever thought of becoming a great national leader and reformer, when he meditated in solitude on the mysteries of creation and eternity, produced upon his emotional nature the impression that he was holding silent communion with that God whom he had heard the Jews and Christians honoured and worshipped as the only true God: that he gradually became convinced that this was so, and that he was an appointed messenger to proclaim to mankind the truths revealed to him in the course of this holy converse. It is unjust, therefore, to charge Muhammad, as some critics do, with wilful imposture in asserting that the angel Gabriel visited him in his cave and commanded him to "Arise and preach and

magnify Allah." It is more generous, and probably nearer the truth to suppose that in an ecstatic moment while meditating on the mysteries of religion he may really have thought that he saw the vision he describes. There is such a thing as unconscious self-deception, and a man may be the victim of a delusion without being a wilful deceiver. We may well, therefore, give Muhammad credit for a conscientious belief in his divine call, even if we claim the right to challenge the validity of that belief and to test it by the ordinary rules employed in examining human testimony.

At the same time, the striking difference between the earlier and later revelations, between those Muhammad proclaimed before he assumed a political as well as a religious authority, and those he announced after his temporal and spiritual power had been fully established, has given much weight to the criticism that he adapted his revelations to suit the exigences of the hour. The tone of the former revelations was deeply religious and evidently reflected the inner workings of a super-sensitive soul, oppressed by the degrading superstitions of the popular religion and the pressing need of drastic reforms; but the later revelations are of a widely different character being intended to support a title to implicit obedience by invoking a divine sanction to the prophet's acts and proceedings, and they are not infrequently found to convey the divine *post facto* approval to acts which had occasioned murmurings and doubts among the prophet's bewildered followers. It is here that we come across those polemics against Jews and Christians which are not in harmony with the spirit of toleration claimed for Muhammad in his treatment of the monks of the Monastery of St. Catherine, near Mount Sinai; it is here that we meet with dispensations from, or with the express repeal of earlier commands which were found inconvenient, or with the introduction of exceptions to avoid the unjust consequences of some anterior inspiration; and it is here that the language and the matter of the inspirations present a marked difference, and make one almost doubt, as Sprenger

has said, whether they can be ascribed to one and the same author, or even to the same century. Muhammad had, no doubt, in the meantime risen from being a mere teacher to the rank of a political ruler, and his responsibilities had become wider and more complex. The temptation to strengthen his hands by a divine approval of his measures was too great to be resisted by one who had already persuaded himself that he was charged with a divine mission; and it is undeniable that Muhammad made free use of his opportunities and of the credulity of his followers by appealing to a supernatural direction outside the range of criticism, to disobey which laid one open to the charge of heresy and the wrath of God. Muhammad's task was a difficult one, and the success of his efforts to purify the religion of his country and to make Islam a rallying centre for the descendants of Ishmael depended on the extent of his personal authority. Whatever enhanced the latter weakened the chance of failure, and, having regard to the great purposes which the Arabian prophet designed, he doubtless satisfied his conscience with the reflection that the end justified the means. He knew the Arabs of the Hijaz better perhaps than any other man of his race, and he gauged accurately what they required and what was most likely to influence them. He had to educate them cautiously. As Ayesha, his favourite wife, afterwards explained, "Descriptions of hell and heaven were first manifested in order to incline people to Islam, and it was only later that express commands were sent down by God. Had wine and unchastity been prohibited at first the people would have said, we will not forego one or the other."

The hell of Islam might well make unbelievers tremble, with its flaming fire black without giving light, its serpents and scorpions, its fetid discharges, and its different torments, dishonours and indignities. But for the true believer there was the assurance that the Taker-away-of-life had promised Muhammad to deal easily, kindly and gently with his people, and there was the ultimate hope of a paradise peopled with black-eyed houris and watered by the river of Abundance on

whose banks were tents of emerald, pearls and smaragd, and whose water was described as whiter than milk, sweeter than honey, and more fragrant than musk. Such a heaven, in fact, as would be attractive to the Bedouin and make the religion which offered it find special favour in his sight. But if Muhammad promised a heaven of sensual pleasures it was only on condition of good works on earth. "The dwelling of the other life," says the Koran, "we will give unto them who do not seek to exalt themselves on earth or do wrong; for the happy issue shall attend the pious." Thus prayer is called the "pillar of religion" and "the key of paradise"; five times a day must the Faithful devote themselves to its exercise, and minute regulations prescribe the ablutions before prayer and the attitudes during prayer. No ornate ceremony is ordained and no virtue ascribed to vestments; the form of worship is simple and must be rendered with reverence; there is no decoration of altars, and no scope is available to enthusiasts for raising a "crisis" in the Islamic Church with reference to such important questions as the use of incense or candles, the proper length of a surplice, the correct intonation of prayers, the introduction of "holy water," or the orthodox cut of a stole. The outer and visible signs of piety consist in prayer, almsgiving, fasting and pilgrimages. Almsgiving must be liberal but not ostentatious; publicity in making alms is not prohibited, but the Koran attaches greater merit to what is given in secret and to the poor. Fasting is described as the "fourth part of faith" and "the gate of religion," while the mouth of him who fasteth is said to be more grateful to God than the scent of musk. Indeed, the Moslem who scrupulously observes the injunctions of his religion upon this subject must be strong in his faith, for they involve a degree of physical discomfort and abstinence which test faith to the utmost. And yet in any oriental city we see thousands of Muhammadans who rigorously fast from sunrise to sunset during the entire month of Ramzan or Ramadan, not in any hypocritical fashion but honestly and sincerely, never allowing a morsel

of food or a drop of liquid to pass their lips during the prescribed hours of fast.

But Muhammad shares the distinction with Moses of being a law-giver as well as a religious reformer. Combining in his own person the character of a spiritual teacher and civil governor, Muhammad realised the importance of maintaining the unity of Church and State. He was thus the fountain of law as well as of religion, and no true Muhammadan thinks of disputing his authority either in the domain of religion or law. The laws embodied in the Koran have survived without alteration for nearly thirteen centuries and they are generally acknowledged to be, on the whole, just in principle and well suited to the people to whom they were given. If more favourable to males than to the weaker sex, they have nevertheless the merit of elevating woman to a position of independence far superior to anything she enjoyed under the previous laws. She was declared to have specific rights of inheritance not only in her husband's property but in that of her parents and near kinsmen. She could acquire property for herself by means of self-exertion, and her consent was essential to any contract affecting her person or property. It may thus be said that Muhammad's Koran was the Moslem woman's Charter. It did not raise woman, it is true, to an equality with man, but that feature the Muhammadan law shares with systems identified with higher civilisations. The one great blot in the Muhammadan law in regard to women is with respect to divorce. Here certainly the woman has much to complain of: she is placed completely at the mercy of her husband, who can divorce her without a fault on her part and without even assigning a reason. It is sufficient for the husband, to tell her, "I have divorced you three times," for the marriage tie to be immediately dissolved and for her to lose all those rights which marriage was supposed to have conferred upon her. In practice husbands may not often assert the extreme right which the law gives them; sensible wives, perhaps, need no express laws of equality to enable them to

exercise that influence upon their husbands which they acquire by nature, and which serves largely to control the harshness of the law; but the harshness stands writ in large letters, and it is a serious blot on what was otherwise a piece of meritorious legislation. Let it be added to the credit of Muhammad that in an address which has been called the Sermon on the Mount of Arafat, delivered only three months before his death, he took the opportunity of solemnly impressing upon his followers the duty they owed towards their wives. "Ye people," said the old prophet, "ye have rights over your wives and your wives have rights over you. . . . Treat your wives with kindness. . . . Verily ye have taken them on the security of God, and made them lawful unto you by the words of God." An exhortation so solemn, embodying the last public utterances of the author of the Koran himself and so emphatic, has probably in practice secured Moslem wives better treatment than the strict law affords them. In the domain of morals the prophet was careful to insist upon strict faith in the carrying out of business contracts, and the necessity of speaking only the truth in a court of justice. Usury of all kinds is forbidden, and the creditor is enjoined not to treat his debtor harshly.

Enough has been said to give a fair idea of Muhammad's work, and no candid critic will deny that, after making all necessary deductions for the imperfections which exist in it, some of which we have indicated, it is a work of which the Arabic nation may be proud. It is true that Islam owes its subsequent rapid spread and permanence to a series of able successors, to Omar, Abu Bakr and others; but the foundation of this eventual success was laid by Muhammad, his authority gave it living force and still breathes into it such vitality as it possesses. It was from him that Moslems learnt what was the true key to heaven. It was summed up by him in a few expressive words: "*To testify to the truth of God, and to do good work.*" Verily a foundation upon which any religion may be content to rest. Nor must it be forgotten that Muhammad never claimed to be any-

thing but a man charged with a mission, and although tradition has accumulated a large stock of supernatural events about his name, he himself never professed the possession of miraculous power. He was a man and was to be judged as such. "Moslems," he said on the last occasion that he appeared at the mosque, "if I have wronged any one of you, here I am to answer for it." As a man he must ever rank high among the great ones of the earth.

Turning now to Buddhism and its founder, the contrast between this system and that of Islam and Sikhism is very marked. Neither of the latter two, as we have seen, required abandonment of the world; both recognised an all-controlling, self-existent and never ending Supreme Being, and both provided for His worship. But Buddhism is devoid of a cheerful domestic home, and when Buddha was once asked whether a householder who had not relinquished the bond of household-life could hope to reach the end of sorrow, he replied with an emphatic "*No.*" It is true that he added, for the consolation of orthodox householders, that many such had gone to heaven after death; but it was a heaven tenanted by those who had not yet realised the bliss of *Nirvana*; and the distinction between the householder and the *Bhikku* who lives out of the busy world is best described in Buddha's own words: "As the crested bird with the blue neck (the peacock) never attains the swiftness of the swan, even so a householder does not equal a *Bhikku*, a secluded *Muni* meditating in the wood." The happiness reserved for a householder who has done meritorious acts, is the happiness which springs from the purity of his own course of action (*Karma*): the gladness which arises from the consciousness that he has wrought merit; but it is only when he ceases to be a householder and enters upon the course of Buddhist training that he can hope to escape the sorrow of existence. Again, Buddhism has no personal God in the sense of the Christian, the Moslem, or the Sikh. Brahma, according to Buddha, is a mere philosophical conception; but in a late Sutta Brahma is represented as doing homage to Buddha. The perfect man was the sole

ideal of the great Buddhistic sage, and Gautama's whole system is devoted to teaching how this ideal is reached.

It is thus more a system of ethics than a religion; its foundation resting on four noble truths, as Buddha pronounced them. The first is to comprehend the elementary truth of the fact of suffering; the second, the cause of suffering arising from three fatal thirsts, the thirst for pleasure, the thirst for existence, and the thirst for prosperity; the third, the cessation of suffering by the cessation of the cause, namely, the destruction of desire; and the fourth concerns the path which leads to the cessation of suffering. As a disciplinary code there were ten leading precepts, of which five were subsequently held to be applicable to the laity. Originally the laity were outside the organisation of Buddhism, which contemplated a community of ascetics devoted to a life of pure abstraction; but as Gautama's teachings became popular and laymen sought association, the precepts were adapted as rules of conduct for the laity as well. Accordingly, five rules were eventually selected as applicable to laymen. These contained prohibitions (1) of the destruction of life, with an explanation that, although an absolute obedience to the rule would enhance merit, the mere killing of animals for purposes of food was not imputed as an offence; (2) taking what is not given; (3) lying; (4) drinking intoxicating liquors, the breach of which, however, does not appear to involve any serious consequences; and (5) sexual offences, which, so far as laymen were concerned, was a rule that was not to be understood as imposing celibacy, but merely enjoining fidelity to their wives. The other five rules were of a more trivial character and were restricted to the community of monks. They were (1) to eat no food except at stated times; (2) to use no ornaments or perfumes; (3) to lie on the ground and not on a bed; (4) to abstain from dancing, singing, music or worldly spectacles; and (5) to own no gold or silver and to accept none. These special rules were clearly devised to ensure amongst professed Buddhistic monks a life of

abstinence, poverty and chastity, virtues deemed essential for those who wished to enter on the path leading to *Nirvana*. The ten precepts together constituted the decalogue of early Buddhism, and sufficiently indicate, when read in conjunction with the Four Noble Truths, the essential purity of Gautama's teaching: a system which inculcates the greatest respect for the life of others, while it requires the perfecting of one's self by the accumulation of merit with the sole view of a great final self-renunciation, the extinction of bodily existence in the great process of *Nirvana*, which is a state of total cessation of all evil passions or desires and freedom from all pain.

As a moral system Buddhism has many merits. It inculcates the necessity of overcoming evil by good, and teaches that there is no happiness except in righteousness. It requires that we love our neighbours as ourselves, avoid all impure acts, show no enmity even to our enemies, cultivate abstinence, that we be tolerant of others, that we never think or say that our own religion is the best, that we do not esteem one's self better than others, that we practice reverence and humility, dwell free from hatred in the midst of those who hate us, and that we do not love the wealth of this world but accumulate a merit balance in the bank of *Karma*, or good works.

When asked by a Brahmin "Why he did not plough and sow and earn his own bread," Gautama is reported to have replied: "I do plough and sow and eat immortal fruit. My plough is wisdom, my shaft is modesty, my draught-ox exertion; my goad, earnest meditation, my mind the rein. Faith in the doctrine is the seed I sow, cleaving to life is the weed I root up, truth is the destroyer of the weed; and *Nirvana* and deliverance from misery are my harvest." Here we have an allegorical but a truthful summary of his entire teaching, and he had the satisfaction of seeing at the end of a long and blameless life—he is said to have died at the age of eighty—that his community had continually increased, and that his doctrines or precepts had spread far and wide. He had reaped the harvest he had striven for,

and his body was burnt with the ceremonies usual at the death of a universal ruler, while princes of the land vied with each other for the possession of his ashes.

Buddhism still continued—for a time at least—to spread and flourish. The Master was indeed dead, but as Buddha had said to his disciples shortly before his decease, the truths and the rules of the Order which he had taught and preached, these remained and were to be their teachers in his absence. By degrees the ebb of decay set in and Buddhism in India for the most part resank into the bosom of Vaishnavism and Saivism, extinguishing itself as it were in the source whence it emanated, in the same painless and imperceptible way as Buddha taught his disciples to expect *Nirvana*. But if Brahminism in India once again rose triumphant in the absorption of her great rival system within her own ample folds, Buddhism was not really dead. In China, the Korea, Japan, Ceylon, and Burma it acquired a new field, in these countries it is still a dominating faith, and the teaching of Gautama is there honoured as once on the banks of the Ganges and in the strongholds of Hinduism. There is also reason to believe that it largely influenced religious thought in Alexandria and Palestine.

In judging of the relative merits of these three systems a European critic must remember the reply Gautama made to an enquirer who expressed himself at a loss to understand the drift of Gautama's teaching. "Be not at a loss, Vaccha," replied Gautama. "Be not confounded! This doctrine is hard to see, hard to understand, solemn, sublime, not resting on dialectic, subtle and perceived only by the wise; it is hard for you to learn who are of different views, different ideas of fitness, different choice, trained and taught in another school." There is much in each of the three systems that appears to us hard to be understood; we may be disposed to pronounce this foolish or that extravagant; we may be tempted to say of one system that it is cold and cheerless, of another that it is a jargon of unintelligible speculations, and of a third that it has a large

admixture of deceit and falsehood with only a modicum of truth. But let us be reticent in our judgment; let us remember that we too have different ideas of fitness and have been trained in a different school; and let us not be too dogmatic in our condemnation.

It would be hard to persuade a Buddhist that his religion or system of morals was not superior to every other; but this claim would not be admitted by a Sikh or Moslem, each of whom would naturally assert the superiority of his own creed. But if a foreigner may venture to draw a comparison between the three systems as a whole, it might be expressed in some such formula as the following: Buddhism is more a system of morals than a religion; it appeals more to the mind than to the heart; it is lifeless and unemotional; philosophical and dry; and suited only to a speculative people like the Hindus who produced the Upanishads and delight in their study. Islamism, on the other hand, is a religion peculiarly fitted for a wild, independent, and nomadic race like the Arabs of the Hijaz: fierce in its denunciations, roseate in its promises, appealing to the only sanction such a race would acknowledge, that of a God who was supreme, irresistible, and terrible in His wrath; a religion simple in its ritual and imperative in its commands. And lastly, Sikhism is the heresy of a people brought up in the school of Hinduism, the expression of a revolt of men disgusted with the degrading superstitions and gross idolatry which had perverted the earlier faith of the Hindus, but heresy still tinged with the pantheism of the Vedanta, and borrowing much from the past, especially from Buddhism: a system not intended for learned philosophers, but for simple religious minds and pure hearts, which offers salvation to all, has few tenets, and saves its followers all mental difficulties by teaching them to look to their Gurus as spiritual guides; it is more a real religion than Buddhism, but it is less philosophical; it is not so complete as a moral code, but has more vitality; it is more tolerant than Islam, but is not calculated as Islamism is to inspire a people with fiery

zeal and fervour. Buddhism teaches self-reliance, Sikhism and Islam reliance on another. The first two claim to be nothing more than the outcome of their respective human founders, while Islam professes to be the inspired teaching of God himself communicated to His servant and prophet Muhammad. Each system may have certain points in common with the other, yet the differences between them are greater than the resemblances. But all three mark a phase of religious development, and all three have played and are still playing an important part in teaching mankind, according to their respective methods, how to attain salvation, whether that salvation is to be gained by the total cessation of evil passions and desires; by absorption of the soul in the fountain of light whence it emanated; or by admittance into the joyous Paradise of Islam with its sensual pleasures and delights. The ways are different but the final goal is the same. "Not to commit evil, to accumulate merit by good deeds, and to purify the heart, this," says Manu, "is the doctrine of the Enlightened"; and it is the doctrine preached by Buddha, by Muhammad, and by Baba Nanak.

As a refiner blows away the dross of silver and retains the precious metal, so if we blow away the dross that has adhered to Buddhism, Islam, or Sikhism, we are left with much that is more precious than silver, much that seeks to lift man from sin to righteousness, and much therefore that can claim the respect and sympathy of the followers of Him who said: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

W. H. RATTIGAN.

THE MYSTICISM OF MADAME GUYON.

IN proposing to discourse to you on the meaning of the mystical movement which goes theologically under the name of Quietism, and historically has for its centre the teaching and the experience of Madame Guyon, I have placed myself in the unenviable position of criticising the teacher from whom I have received more help and guidance in the things of God than from any other person; to scrutinise microscopically the help that we get from holy souls is almost a graceless thing to do, whether our teachers belong to the past and wear the raiment of bygone days, or whether they belong to the present day and are our companions as well as our teachers.

Madame Guyon was a mother in Israel just as truly as Paul was a father in Israel, and she knew it. A large part of her teaching in the latter years of her life is cast in the language of maternity; those whom God gave to her were her children even more than those that were so according to the flesh. They stood to her in the spiritual kingdom in a relation of combined likeness and dependence, and to this community in spiritual experience and authority in spiritual life she constantly appeals. She makes the maternal quality of her soul the ground of a general appeal, as in the noble words at the close of her Autobiography in which she sums up her teaching:

He who speaks only the *all of God* and the *nothing of the creature* is in the truth, and the truth dwells with him, because, usurpation and the self-hood being banished from him, it is of necessity the truth dwells there. *My children, receive this instruction from your mother*, and it will procure life for you. Receive it through her, not as from her or hers, but as from God and God's. Amen, Jesus!

And, when dealing with individual souls, she often strikes the same note. It sounds daring enough to hear her using the metaphors of parental life, just as St. Paul uses them; and if we have ever been perplexed in reading St. Paul's language concerning the children whom he has begotten in the Gospel, we shall be ten times more perplexed when we find this blessed woman narrating how she derived from her crucified and risen life the power to receive as her own in the kingdom of grace a band of holy children who looked up to her and called her "mother!"

All those whom our Lord has given me in this way, I felt that He accepted them in me to be my children; for it is He who accepts them and who gives them. *I only bring them forth upon the cross*, as he has brought forth all the predestinated upon the cross; and it is further in this sense that He makes me "fill up what remains wanting of His passion," which is the application of the divine filiation.

That is daring enough, is it not? To be joined with the Lord and to be one spirit with Him, appears to lead one into great freedom of speech. Then she continues:

When our Lord gives me some children of this kind, He gives them, without my ever having exhibited anything of this, very great inclination for me and without themselves knowing why or how, *they cannot help calling me their mother*—a thing which has happened to many persons of merit, priests, monks, pious girls, and even to an ecclesiastical dignitary, who all, without my ever having spoken to them, *regard me as their mother*.

The same general mystical doctrine comes out in her relations with her Confessor, Father La Combe; those of you who have studied her life will remember the strange way in which her experience is crossed and recrossed by the experience of a gifted and devoted French priest, who was to her a kind of Fénelon before Fénelon, in the recipience of grace through her teaching and life, and perhaps was more completely hers than Fénelon became, which is saying much. This holy man became so completely the spiritual reflex of Madame Guyon that we find Vaughan describing him in his *Hours*

with the Mystics as the victim of Quietism and perhaps of love; but she herself never allowed that he was anything else than one of her children in the faith, and a victim of the sacrificial intention of the universe.

She tells us that at an early stage in their spiritual intercourse she was one day constrained to approach Father La Combe just as he was preparing to say mass, and that she said to him, "My father, our Lord desires me to say that I am your mother-in-grace and I will tell you the rest after the mass." He said the mass, during which he was convinced of the truth of the statement. He remembered, as he admitted, having had a dream in which our Lord told him that he had a mother-in-grace, whom as yet he did not know.

Much more might be said concerning this peculiar statement, which she emphasised over and over again, that our Lord had communicated to her a share in His own maternity of souls. I am not concerned to explain or defend this doctrine; you will, however, find something like it in John Bunyan's sketch of the Interpreter.

I only allude to it by way of introduction to our brief study of the Quietest movement and to its leader, and to remind myself that in dealing with the story of a soul that has been helpful to oneself, almost beyond calculation, one does not wish to fall into the error of the doctors whom Wordsworth describes as men who would

> peep and botanise
> Upon their mother's grave.

If this were the only point of view it would perhaps be best not to deal with the subject at all; but there is another side which is very important for an assembly composed so largely of members of the Society of Friends, because there is no Society that has been so influenced by Madame Guyon as the Quakers have been. If we ever had as a Society a mother-in-grace it is she; and even down to the present time there are not a few who are very great admirers of her doctrine of the spiritual life. We may go further and say

that when we estimate the influence of outside teachers upon us, the Society has been profoundly affected by the teaching and life of Madame Guyon, *and by no one else.* To which of the other saints have we turned? Certainly not to St. Francis, however much it has pleased us in recent times to find out that Francis was a genuine anti-clerical, and something more and better than chief of an order of mendicants. We shall always, I expect, hold that there are other virtues besides the detestation of priestcraft, that an ounce of thrift is better than a pound of mendicancy, and in so holding shall have the Bible with us even if we have the Church against us. But we shall have assent to St. Francis's doctrine that if we (the Franciscans) show the world a good example, the world will assure us of a reasonable maintenance; because a very little reflection will convince us that the good examples will be susceptible of progressive deterioration, and the reasonable maintenance will be susceptible of progressive increase, until at last we shall finish with a new clericalism similar to that which we started to denounce, and with no better example than our own.

No! we love Francis because he loved God and the creatures of God, because he was noble and worshipped the sun, and because he was happy and sang with the skylark, and because he was lowly and supped with the lepers, and above all, because if poverty was his bride, Christ was his Master. But he could not be a Quaker saint. Nor is it easy to find for ourselves either a father-in-grace or a mother-in-grace in the roll of the canonically blessed. Madame Guyon's relation to our Society is almost unique. We constantly hear those whose aim is to banish mysticism from amongst us declaring that the period of decline in the Society is the period of the influence of the writings of Madame Guyon, and that we must get back from Quietism to Christ. In treating the two as antagonistic, the influence of our French mother-in-grace is conceded. Robert Barclay the younger was particularly strong on this point: he tells us, in his *Inner Life of the Societies of the Commonwealth*, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century "the

leaven of Quietism had begun to work, and it began to exercise an unfavourable influence on the ministry." * He does not, however, make it sufficiently clear whether he means by the leaven of Quietism, a revival of the ancient quietism of the Seekers in the time of the Commonwealth, which to some extent had always been congenial to Quakerism, or a fresh influence coming from without. But as to the increase of Quietist views, he is very decided as the following extracts will show :

> In 1716, Bristol Meeting complains to the Yearly Meeting of Ministers going forth in their own wills and preaching what they have heard from others; and we begin in various quarters to hear the peculiar phrases of Quietism. . . . This phase of religious feeling tended to aggravate the real causes of the declension in active piety and real religion which now commenced to be lamented.

And again :

> In 1738, the Yearly Meeting endeavours to console the Churches who, we have seen, were lamenting the decline in both the quality and quantity of the ministry supplied to them, by applying the principles of Quietism to the emergency. When together (*i.e.* in their meetings), we exhort Friends to feel their minds abstracted from visible objects into a true stillness and nothingness of self.

The result of this want of sound religious instruction in the ministry, at a time when rationalistic preaching, teaching and controversy were rife in the outside world, was apparent.

Barclay, then, laments as well as records the Quietist reaction amongst Friends; and although it might be urged that in some respects the Society is Quietist in consequence of its original foundation, still the revival of Quietism synchronises with those remarkable developments of Mysticism in France and Italy, which more exactly goes under the name of Quietism, and it would be strange if no reaction had occurred between the Continental and the English movements. As a matter of fact, I believe the influence is

* Page 512.

usually admitted not only by those who record our "decline and fall," and search in any odd corner for the causes of our decadence, but by those also who look for our rising again in Israel. It may be admitted, then, that the influence of Madame Guyon upon our own Society has been very far reaching. The first translation * of her Autobiography is the Bristol edition of 1772, and it is not difficult to trace the hand of the Friends in that book.

The translation was issued anonymously, but that it was the work of a Friend is sufficiently clear from the attempts which are made to cover Madame Guyon's teaching with the authority of Barclay's Apology, as well as by sundry other peculiar traits. The translator was a schoolmaster in the Society of Friends, and a leading minister in Bristol Meeting. His name was James Gough, and he not only translated for the edification of the Society the greater part of Madame Guyon's Life,† but he freely rendered into English prose the lives and the teaching of à Kempis, Tauler, St. Teresa, Molinos, Peter Poiret, Antonia Bourignon, M. de Renty, Fénelon and others. These efforts appear to have been very favourably received and to have passed through several editions, and are conclusive evidence as to the attention which the Society was giving to mystical teachers.‡

Madame Guyon was wont to divide those over whom her

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* There are some extracts from the Life in a little volume called *Cambray and Guion*, by Josiah Martin. The date of this little book is 1735 and the editor was, as in the case of the Bristol Autobiography, a Quaker. He died in 1747 and is buried in the Friends' Ground at Bunhill Fields.

† He printed three sheets, which he appears to have submitted to the judgment of his friends, and apparently the judgment was not favourable, for he complains that the critics seem to have a measure of their own, and little to regard purity of heart and life in others, if it did not tally with their own measure in every circumstantial article.

‡ Joseph Smith, in his *Catalogue of Friends' Books* has the following interesting note, in recording the translation to which we have referred: *Cayley's Tour*, page 94: "At Bristol I had an opportunity of conversing with my friend James Gough, a minister of the Gospel amongst the Quakers, who has lately translated from the French the life of Madame Guion, whose life and writings are replete with the most divine favour,

spiritual influence was strong into two classes. There were her children, of whom we have already spoken, who received the grace of God through her, and there was a second class whom she calls her conquests, consisting of persons only remotely affiliated to her, and perhaps in some cases rather silenced than convinced by her. We are represented in both classes; but the spell is not that of the direct personality, for when she lived Quakerism was rather militant than Quietist. The reaction becomes sensible shortly after her death, and it becomes phenomenal sixty years after she had passed away, under the influence of the Bristol translation of her life, along with some similar matters. Granting, then, the fact of her spiritual influence over the Society of Friends, we have to ask the question which comes up in connexion with every mystical movement, whether such an influence is a sign of decadence or of renascence. Is mysticism a sign of spiritual life or of death? Is it the "gilded halo hovering round decay," or is it the "dew of heavenly youth"? Is it the ivy-mantling of an ancient tower, or the glory of the New Jerusalem "with all its spires and gateways like one pearl"? Does it mean that Christianity has collapsed, or that the kingdom of God is coming? Is the mystic, like the priest, "a fateful figure that always crosses the stage when God designs the dissolution of an empire"? Is Holy Quiet the hush of adoration, or is he a new John Baptist preparing the way for a new revelation of Christ, or is it the mild angelic air, the rapture of repose that we discern in the departed

> 'Ere yet Decay's effacing fingers
> Have swept the lines where beauty lingers.

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and deepest experience in Christian matters, that I ever met with; I have in French nearly forty pocket volumes of her writings and esteem them a treasure. I think it much to the praise of the honest Quaker, that he has set so good an example of an open catholic spirit, in not thinking the worse of so valuable a woman though she was of the Roman Catholic community." Mr. Taylor Allen appears to know nothing with regard to the Bristol life except that it was published by subscription. If this last detail be correct, the Friends are involved in the production of the work *en masse*.

There are cases in which history enables us to answer such questions with confidence. We may, for instance, say that Paganism expired in Mysticism, and that the last word of the ancient Greek religion had to do with esoteric illumination. The names of Porphyry, Iamblicus and Plotinus cover great struggles of individual souls after light, but from the standpoint of religion generally, they are only three successive candle-flickers of the expiring flame of Greek philosophy. Their mysticism was an attempt to disguise the fact that their faith was effete. At its best it was only a remainder biscuit after a long voyage, the said biscuit being eaten sacramentally just before the ship went finally ashore and broke up. In such a case the verdict which we are obliged by history to give is that the mystical movement was decadent in character, and did not succeed in revivifying the stem from which it sprung or around which it clung.

Robert Barclay the younger, from whom we quoted above, would have us believe that the same decadence characterises the Society of Friends under the influence of Quietism.

When, on the other hand, we think of such a mystic as Jacob Behmen, and examine what produced him and what he produced, we find nothing that is not original, very little that is not healthy, and an extraordinary amount of what appears to be perennial. Though he was a cobbler by nature, he was anything but a cobbler in the kingdom of God; he sewed not his new leather on ancient traditional shoes. He is a child of the Reformation in the most progressive sense; he saw further than Luther, and inspired men of a succeeding age when Luther was no longer an immediate source of inspiration, and when his writings were passing into silence and forgetfulness. He inspired men of subsequent times, as well as men of his own day. Some people say that George Fox had been sitting slyly or shyly at his feet; but whether this was the case or not, William Law sat there neither slyly nor shyly, but like a new Paul at the feet of a new Gamaliel; and the man that affiliated William Law is no mere flickering flame, but a good strong

stellar or solar blaze. William Law is only one of a row of great Behmenites. We cannot call him dead nor regard him as the mask of death who still speaks in the vigorous manner that characterises truth on the lips of the Silesian cobbler and those who have learned from him.

Or to take a lowlier, a less renowned name than that of Behmen, the name of one whose mysticism was the very incarnation of humility, and effaced itself almost as soon as it was born. Gerhard Trestegen is the weaned child amongst the mystics; he left the high hills to the climbing goats, and spent his whole time in the Valley of Humiliation, reciting and practising the psalm which says, "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty"; he was in every sense a Quietest, and so comes nearest to Madame Guyon, but since he influenced John Wesley, and through him whole masses of English-speaking people, we can scarcely treat his doctrine as a symbol of decay.

And now what shall we say of Madame Guyon herself? Is she regressive or progressive, and is her teaching the mark of Christian growth or of decline?

In order to answer this queston, we must either study the nation to which she belonged (including the Church of the nation), or we must examine some society which she has influenced (such as the Society of Friends), or we may isolate and watch her individual soul, as she has enabled us to do in her wonderful spiritual Autobiography. Of these methods, the first appears to furnish contradictory judgments; no one, I suppose, would maintain that the Roman Catholic Church in France is either stronger or more spiritual to-day than it was in the time of Madame Guyon. Whatever she poured into it has either evaporated, or has been distilled away by ecclesiastical action. Her mysticism may, indeed, be progressive; but the congregation to which she preached it has become more and more deathlike and reactionary. On the other hand, I find it suggested in some quarters that the germ of even the French Revolution (considered of course as a blessing) is to be found in the teaching of Madame Guyon.

The most recent translator of the Autobiography, Mr. T. Taylor Allen, remarks in his preface that

> it may yet be seen, when the secrets of world history are opened up, that her rôle as forerunner of the moral and spiritual upheaval, which politically presents itself as the French Revolution, was no unimportant one. . . . It may well be that to the latent unperceived working of that divine influence of which for a time she was the channel we owe the profound change which distinguishes Modern Europe from its preceding ages

This fantastic judgment means that Mr. Taylor Allen is as anxious to prove Madame Guyon a Progressive as, let us say, Professor Upham was to prove her an Evangelical, or the Bristol translators a Friend. As he could not very well prove it from her influence on her own Church, which is more obscurantist to-day than it ever was, he proposes to prove it from the fact that she anticipated the French Revolution, which indeed did occur nearly a hundred years later than the death of Madame Guyon. But he does not make the demonstration of the connexion between the two phenomena which he suggests, and it does not look an easy thing to demonstrate. What he implies is that Madame Guyon was in advance of her time intellectually and religiously (which is indeed the point at which we are labouring), and that France proves it (which is precisely the point at which we become sceptical).

But suppose we leave modern France on one side, as not being decisive evidence in regard to the progressive or regressive character of a seventeenth century French Mystic, and let us also leave Quakerism on one side on the ground that it is not clear (at least not as clear as one could wish it to be) whether Quakerism has always been the sociological and religious symbol for humanity on the up-grade; and let us look into the mirror of her own pure soul, as we are enabled to do from her Autobiography.

The study of a single pure soul, properly carried out, is an encyclopœdia of all religious truth, both past and present, and is the best prophecy of that truth which is yet to come.

From the record of its struggles and temptations we are

able to tell that there have been gods many and lords many; and from its hopes we infer that a day is coming when there shall be one Lord and His name one. But the purest soul has not only the white robes that it wears in the light; it has also a more or less cast-off wardrobe belonging to the days of ignorance. It is given to no one to rid himself wholly of his superstitions; to do that would contradict the common humanity: those are the best people who rid themselves most assiduously of the vain traditions derived from the Fathers. The more they do this, the more sensible do they become to the fact that the pathway of the soul is tortuous as well as perilous. "Slowly and painfully," says Theodore Parker, speaking of the conversion of the soul to God, "the man regains the mountain-top of life and marvels at the tortuous path that he has left behind." But the tortuous path does not disprove the shining table-land. One may be progressive, even in a path that is unnecessarily roundabout.

Now in the case of Madame Guyon, it is admitted on all hands that she reached the upper coasts,

> those shining table-lands
> To which our God Himself is moon and sun.

If it had not been so, Professor Upham would never have been inspired to write her life, nor William Cowper to translate her songs, nor the Society of Friends to take her experience as a guiding star. But it must be admitted that the method in which they have treated the subject is eclectic. No one would guess from Cowper's translations that Madame Guyon was an ardent Catholic; her hymns reflect only the Divine Lover and His love. They have nothing to do with the outwardness of religion. Nor would the reader of Upham's Life obtain a just idea of the extent to which the being sunk in superstition is consistent with absorption in God, because Professor Upham touches these points of Catholic practice very lightly; so lightly, indeed, that Mr. Taylor Allen calls his book "a misleading and defective life, in which her catholic spirit appears bound

in the grave-clothes of so-called Evangelical dogma." A savage verdict this, on one of the best spiritual books that the nineteenth century has seen, written by the man who was, from the similarity of his personal experience with that of the author whom he was interpreting, the most competent for the task. The truth, however, must be admitted that Professor Upham did discard much of the Catholic practice of Madame Guyon and minimise the superstitious side of her character, because it was an unnecessary adjunct of the experience to which she attained, and as he himself proved, by arriving at the same goal by another road. It was the cast-off raiment of the soul, which did not need any further conservation. But she did not recognise the outworn elements of her life and creed in the same way that we instinctively recognised them. One would be wrong to conclude with Professor Upham that she instinctively forsook all exterior religion in her successful guess after interior religion, and that she deliberately limited herself absolutely to the naked faith of the mystic, and the single principle of the acquiescence of a life surrendered in all things to the will of God. It is far from being the case—she reached her goal without recognising at first how much she had left behind. In order to make this clear, it will be worth while to make some detailed enquiries. Let us see if we can find out what superstitions Madame Guyon definitely abandoned. Did she give up confession or the mass, or the fetish of external authority in matters of religion? Does she ever speak kindly or sympathetically of Protestantism? Does her heart go out towards the persecuted Huguenots, in the times of whose last agonies she lived? Does she appreciate in the slightest degree what Geneva had accomplished for both England and France? What is her view of the adoration of the Virgin or of the blessed sacrament, or of the holy cross? Did she abandon the Roman doctrine of purgatory? What was her attitude towards ecclesiastical miracles? Is her religion overcharged with ascetic elements? We will try and answer some of these questions.

To begin with, Madame Guyon never abandoned, but from first to last firmly held and accepted the principle of the authority of the Church. Most mystics escape from this deadly and soul-destroying error with comparative ease by exercising the right of private judgment, but Madame Guyon never recognised that it was an error. To the last she submitted herself to ecclesiastical judgment, and placed all her works on the Index, so far as the Church wished to place them there. "I would rather," she says, "die a thousand times than wander from the sentiments of the Church, and I have always been ready to disavow and condemn whatever I might have said, or written, which could be contrary to them."

It was natural that with this promise she was shut off from any possibility of sympathy with Protestants. A hermit sent her to Lausanne to convert his sister from Protestantism into which she had lapsed; and she went there apparently on an unsuccessful quest. It was a dangerous journey. "She cannot," says she, "go there and speak of religion without risk?" Religion, you see, had for her only one meaning.

She had many times spiritual intimations that she was to go to Geneva; when this first came upon her, she interpreted her "concern" to mean that she would become a Protestant. She was horror-struck at the thought. "What," said she to herself, "for crown of desertion would'st thou proceed to this excess of impiety, to quit the faith by apostasy."

At another time she had a vision of the night, in which a little deformed nun appeared to her and said, "My sister, I come to tell you that God wishes you at Geneva." So she began to believe that there was religious service for her in that city. A nun of her acquaintance told her that God had made known the same thing to her, and that it had been said to her, "she will be daughter of the Cross of Geneva"; numbers of others had similar intimations. What was her state of mind towards this possible field of labour, which by the way never became more than an

imagination? She foresaw Catholicism triumphant, and apostrophises the city on its conversion from heresy:

> Yes, Geneva, you will again see within your walls the truth flourish, which has been banished by error; and those beautiful words that are written on your Town Hall, "After darkness, light," will be happily verified for you. And, although at present you take them in quite a contrary sense, it is certain you will be one day illuminated with the light of truth, and that fine temple of St. Peter will again have the advantage of enclosing in its bosom our redoubtable mysteries.

Clearly a person who was so eager to take part in the re-conversion of the Genevese, can have had no conscious sympathy with Protestantism, and it would be easy to prove that a large part of her actual mission, apart from the abortive attempt on the citadel of the Reformation, was the reclaiming of those who had lapsed into Protestantism. Every effort was made by the ecclesiastical superiors to persuade her to devote herself and her money to their work; and she was only hindered by her confessor, who pointed out to the bishop that before long *there would be no Protestants in France to convert*; a significant allusion in view of what happened not long after, and which must have been in her mind when she wrote the report of it; yet I do not see that the expulsion of the Protestants provoked in her mind a ripple of sympathy. But this was perhaps merely a trait of heredity; for she tells us that her father was a devout man and the scourge of heresies and novelties.

Her faith in the sacrament of the mass was boundless; she cared for nothing so much as "to see God made and eaten all day long." She passed hours in adoration before the reserved sacrament. In rainy weather God constantly worked miracles for her to enable her to get to the chapel where the priest was celebrating, by suspending the rainfall while she walked to the chapel; and on such days her husband, who had a grudge against her going to the early service, miraculously overslept himself and knew nothing of what happened. I do not criticise these statements nor question the miracles. It is sufficient to remark that her

faith in transubstantiation is as decided as her faith in God Himself. She commonly speaks of receiving God when she means the wafer, and we ought not to take the meaning out of her words.

Her attitude towards the Blessed Virgin is consistently and only Catholic. She constantly made special vows to her, and she put her childen under her protection; when she was leaving her younger son in Paris, she tells us that the confidence she had in the Holy Virgin, to whom she had vowed him, and whom she looked upon as his mother, calmed all her griefs! "It would be," she says, "an insult to the Queen of Heaven to doubt that she was taking a special care of the child." But if she should be thought superstitious in the references which she makes to the worship of the Virgin and of her intervention in Madame Guyon's personal affairs, we should admit that her mother's heart was deeply taught in the mysterious relations that must have subsisted between the Holy Mother and the Holy Son. What can be finer than her description of the share which she assumes that the Virgin had of the willing immolation of Christ upon the cross, concerning which she asks, "Did she not immolate him upon the cross, where she remained standing like a priest assisting at the sacrifice that the High Priest after the order of Melchizedek made of himself?"

Her belief in purgatory is thoroughly and consistently Romish; nor does she seem to have wavered in her belief as to the efficacy of masses for the dead. When her husband died, she was made sensible of his state and assured of his deliverance. She tells us that on the evening of the day of his death, "when alone in my room in full daylight I perceived a warm shade pass near me." The next day she had remarkable interior joy, and she had "a very great interior certainty that at the instant our Lord delivered my husband from purgatory." Against this might perhaps be set the fact that some years later she had a dream in which a dear friend appeared to her and assured her of her husband's release, but gave a somewhat different date. It should also

be remarked that as he had led his wife a life in which she was the victim of ingenious and constant cruelty and had taken every one's part against her, it is fatal to a belief in purgatory to let him out at such a short interval, and sets a premium on connubial atrocities. The fact, however, remains that Madame Guyon believed all the Roman doctrine in question without wavering.

The efficacy of relics is also a point on which we can test her growth in spiritual intelligence. One day she was dealing with a very abandoned girl who had given herself up entirely to the devil. They had a pitched battle in the spirit; the girl at length said, "You have something strong which I cannot endure," and Madame Guyon confesses that she was talismaned by a piece of the true cross around her neck. At another time she speaks of the protection afforded by a cross from the tomb of St. Francis de Sales. Her mysticism did not detach her, as far as I can see, from these outward things. Her devotion, for example, to the Holy Child appears to have been quite consistent with devotion to a beautiful wax image she had of Him.

Let us turn, in the next place, to the question of ascetic practices. The Roman saints are almost all ascetics; but we must not condemn them too precipitately on that account. One cannot be a scholar without some measure of asceticism, at least, so much as will scorn an armchair and burn midnight oil; why, then, should we assume that one can become a saint apart from the discipline of a saint? We speak contemptuously, too, of armchair politicians, and Mrs. Browning even speaks of armchair Christians,

> Good people who sit still in easy chairs
> And damn the general world for standing up.

So it seems that there is a concensus of opinion as to the necessity of discipline of some sort for those who wish to be either wise or holy. But asceticism in the Church has far outrun the idea of mere discipline, or has carried the word discipline out into new meanings which make the Christian saint a companion of the devil-dancer and the

fakir. A discipline in the Roman Church means a scourge with sharp points in it, which, if used for a certain time a day (I believe Dr. Pusey recommended a quarter of an hour), will infallibly drive the devil out of the flesh in which he is so prone to hide.

Madame Guyon went through every stage of physical torture which ecclesiastical ingenuity or monastic usage had consecrated. She took the discipline in its most literal sense. Sometimes she varied it, substituting for the scourge a bunch of nettles with which she thrashed herself. At other times she covered her whole body with them. She tells her experience of these tortures, and it is at least to her credit that when she disciplined herself, she appeared not unto men to be disciplined, but showed a heavenly freshness in her face.

> I made a pretence of eating certain food that I did not like, and I did things so cleverly, it was not perceived. I had almost always absinthe and colocynth in my mouth. I learned to eat what I most hated. Love did not let me see anything or hear anything. Almost every day I took a scourging, and I often wore the iron girdle *without its lessening the freshness of my face.*

She tells us that she often had her teeth pulled out, although they did not pain her.

> It was a refreshment to me, and when my teeth pained me I did not think of having them pulled out; on the contrary, they became my good friends, and I was regretful of losing them without pain.

Thus she sacrificed her sound teeth for the pleasure of the pain of having them extracted, and she refused to sacrifice her unsound teeth because of the pleasure of the pain which she found in their friendly companionship. At other times she poured molten lead on her flesh, and being disappointed at the experiment, because the lead flowed off and did not stick, she varied the experiment with sealing-wax, which did not flow off and did stick. She would hold a lighted candle in her fingers, using them as the socket of

a candlestick, and then she would allow the candle to burn down.

Now what are we to say to all this? Is it merely an abnormal state of mind to be studied by the pathologist, or is there a line of sound thinking mixed up with the irrational element? Where does the true cross come in amidst all these artificial attempts at crucifixion? We must try and find out. For the present, suffice it to say that she did not follow a non-Catholic rule when she sought sanctity. Her models were the anchorites of the Egyptian deserts, as well as the saints of the Roman Church nearer to her own time. Any fanatic from St. Anthony to St. Francis de Sales and Madame Chantal suited her for a model; and if the good could have been reached by mere mimetic, independently of divine grace, she would have got there, for we may safely say that she shrunk from no suffering, however fantastic, which she was able to imagine for herself, or which she saw in the experience of the canonised and chronicled saints. It is important to remember that our knowledge of these points in her religious history comes from her own Autobiography, written in 1688, when she was forty years of age, and had made successfully the spiritual ascents both of Mount Tabor and of Mount Calvary (which were the same mountain in her point of view, with perhaps Mount Tabor for a lower peak than the actual summit which is marked by the cross). If she had wished definitely to dissociate herself from the Catholic superstitions and errors, she would have said as much in her own story at the right points. But I doubt whether she suspected that she was in error at all. How are we to explain this peculiar intellectual and spiritual sterility, existing side by side with the utmost force of mind, and facility for religious advance?

Well, in the first place, we must begin on the lowest plane, and say that the phenomena are partly the result of religious heredity. Just as in the case of George Fox, who begins his autobiography by referring to his father, who was called righteous Christer, and his mother Mary Lago, of the seed of the Lagoes and the stock of the martyrs, so with Madame

Guyon. She explains numbers of points in her experience by referring to this source for the causes of her conduct. Her language is strikingly parallel to that of Fox:

I was born of a father and mother who made profession of very great piety, particularly my father, *who had inherited it from his ancestors;* for one might count, from a very long time, almost as many saints in his family as there were persons who composed it.

As we have already pointed out, this will readily explain her attitude of hostility to heretics: it will also cover the abnormal infantine interest in the externals of religion, which made her play at martyrdoms with her schoolfellows and dress up like a little nun. She points out also that her extraordinary charity to the poor was largely a matter of inheritance.

No poor person was ever sent away by my mother, nor did any destitute one ever apply to her without receiving help. She furnished poor artisans with the means of carrying on their work, and poor traders with the means of supplying their shops. *I think it is from her I have inherited charity, and the love of the poor for God gave me the grace to succeed her in this holy exercise.*"

No doubt her diagnosis is correct; and it helps us to see why Madame Guyon was such a good Catholic, for she continues her study of her mother by saying that "she had a very great devotion to the Holy Virgin. She meditated every day during the time of a mass."

In the next place, this strong element of heredity was accompanied by an extraordinary power of mimetic, which led her to reproduce in her own experience not only the religion of father and of mother, but of all the good people she read of or came across. This mimetic stage is naturally that of childhood. One may judge of the strength of the tendency by watching the twelve-year-old maiden reading the life of Madame de Chantal, and trying to copy it.

All that I saw written in the life of Madame de Chantal delighted me, and I was so childish *I thought I ought to do all that I saw there. All the vows that she made I made also;* as that of aiming always at the most perfect, and doing the will of God in

all things. I was not yet twelve years of age; nevertheless *I took the discipline* according to my strength (*i.e.*, in imitation of Madame de Chantal). One day, when I read that she placed the name of Jesus on her heart, in order to follow the counsel of the Bridegroom, "Set me as a seal upon thy heart," and that she had taken a redhot iron on which was engraved that holy name, I remained very afflicted *at not being able to do the same.* I bethought me of writing this sacred and adorable name in large characters on a morsel of paper, with ribbons and a big needle I fixed it to my skin in four places, and it continued for a long time fixed in this manner.

The mimetic nature of this stage of her development is striking. Much of her abnormal and precocious Catholicism is therefore due to natural causes, and we ought not to be surprised that the saffron so thoroughly coloured her skin.

But there is a further reason why she never dissociated herself from the irrationalities and extravagancies of Catholicism; and that is the peculiar degree in which the Lord seems to have left her alone in such matters, as if they were relatively of small importance. There is a peculiar accommodation about the gates of the New Jerusalem, which makes the access to the city possible from the four quarters of heaven. Madame Guyon learned Protestant truth, so far as she learned it, without knowing that it was Protestant, and God let her learn it that way. No one, for example, started on her spiritual life with greater zeal at accumulating merit than she did; but when she comes to write her story, what has become of the merit? Her talk then is of the nothing of the creature and the all of God. She tells her children that

> the righteous, supported by the great number of works of righteousness that he presumes to have done, seems to hold his salvation in his own hands and regards heaven as the recompense due to his merits. . . . Oh! but he will remain a long time weighed down under that vain-glorious burden, while his sinners, stripped of everything, are carried swiftly by the wings of love and confidence into the arms of their Saviour, who gives them gratuitously what He has infinitely merited for them.

Would Luther or Calvin have found any fault with this

statement of the doctrine that "merit lives from man and to man, and not from man, O Lord, to Thee"? She speaks of persons in whom

> God destroys their own righteousness, and that temple built by the hand of men, so that there remains not a stone that is not destroyed, because all these works are built upon the quicksand, which is the resting on the created . . . . in place of being founded on the living stone, Jesus Christ.

And she tells us that "if men knew how opposed is their own righteousness to the designs of God, we should have an eternal subject of humiliation and of distrust of what at present constitutes our sole support." Surely Professor Upham was quite correct in maintaining that the doctrine of salvation by faith is clearly taught in Madame Guyon's writings. Not only so, but there is also the further doctrine, which concerned Upham more closely, as being the doctrine which most needed to be revived in the thought of Evangelical Christendom, that sanctification is by faith, even as justification is. For the fact is that she does not make any fine or careful distinctions between the two, having in her map of the road a good many more mansions than two on the way to her Father's house, but she enunciates the principle of faith, and enunciates it as a universal principle, applicable to the whole area of the spiritual life. And all of this is evangelical doctrine, and demonstrates that if the New Jerusalem is so accommodating as to have three gates to each quarter of heaven, each gate is only a different aspect of a single door. And now let us see the point to which all this crucifixion and self-annihilation and faith lead her, and leave behind the discussion (which in many respects is irrelevant enough) as to whether she was more of a Catholic than she should have been when she became a saint.

The guiding principle of her life was an experimental devotion to the cross of Christ, according to which she first crucified herself to the best of her ability, and then left the Lord to crucify her to the best of His. When she started on the pathway of austerity, it was with the belief that she

would find union with God on this road; and although she herself admitted the faultiness of her method, and to some extent reformed it, she accomplished her intention. Her language is perfectly clear on this point; she tells us, in making her apology for the submission of herself to the ill-will and hostility and general crabbedness of her relations, that she did so submit because "it was the view you from the first gave me, O my God, *not to descend from the cross, as you yourself had not descended from it.*" That is, she made an *Imitatio Christi* over that fact in the Lord's life, which I once heard General Booth describe in the words, "*They would have believed in Him if He had come down, we believe in Him because He stayed up.*" There is the key with which she opened so many closed doors. Over and over again, in the course of her life, you can see the key in the lock. For instance, she made a contract of marriage between herself and the Lord, signed it and sealed it. I rather think that pious Catholic ladies were in the habit of making such contracts, for this one was sent her by her friend Mother Granger, who would hardly have sent her a medicine she had not tasted, or which was not in the accepted religious pharmacopœia, and it has, moreover, the air of being a formula, for the place of the name is marked by the conventional N (nomen).

I, N———, promise to take for my spouse, our Lord, the child, and to give myself to Him for spouse, however unworthy.

This seems to be the whole of the contract, though I believe Upham adds to it a good deal which belongs strictly to Madame Guyon, and was not a part of the real document.

She continues her description of the contract by saying—which Upham wrongly joins with the foregoing document—"I asked of Him, as dowry of my spiritual marriage, crosses, scorn, confusion, disgrace and ignominy; and I prayed Him to give me the grace to enter into His dispositions of littleness and annihilation, with something else." This day became memorable in her experience, a day of grace and of crosses. Her husband and one of her

daughters died on St. Magdalene's day, as she reminds us. It is difficult to decide whether that former event is properly speaking a cross. She regarded herself at that time as consecrated to God in the way that churches are consecrated. "As churches are marked with the sign of the cross," she says, "you mark me also with the same sign." If her subsequent religious experiences count for anything at all, they are a sufficient verification that the Lord accepted the contract, and gave her the desired dowry. We may, if we please, say that she mixed with the dowry some private funds of her own, in the shape of self-willed and unnecessary austerities, but in the main the crosses were heaven-sent: the true cross killed off the imitation, the austerities subsided, and instead of being tortured at her own hands, she became resigned in the hands of God. Was there ever any one who so exemplified the weight and worth of the cross in their spiritual experience as she did?

One of the prettiest pictures in the whole of her life occurs at the time, when in company with her little daughter, her maids and a certain nun named Sister Garnier, she left Paris to devote herself to the work which she believed God had in store for her. The first part of the journey was by water. She tells us that

in the boat, my daughter, without knowing what she was doing, could not help making crosses. She kept a person employed in cutting rushes, and then she made them into crosses and quite covered me with them. She put more than three hundred on me. I let her do it, and I understood interiorly that there was a mystery in what she was doing. There was then given to me an inward certainty that I was going there only to reap crosses, and that this little girl was sowing the crosses for me to gather, Sister Garnier, who saw that whatever they did they could not prevent the child from loading me with crosses, said to me, "What this child is doing appears to me to be very mysterious." She said to her, "My little lady, put crosses on me also." She answered, "They are not for you, they are all for my dear mother." She gave her one to please her, then she continued putting them on me. When she had put on a very great number, she had river flowers, which were found on the water,

given to her, and making a wreath with them, she placed it on my head and said to me, "After the cross you will be crowned." In silence I wondered at all this, and I ***immolated myself to Love as a victim to be sacrificed to Him.***

There again you have the key to her life; and this last sentence becomes set to music in one of her songs, which begins

> Love if thy destined sacrifice am I,
> Come slay thy victim and prepare the fires.

Thus she not only submitted to crucifixion, but she desired it and even defied it. She consented as well as submitted to the will of God in bringing her to the point of entire renunciation of her selfhood and keeping her there. She intimates that there was a secret understanding between herself and the Lord, according to which He never bestowed upon her any extraordinary sufferings without first obtaining her consent. If He came with His hands full of crosses to bestow upon her, she for her part received them right willingly; and although it was only child's play when her little girl covered her with woven crosses of rush-work, it was anything but child's play when the Lord filled her hands with them. But she made child's play of it, too, in the end, for in writing one of her lovely songs of absolute subjection, she ends the strain in which she describes her abandonment and interior annihilation in the words,

> Soon as I became a child,
> Love was pleased again and smiled;
> Never more shall strife betide
> 'Twixt the Bridegroom and His bride.

And so the soul's tragedy ends in something which is a mixture of a paternoster and an epithalamium; and surely that is the way in which it ought to end, unless the Scriptures are wrong in showing us the Bride, the Lamb's wife; and the saints deluded in thinking they have found Him. For, as Madame Guyon says, "There is nothing in the general Church which does not take place in some degree in the particular soul."

Sooner or later, then, in the particular soul as well as in

the Church universal, the garment of praise replaces the spirit of heaviness and the oil of joy is given instead of mourning: the Lord becomes the everlasting light, and the days of mourning are ended.

The walls of the Castle of Vincennes, into which the blessed woman was cast for the crime of loving God too much, ceased to be prison walls and became palace walls, which shone in the prisoner's eyes like rubies. She was content to pass her life there, if such was the will of God.

> I used to compose hymns, which the maid who served me learned by heart as fast as I composed them; and we used to sing your praise, O my God. I regarded myself as a little bird you were keeping in a cage for your pleasure, and who ought to sing to fulfil her condition of life. The stones of my tower seemed to me rubies; that is to say, I esteemed them more than all worldly magnificence.

One readily recalls the hymn of which she speaks, which, in the English rendering, runs as follows:

> A little bird am I
> Shut from the fields of air,
> And in my cage I sit and sing
> To him who placed me there:
> Well-pleased a prisoner to be,
> Because, my God, it pleases Thee.

Is it possible that such great renunciation, set to such sweet music, can be the mark of decadence in religion? Must we not rather say that we find ourselves on an ascending stair, like Lancelot in the quest for the Holy Grail, when, having driven across the deep for many days and landed on the lonely castle-crowned rock, where was no sign of life, he heard above him on the painful ascent a constant song from some unseen singer,

> Clear as a lark, high o'er me as a lark,

and caught the refrain of the anthem of that invisible choir with whom caged birds conspire,

> Glory and joy and honour to our Lord
> And to the holy vessel of the Grail.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

THE DIFFUSION OF MODERN CIVILISATION.

1. *Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year* 1897–98. (Thirty-fourth Number.)

2. *The Indian Problem in its Relation to Indian Workmen.* By Major KEITH, M.R.A.S., late Archæological Conservator to Central India. (Aberdeen. 1894.)

3. *Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social.* By Sir ALFRED C. LYALL, K.C.B., D.C.L. (London: John Murray. 1899.)

4. *The Relations of Civilised to Uncivilised and Semi-civilised Communities according to International Law.* A Paper read at the School of Economics by Mr. JOHN MACDONELL, C.B., Master of the Supreme Court.*

THE "Statements exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India" belong to a class of blue book—the periodical official reports relating to our colonial empire—which is, perhaps, more studiously ignored than any other variety of that proverbially unpopular form of literature.

Those interested in India—a section of the community which has during recent years shown a steady tendency to increase in numbers—will, however, find these "Statements" well worthy of attention. They are the official records, now extending over more than thirty years, of the progress under British rule of an empire more than twice as great in area as the rest of Greater Britain, and fourteen times greater

* Reported in the *Times* of June 21, 1899, and the *Manchester Guardian* of June 20, 1899.

than that of the United Kingdom itself; the population of which is seven times greater than our own, and nearly three times greater than that of the United Kingdom and our other dependencies and colonies put together; and the annual trade of which amounts to one-sixth of that of the whole British Empire. In addition to their practical importance in this respect they are, moreover, worthy of study as indicating the more direct modes in which western civilisation in its most progressive form is being introduced among an Asiatic population of three hundred millions, essentially conservative in temperament, and which has inherited one of the oldest civilisations in the world—a process that is also being simultaneously promoted by constant intercouse between the governing and the subject races, and which seems fraught with momentous results for both. This process now being carried on, not only by Great Britain, but by all the principal European States both in semi-civilised countries like India, Egypt and China and in territories inhabited by barbarous races in every quarter of the globe is, of course, the inevitable result of territorial expansion. Though, however, it is one of the oldest phenomena in history it has now assumed a new aspect, owing to the awakening in the pioneers of modern civilisation of a sense of responsibility unknown to the rulers of the great empires of the old world, of the nature and influence of which the authorities cited at the head of this article furnish interesting evidence. On the one hand, the valuable and scholarly Asiatic studies of Sir Alfred Lyall, who is still a member of the Council of India, and the vigorous and impressive pamphlet of Major Keith, who was for many years Archæological Conservator to Central India, furnish a useful commentary on the *Statement of Indian Progress*, the publication of which is itself an earnest of the spirit animating the Government; and the intimate knowledge of the country and its inhabitants possessed by both authors gives a special value to their opinions as to the results of the conflict between English and Indian civilisation. On the other hand, the able and suggestive paper

read by Mr. Macdonell at the School of Economics opens up new and important questions as to the rules which should regulate the relations between civilised and entirely uncivilised communities; and it may therefore be interesting to consider some of the main features of what may be termed the diffusion of modern civilisation.

1. It is impossible to study the official Statement of 1897–98 as to the condition of India without a feeling of admiration for the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the system of paternal government which we have established there. In addition to providing for the civil and military government, the administration of justice throughout the empire and regulating its external relations, the Government supervises all public works—a term comprising railways, buildings, roads, civil and military works, and a vast system of irrigation by means of tanks and canals spreading over 13,028,306 acres. It provides for the administration and conservancy of forests—a work the extent of which may be gathered from the fact that the "reserves," or areas of state forest reserved in each province for supplying both local and provincial needs and the foreign demand for timber, cover over 80,000 square miles; while the unreserved state forests, all of which are managed for the benefit of the people, their cattle and the public revenue, are 30,000 square miles in extent. The work of its Survey Department, besides the five principal branches of trigonometrical survey, topographical and forest survey, cadastral survey, special surveys and explorations and map production, includes geodetic observations, tidal and levelling operations, marine survey and meteorology. For the purpose of assessing the land revenue—or as it is technically termed "settlement"—it demarcates by means of cadastral survey every estate and holding, classifies each field according to its productiveness, and records all rents and rights of landlord or tenant; the information thus obtained for a circle of villages, supplemented by a record of the past history of the tract, the range of prices and accessibility of markets, forming the basis of the proposed rent rates or

revenue rates. In order to secure and simplify titles and prevent frauds, it has established a system, carried out by more than two thousand offices, for the compulsory registration of non-testamentary documents affecting unmovable property of the value of Rx. 10 or upwards, and the optional registration of others. By means of Wards established in most of the larger provinces it manages the estates of minors, idiots or persons incapable of managing their own affairs, and the estates of indebted proprietors who voluntarily place themselves under the care of the Courts. In every large province it has established an Agricultural Department charged with the duties of supervising the maintenance of the village records of land tenures, rent, produce and land transfers; of organising and directing state undertakings for the furtherance of agriculture and the improvement of stock; and of keeping the public and the Government informed as to the condition of crops, the range of prices and the approach of famine in any particular tract. It regulates the system of local self-government which it has established throughout the empire by reserving to itself the power of sanctioning the imposition of new taxes and the raising of loans, and by appointing one or more government officials as members in every municipal body as well as by nominating in every town some, and in a few minor towns all, the members. It provides for national education by means of primary schools designed to teach such elementary knowledge as will enable a peasant to look after his own interests; of secondary schools, divided into "English," in which English forms part of the regular course of study of all the scholars; and into "Vernacular," in which English is an optional subject; and of colleges, the students in which, having passed the matriculation examination of a university, are reading for the further examination required for a degree. It has established post offices, savings banks and telegraph offices throughout the empire.* It provides for

* At the close of 1897 there were 6290 offices performing savings' bank business, with 730,387 accounts and Rs. 4,365,245 deposits. The amount invested in Government securities by depositors was Rs. 74,260;

the registration of joint stock companies, and also for that of literary publications and of patents and designs. It superintends trade and manufactures. It supervises emigration and migration; and last, but not least, it strives to protect India from the terrible visitations of plague and famine to which it has always been liable, and when in spite of its efforts they occur, to alleviate the sufferings of her people.[c]

While, however, the Government retains the supreme control of all the branches of this vast machinery, it permits its Asiatic subjects to take a very large share in the management. All the subaltern officers of the native army, which it may be noted is double the strength of the British army in India, are natives. Natives act as magistrates in petty cases, and in addition to numbers of native pleaders trained in India, native barristers who have been called to the Bar in this country practise in the Indian courts. Natives compete successfully with Englishmen for appointments in the covenanted Indian Civil Service, all the inferior routine work of which, as well as of the uncovenanted service, is of course entrusted to a native clerical staff. As regards the latter service, the *Statement of Indian Progress for 1897* shows that, while the provincial or subordinate branches of both the Forest and the Public Works Departments consist chiefly of natives, twenty per cent. of the two hundred and ten superior posts in the former are filled by selected officers, principally native, from the subordinate branch; and that in the Public Works Department, one hundred and five out of the six hundred and eighty-three civil engineers in the superior branch of which are natives, the

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and the balance of securities in the hands of the Comptroller-General was Rs. 73,120. It is interesting to note that quinine (for fever) is sold and that native army pensioners are paid through the agency of the Post-office; and that bicycles and "rickshaws" (handcarts) are simultaneously in use for post-office purposes in parts of the Madras Presidency. *Statement for* 1897, p. 164, 167.

[c] *Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India*, 1897–8, *passim*.

highest posts are open equally to members of both the imperial and the provincial services.* All the subaltern officers of the police—a force comprising "District executive," "Railway," "Military," and "Rural" police—are natives, who in some provinces are educated in special schools, such as the police training school of Bengal, which, besides providing for instruction in law, criminal procedure, drill and surveying, etc., etc., encourages athletics, arranging cricket and football matches with neighbouring schools, and holding annual sports.† And lastly, the native element very largely predominates in the composition of the various bodies by which the greater proportion of local administration throughout the country is carried on—the municipal commissioners or committees charged with the care of streets, roads, water supply, education, hospitals, sanitation and vaccination; the local and district boards which perform similar functions in rural districts; the Port Trustees, entrusted with the management of harbour works and pilotage; and other less numerous bodies appointed in towns other than municipalities and in cantonments. Natives are thus taking the principal share in the establishment in India of one of the most characteristic of British institutions, and it is interesting to learn from the *Statement* that "municipalities do more for the benefit of their citizens . . . than was done before by government officers"; that "the commissioners or committees generally evince diligence and public spirit in the performance of their honorary duties," and that "many members of municipal bodies are diligent in their attendance to work, whether at meetings for business or on benches for decision of petty criminal cases."‡ And while they are thus being familiarised with the principles and nature of British forms of government, the natives of India are also acquiring a knowledge of British trading methods—in the fourteen years 1884–98, the number of joint stock companies at work in India has risen from six hundred and ninety-four to fifteen hundred and

* *Statement*, pp. 105, 129. † *Ibid*, p. 31. ‡ *Ibid*, pp. 5, 6.

seventy-two, and the paid-up capital from twenty and three-quarters to thirty-three and one-eighth millions*—and of British manufacturing processes carried on in factories, now numbering nine hundred and eighty-one, which are regulated by Factory Acts based on the same principles as our own.† Through these channels, and through the medium of an educational system formed on English models and in which English is one of the chief subjects of study,‡ of a press and literature in which English publications are, in proportion to the population, very fairly represented,§ and, last but not least, of personal intercourse between the ruling and subject races, western civilisation is being rapidly diffused throughout the empire. Yet whilst that civilisation is greatly superior to the one it is designed to supersede, it is to be feared that, despite the excellence of our intentions, the process of diffusion has not as yet been in all respects as conducive to the material and, still less, to the moral progress of India as we could desire.

2. As regards material progress, an examination of Major Keith's plea will show that "Europeanisation," as he terms it, while benefitting other classes, has in many ways injured the Indian workmen—a class which, as he points out, is unrepresented.

The Indian workman is the very antithesis of the British. While the latter is self-reliant, enterprising, progressive, and inclined to scepticism, the former is self-distrustful, conservative, helpless without a leader, and a firm believer in the customs of his fathers and the gods. Says Major Keith,

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* *Statement*, p. 52. † *Ibid*, p. 193. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 175.

§ *Ibid*, p. 181. Of 4,838 publications registered during 1897–8, 538 were English. The other publications, which include books devoted to religion, poetry, fiction, history, theology and medicine, as well as journals, are in Bengali, Arabic, Hindi, Sanscrit, Persian, Urdu, Tamil, Burmese and other languages too numerous to mention. Some of the journals are bi-lingual—English being sometimes one of the languages—and tri-lingual. It is interesting to note that one of the most important of the Bengali journals, the *Bhárati*, is edited by two Hindu ladies. The Madras publications include one Latin and one Italian work.

"Climate, in educating a hesitating and distrustful spirit, makes communal life a necessity to the Hindu. Corporate existence is a first condition of his being. Hindus live in groups, never isolated, they speak collectively and act collectively. Thus we find the principle of the communities traversing every religious, secular and industrial association of India. It constitutes the essence of the caste system, and is intimately bound up with ancestral worship." Manual labour adapts itself to this retrograde spirit, and with a population of three hundred millions the motive power which makes mechanical development a necessity in western countries with a limited labour supply, is wanting. So little has the Hindu changed in thousands of years that village industries in the village community and hereditary trade are still the most prominent features of Indian life. While providing help for the father at a cheap rate and offering the simplest opening in life for the son, hereditary trade makes the custom or reputation of the former a valuable legacy for the latter. Love of the roof-tree is a passion with the Hindu, and the great characteristic of communal life in India was the family and the home. Formerly the spirit of the Indian workshop was founded on paternal and fraternal veneration, and everything was submitted to the family, and the spirit and experience of the father descended to the son. The family was the unit of a community in which labourers were a species of capital, and industry was rendered coincident with self interest, the members being partners in the association, and both the quality and quantity of work being raised by a sense of property.*

Europeanisation has changed all this for the worse. It has brought the middleman—"the parasite of a machine age," as Major Keith terms him—to the front, and Indian workshops are rife with loud complaints of his encroachments. Railways—which, according to the official state-

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* *The Indian Problem in its Relation to Indian Workmen*, pp. 14, 15, 22, 33, 34.

ment,* have in combination with the export trade tended also to diminish the original common custom of storing grain as a protection against famine—symbolise a rate of speed which is hurtful to the Indian workman, who, owing to the system of hereditary trades, cannot suddenly change his calling or residence. The change of centres of trade and provincial capitals which their construction frequently entail—Major Keith instances the destruction of Mirzapore, Brindiban, and Benares—inflicts great hardship on artisans by diverting traffic and commerce. They also tend to extirpate village industries, and they have further injured the workman by raising the price of food. In addition to this, he has suffered from the abolition of the Indian duty for the benefit of Manchester, and the imposition of the duties which shut out Indian manufactures from England.† Workmen complained to Major Keith that native Rajwanas and Reis can no longer afford to give orders for dresses of honour, and now wear piece goods in lieu of the old brocades; also that the encouragement of European tastes has diverted the patronage of the Rajahs to the London tailor. Owing to the reproduction of a debased native art in England much of the Benares ware now found in India can be traced to Birmingham; and jail industries—the manufacture of art fabrics, such as carpets, with unpaid labour—has not tended to help the Indian workman. Lastly, Indian art, which originated with the Tauranian predecessors of the Aryan race in India, whose looms became the parent of Indian textiles and other arts, and whose tents supplied the motive for architectural forms, is degenerating. The factory system, Major Keith tells us, is destroying the principle animating the old labour guilds in which "the soul of the workmen was in their art, and their reward was the toil itself," and it is also, as Sir Alfred Lyall points out, injuring the native artistic sense. While the introduction of European patterns confuses the spiritual instinct as to

* Page 28.

† "Was it right," Major Keith asks, "to have a hall-mark or levy duty on Indian silver and admit Continental silver free into India?"—p. 26.

form and colour and renders the imaginative faculty superfluous, the immense European demand for the finer handiwork of India has demoralised its artisans, who instead of endeavouring to express the multiform religious idea, however grotesque, are employed in executing wholesale commercial orders according to sample.*

It is, therefore, not surprising to learn from the official statement for 1897–8 that, though the domestic industries of India, such as weaving and spinning, pottery, brass work, iron work, and art work of many kinds continue to be practised after ancient methods all over the continent, "Indian fabrics and products, made on a small scale by workers at their homes, have for years been giving way before the cheaper cotton yarn and fabrics, and the iron or steel products of British factories." In Bengal we are told that "hand-loom manufacture of cotton continues to decline and exports are insignificant"; that the numbers dependent on the cotton industry of Bengal, on which over a million persons were dependent in 1891, are steadily decreasing; and that "a great number of the weaver class have taken to other pursuits, and the indigenous spinning industry has been all but annihilated." In the North West Provinces "the ordinary industries supply for the most part only local needs"; and in the Central Provinces "there has been no revival of the cottage industry in embroidered or fine cloths for which the Nagpur country used to be celebrated." In Madras, weaving, which is still the most important domestic industry, "has greatly declined under the competition of machine-made goods," and, though the demand on the woollen fabric industry is maintained, it is not for the best class of carpets or rugs.†

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* *The Indian Problem*, pp. 11, 21, 22, 24, 33. *Cf.*, *Asiatic Studies*, Second Series, pp. 5, 6. Sir Alfred Lyall points out that the influence of British utilitarianism must also vitiate the artistic spirit which still leads a Hindu sculptor in outlying places to execute temples beautiful in design and detail because the subject, while inspiring and exalting his imagination, leaves it quite free (p. 6).

† Pp. 189–192.

Having regard to what has been said of the importance of "village industries" to the Indian workman, it is impossible to agree with the apparent opinion of the framers of the official statement that their gradual decay is amply compensated for by the fact that "meanwhile, without any protection, favour or advantage other than is afforded by cheap Indian labour and by the production of raw materials in India, an important manufacturing industry has been growing up, and steam power factories are at work" for cotton and jute spinning, paper making, brewing and other manufactures.* Factories, tea gardens and indigo estates, which enrich only the owner, the merchants and the middleman, represent, as Major Keith points out, borrowed capital, the interest and profits of which are spent out of the country; and the condition of our own factory hands in this country can hardly be adduced as an argument in support of the general adoption of the system among a redundant Oriental population of weak physique and unable to help themselves. There seems, therefore, much force in Major Keith's suggestion that the Government should undertake an industrial survey in India to ascertain the aspirations of the workmen, giving due weight to their predilections and the points in which they differ from Europeans, and to ascertain how far their system of "labour guilds" and "traditional callings" might be utilised in working the forms of Western industry which we are introducing among them.†

3. In one of the most interesting of his Asiatic studies, in which he discusses the effect that our rule is producing in India, from the standpoint of an orthodox Brahman, versed in the religion and philosophy of his own people, and to some extent in the literature of the West, Sir Alfred Lyall makes the hypothetical Brahman observe that in the official statement "moral progress" signifies, generally, the spread of primary and middle-class instruction in Government schools and colleges. This public instruction, though

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* *Statement*, p. 189.

† *The Indian Problem*, pp. 22, 31, 32, 36.

serviceable, is, he points out, necessarily utilitarian and secular; and he therefore expresses a doubt whether the words "moral" and "material" in the blue book classification do not practically mean the same thing. He is of opinion that there is a distinct leaning towards this interpretation among Indians educated into our system, under the influence of which his countrymen are rapidly losing their own religious beliefs; which, though, perhaps, never of much ethical value to most of the three hundred millions of people for whose destinies we have made ourselves responsible, at any rate provided certain theories of conduct and social obligation. We have organised, for the first time in Asia, an all-powerful government on avowedly non-religious principles, and imposed upon an intensely spiritualistic people a system of public instruction directly intended to materialise their habits of mind. We have disturbed their habitual simplicity, stimulating their unruly affections and sharpening their appetite for luxury; and as we are thus radically changing the whole form of their society and state of life, Indians, not unnaturally perhaps, expect the English to aid them in re-adjusting their moral ideas upon a new foundation.*

In endeavouring to estimate the justice of this indictment of our rule, and our capacity for responding to the expectation thus entertained of us, it is necessary to bear in mind both the characteristics of religion in India and also the position and attitude of the Government with regard to religion.

The Hindus are the most subtle-minded and profoundly devout people in Asia, and Hinduism, the immemorial religion of the Indian people, is, in the opinion of Sir Alfred Lyall, a survival from those early ages when, in the midst of a highly organised civil society, religion was still in a state of confusion. Though the Brahmans, the Hindu priesthood, exercise immense authority, they have never been able to control the incessant movements and changes

* *Asiatic Studies*, Second Series, pp. 6, 7, 9, 67, 71, 72.

of belief in Hinduism—which has become a conglomerate of superstitions and philosophies, closely resembling polytheism when it was the religion of the civilised world under the Roman Empire. Though India has been incessantly conquered politically, Hinduism has never been overpowered. It has expelled Buddhism, the religion of thought, which has flooded all eastern Asia; it has successfully resisted Islam, the religion of action; and it has been little affected even by Christianity; the two hundred millions of Hindus constitute the only considerable section of more or less civilised humanity which does not acknowledge the religious authority of Buddha, of Mahomet, or of some Christian Church.*

Hindu Polytheism has grown out of the nature of things, chiefly out of exceedingly inaccurate and short-sighted observations of phenomena, and it is thus a sort of rudimentary utilitarianism. Its divinities, who are but shadows and signs of the incomprehensible, superintend material interests in this world, and they are unconcerned with morality except as regards the punishment of certain unintelligible laws. The mainspring, however, of this popular idolatry is Pantheism, and the Hindu, who has gone behind the ordinary rites of worship and been instructed in the inner nature of the divine government, believes that the Deity pervades and is immanent in all forces and forms, and that the gods whom he has been adoring are mere embodiments of, or emanations from, the universal energy. In India, as elsewhere, the idea of one Supreme Being, vaguely imagined, stands behind the phantasmagoria of supernatural personages; but this Being, unconditioned and unconscious, acknowledges no liability for the facts and results of the existence of the soul, whose supreme object is to escape from corporeal fetters, out of the endless desert of ignorance and delusion, by a process of incessant births and deaths, until it at last becomes absorbed in Brahma—the totality of existences. And these doctrines of Pantheism

* *Asiatic Studies*, Second Series, pp. 290–2.

and Metempsychosis, which underlie and give form to the popular beliefs, and which are thoroughly accepted by men of ordinary intellect and culture, create a gulf between the Hindu and the members of every other religion. Unlike the Buddhist, who, while substituting Nirvana or Nonentity for Brahma or Unity, has abolished sacrifice and makes righteousness the only true way of deliverance, the Hindu relies on propitiatory sacrifices to deities, ghosts and deified men—most of whom are supposed to be malignant powers —rather than righteousness. He lacks the religious enthusiasm of the Mahommedan, whose fanatic devotion is due to his belief that it will be rewarded by a mighty conquering divinity with a passage to a superior existence, and he also lacks the incentive to strenuous exertion which the Christian derives from the sense of the importance in relation to the immediate future beyond death of a present life passed under the eye of an omniscient Judge. The virtue chiefly inculcated by Hindu sages and divines is that most diametrically opposed to our modern spirit of material progress —asceticism; and while the Brahmans have for ages been teaching the way and means of speedy escape from the world of restless strife and effort, we are turning the mind of the Hindu in the contrary direction of multiplied desires, and an incessant energetic struggle against the physical and climatic impediments to a pleasurable existence in India. There seems, therefore, much force in the fear expressed by Sir Alfred Lyall's hypothetical Brahman, that if Hindus are encouraged too precipitately by European education and example to discard asceticism—the quality the English least understand—morals in any highly spiritual sense will part company with material progress in the blue books of the future.*

In Europe religion cannot now stand apart from morality, but in India, where no necessary connexion between the two is recognised, morality is unable to advance without the con-

* *Asiatic Studies*, Second Series, pp. 9–12, 33–36, 84; First Series, p. 83.

currence of religion, which, by adopting and authorising useful and progressive ideas as soon as they become popular, accommodates itself to the gradual improvement of mankind. Asiatic theology transacts with the gods all matters touching the material interests of mankind, and every act of life, great and small, from the promulgation of a code which is to direct society, down to the swallowing of a drug or fixing the moment for starting a journey, is assumed to be done in accordance with the will of the gods as ascertained by the priesthood. The legislation of the British Government thus forms a striking, and, to the Hindu, unpleasant exception to this theological rule; because, instead of assigning sacred warrants for its acts, it carefully eliminates from its laws all reference to or recognition of religious belief as an authority, and has even fixed bounds within which theological authority shall have no jurisdiction at all. The British legislature therefore is regarded as responsible for disasters or afflictions, which under the old theocratic system were attributed to the priests, the sorcerers or any class that happened to be unpopular at the moment; and cholera, famine, and great sea inundations, when they are not made the text of invectives against the British Government, at least bring considerable discredit upon it from the dim feeling that it has undertaken the gods' business and is unable to carry it on. The efforts of Government to avert such visitations are hampered by the same cause, and vaccination, for instance, which would have an immense success in India if ordained theologically, has raised grave suspicion of witchcraft or unauthorised practices, because the Government has set theology against it by explaining it otherwise.*

Still greater, however, are the difficulties of the Government with regard to its relations towards the numerous sects and creeds within its dominions. The leading popular faiths of India differ one from another widely and positively to the extent of setting forth opposite conceptions of primordial morality, and contradictory practical rules as to

* *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, pp. 72, 73, 76, 92, 93.

what are acts of laudable devotion, and what are outrageous public nuisances; and besides having to reconcile the interests and to recognise the peculiar institutions of several powerful native creeds, mutually hostile in temperament, the Government has to submit its proceedings to the tribunals of religious opinion in Europe as well as in Asia. While in India "it has to explain its proceedings to rigid Brahmans and to iconoclastic Mahommedans and to satisfy the refined deism of the Brahmo Sómaj," it has in Europe "to reply to vigorous missionary societies who require a Christian government to testify to its faith by cutting off allowances to heathendom, and to Nonconformists who object to giving public money from Indian revenues to Christian ministers." The policy of toleration which we have pursued in our administration from the beginning of our dominion in India has thus of necessity had to undergo many modifications during the present century. At first we were over careful to conciliate native prejudices. We not only carefully protected every superstitious rite but accepted all the liabilities of our predecessors in rule as respects endowments and ecclesiastical grants, and assumed the office of administrator-general of charitable legacies to every denomination. And to such an extent did we endeavour to demonstrate our determination not to favour Indian Christians—a body comprising not only the Company's servants but also the native Nestorian Christians of Southern India—that at one period, while Hinduism and Islam were well endowed and richly salaried, the religion of the Power which held the highest offices in the state, with irresponsible authority over immense revenues, was as poor and depressed as in its first struggles for existence in the Roman Empire. The dissatisfaction produced by this too self-denying toleration in Europe led, however, to a reaction which laid us open to complaints that the English Government, in its endeavour to be impartial towards all religions, had not sufficiently regarded the material interests of the native creeds, or their prescriptive claims upon the ruler of their country. By the completion in 1864 of the dissocia-

tion between the State and the religious institutions of the natives of India, and the abolition of all civil disabilities on account of religion, it may be hoped that the Government has nearly attained the true equilibrium of toleration. Equality, however, stimulates rivalry; and while Christianity and Mahommedanism now confront each other face to face as they have never met before in one great neutral ground of paganism, Brahmanism, the indigenous religion of India, appears to preserve its full vitality. We have, therefore, as Sir Alfred Lyall warns us, not yet sailed out of the region of religious storms in India, for it is in the religious life that Asiatic communities will find the reason of their existence and the repose of it; and it remains to be seen what use the Indian who is being brought under the full influence of modern sceptical tendencies will make of his intellectual freedom when he has gained it.*

3. It will be evident from the above survey that "British rule in India" is in some points open to criticism, but none can deny that, considered as a whole, it is an inestimable benefit to the country, and fully merits Professor Seeley's description of the best government the Hindus have ever seen. We have established personal security and free communications, and are giving to the Indians leisure and education, the scientific method and the critical spirit; and it is to be hoped that the reflecting and far sighted among those whom we are training up in the large towns to political knowledge and social freedom will recognise that our prime function in India is to superintend the elevation of the whole moral and intellectual standard.† That we have been able to accomplish so much must, however, be admitted to be partly due to the facts, that we have had to deal with a country which possessed a civilisation when Rome centuries ago broke down the immemorial barriers between the east and west, and distributed the stream of

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* *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, pp. 47, 265–6, 270, 289, 299, 300, 322, 326.

† *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, pp. 318, 327.

Greek philosophy throughout it, and that we entered it, not as conquerors, but as traders who had to conciliate established governments and to respect their laws. A consideration of Mr. Macdowell's interesting paper suggests a doubt as to whether the results of our connexion with India would have been quite as satisfactory if its population could have been classed as an uncivilised instead of a civilised community.

It has been estimated by Dr. Oppel that while the population of states properly so-called is about four hundred and twenty millions, the total number of people living beyond the frontiers of such states is forty-five millions. Broadly speaking, these two classes may be regarded as respectively constituting races that are increasing and races that are vanishing; and it is a melancholy fact, in verification of which it is sufficient to cite the results of our own occupation of Australasia, and that of the occupation of America by the United States, that the general result of intercourse between them is that the higher the form of civilisation the more sweeping is the destruction of the weaker race which encounters it. We are indeed apt to extenuate our treatment of native races in modern times by the reflection that it is infinitely more merciful than that of the early explorers and conquerors; but having regard to the greater intermixture of conquerers and conquered, which tended to obliterate prejudices, and the fact that large portions of populations were apparently left unmolested, there seems, as Mr. Macdowell observes, some reason to doubt this assumption. Modern explorers and promoters, whose efforts have often been equally disastrous, have certainly rarely (if ever) publicly repented of them, as did one of the first Spanish conquerors of Peru, who, in a document addressed to King Philip in 1589, expressed regret at having taken part in the conquest, because the Spaniards had destroyed by their bad example a people hitherto good and well governed. Modern civilisation has sometimes, as in the case of the Incas, barred the path of progress on which the conquered race were advancing; and the most degraded and degenerate specimens

of humanity are still to be found among the most highly civilised races, who foster evils, political and moral, which, as in Africa and Polynesia, affect both increasing and vanishing races.

There are, as Mr. Macdowell points out, some dominant prejudices prevalent which produce great mischief in our dealings with natives. Such, for instance, is the assumption that there is one form of society to which all mankind should conform; and the notion—which differs widely from the conception, frequently expressed in the last century that certain primitive races were models to mankind—that the whole of the so-called uncivilised world is alike. It is not generally realised that so-called savages often differ from each other as widely as civilised nations; and that there are, for example, on the east coast of Australia tribes of aborigines who, though it is customary to lump them all together, are of a comparatively advanced type, and separated by centuries of improvement from others who are considered as among the lowest of human races.

While the Spanish conquerors appealed to Christianity in defence of some of their worst acts against people lying outside the pale of salvation, modern explorers and promoters have adopted the convenient theory that all aborigines not possessing a form of government resembling our own, whose lands are worth appropriating, may be treated as lying outside the purview of international law. The land, under this theory, is often treated as *res nullius*, and gross frauds by means of so-called treaties are frequently perpetrated, such as one instanced by Captain Lugard, in which a valuable concession was purchased by a pair of boots. Inequitable as it is, however, this refusal to recognise the right of aborigines to their lands has received the high sanction of the Supreme Court of the United States in a decision given in the case of Johnson *v.* McIntosh in 1823. Chief Justice Marshall, in a judgment which has largely moulded opinion, decided against the validity of certain grants of land made by the Indians of Illinois on the ground that their rights to *complete* sovereignty were

necessarily diminished, and their power to dispose of the soil at their own will denied "by the original fundamental principle that *discovery* gave exclusive title to those who made it"—*i.e.*, the United States. This decision, as Mr. Macdowell points out, permitted and ensured the ultimate loss to the tribe of its best land, the break up of the tribal organisation, and in the end the creation of large masses of landless people, fit subjects for a sort of economic bondage where slavery had disappeared; and no better argument could be adduced in support of his contention that a new chapter of international law needs to be written, giving expression to the needs of the time and the conscience of men.

Such a code should, he suggests, embody the recognition of the right of aborigines to live in their own way as long as it is not hurtful to others. While avoiding the passion for uniformity and the eagerness to destroy tribal organisations, it should provide as far as possible for economic forms of holding property, even if they should be primitive, and also arrange as far as practicable that chiefs should remain in their old positions of judges, law-givers, arbitrators and councillors.

These are not excessive demands to make of civilisation on behalf of forty-five millions of mankind; and if they could be supported by bodies like the Aborigines Protection Society in other countries, and by the holding of conferences such as those that met at Berlin in 1885 and at Brussels in 1890, their general acceptance by civilised nations would go far towards the determination of a problem of long standing which earnestly calls for solution.

URQUHART A. FORBES.

THE THEOLOGICAL WORK OF DR. BRUCE.

WHEN a man has served the Church in unbroken strength for nearly forty years, his death makes every one who knew him pause. Those who have been under great obligations to him feel how much they have lost; even those who are at a distance are conscious for a moment that a force has ceased to work, and can hardly refrain from thinking what its previous work amounts to. Dr. Bruce was ordained a minister of the Free Church of Scotland at Cardross in 1859, and from that time till his death in August 7 of this year he worked without interruption. For sixteen years in the pastoral charges of Cardross and Broughty Ferry, and for four and twenty years in the chair of Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow, he gave himself with laborious diligence to the duties of his calling. Sometimes the work was thoroughly congenial, and there is a glow of felicity about the result which tells of the joy it gave to the worker; sometimes it was more or less irksome, and was done because it was what the day brought him to do; but always there is the stamp of energetic fidelity upon it; it is the outspoken unashamed utterance of an honest man doing his best, and wishing to have it taken at neither more nor less than it is worth. He was quite capable of task work when it came in the way of duty. He was quite capable of setting himself tasks on his own account and working steadily through them, so many hours a day, knowing as he did that this is the only way in which most men get work out of themselves at all. But he had also in a high degree what Ritschl calls the marks of the scientific man. He had problems, and he had the capacity of learning from friend

and foe. He detested the man who had no problems; in whose mind, as he put it, there were no open questions. He detested equally the man who, because he had no problems, and therefore no need of learning from anyone, kept at arm's length all thoughts but those in which he had been nursed, and exhibited "the intolerance of dissent characteristic of uncivilised men." But in spite of his willingness to learn from all men, he never lost his individuality. No theological school could claim him. He was intimately familiar with the theological literature of the Continent, but his mind was thoroughly homebred. His judgment was that of a disciplined and competent theologian, but also that of a sober-minded, right-hearted, independent Scotsman. He learned from anyone who could teach him, but he dwelt among his own people.

Although his work as a theological writer had begun before he was appointed to the chair in Glasgow, it will be convenient to survey it in connexion with his position there. He had to teach two subjects, which for many men would have been disconnected enough, but which he was able to keep in close relation to each other—Apologetics and the New Testament. Apologetics is a science which is very hard to define, and Dr. Bruce hardly cared to define it. To him it was not so much a science as an affair of practical interest. The function of the apologist is to deal with antichristian prejudices in such a way that Christianity may get a fair hearing. It is to meet antichristian thoughts in the believing man's own heart, or at least, in the heart of the man who is in moral sympathy with Christianity, but for reasons which he may or may not understand is intellectually at fault. It is, in short, a branch of evangelistic work—a *praeparatio evangelii* needed more or less in all ages, and signally needed in our own. With the imposing definitions of Apologetics given by the speculative theologians of Germany he did not care to meddle. If a man undertook to prove that Christianity was the absolute religion, Dr. Bruce had no objection. If he undertook to discover, to analyse and to refute the principle of all possible doubts

concerning it, he could be perfectly tolerant, and perhaps even regard him with a sort of wistful interest. But he was not impressed with this kind of thing, and he knew that it did not impress those whom he wished to reach. He embarked none of his own mental capital in such ventures. He had no philosophy of religion and never wanted one. His mind was scientific rather than speculative, and he distrusted everything which promised too much. He was quite content if he could find truth in Christianity without characterising it as absolute truth. He was quite content if he could prove, like the writer to the Hebrews, that it was better than any other religion, without proving that no other religion could really be. Like all men of strong understanding he had a profound sense of the limitations of the mind. He felt the absurdity of creatures as ignorant as we are saying things "absolutely" about God and the universe. He felt that whatever the true religion might be, and however sure we might be of it, there must always be a large place for agnosticism, not outside it, but within. Hence in his treatise on Apologetics, though he discusses the philosophical presuppositions of Christianity, we feel that it is against the grain. "These abstruse reasonings must be taken for what they are worth." "One is glad to escape the task." Though he was well read in this department of literature, it did not touch his mind to the quick, as did sceptical questions from another quarter. It is only when we are at college that we are pantheists, or atheists or agnostics, or that we believe these things to come between us and the gospel. When the mind matures and clarifies, this illusion passes away. The real danger to Christianity, Renan said, is not metaphysics, but history; and Dr. Bruce would have agreed that it is doubts arising in the sphere of history that really bring the soul into distress and set his task to the apologist. It was in this way that he had himself been made to feel the need of getting his feet again upon the rock. His college friend, Carstairs Douglas, when he started as a missionary for China, gave Bruce, by way of a parting gift, Strauss's *Leben Jesu*. The solid earth

on which he believed himself to stand crumbled under his feet. What was any creed or tradition worth, what was any demonstration of the absoluteness of the Christian religion worth, if you had no certainty about the life, the words, the deeds of Jesus Christ? If, on the other hand, you could get assurance as to the facts recorded in the gospels, did anything else make very much difference? This experience determined Dr. Bruce's conception of apologetics; it determined also his main line of interest and study from first to last. No matter at what he was working his heart was in the gospels; at bottom he cared for nothing but to see Jesus.

It would be too much to say that even forty years ago he was the only Christian minister in Scotland whose mind had this bent. One of his own teachers, Dr. John Duncan, the well-known Professor of Hebrew in New College, Edinburgh, had been able to read the signs of the times. He said:

> I feel that I with many others have been disproportionately Pauline. These epistles presuppose the gospels (having been sent to Churches that possessed the materials of the latter). Hence, though, for the balancing of truth, there is nothing like the Pauline letters, for vitality and freshness there is nothing like the facts of the gospels; and were I a younger man and to begin my studies again, the four gospels would bulk more prominently in my attention than they have done.

Protestant theology is essentially the gospel according to St. Paul—it is a presentation of the truth in forms determined in the main by St. Paul's thought. It was in such forms alone that the gospel was preached in Scotland forty or fifty years ago; to a considerable extent it is in such forms alone that it is preached still. Even when the gospels are read and made the text of a discourse, this intellectual construction of their import prevails. It is as though we read them through the epistles; the mind we bring to the task is a mind that has been Christianised already in another medium. It is not necessary to discuss the importance of this or the legitimacy of it, but there is

no questioning the fact. Our general knowledge of the New Testament, and especially of the epistles, may be regarded as throwing an indispensable light on the gospels, or as involving them in a distorting and perplexing haze; it certainly affects the interpretation of them in some way. Now, the supreme desire of Dr. Bruce—the impulse of all his work—was to get into immediate contact with Jesus, and to look on Him with open face. No man could more legitimately have taken as his life's motto—Jesus only; Jesus as opposed to all churches and their traditions, Jesus as opposed even to those who at the best were but witnesses to Jesus, Jesus as He lives before our eyes in the pages of the Evangelists, speaking to us with His own lips, appealing to us by His own grace and truth. To Dr. Bruce the gospels were the soul of revelation, and through the long toil of forty years his interest in them never waned. He found new problems and he saw new visions every day. The sense of the unsearchable riches of Christ continually grew upon him. He became surer and surer that if men could only see Jesus the revival of religion, which is the ever present need of the world, would quickly come. He made it his business to open the eyes of his students as his own had been opened, and hundreds of men who are now preaching the gospel owe him this immeasurable debt. He took the veil from the gospels for them; instead of being a mere picture book, a source of illustrations to the gospel, Matthew, Mark and Luke were raised into a place of pre-eminence, and the gospel was sought in the first instance from them alone.

Dr. Bruce's work in this connexion is widely known. The first fruits of it were given to the world in the *Training of the Twelve*, a book which, published as long ago as 1871, remains incomparably the best introduction to the teaching of Jesus. It is by no means superseded by his later treatise on *The Kingdom of God*, which, though more systematic in form, is slighter in texture. It has a weighty supplement in *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ*, and a supplement of another kind in one of the most charming of his writings, a

little book which was a favourite with the author and has been a favourite with all his readers, from scholars like Ezra Abbot to ordinary unlettered Christians, *The Galilean Gospel.* Dr. Bruce never wrote anything more truly from the heart, and it may be commended to every one who wishes a short and easy way to know the man and his message. But the crown of his work in this department is his commentary on Matthew, Mark and Luke in the *Expositor's Greek Testament.* It was a happy opportunity that came to him when he was invited to interpret the evangelists in detail. His mind was as keen and vigorous as when he wrote the *Training of the Twelve,* his devotion to Jesus had grown with the years, and though his individuality was as pronounced as ever, there was a tenderness and maturity in his character which gave it a peculiar charm, and promised a peculiar responsiveness to the contents of the gospels. This promise is signally fulfilled in his work. It is quite easy to point out its defects. To scholarship, in the technical sense, Dr. Bruce made no pretensions, and, though he had a competent knowledge of Greek, he never affected to be an authority. He had little interest in textual criticism, and little patience with it; he felt—and surely he was right in feeling—that to the total religious impression or effect to be produced by the gospels all the various readings of all the MSS. are neither here nor there. Even in questions of the higher criticism, though he was one of the first in this country to realise their importance and to make others realise it, his interest was intermittent and casual. In the book on the parables, for example, where the higher criticism claims to have a good deal to say, it is simply ignored. The only question of this kind on which he bestowed systematic and original work was the peculiar secondary character of the gospel according to Luke, and on this he attained to results to which, as can be seen from *With Open Face* and the introduction to *The Kingdom of God,* he attached considerable importance. What may seem a more extraordinary thing, and, in a man desirous of coming to close quarters with the facts, an almost incredible thing, is

that he had almost no historical interest. He did not feel much the need of back-ground in reading the gospels. He did not seek, in the common mind and common life of the first century, the points of attachment for the words and deeds which meant so much to him. He fastened on them as they stood in the record, with no mediation of any kind, as if they were directly addressed to the nineteenth century intelligence, and to be directly apprehended by it. In other words, he read what the evangelists wrote not as history but as eternal truth—not as a record of events or of words, but as something in which God is at this moment making appeal to man. Hence, in spite of what is not to be found in it, his commentary on the Synoptic Gospels is for the man who reads with a religious interest the most illuminating and inspiring of guides. No commentary is so free from commonplace. None is so free from homiletic, yet so suggestive to a preacher. None has such a quick sensitiveness to the mind of Jesus, or such a frank and glad appreciation of it. Here and there it may strike the reader as whimsical, for Dr. Bruce had not that oppressive sense of responsibility by which some vain people are burdened, and was capable of saying even in print just what rose in his thoughts to say —without feeling solemnly bound to answer for it to all time; but those who knew the man and loved him know and love him in these idiosyncracies, and are not blinded by them to the immense contribution he made to the better understanding of the gospels. When every legitimate deduction has been made, the series of books named has nothing in our theological literature to compare with it, and few men have on any grounds a claim to the gratitude of the Church on a level with that of Dr. Bruce.

Nevertheless, it was exactly in this connexion that his work gave rise to suspicions and misapprehensions, and that he found himself at cross purposes, so to speak, with other good men. A man who is preaching the gospel preaches a present Christ; he has no alternative; it is this or nothing. He feels that Christianity depends on what Christ is, not on what He was, and that all emphasis must

be laid on the living Saviour. This Dr. Bruce did not and could not question, but he felt very strongly that our knowledge of what Christ is depends altogether on our knowledge of what He was; and that knowledge of what He was is by no means to be taken for granted. Evangelists, he thought, often did take it for granted. They assumed that they themselves knew Jesus, though they had never gone to school to Him through Matthew, Mark and Luke; and they took no adequate pains to make the real Jesus visible to those whom they urged to put their trust in Christ. It is not open to question that Dr. Bruce touched here on a real weakness and danger of a certain type of evangelising. It serves no purpose to say that an unknown person—a person who is but a name—is living, or omnipresent, or divine. It serves no purpose to preach Jesus as a Saviour—indeed it is *not* preaching Jesus as a Saviour—unless the name Jesus is laden with meaning which can be derived from the gospels alone. But just because they took it for granted that they knew all this, and included it in their gospel, the evangelists had a sense as of something unjust in Dr. Bruce's criticisms, and were tempted to retort with equal injustice that he ignored the living Christ, and wanted to make enthusiasm for a memory do the work of faith in a present Lord. It was a misunderstanding of the kind which passes away of itself when each side has learned to do justice to the other.

It would be impossible to sum up Dr. Bruce's teaching on the gospels for this among other reasons, that it never was a sum in his own mind; it was a spring perpetually flowing, a landscape which changing lights made perpetually new while its broad outlines were still the same. When one reads all the books together he is conscious of iteration but not of monotony. Like a man in love, or a man with a gospel, the writer is always saying the same thing, but never repeating himself. There could be no surer token of the truth and genuineness of his message. But though no summation can be made of his teaching, it is possible to indicate the aspects of the gospel, as exhibited in the life

and teaching of Jesus, by which he was most deeply impressed.

First of all, there was its grace. He would have deprecated this technical theological way of describing what was to him the abiding irresistible charm of the gospels. Grace meant to him not only what it means in a catechism—the unmerited love of God for sinful men; but that unmerited love in the beauty, the winsomeness, the moral originality and daring, the condescension and command, the indescribable inexhaustible fascination which it had in Jesus. The man who does not know Jesus in all the variety of situations in which the evangelists exhibit him may talk about grace as he pleases, but he does not know what it is. It is a thing not to be told about, nor explained, but seen. The frontispiece to Luke's gospel in which Jesus reads from Isaiah, and says, This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears—the scene in the Pharisee's house where the woman who was a sinner began to wet His feet with tears and to wipe them with the hair of her head, and was much forgiven and sent away in peace—the story of the Pharisee and the Publican or of the Penitent Thief; these, and not theological definitions, however profound or true, are the things that give grace a meaning. Grace means Jesus. This at least is what it meant for Dr. Bruce, and his joy in it was lifelong and profound. He hardly disguises his scorn for those who find nothing in their Bibles but "a power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness"; it is the primary truth of revelation—the whole life of Jesus being witness—that God does not deal with us after our sins, and that His pardoning mercy is that in which His ways are higher than ours as heaven is higher than earth. No doubt things are what they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; no doubt, whatsoever a man soweth that he shall also reap; but is that all the truth? If it is, what is the significance of Jesus in the world? What is the Good Shepherd for, or the Good Physician? What do the miracles of healing mean, physical and spiritual? Much preaching is ineffective, Dr.

Bruce believed, because there is no grace in it. "That man," he said once, after hearing a preacher who could conceive no law higher than the laws of nature, "that man never gives the gospel a chance." And in correspondence with his sense of the grace of the gospel was his sense of the joyous, free, trustful spirit which it ought to evoke in those who receive it. He was charmed with Christ's comparison of it to new wine, and of His disciples to a bridal party. He was charmed with everything in Christ's intercourse with the twelve which represented Him "familiar, condescending, patient, free." He gloried in proclaiming the God and Father of Jesus as God and Father of all men, a God who sought the lost and saved them, a God in whose presence there was joy over one sinner repenting more than over ninety and nine just persons who needed no repentance. Dr. Bruce repeatedly and carefully examined all the words of Jesus bearing on His death; but though he saw in that death, as we look on it in the story of the evangelists, grace in its most subduing manifestation, he was not able to construe these words as dogmatically as has sometimes been done. He felt, and felt rightly, that if they are reduced to theological formulæ, they cease to be words of Jesus. If Jesus spoke them, they must have something in them which is personal, poetic, original—something which quickens rather than arrests thought—something of infinitude, mysterious, far reaching, divine. We do them wrong, being so majestical, to docket them along with the record of our own thoughts. They are meant to stir the mind perpetually, and if we think we know all they mean they have ceased to have real meaning for us altogether.

Next to the grace of the gospel, Dr. Bruce was impressed most by its severity; in its moral demand there is something original and inexorable. He said once that in his early life the two writers who most influenced him were Carlyle and Frederick Robertson; and of the two Carlyle in far the higher degree. The particular way in which Carlyle influenced him was this: he taught him to read the gospels as a polemic against Pharisaism. Dr. Bruce never ceased to

read the gospels under this light; he was vividly conscious that they are not only a glorious proclamation of the true religion, but an incessant relentless criticism of all false religion. He learned from them to hate sham holiness with a perfect hatred. He dreaded the very beginnings of it. For all that was "tradition," and nothing but tradition, in creed, in Church usage, in conduct, he had an instinctive aversion. Of all that made religion a thing apart from life, and gave it a content distinct from the simple, wholesome, natural moralities, he was incurably suspicious. Formalism and legalism were in his eyes essentially antichristian, and he held it part of the duty of every minister of the gospel to keep up Christ's criticism of the degenerate and spurious forms which religion may assume, and especially to take care that the Church, which is only a means, did not become an end, and Church life usurp the place of Christianity. He felt the force of Christ's startling words: "Many shall say unto Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name, and in Thy name cast out devils, and in Thy name done many mighty works? And then will I confess to them, I never knew you." He felt that it is possible to be a great churchman, and to have no part in the Kingdom of God. He believed there was much in the Church offensive to Christ, and much outside of it in which Christ rejoiced. He discharged his own duty as a critic of religion whenever he found occasion. He brought current ideas of goodness, existing types of Christian character, the ideals and the policies of Churches, to the standard of the gospels. Possibly his judgment was sometimes beside the mark; a certain deficiency in historical sense made it difficult for him to appreciate the position in which others found themselves, and the responsibilities attached to their position; and though no man was more utterly void of malice, he was not exempt from moods. But on the whole his antipharisaic polemic was a necessary and wholesome element in the life of the Church, as in the interpretation of the gospel. Churchmen, indeed, may easily misunderstand and resent it. "To be enthusiastic about the Church," he writes, "in

its present condition is impossible, to hope for its future is not impossible; but if it were, there is no cause for despair." He can sympathise with men asking "is the Church of any use? Were it not well that it perished that Christianity might the better thrive?" He can understand a situation in which, "instead of claiming for the Church that in it alone is salvation to be found, earnest men are more inclined to ask whether salvation is to be found in it at all, and does not rather consist in escaping from its influence." But when we discount the personal equation here, which though variable is always considerable, it is impossible not to feel the force of the criticism. Christianity degenerates as inevitably as the religion of Israel degenerated; the natural man asserts himself in it again and again; it lapses into legalism, externalism, an inert soulless complacent Pharisaism; and it needs to hear a voice vibrating with the tones which we catch in the fifteenth and the twenty-third chapters of Matthew. Dr. Bruce did a signal service to the Church by awaking the minds of a whole generation of preachers to Christ's criticism of spurious holiness.

Apart from these broad aspects of the gospel, as he apprehended it, Dr. Bruce had many favourite evangelic ideas to which he constantly recurred. Gospel words, he felt, were impoverished and perverted by human definitions of them, and it was always necessary to take them back to their source, and fill them again with their original meaning. One of the words which he never wearied of revivifying in this way was *faith*. In Protestant theology the word has sometimes been so attenuated that it is difficult to say what it means, and impossible to find in it any value whatever. This is not the faith of which Jesus speaks. To Him faith was a great thing—the least conceivable faith could move mountains. Faith was a kind of inspiration; it gave intellectual and moral originality to people; they said and did things in the power of it which transcended their natural selves. Instead of being something from which all moral value has been carefully strained, it is the thing which alone gives moral value to all we are and do. Another of the

words that he restored to itself by baptizing it again into Christ was *election.* In common use, election had come to signify the choice of some men by God to salvation—a choice the ground of which lay in God's will alone. But when "will" is used absolutely, it has no meaning; neither the mere will of God nor the mere will of man explains anything. Dr. Bruce took Christ, "the chosen of God," as the type and head of the elect, and a word that had been meaningless and in many ways offensive acquired a genuine religious import. Election was seen to be, not an unconditional choice of men to salvation, but election through a calling; the chosen of God were not chosen to any peculiar exemptions, they were chosen in and for the bitter cup and the baptism of blood; they were elect, not to the exclusion of others from God's good will, but to be by their suffering and service the ministers of God's good will to the world. Election, in short, is a divine method of using some men to bless all; the elect are privileged in that they are made ministers of blessing; it is theirs to drink of Christ's cup and to be baptized with His baptism. A Calvinist may say that however true this is, it is irrelevant to what he means by election. Perhaps it is, but so much the worse for what he means. When Jesus said to His disciples, "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you," He said all that is true in Calvinism. But there was not in His mind the mere blank which there is, at least in the Calvinism of the plain man, between this choice and eternal salvation. There was all the moral content which has just been explained. It was in this connexion that Dr. Bruce usually spoke of the Messianic consciousness of Jesus. Jesus did not "claim" to be the Christ; He claimed nothing; He rather submitted to be the Christ. He saw that it meant bearing the sin of the world; it was not that conscious holiness entitled Him to claim this honour, but infinite love bade Him take up the burden, and He could not decline. Love like His is the only holiness, and to walk in that love is the only assurance of election that any human soul can have.

But it is impossible here to go more into detail. The life

and teaching of Jesus were for Dr. Bruce the inmost shrine of revelation, and he dwelt and worshipped there all his life long. What he saw there accompanied him wherever he went and controlled all his thoughts. It qualified his interest in, and possibly his appreciation of, the rest of the New Testament. Nevertheless, he lectured every year on St. Paul, and in his book on *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity* he has made a contribution to the understanding of the apostle which, in spite of obvious defects, is of genuine interest and value. The title is suggestive of the character of the book, and explains a great deal of the misgiving with which Dr. Bruce was regarded by the ordinary evangelical Christian. Such a man does not go to St. Paul for a conception of Christianity; he goes for the gospel; and he not only goes for it, but gets it. The Churches of the Reformation are characteristically Pauline Churches; the measure of the province God apportioned to the apostle, to quote his own words, is a measure reaching even to us. The man who has become a Christian by the preaching in a Protestant Church has, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, received the gospel as preached by St. Paul. But Dr. Bruce did not go to St. Paul *for* the gospel; he went to St. Paul *with* his gospel. He had learned to know Jesus elsewhere, and though he had an enthusiastic appreciation for the apostle, he did not feel so absolutely dependent on him, he did not recognise such an immediate authority for the gospel in him, as the mass of Christians whose experience had been different. He was quite willing to be taught by St. Paul—or by anybody; he gloried in the great thoughts of the apostle, in the magnificent things he had to say about Christ and the new religion; but he had heard Jesus Himself, and could not listen to anybody else in precisely the same way. He never focussed the realities of revelation exactly as St. Paul did. His Christ was Jesus of Nazareth; St. Paul's Christ was the Lord of Glory. The Lord of Glory made the unseen world, the future life, all that in doctrine comes under the head of eschatology, an absorbing interest for St. Paul, as it never was

for Dr. Bruce. Dr. Bruce believed in the resurrection, and in the Living Christ, it is needless to say; but the revelation which is made in the resurrection did not impress him as it did the apostle; it did not alter for him in the same way the scale of being; his interest was not in a heavenly kingdom, but—as he might have said—where the interest of Jesus was: here. The centre of gravity, in short, in the spiritual world was not quite the same for the apostle and for the modern theologian, and this alters the aspect and the proportions of everything they see. The atmosphere also was different. "If ever," says Dr. Sanday, "there was a manifestation of the supernatural, it was in the condition of things out of which arose the New Testament. We have only to take up the epistles of St. Paul, and we find him surrounded, penetrated, permeated with the supernatural." This is true, but we somehow miss the sense of it in Dr. Bruce's interpretation of St. Paul. The supernatural atmosphere has to a great extent evaporated. We are in contact with theology rather than with revelation. We have no vivid consciousness that God is there. Yet it is the conviction of the Church that God *is* there, and that when every allowance has been made for the limitations of a nature which can only know in part and prophesy in part, the apostolic gospel is not a thing on which we can lightly sit in judgment; it has the Spirit of God in it, and judges all things.

There may be students of Dr. Bruce's writings to whom this will seem to do him less than justice, and certainly sentences could be quoted from his works which tell on the other side. Thus in commenting on Renan's statement that "Paul in our day is on the point of finishing his reign, while Jesus is more living than ever," he characterises it as a "superficial hasty verdict." "A truer judgment will recognise that the Christianity of Paul is essentially the same as that of Jesus." But it is not with isolated utterances we have to do. A man of quick perceptions and strong feelings, who teaches and writes incessantly for a whole generation on a subject so vast and touching him on so many sides, will no doubt say things of all kinds; now he

is struck by this, now by that; at one moment by the points of affinity, at others by the points of repulsion, in the same things. All that is intended above is to give a broad impression of Dr. Bruce's relation to the Gospels and the Epistles respectively, and as such the writer believes it to be substantially true.

What Dr. Bruce appreciated most in the Pauline gospel was the extinction, in principle, of legalism in religion. Jesus was most purely reproduced in such a Pauline sentence as, "sin shall not have dominion over you, for *ye are not under law but under grace.*" Not restraint, but inspiration, sanctifies; not Mount Sinai, but Mount Calvary, creates a new heart. Round this experience gathered all St. Paul's theology; what he calls specifically "my gospel" is intimately related to it. Freedom under grace, sonship to God, is the sum and substance of Christianity. The spirit of sonship, which emancipates a man from every other law, and binds him in grateful devotion to his Redeemer alone, is the one all-comprehending mark of the genuine Christian. Here Dr. Bruce was enthusiastically at one with the apostle. He never wearied of preaching Christian liberty. To him it was the very badge of the gospel, and all that threatened it was antichrist. He believed in the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of the Lord Jesus; and he believed that where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. Such liberty, however, means that the individual takes his whole Christian responsibility upon himself; and this the individual, human nature being what it is, always finds it hard to do. If the religion of freedom and sonship is the most satisfying and inspiring, it is also the most exacting, and hence the perpetual tendency to relapse from it. The natural man is born a legalist, and there is always enough of the natural man surviving in the spiritual to commend legalism to him again. Even a man who has been emancipated by the Spirit reconciles himself in practice to elements in religion which are essentially hostile to Christian principle. He recognises, for instance, a legal authority in the decisions of certain councils concerning the Person of Christ, and lets them

be imposed upon his mind, instead of recognising that "it is the inalienable privilege of a living faith, and its instinctive impulse, to declare the treasure it finds in Jesus in its own way, and in words and ideas thrilling with its own fresh life." He recognises a legal authority in a certain constitution of the Church, in a so-called apostolic succession, instead of recognising that it belongs to the free Spirit of Christ to organise the one body of believing men as variously as its own needs or the needs of the world require, and that it is one thing to be a body, in the sense of being the organ of one life, and another to be a corporation in the sense of the civil law. Or he recognises a legal authority in certain traditional modes of action, in a use and wont consecrated by antiquity and the adhesion of good men, instead of recognising that moral originality is of the essence of the gospel, and that where there are no "innovations" the Spirit of God has departed. No one could have a more complete and ardent appreciation of the Pauline gospel, on this side, than Dr. Bruce. No one could have a more whole hearted antipathy to legalism in religion, whether it were doctrinal or moral, constitutional or ceremonial. It is needless to say that he scorned the Romish conception of the Church, or that he regarded the attitude of the "Church" to Nonconformity in England as a sin against the Holy Spirit far more hateful to God than any caste prejudice in India. In the true spirit of St. Paul, he objected even to the reading of the ten commandments as part of a communion service. A Christian man, face to face with the love with which Christ loved him when he gave Himself for him, is at a place where there is no need and no room for Thou shalt and Thou shalt not. He is free from the law because Jesus by His death has earned the place of sovereign in his heart, and made all his life His own.

With this enthusiastic appreciation of Christian liberty as St. Paul taught it—a liberty which is identical with Christianity and the loss of which is the loss in principle of everything we owe to Christ—Dr. Bruce had perhaps less than St. Paul's sense of what this liberty cost, or rather of

how it was won. He acknowledged, of course, that it was due in a peculiar way to the cross of Christ. But he never thought out the significance of the cross precisely in St. Paul's way. He never identified what he had to say about the cross, in the bold fashion of the apostle, with the gospel itself. He never quite realised the connexion which existed in St. Paul's mind between the cross of Christ and the law—the law, not merely as an authority for the guidance of humanity, but as an authority which had already condemned humanity. And still less did he realise the significance of that connexion for St. Paul. He could speak of it as if it were one thought of the apostle along with others, an idea more or less in his exuberant mind. But the instinct of Christendom has rightly discerned in it something far other than this. It is the apostle's gospel. If you take it away or leave it out, he has nothing left. Instead of being equipped for evangelising almost or quite as well as before, he has no equipment at all. To the conscience under condemnation he has not a word to say. It is another question whether this is the only legitimate or possible way of preaching the gospel, but it does not seem to the writer an open question whether or not this was the only Pauline way. St. Paul had only one gospel, and it was "the word of the cross." The word of the cross was not in the same peculiar and exclusive sense the gospel of Dr. Bruce. He would have said himself that it was not with convictions or impulses derived from the Epistle to the Romans, but with convictions and impulses originating in the testimony of the evangelists to Jesus, that he declared the grace of God to man; and very intelligibly, whether rightly or wrongly, this was one of the points—far the most serious one—at which ordinary Christians had sometimes difficulty in determining whether to count him with them or against them.

The great work on New Testament theology which Dr. Bruce had planned was to consist of four parts. Two of these had been exhaustively treated in his writings on the gospels and on St. Paul. The other two were to treat of

the supreme Christian good as it is represented in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the Johannine writings. For the interpretation of the latter, so far as appears, he had made no special preparation. His only contribution to it is a chapter in his Apologetics. He believed that "the Fourth Gospel presents the hardest apologetic problem connected with the origin of Christianity." Though he came to the conclusion that its peculiarities are "not so vital as at first sight they may appear," he quotes with evident sympathy the saying of Watkins, that "the key to the Fourth Gospel lies in *translation*." Now the only thing you can be sure of about a translation is that it is neither so good nor so authoritative as the original, and the Fourth Gospel never had for Dr. Bruce the interest of the other three. He did not dispute the legitimacy of its presentation of Jesus *sub specie æternitatis*, but it was not for him so richly and variously impressive as the moving historical life of the Synoptics. However important it might be as theology and as a testimony to the impression made by Jesus on minds which stood near to his influence, it had not the same unequivocal relation to the facts as the simple story, and therefore it had for him less religious value. Hence he never lectured systematically upon it, and though he once at least read the First Epistle of John in his class room, it was with the same sense of dealing with something by no means congenial. But if he contributed little in this department, he made up for it amply by his exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This, his last New Testament work, represents the loving labour of thirty years, a labour of which he never wearied, in which one should rather say he found a new delight as he resumed it again and again. What fascinated him in this book was in part its affinity to the Synoptics. It puts Jesus before us as they do—the Son of God who is also the Son of man, one with us in nature, in temptations, in the trying and perfecting of His faith, in everything except sin. It is the New Testament lesson book on the significance of Christ's humanity, on His training in sympathy to qualify Him to be

a merciful and trustworthy high priest. Dr. Bruce did not go to this writer, any more than to St. Paul, for his gospel; but going with his gospel he found in the epistle a multitude of religious ideas which had a peculiar charm for him. The poetry of the book, its originality, its emancipation from legalism, its central idea of unrestricted access to God through Christ alone, its conception of faith as the source of all heroic action, and of Jesus as the captain of salvation, who lived the life of faith from the beginning and lived it to the end—all this was thoroughly congenial; it constituted far more than the Fourth Gospel, the kind of spiritual world in which he could breathe freely, and find himself at home. Scholars and theologians will not find in Dr. Bruce's book everything they want, though it is indispensable even for them; but the Christian who wishes to get the religious heart of the epistle will know how to prize it.

Dr. Bruce's work amazes us both by its mass and its quality. And it is pleasant to think that the worker himself had his reward. If he sometimes missed appreciation and was sometimes misunderstood, he knew that he was only sharing the fortune of all who have had pioneering or reforming work to do. If he was sometimes solitary and sometimes suspected, he had the stay of a good conscience, and he lived to see his name honoured as widely as it was known. Above all, he had unfailing joy and interest in his work. After forty years of it his eye was as keen, his mind as eager, open and teachable, and his industry as unremitting, as when he began. He never tried to impose his personality or his convictions on others, or to fashion them in his mould. He awakened their minds, liberated them, and left them free. Hence, though he was a great teacher, he cannot be said to have founded a school. He taught many but enslaved none. The work he left behind him remains as a ferment in the mind of the Church, and his influence will only be the more prolonged and far-reaching that it is that of a living mind, not that of a doctrinal system, however impressive or powerful.

JAMES DENNEY.

The World of Books.

I.—THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

The Gospel for a World of Sin. By HENRY VAN DYKE. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 5*s*.)

THIS is a fresh and helpful book. Dr. Van Dyke thinks that the age of doubt is passing. "The educated youth of to-day are turning with a mighty, world-wide movement toward the banner of a militant, expectant, imperial Christianity. The discoveries of science, once deemed hostile and threatening to religion, are in process of swift transformation into the materials of a new defence of the faith. The achievements of commerce and social organisation have made new and broad highways around the world for the onward march of the believing host. Already we can discern the brightness of another great age of faith." When doubt dissolves, sin is made clear and men feel most keenly the need of the gospel for a world of sin. That sense of sin is an evidence of life, of enlightenment, of nearness to God, or, as it is put in Margaret Deland's *Old Chester Tales*, "The sense of sin in the soul is the apprehension of Almighty God." The Bible contains the answer to man's cry for a Saviour, and without Christ it would bring no message of peace. He appears there as the divinely-appointed Redeemer. To take Christ out of the Bible would make it crushing, disheartening, terrifying—the saddest book that ever was written. Christ's mission, as is shown in a beautiful chapter, is to the inner life. "There can be no real empire of peace unless this deepest region is reached. There must be no nook or corner, or crevice of man's life left unexplored, unsubdued, unreconciled; no lurking place of rebellion; no fountain of discord." Christ directed His journey to the inner life of man conferring, like a prince in progress, inestimable gifts and blessings in the outer circles of human existence. The faithful and persistent witness to Christ's work in the soul has made Christianity a world-religion. "A changed heart, uttering its new-found felicity in

sweet and searching tones—this is the miracle that has drawn the attention of men, century after century, to the teachings of Christianity." Atonement and the Message of the Cross form the theme of the closing chapters. The theory of the atonement will never be completed till the discipline and education of humanity are completed, but the expanding message of the cross is the true gospel for a world of sin. "Students of life tell us of the permanence and power of evil, the taint of blood, the corruption of nature, the force of degeneration, the heavy fetters of heredity. We need a God with us to set us free. . . . What an age for a divine Redeemer, a liberating God incarnate, a real atonement to deliver us from the coil of sin!" We are grateful for such a book as this. It is a real aid to faith, which shows that Christian theology is finding new justification for its deepest truth, and that the world is hungering for Him "who stretches out His arms to us from the cross."—T.

The Evangelical Succession; or, The Spiritual Lineage of the Christian Church and Ministry. Being the Twenty-ninth Fernley Lecture. By THOMAS F. LOCKYER, B.A. (London: C. H. Kelly. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

The new Fernley Lecture deals with the prevailing tendency to identify form and ceremony with the very essence of scriptural religion, and deals with it in the most happy and effective way. Instead of entering into elaborate refutation of the arguments used on the other side, the author presents the counter-truth. Granting, he says, that the apostolical succession theory has an ideal, which is in many respects attractive and even fascinating to many, the ideal of religion consistently held up in Scripture is immeasurably nobler. The divine ideal is pre-eminently free and spiritual; the human ideal that has so long and widely taken place is neither free nor spiritual; it is mechanical and enslaving at the best. It is evident that the position taken is fatal to the theory of religion indirectly attacked. If it is made out, the ceremonial interpretation of Christianity is fundamentally wrong; and, it is amply made out. The author in effect goes through the whole of Scripture and shows at each stage that the form of religion taught is intensely spiritual, depending on spiritual conditions and bearing spiritual fruit. The argument is as interesting as it is wise and effective. Not the least interesting part is the proof relating to the Old Testament age contained in the first four chapters. The only fault

we are disposed to find with the work is that the parts dealing with the Old and New Testaments are not more clearly distinguished from each other. It might seem at first sight that the ritualist case had better foothold in the Old Testament, whatever may be true of the New. Really it is not so. Rite and ceremony, the external and formal, were never more than secondary, temporary elements; the spiritual was always the first and chief. This is strikingly proved by the best interpreters of the day. The trend in the Old Testament is always to the more spiritual. Prophecy, which is the perfect flower of the older revelation, is intensely ethical. And if this is true of the Old, how much more of the New Testament! The eight chapters, which illustrate this part of the subject, are admirable in every respect. The proof and illustration might have been elaborated indefinitely, but the lecturer has done well to be content with words fit and few. Arguments are hinted and suggested rather than drawn out at length. The Christian scriptural conception of the essence of religion is shown beyond doubt or cavil to be living, personal fellowship with God. The chapter on "Spiritual Heredity," which gives the truth that is perverted, even travestied, in apostolical succession is particularly striking. Here, again, truth is seen to be infinitely more impressive than error. "How infinitely more glorious in every way this lineage of the Spirit than the boasted genealogy of what is, after all, of the flesh, fleshly! That belongs obviously, in spite of all protestations, to the realm of sense; this to the realm of faith. That is supposed to secure ecclesiastical correctness; this opens a way to the generous, the ennobling, the saving inspirations of the kingdom of God." May the lecture do much to save our educated youth from the "false glamour" of a "different gospel," which is not "another gospel."—J. S. Banks.

Christian Character: A Study in New Testament Morality. By Rev. T. B. Kilpatrick, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

The volume is a reprint in combined form of two works, *Christian Character* and *Christian Conduct*, or the Formation and Manifestation of Character. The very first chapter on "The Source of Christian Character" in Christ as Moral Teacher, Example and Redeemer strikes a high note, which is admirably sustained throughout. It is *Christian* character that

is described, Christian ethics that are analysed and illustrated. The discipline of character by temptation, suffering and work is in the same strain. The manifestation is traced in the five spheres of—the Family, the Calling, Social Relations, the State and the Church. The culture of character is treated under three heads—body, mind, moral powers—with much force and wisdom. Indeed, the work is admirable as a whole and in detail. The advice on reading is excellent. The modern tone is indicated by the references to bicycling and athletics generally. Ethical text-books are comparatively rare. All the more therefore is an introduction like this—so clear and wise and high toned—to be heartily commended alike for private and class study. In separate form the little books have had a large circulation; in their present handy, comely and cheap form they deserve a still larger. An index would add to the value of the book.—J. S. BANKS.

The Trial of Jesus Christ: A Legal Monograph. By A. TAYLOR INNES. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

The object of this work is to examine the proceedings at the trial of the Lord Jesus simply from a legal point of view. The subject has been often discussed before, notably by M. Salvador, a learned Spanish Jew, with whose views the present author substantially agrees. No new light is available, but all the light possible is focussed by the accomplished writer. While there are many obscurities which cannot be cleared up, it seems certain that there were two trials, a Hebrew and a Roman one, and that the latter, as we might expect, kept closer to the forms of legal justice. In the former there was a show of doing so, while in reality every principle of Hebrew law was violated. The holding of the trial by night, the interrogation of the accused, the condemnation on that evidence alone, are in the teeth of explicit enactments of Jewish law. "Such a process had neither the form nor the fairness of a judicial trial." As to the Roman trial "the judgment was legal, though the unjust judge did not believe in it." "In both trials the judges were unjust, and the trial was unfair; yet in both, the right issue was substantially raised." Incidentally the work throws much interesting light on the Hebrew respect for justice and public law. The work is a fine example of careful, luminous, judicial argument.—J. S. BANKS.

The Exiles' Book of Consolation contained in Isaiah xl.–lxvi. By E. KŒNIG, D.D. Translated by Rev. J. A. Selbie, M.A. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1899. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The three points discussed in this erudite little work are the Unity of Deutero-Isaiah, the Date, and the Place of Composition. The author rather supplies materials for judgment than expresses his own verdict. In the first chapter he discusses the objections against the unity of Deutero-Isaiah founded on the passages relating to the Servant of the Lord, and on the whole seems to negative them and stand by the unity. On the other two points he gives no clear intimation of his opinion. It is a question whether the purpose would not have been served better by giving a selection of the materials instead of the whole. The complexity is further increased by the fact that the work chiefly deals with arguments and opinions of other writers, and that in the most minute and exhaustive way. We should have preferred Dr. Kœnig to Dr. Kœnig on Dr. Sellin and half a dozen other writers. An enormous amount of research has gone to the writing of the work. The translation is all that could be wished.—J. S. BANKS.

Sermons by Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., D.Lit., sometime Bishop of Meath. With a Memoir by his Son, HENRY RUDOLF REICHEL, M.A. (London : Macmillan & Co. 1899. 6*s.*)

The son of a Moravian minister, born at Fulneck, Dr. Reichel rose to an Irish bishopric, a fact in itself sufficient to prove considerable force of character. The Memoir which offends against good taste in a few personal references, quite bears out this impression. By dint of natural ability and great determination Dr. Reichel made his way in face of many disadvantages. In his early studies, in his course as a clergyman and still more as bishop, he gave abundant evidence of force of will and very definite convictions. His doctrinal position seems to be nearer the Broad Church than any other. In the sermon on the atonement in the present volume he expressly argues against the idea of substitution in any sense, laying the entire stress on identification between Christ and man. As to polity he seems to agree with Bishop Lightfoot, resting the case of episcopacy on precedent and utility rather than on divine right. In his episcopal office he bore himself with the utmost dignity, as

indeed through life he was eminently strong and manly. He put all his strength into preaching, preparing elaborately and producing a deep impression on his audiences. His sermons on burning questions of the day have been published before. The present volume deals mainly with general topics in a strong, direct, intelligent way. The memoir says nothing of his theological preparation for the ministry; classical knowledge was his strong point. "The protection party put up in the bushes a big figure" (p. xxxix.) seems to be a sporting figure or an Irish idiom.—J. S. BANKS.

What Shall we Think of Christianity? By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This booklet of three lectures is marked both by the strength and the limitations of the author's *Outline of Christian Theology*—its strength in fine general views and clear, graceful exposition, and its limitations in the omission of certain features of evangelical Christianity. The idea of the lectures is that Christ has made three great contributions to the world's life—a People, a Doctrine, a Power; and these three phenomena are discussed with much force and beauty under their different aspects. It occurs to us to ask whether the "powerful men" of whom the author speaks as the representatives of Christian influence would have been such without the special forms of doctrine which the author omits or argues against. In the present work there is nothing controversial. It is neither polemic nor apologetic, and yet up to a certain point it is a powerful apology, and as such we heartily commend it. We wish the author had found a better title.—J. S. BANKS.

Christian Perfection, by P. T. FORSYTH, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1*s.* 6*d.*), is a golden book full of deep and suggestive teaching expressed in a style that charms attention and provokes thought. "The perfect are those who by faith have settled into their divine place in the perfect Christ and become spiritually of age." "Spiritual adultness and sanctification are not two perfections, but two aspects of perfection, which is the faithful soul's progress in faith to love." That is the kernel of Dr. Forsyth's doctrine, but his book should be read and weighed by every seeker after holiness.

Dr. Moule has published a timely booklet on *The Supper of the Lord* (Religious Tract Society, 3*d.* and 1*d.*). It sets out the

teaching of the New Testament in a clear and helpful way, discusses the "Nature of the Lord's Presence in the Holy Supper," and supplies a valuable antidote to High Church superstition.

Ten to One, and Other Papers. By Rev. J. A. CLAPPERTON M.A. (London : C. H. Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Clapperton takes some saying of saint or martyr as a peg for his brief papers, and gives food for thought which devout readers will greatly appreciate. The sayings are well chosen and skilfully framed. The book will be a true "Help Heavenward."

Professor Moss's handbook *From Malachi to Matthew* (C. H. Kelly, 2*s.* 6*d.*) has enjoyed a good sale and deserves its popularity. It is a careful, brightly written sketch of one of the most fascinating periods of Jewish history. It throws so much light both on the New Testament and the Old that no one ought to be ignorant of this choice little manual.

The Truth of Christianity. By Major W. H. TURTON, Royal Engineers. (London : Kegan, Paul. 3*s.* net.)

We are glad to welcome a new edition of this summary of the argument for Christianity. It is clear, judicial, strong and helpful, full of good matter, well put and well arranged.

A Popular Exposition of Methodist Theology. By Rev. C. O. ELDRIDGE, B.A. (London : C. H. Kelly. 1899. 2*s.*)

The work is meant to be a kind of "First Steps" in theology, and in its substance and style excellently serves its purpose. Technical terms are purposely avoided. We might perhaps think that a sparing use of technical terms would have been a better introduction to a subject in which such terms are abundant; but there is much to be said for the author's method. We trust that the Sunday-school teachers, leaders of theological classes and of classes for fellowship, whom the author has in view, will use the work extensively, and so increase clear thought and definite knowledge in this important field.

The New Testament "Bible Stories" of Professor R. G. Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible* (Macmillan & Co., 2*s.* 6*d.*) are drawn from the Gospels and the Acts. The arrangement is felicitous and the volume itself very compact and neat. A better companion for a journey no one could find.

II.—FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

Notes on the Translation of the New Testament, being the Otium Norvicense (pars tertia). By the late FREDERICK FIELD, M.A., LL.D. Reprinted with additions by the Author. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* net.)

SOON after the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881, Dr. Field printed and circulated privately the third part of his *Otium Norvicense*, containing "Notes on Select Passages of the Greek Testament, chiefly with reference to recent English Versions." By all students of the Greek Testament who are fortunate enough to possess a copy of this work it has been greatly valued, as well for its ripe scholarship as for its admirable discussions of the readings and renderings of difficult passages, and its influence may be traced in the comments of some of our ablest New Testament expositors.

The Delegates of the Clarendon Press have reprinted these "Notes," which have long been out of print, in a most attractive form, and we are thankful to find that the editor has had materials at his disposal which have enabled him to make copious additions of "Notes which Dr. Field at his death left in the final stages of their preparation for publication;" in the footnotes to the new edition there are also many important "supplementary illustrations from classical sources which he had jotted down in the margin of his own copy of the *Otium*."

In the Notes on the Gospel according to St. John a comparison of the two editions shows that the new matter is in excess of the old. In v. 39 Dr. Field prefers the imperative rendering of *ἐρευνᾶτε*, and paraphrases the verse: "Search the Scriptures, your own Scriptures, the depositories of your faith and hope, those prophecies in which ye (rightly) think ye have eternal life—search them, I say, for they are they which testify of me." Quotations from Lucian and Chrysostom are given to show that in the question of vii. 15: "How knoweth this man letters, etc.?" by *γράμματα* "we are to understand *elementary learning*, what we pleasantly (*χαριεντιζόμενοι*) call the three R's. . . . The higher branches of education were usually called *μαθήματα*."

One of Dr. Field's canons of textual criticism is that "internal evidence should have FAIR PLAY." (The capitals,

which are his own, are suggestive.) It may, however, be doubted whether he always gives due weight to the documentary proofs, as in John xiii. 2, where the present tense of the Revised Version (*γινομένου*) is set aside for the aorist of the Authorised Version (*γενομένου*) solely on the ground that "as there is no previous mention of a supper, we seem to want an announcement of the fact, for which purpose the aorist is more suitable than the present." Occasionally, Dr. Field would admit conjectural emendations of the text, as in John xix. 29, "they filled a sponge with vinegar and put it upon hyssop" (compare Matthew xxvii. 48, "they put it on a reed"). If *ὑσσῳ* be read instead of *ὑσσώπῳ*, the meaning is that the Roman soldier put the sponge on his javelin (*ὑσσός=pilum*) and raised it to the lips of the Saviour.

This fascinating volume will provide lovers of the Greek Testament with hours of delightful and profitable study.—J. G. TASKER.

An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles. Edited by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S. (Cambridge University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

In the January number of this REVIEW Mrs. Lewis gave a highly-interesting account of some Syriac Manuscripts, which her learning and patient toil have brought within the reach of all students of the Bible. Her sister and devoted fellow worker, Mrs. Gibson, now publishes as *Studia Sinaitica, No. VII.*, a manuscript numbered 154 in her catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. (*Studia Sinaitica, No. III.*) The manuscript is divided into three portions: (1) the Biblical text, consisting of the Acts of the Apostles from chapter vii. 37 to the end of the seven Catholic Epistles; (2) a short story, called by Mrs. Gibson *The Monk's Prayer*, and four aphorisms; (3) a theological treatise *On the Triune Nature of God*, in which a Christian defends his religion against Moslems. Beautifully printed fac-similes of this "ancient specimen of Arabic calligraphy" are given, and Mrs. Gibson thinks that a comparison of these with Plates XIX. and XCV. of those published by the Palæographical Society will "lead to the conviction that these writings cannot be later than the ninth century, and that the Biblical one may even be a little earlier.

On the question of the relation of this Arabic text to other

versions of the New Testament Mrs. Gibson is able to quote the high authority of Dr. Gwynn, of Trinity College, Dublin, in support of her own opinion that "this text of the Acts and that of the three larger Epistles is a translation of the Peshitta Syriac, and that of the four smaller ones, or 'Antilegomena,' of the unrevised Philoxenian, similar to Pococke's version." On the basis of this critical judgment, a valuable Appendix supplies in Greek a list of the principal variants from these two Syriac versions respectively, and thus the New Testament scholar unacquainted with Arabic is furnished with materials for drawing his own conclusions as to the original text of which this manuscript is a translation. Mrs. Gibson has "not noticed any theological or ecclesiastical bias, unless it be the rendering of πρεσβύτεροι by the Arabic word = *sacerdotes*, instead of by one of the two Arabic words = *seniores*."

In *The Monk's Prayer* we are told that a lay brother prayed for a monk, who recovered; afterwards the monk prayed for the layman, who did not recover. Whereupon the monk said to him; "O my son, when I asked thee to pray for me, I believed that thy prayer would be answered; but thou didst ask me to pray for thee, and thou didst not believe that my prayer would be answered. According to what thou art it has happened unto thee." The treatise *On the Triune Nature of God* shows that it was as difficult for ancient as it is for modern writers to find illustrations of the Trinity. "Like the eye, and the pupil of the eye, and the light which is in the eye; we do not say that there are three eyes, but one Eye with three names in it." Yet the author adds: "We ought to know that we understand nothing about the power of God nor His majesty by speech nor by figures nor by word, but by faith and piety and the fear of God and purity of spirit." Mrs. Gibson, who is an ideal editor and whose scholarly attainments prove equal to the most varied demands, notes historical mistakes and inaccuracies in quotations from the Bible and the Koran; "our author did not live in an age of critics, either higher or lower, and had not much to guide or misguide him."—J. G. TASKER.

An Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. By the Very Rev. FRANCIS PAGET, D.D., Dean of Christ Church. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

It is twelve years since Dean Paget, who was at that time

lecturing on Hooker, was asked to prepare this volume. It had been hoped that Dean Church would render that additional service to students of Hooker, and when he found himself unequal to the task it naturally passed into the hands of his son-in-law. Material grew and the Introduction had to be separated from the text, which is published simultaneously in another volume. In wealth, stateliness and strength of diction Hooker stands indisputably in the very first rank of English writers, yet he did not hesitate to use homely words when they most vividly and concisely expressed his meaning, or ruthlessly to cut out a sentence which was more brilliant and striking than certainly and exactly just. As a theologian the glow and life of truth are never lost in the precision of statement whilst his reverent chivalry for the truth makes his readers think more of it than of its champion, more of its greatness than of his skill. The chapter on "The Puritan Position" helps us to realise the activities stirring around Hooker. The principle of toleration and the policy of letting things alone were alien to the age. The refusal of conformity at Cambridge grew wider and more vehement, whilst the determination to enforce it became stronger. Thomas Cartwright was the English Calvin, a man of great learning but harsh and narrow like his master. Hooker's own colleague, Walter Travers, the Reader in the Temple, was rejected, according to Whitgift, as a Fellow of Trinity College, for his "intolerable stomach." He felt it necessary to supply an antidote to Hooker's sermons in his own so that, as Fuller puts it, the Temple "pulpit spake pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon." Hooker set forth and defended a larger view of God's dealing with human life and the Church against the Puritan disparagement of human reason and authority, and three centuries have set their seal upon his work. Dean Paget's notes and comments show where the argument seems weaker in the light of present thought and brings out the main lines of its structure. It is a book for students, and if they will use it as a guide to Hooker they will not be slow to discover its value and will find that Dean Paget has drunk into the spirit of his author and written a book as free from intolerance, as catholic in spirit and temper even as the great classic of Elizabethan theology.—J. Telford.

III.—HISTORY.

The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, its Men, and its Work. By EUGENE STOCK, Editorial Secretary. Vol. III. (London: Church Missionary Society. 6s. net.)

MR. STOCK must feel a heavy load gone from his shoulders with the publication of this final volume of his History of the Church Missionary Society. It contains 925 pages, giving full details of the growth of the Society during the last twenty-six years, with a chronological table covering the ten decades, sixteen pages of portraits and a mass of facts concerning each mission field and the growth of missionary feeling and enterprise in the Church at home. The survey brings out clearly that missionary advance depends upon spiritual life. "Evangelical orthodoxy is powerless in itself to spread the Gospel. . . . But let the Holy Ghost himself stir the heart and enlighten the eyes, and the conversion of the unconverted becomes a matter of anxious concern. In a word, consecration and the evangelisation of the world go together. The latter depends upon the former." In October, 1887, the Church Missionary Society adopted a policy of faith. In the nine and a half years that followed 846 names were added to the roll of workers, a number equal to that enrolled in the previous forty-eight years, or in the first seventy-four years of the Society. In the first fifty years an average of eight and a half men were sent out per annum, from 1849 to 1887 this rose to nineteen, and from 1887 to 1899 to seventy and a half. In 1880 retrenchments were ordered that would bring the expenditure within £185,000, in 1896 it was £297,261, and in 1898 £325,223, an increase of fifty per cent. in twelve years. The Society owes its growth almost entirely to the South of England, and the contribution of a town or parish is not a question of wealth, but of will and work. The "Three Years' Enterprise," intended as a memorial of the Centenary, led to a wider adoption of the principle that a missionary might be supported by an individual, a family, or a party. In addition to 135 missionaries already supported in that way, eighty new recruits who sailed in 1896 were thus provided for, and a

similar number in the two following years. In Apr 1899, the total number of missionaries on the roll for whose personal allowances the general funds are not drawn upon was 371. Eighty-eight of these were supported by individual friends, fifty-three by the Gleaners' Union and its branches, 189 by various bodies of friends, forty-one by Colonial Associations, fifty-eight were honorary. More than 100 native clergymen and lay agents are also supported by special annual gifts. In reviewing the tasks of the future Mr. Stock says "it is obvious that the evangelisation of the world will not be accomplished by the Anglican Communion. Its share even now is much smaller than that of the non-episcopal Churches of Europe and America; and there is every probability that this share will be proportionately smaller in the future, not because Anglican missions will decrease, but because however rapidly they may increase, other missions will increase more rapidly. But each Church must do its own part, 'over against its own house,' like the builders in Nehemiah's day. The Anglican Church, therefore, must organise its own native Christian communities in its own way. Any movement for the federation, or amalgamation, of native Churches built on different lines, must come afterwards. We must do our own work first." The volume is full of facts as to the missions and missionaries of the last quarter of a century, and it is written with a noble catholicity of spirit which will win it a warm welcome from members of all Churches and all Missionary Societies. It is a wonderful record of heroic faith and abounding success.—J. TELFORD.

The Early History of Charles James Fox. By the Right Hon. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, Bart. (London: Longmans & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

We are glad that this masterly book has been printed in the "Silver Library," and is now within the reach of modest purses. It would not be easy to name a work which is at once so profound in its analysis of the statecraft of George the Third and his Ministers and so intensely interesting at every point. Lord Holland's private virtues and public vices make a powerful portrait; his son's dazzling youth and ripening powers; the king's fatal obstinacy and Lord North's helplessness are all sketched with a vigour and freshness that almost enable a reader to see the whole life of those times with his

own eyes. Behind all is the great masked figure of Junius—the scourge of kings and statesmen. The sterner virtues were wanting in Lord Holland's household, but the graces were there in abundance, and his third son, Charles James Fox, was "the pride and light of the house, with his sweet temper, his rare talents, and his inexhaustible vivacity. . . . Never was there a more gracious child,—more rich in promise, more prone to good,"—when, in the spring of 1763, the devil entered into the heart of Lord Holland. The father took his boy for a round of dissipation on the Continent, sent him to the gaming table at Spa every night with a pocketful of gold, and took not a little pains to contrive that his son should leave France a finished rake. The lad was an apt pupil and the foundations of the vices which blighted his glorious talents were only too firmly laid. No scene in the book impresses us more than the description of Chatham's return to public life with the vain hope of saving George and his ministers from wrecking the fortunes of the country. But the whole book should be read and re-read by every one who wishes to understand a disastrous period of our history. We feel ourselves in the hands of a master who holds us under his spell from the first page to the last, and gives a view of the corruption of political life which makes it a marvel how England outlived that disastrous era of personal government.

The Popular History of Methodism. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A. Third Edition. (London: C. H. Kelly. 1*s.* 6*d.* 1899.)

In regard to this book, now, we are happy to see, in its third edition, the late Dr. Moulton said in a letter to the author, "I have been reading with wondering admiration your *Popular History*. It will do a great work." Not only the admiration but the wonder were richly deserved. This marvel of compendiousness and of cheapness will supply busy Methodists with exactly what they need in the way of history and explanation so far as relates to the rise and the character of Methodism, its doctrines, its principles and its progress. It is a sufficient defence, also, as well as a clear and succinct history and explanation. The quiet and clear statement of easily understood and most interesting facts suffices for ordinary needs, both as explanation to the stranger or the young member, or the youth of limited means, and as vindication of Wesley and his

work, if such vindication should be called for by a perplexed inquirer, or made necessary by the imputations or the unfriendly queries of a prejudiced critic. Every village Methodist can buy this book if he can afford to buy any book. He will need no more to enable him to give account of his Church and his own allegiance to it to any district visitor or clergyman. He will find the exceedingly clear and beautiful summary of Wesley's "distinctive teaching," in other words, of Methodist doctrine, as easy to follow as the sections on "The Mob" and "Days of Peril," and even more deeply interesting. The section on "Wesley's Churchmanship" is a real *multum in parvo* with which to silence clerical censors. Just enough is said as to the "Deed of Declaration," two useful paragraphs are given to American Methodism, Wesley's last years and death are succinctly touched upon, Wesley's sayings furnish an interesting section, Charles Wesley is not forgotten; a short but full epitome deals with Methodism since Wesley's death, another with Methodist Missions, another with the Methodism of our own times. What we have referred to may serve as a sample of the book, but it represents only a mere fraction of the whole. There are, besides, a large number of illustrations, most of which are good, some indeed particularly happy, although one of them is unfortunate and should be cancelled.—J. H. RIGG.

The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 1859–1898. By A. E. M. ANDERSON-MORSHEAD. (London: Universities' Mission. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

The Universities' Mission was largely the fruit of David Livingstone's appeal to Oxford and Cambridge to carry out the work which he had begun in Africa. Right nobly has it done its task. The long roll of its martyrs opens with the death of Bishop Mackenzie after a year of service, and some of its grandest men have fallen on the field. The first missionaries had to learn the bitter lesson that carelessness of life and of precautions for preserving health is a fatal mistake, and that "to remain needlessly in a hot bed of fever, slighting the proper remedies, is not trusting, but tempting Providence." The first station had been fixed at Magomero in the Shiré highlands, but Bishop Tozer transferred his headquarters to Zanzibar. By this means he got into the real heart of Africa, the centre of its terrible slave trade. The account of the island with its lanes

for streets, its eternal summer, and its notorious slave market is one of the most interesting parts of the book. Bishop Tozer was succeeded by Dr. Steere, who had won the reputation in his Lincolnshire parish of being "a downright shirt-sleeve man and a real Bible parson." Bishop Smithies rendered memorable service. The mission has been very happy in its workers. It allows to those who need it a free passage to Africa with an outfit grant of £25 and £20 a year for clothes and small personal expenses. It is distinctly High Church, but the writer speaking of Hannington's visit to their station at Magila, says: "Their differences of opinion as to modes of Church thought and practice seem but of slight importance in the presence of the kingdom of Satan, which all Christians are resisting." Some stirring incidents of native life and mission success are given, and the volume is full of portraits and pictures. It is a story of service that should inspire the Universities to renewed consecration to the work of uplifting Africa.

Dr. Gregory's Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism (Cassell & Co., 3*s.* 6*d.*) has been issued in a popular edition, which will put the book within the reach of a wider circle. We believe that the impression produced by this book on those who are competent to judge will be to increase their estimate of Dr. Bunting's great talents and noble character, and to show how he was traduced by men who owed their position to the forbearance of the Conference. Our generation may learn some fine lessons of patience and prudence from this record.

Great Masters in Painting and Sculpture: Bernardino Luini. By G. C. WILLIAMSON, Litt.D. (London: George Bell & Sons. 5*s.* net.)

This series of handbooks will be eagerly welcomed, and it could not have made a happier beginning than with the monograph on Luini. All that is known about the great master of fresco work is gathered into the volume. Dr. Williamson has personally studied most of the pictures and his lists and critiques will be of untold service to students. Luini's intense faith and deep devotion, his tenderness, sweetness and chivalry find worthy expression in the sacred subjects which he delights to portray. The illustrations, of which there are to be forty in each volume of the series, are very finely executed.

IV.—BIOGRAPHY.

C. H. Spurgeon's Autobiography. Compiled from his Diary, Letters, and Records. By his WIFE and his PRIVATE SECRETARY. Vol. III., 1856–1878. (London : Passmore & Alabaster. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS volume opens with Mr. Spurgeon's entrance on his Metropolitan Tabernacle and gives characteristic sketches of the deacons, elders and helpers who worked at his side in those early years. One brother earned the name of the hunting dog, because he was so alert to pick up the wounded birds. On a Monday night Mr. Spurgeon suddenly missed him from the platform and presently saw him at the other end of the building. The gas had shone on the face of a woman who looked so sad that the elder walked round and sat near her ready to speak to her about the Saviour after the service. Once rain came on while this same man was pleading with a fallen woman in the street. He knocked at the door of the nearest house and asked permission to stand in the passage and continue his talk. The mistress invited him into her parlour and both she and the fallen woman were soon led to Christ. Mrs. Bartlett, who had six or seven hundred women in her Bible Class every Sunday afternoon, was another noted helper. A resolute will, untiring perseverance and lofty trust in God made her the Deborah of the Tabernacle. Mr. Spurgeon's sermon in 1864, showing the absurdity of baptismal regeneration, had an enormous circulation and stirred up the whole religious world of London. He delighted in the caricatures which appeared in the comic papers, and regarded the hatred of *The Saturday Review* as a tribute to his work. Some of the pleasantest pages of this volume describe his relations with his students and the tutors at the Pastor's College. There is a sheaf of stories here, full of fun and sparkling with happy raillery. Mr. Spurgeon's sound sense and clear perception are well brought out in this part of the record. Many will be glad to have the correct version of the famous opal ring and piping bullfinch stories. When Mrs. Spurgeon's health broke down, Sir James Y. Simpson came twice from Edinburgh to Brighton to see her. After the operation he was

asked about his fee. He replied, "Well, I suppose it should be a thousand guineas; and when you are Archbishop of Canterbury, I shall expect you to pay it. Till then, let us consider it settled by love." A full-page illustration is given of Dr. Jobson's painting of "The Bay of Naples," presented to Mr. Spurgeon in memory of travel together in Italy. Mr. Spurgeon speaks of an hour's happy chat with the Wesleyan minister which much interested him, and adds: "He is a holy, liberal-hearted soul, and we enjoy a conversation together, so it is not all dulness." They had a little communion service in which Dr. and Mrs. Jobson joined. Mrs. Spurgeon was ill in England. "The good old man spoke most sweetly, and prayed for you with great pathos, and much faith that the Lord would heal you. He shamed me by his faith, and I blessed him for his tender affection." The chapter on "A Holiday Drive to the New Forest" shows what a keen eye Mr. Spurgeon had for nature. The beginning of the Stockwell Orphanage is also a notable feature of this volume. The reminiscences of his father, by Mr. Charles Spurgeon, though too full of endearing expressions, form a very happy picture of the relations between the great preacher and his boys. "Pure Fun" is a slightly disappointing chapter, but it gives some good specimens of Mr. Spurgeon's ready wit.

We feel greatly indebted to Mrs. Spurgeon for this sparkling volume. Her husband seems more tender and more lovable than in the previous part of the record. He was one of the men whom power and influence did not spoil but only made more gracious and mellow, more wise and more tolerant.—J. TELFORD.

Cosimo de Medici. By K. DOROTHEA EWART. (London: Macmillan & Co. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

Miss Ewart says justly that we of the nineteenth century find it hard to recognise in Cosimo de Medici, the master of a city state with a few thousand people and a territory about as large as Yorkshire, a statesman who needed little less tenacity of purpose than a Bismarck, little less diplomatic skill than a Richelieu. His life is worthy of study, not only as that of an extraordinary man, but also as a significant chapter in the history of politics. Florence was a city state, with almost all the elements of national as well as municipal life. In many respects she is one of the first of modern states. After describing life in Florence under the oligarchy we watch

Cosimo's rise to power. He was the richest banker of the city, and was supported "by a little phalanx of men of much ability, yet all a little less scrupulous than himself; men whom he could employ in all sorts of dirty work without soiling his own fingers." Miss Ewart's description of his private life and his patronage of literature and art gives a most interesting view of the best side of Cosimo's character. The book is one of unusual interest and value. Rinuccini, who was a Republican, and no flatterer, speaks of him as "a wise man, with such wealth and reputation that his equal has never before been seen in our city."

The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain. By Captain A. T. MAHAN. Second Edition, Revised. (London : Sampson, Low, Marston & Co. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

A cheap edition of this masterpiece is a national benefit. Captain Mahan is the most accomplished naval critic of the day, and he has traced the development of Nelson's powers and described his successive victories in a way that makes this book a professional classic. Its style gives charm and distinction to the record, and neither the brilliance of our great sailor's exploits, nor the magic of his unselfishness and sympathy is allowed to blind our eyes to that moral tragedy which ended in disgrace and defeat at the very moment when the fame of Nelson's achievements had lifted him to such a pedestal as no man occupied in his time. The profoundly interesting pages devoted to Lady Hamilton make Nelson's infatuation the more astonishing. His friend Minto said, "He is in many points a really great man, in others a baby," and the verdict is abundantly confirmed by this narrative. His vanity opened a wide door for a clever and designing woman. Nelson would have been even a greater sailor had he been a better man, yet readers of this fascinating biography will be at no loss to understand Lord Minto's verdict: "There was a sort of heroic cast about Nelson that I never saw in any other man, and which seems wanting to the achievement of *impossible things* which became easy to him." His enthusiastic confidence in all who served under him goes far to explain his triumphs. Every man was spurred to put forth his best effort. When asked by Lord

Barham to choose his own officers for Trafalgar, he replied, "Choose yourself, my lord, the same spirit actuates the whole profession; you cannot choose wrong." The portraits and maps add much to the value of a really fascinating book.

Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of his History. Being a Diary kept by Dr. MORITZ BUSCH. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* net.)

Dr. Busch enjoyed a unique opportunity for preparing this record during twenty-five years of close intercourse with Bismarck, and though he is too much of a hero-worshipper for an English taste, he has a keen eye for the things that interest not only students and historians but also more ordinary mortals. He loses no time in prefatory matter, but tells how he entered the Chancellor's service as his agent and tool in press matters on the eve of the Franco-German war, and was at his side amid all the events of the campaign and the founding of the Empire. He has sufficient indiscretion to add a touch of piquancy to his narrative, and does not hesitate to speak bluntly of the Emperor Frederick as "that incubus," and express his satisfaction that his place was "to be taken by a disciple and admirer of the chief." In this case, however, the event brought its Nemesis. Bismarck himself dilates on Lord Rosebery's influence over Count Herbert Bismarck whom he is said to have quite mesmerised. The Chancellor had one substantial meal a day, but, on the advice of his doctor, gave up incessant smoking, took two eggs in the morning and smoked a very little. His personal habits figure largely in the book, but the whole process of the making of Germany seems to go on before our eyes, and where the record might be too political it is flavoured with racy stories which give zest to the interest with which one turns the pages. This condensed edition will certainly be popular and deservedly so.

Life and Remains of the Rev. R. H. Quick. Edited by F. STORR. (Cambridge University Press. 1899.)

Mr. Quick was from various points of view an educational expert, and his life-work well deserved summarising and editing. Mr. Storr has taken pains with the work, and this volume is a good companion to Thring's *Life*, to which Mr. Storr refers in

his Preface. The two men, however, were in most respects contrasts, Mr. Thring, though original in his plans and methods, was a practical and successful teacher. Mr. Quick was a painstaking but hardly a successful class teacher, though his influence was excellent on many of his scholars individually. As the principal of a school he was a complete failure. He was, however, an acute critic, full of fresh ideas, and his suggestions and even his failures are well worthy of study. His knowledge of educational facts and ideas, of school systems also, and especially of the history and principles of great teachers, was remarkably extensive and accurate. He was a man of a beautiful and noble spirit, and his *Remains* are full of the elements of wisdom for teachers who love their work and their pupils, and for parents who seek to train and develop aright the character and faculties of their children. Those who knew and loved Mr. Quick—one of the most modest and lovable of men—will be grateful to Mr. Storr for this volume.—J. H. RIGG.

Extracts from the Diary and Autobiography of the Rev. James Clegg. Edited by HENRY KIRKE, M.A. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.)

Dr. Clegg was a Nonconformist minister at Chinley from 1702 to 1735, and practised medicine to eke out his income of £20 as a minister. His MS. has been carefully preserved, and these extracts from it are of no small interest as a picture of Derbyshire life at the beginning of last century. Mr. Kirke has edited them with skill and care, though we wish he had been able to give us some more detail at various points. Dr. Clegg led a busy life as the only medical man in the parish, and was a frequent visitor to all the leading places of the district. We read of "one Sackeverell, a proud, daring, blustering clergyman of Oxford," and the sensation caused by his sermon at St. Paul's, and see Dr. Clegg's pricking of conscience that he had allowed his son to become apprentice to a Quaker in Manchester "where no family worship was likely to be performed." Dr. Clegg refuses an invitation to Newcastle in Staffordshire, with a stipend of £60. "Ye people here don't use me well," he writes, "but I hope I am of some use, especially to ye rising generation; and God hath hitherto very comfortably provided for me. I have not the least reason to distrust Him for ye future, and I am determined to spend ye

remainder of my life where I think I can do Him ye best service." David Taylor, introduced to the region by young John Bennet, sorely disturbs poor Dr. Clegg with the Antinomian tendency of his teaching. He spends a day in 1742 at home reading the sermons preached by Whitefield in Scotland and finds "he is running into the height of Antinomianism, and that is the tendency of all the doctrine of the Methodists." A little later he read "several things of Mr. Wesley's, and was glad to find him so thoroughly convinced of the falsehood and bad tendency of Antinomianism that prevails so much amongst ye Methodists." And receiving *A Further Appeal* as a present from Wesley he says, "I read it with pleasure and I hope with profit."

Robert Raikes: The Man and his Work. Edited by J. HENRY HARRIS. (Bristol: Arrowsmith. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The preparation of this volume was begun by Mr. Harris's father thirty-seven years ago. He visited Gloucester, interviewed the servants of Robert Raikes and the descendants of his first Sunday School teachers. He gives their reminiscences in their own words, and supplies portraits and pictures of great interest. The arrangement of the book leaves a good deal to be desired, but its editor has gathered up a mass of details which all lovers of Sunday School work will delight in. We are brought sensibly nearer to Raikes and his work. He was a prosperous man who carried himself with a certain air of proprietorship as he walked through the streets of the city. He used to be familiarly known as "Bobby Wild Goose," and as he passed to church with his scholars the neighbours would say, "There goes Bobby Wild Goose and his ragged regiment." He wore a dark blue or claret coat, and a white buff or fancy waistcoat adorned with silver gilt buttons. The Wesleys were his friends, and Mrs. Bradburn is said to have given a hint which bore fruit in his early Sunday School work. Raikes began his first school in 1780, but it was not until November, 1783, that the results of his experiment were given to the public, and thus led to Sunday Schools being started all over the country. Four years later it was estimated that there were a quarter of a million scholars. Raikes wrote to Colonel Townley, "I cannot express to you the pleasure I often receive in discovering genius, and innate good dispositions among this little multitude. It is botanising in human nature."

The Life of John Wesley. By JOHN TELFORD, B.A. Revised and enlarged Edition. Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 2, Castle Street, City Road. 1899. 5*s*.

Mr. Telford published some years ago a popular Life of Wesley, of which a large edition was sold by the publishers, Hodder & Stoughton. The present Life, published at the Wesleyan Book Room, though founded on the former, is so much enlarged and in every way improved as to be a new book. Some items have been omitted, many portions recast, and not a little is new. The last chapter on "Methodism after Wesley's Death" is brought up to date. A helpful brief chronology is added: with a note as to Wesley's ordinations, a list of his chief works, of portraits, engravings and busts, and an index. A valuable, singularly interesting and suggestive addition to the Life is John Fletcher's Plan for Methodism, contained in a letter from Fletcher to Wesley, at the Leeds Conference of 1775, in which Fletcher gives a sketch of a "Methodist Church of England," to be included within the limits of the Church, but at the same time to retain its itinerancy and special fellowship, and also its peculiar points of doctrine, being in fact an *imperium in imperio*. Fletcher appears in this plan as a daring organiser and Church reformer. This plan was drawn up *before* the Deed of Declaration, on the basis of which Methodism is at present constituted. Wesley had determined that Fletcher should be his own successor, an idea which his death in 1785 frustrated. This fact lends special interest to Fletcher's scheme of organisation. But we must not be drawn into a criticism of this interesting appendix to Mr. Telford's volume.

This biography contains the clearest and most exact account yet given in one view of Wesley's school life and of his relations as to love and marriage. It is packed with interesting facts, it quietly refutes popular misconceptions and *clerical* errors, and is incomparably the fullest and most interesting popular life of the Founder of Methodism and of early Methodism hitherto published. It is not in the nature of a volume of annals—a single volume would not have admitted of his following a plan which Mr. Tyerman has carried out in three large volumes. But the subject of Wesley's life and work is dealt with sectionally. His ancestry and parentage, his childhood and his school life, his Oxford life and the years passed as a curate, Methodism in its different stages from Oxford onward, the great

awakening, the early devotional controversies, and all the various stages and by-ways of his career, the foundation and growth and expansion of Methodism, Wesley's preachers, his ordinations, and, in short, the whole of his work, including his journals and authorship, will be found excellently summarised. Three likenesses of Wesley are given at different ages. Fac-similes are also given of Wesley's Ordination Certificates; and a beautiful fac-simile of the draft of his letter to William Law. The volume contains more than four hundred pages and is published at a very reasonable price.—J. H. RIGG.

Alfred the Great. Edited, with Preface, by ALFRED BOWKER. (London: A. & C. Black. 5*s.*)

Mr. Bowker may well be proud of the band of literati who have contributed to this volume. The fact that it is the work of many hands involves some repetition, but that is a minor defect. The book is a noble tribute to the memory of the typical Englishman, who said, "I have sought to live worthily while I lived, and after my life to leave to the men that come after me a remembering of me in good works." Sir Walter Besant says that "Alfred gave us London." Sir Clements Markham holds that in giving to geography its true place in the training of his subjects he was centuries in advance of his age. The Bishop of Bristol contributes a paper of great interest on Alfred "as religious man and educationalist," whilst Professor Oman threws new light on his wars, his fortifications and his navy. The book seems to want a chronological table and a somewhat fuller account of Alfred's private life.

The Rev. John Coulter has written a little memoir of *Hans Morrison* (*Belfast News Letter* Office) an Irish local preacher of great devotion and singleness of purpose—brother to the Rev. James Morrison. The chapter headed "Remarkable Escapes from Danger" contains some striking stories, and the glimpses of Irish Methodism will have considerable interest for English readers. We are glad to have this pleasant record of a man who had a true passion for souls.

James Frederick Ferrier, by E. S. Haldane (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1*s.* 6*d.*) gives a pleasant picture of the famous Scotch philosopher. The sketch of his home at St. Andrews, made so attractive by his clever and witty wife—the most brilliant of "Christopher North's" clever daughters—will be a happy relief to readers who are frightened of metaphysics.

V.—BELLES LETTRES.

1. *Elizabeth and Her German Garden.* 6*s.*

2. *The Solitary Summer.* 6*s.*

(London : Macmillan & Co.)

1. These volumes are anonymous, but they will find a place of honour on many shelves beside the Poet-Laureate's *Garden that I Love.* The writer is ostensibly a young wife and mother settled in Germany, but wonderfully familiar with England and English literature, and devoted to her garden in all its moods. She has much to tell us about peasant life with its superstitions and its strange fear of fresh air. She is also a moralist who finds material in passing for many a homily. She had spent five years of married life in a town flat before it struck her that their dear old house in the country, which had not been inhabited for twenty-five years, would be a delightful retreat. It had been a convent before the Thirty Years' War, and its vaulted chapel with brick floor had been turned into a hall. It lay on the high road between Sweden and Brandenburg, so that Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedes passed through the place more than once. A visit to the opening of the village school brought back to the writer with a rush all the happy days she had spent in a garden, and after six weeks of painters and decorators the family was able to enjoy the delights of country life. The garden was an absolute wilderness, and its mistress knew nothing about the craft, so that her only way of learning was by making mistakes. But love for her flowers helped her to surmount all discouragements. Every day she went her rounds, admiring what the dear little tea roses had achieved during the previous twenty-four hours in the way of new leaf or increase of lovely red shoot. The three babies add a human touch to the book, and the humours of gardeners have their own interest, but it is the overflowing love for plant and flower that gives charm to these notes. Sometimes it seemed as though the whole garden was singing—birds, plants, grass and trees. The scent of the lilacs seemed to drench the whole place, and

every pot and bowl and tub in the house was filled with their purple glory. The Russian peasants who lived on the estate from March to December were a constant source of interest. No persuasion would induce them to work on a Saint's day, and there never was a Church so full of these as the Russian Church. "In the spring, when every hour is of vital importance, the work is constantly being interrupted by them, and the workers lie sleeping in the sun the whole day, agreeably conscious that they are pleasing themselves and the Church at one and the same time—a state of perfection as rare as it is desirable."

2. *The Solitary Summer* chronicles five happy months which Elizabeth spent in her German garden trying to get to the very dregs of life. Her husband prophesied that she would find it a very long summer, but yielded to persuasion and the experiment abundantly justified itself. She found that no objects of love give such substantial and unfailing returns as books and a garden. Her praise of her sweet peas is itself a poem. "In the house, next to a china bowl of roses, there is no arrangement of flowers so lovely as a bowl of sweet peas, or a Delf jar filled with them. What a mass of glowing, yet delicate colour it is! How prettily, the moment you open the door, it seems to send its fragrance to meet you! And how you hang over it, and bury your face in it, and love it, and cannot get away from it." Such bits as this alternate with sage reflections. "Experience has taught me that whenever anything is on the tip of my tongue the best thing to do is to keep it there. I wonder why a woman always wants to interfere." Visits to the cottagers and the descent of a swarm of soldiers for the manœuvres add the human touches to this volume. We have no clue to the authorship, but the books are companions for a leisure hour and a shady nook which no one who is wise will omit to provide for themselves at the earliest possible moment. They will find both head and heart refreshed by pages that are steeped in sunshine and fragrant with the breath of flowers.—J. TELFORD.

The Orange Girl, by Sir WALTER BESANT (London: Chatto & Windus, 6s.), opens in the King's Bench prison and makes us familiar with Newgate and the Old Bailey, with highwaymen and receivers of stolen goods. Will Halliday, the son of a prosperous London merchant, has conceived an utter distaste for a desk in his father's office, and to indulge his passion for music be-

comes an outcast from his home. His cousin Matthew has played the spy upon him and inflamed his father's disgust by lying reports. Matthew is himself a secret gambler and soon wrecks the great commercial house of which he becomes the head. His uncle dies unreconciled to his son, but a clause in the will, which leaves one hundred thousand pounds to the prodigal if he survives Matthew, shows that the old man's heart had been softening. Matthew and his lawyer use every art to persuade Will to sell his reversion, and when they fail cast him into the King's Bench. He escapes through the good offices of the Orange Girl, an actress whose history is a tissue of romance. Brought up in one of the most notorious haunts of thieves and jail birds, she is a pure and lovely woman with a heart as true as steel. Her adventures and the plots laid for the destruction of Will Halliday furnish many exciting pages. Sir Walter knows the seamy side of London in past days and gives us a set of pictures, notably the pillory scene, which are almost too realistic. A fine enthusiasm for the wretched and helpless runs through the book. We have one quarrel with it. The actress refuses to marry Lord Brockenhurst because her past had been so mixed up with disgrace and crime. She was worthy of a good man's home, and she ought to have reached that haven after all her sorrows.

Richard Carvel. By WINSTON CHURCHILL. With Illustrations by Carlton T. Chapman & Malcolm Fraser. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s.*)

Richard Carvel spends his boyhood under the care of his grandfather, a country squire and provincial magnate of Maryland. His mother, as a little girl of two, had been saved from the wreck of a French vessel by one of the Carvel ships, and grew up as the pet of Carvel Hall. In due time she married Captain Jack, the soldier of the family, tall and straight and dashing. His brother Grafton was consumed with jealousy and tried to throw discredit on the lady's origin, but his high-spirited old father gave him an estate in Kent County, and bade him shift for himself, saying that he washed his hands of a son who had acted so discreditable a part. Captain Jack Carvel was killed in a military expedition, and from that day his wife drooped like a flower. Her death left her boy in the care of his grandfather, and nothing in the story is more beautiful than

the old man's pride and confidence in his little grandson. Dorothy Manners, daughter of their next neighbour, is Richard's playmate. Her father, a foppish little gentleman who thought more of the cut of his waistcoat than the affairs of the province, had set his heart on taking Dorothy to England and marrying her to an earl, but Richard had already won her heart. Colonial life before the War of Independence is finely sketched. Richard became a Whig to the annoyance of his Tory grandfather. His uncle Grafton makes capital out of this and worms himself into the old man's favour. Dorothy sails to England, where she becomes the belle of the season with dukes and lords at her feet. Richard's uncle manages to get him kidnapped by a pirate vessel from which he is rescued by Captain Paul Jones. He forms a staunch friendship with the bluff sailor and is taken to England, where he is brought into contact with Horace Walpole, becomes intimate with Charles James Fox, meets Garrick, and has some exciting adventures. Fox plays a large part in these pages as "the Saint Paul of English politics" and "the true friend of America, who devoted his glorious talents and his life to fighting the corruption that was rotting the greatness of England." His follies are not overlooked, and Richard Carvel does not hesitate to tell him to his face that one of his speeches was poor stuff; but Fox's loyalty to his friends and his growing loyalty to conviction are very finely brought out. Richard wins Dorothy despite the plots of her contemptible father who would have sold her to a profligate duke, and the story has many a tender passage mixed with adventures and descriptions of English and American life in the days of the War of Independence. It is a manly book, which makes one's pulses beat more quickly, and which we are really sorry to lay down.

The King's Mirror. By ANTHONY HOPE. (Methuens. 6*s.*)

The king makes his entrance on the stage as a boy of eight, emboldened by the Archbishop's words at his coronation that henceforth "God was the only power above him," to try conclusions with his governess. "Krak" administers condign punishment and the little royalty goes off to bed in tears. The workings of an eager mind seem laid bare as we follow him from year to year watching his own initiation into the mysteries of life, and his grand old chancellor's conduct of affairs and training of his master. Augustin has his tender passion for a lady ten

years his senior and for a beautiful singer to whom Nature has forgotten to give a heart. Wetter, the orator of the radical party, acts the part of cynic to perfection, and the king's marriage to his cousin, who has fallen under the glamour of a brilliant Frenchman at Augustin's court in Forstadt, completes the royal tragedy. We are not without hope that the girl's wayward fancy will turn to her husband who is well worthy of her love, but Mr. Hope does not allow us the satisfaction of such a finale. What he gives us is a somewhat cynical but deeply interesting study of the contrariousness of life spiced with some adventures, and brightened by very clever character sketches and keen judgments on men and manners. It is a powerful story brilliantly told.

To London Town, by Arthur Morrison (Methuen & Co., 6*s*.), is worthy of the hand that produced *Tales of Mean Streets*. Epping Forest and the region of the docks in the East End are the scenes of the story, and as we follow the widow and her two children from the woods where "gran'dad" caught his butterflies and moths to the engine works and the little shop, we get a series of sketches of life among the poor which not only keep our interest on full stretch but make us understand the struggles and temptations of the East End. The book is fine art, full of insight and humour, but it is the art that goes hand in hand with true philanthropy.

The Open Road: A Little Book for Wayfarers. Compiled by E. V. Lucas. (London: Grant Richards. 5*s*.)

This dainty book is intended for city folk out on holiday. It is just a garland of good or enkindling poetry and prose fitted to tempt people into the open air and keep them there. The selection is made with much taste and skill, and the arrangement is very attractive. We heartily advise everybody who loves nature and song to get this delightful little anthology.

Life the Modeller, by C. Gasquoine Hartley (London: Macqueen, 6*s*.), is the story of a girl's lovers. She gives her heart to the showy and selfish man, only to find herself supplanted by her own sister. The book is not a pleasant one. *Hugh Gwyeth: A Roundhead Cavalier*, by Beulah Marie Dix (Macmillan & Co., 6*s*.), will appeal strongly to boys. It is manly in tone, full of adventure and with sufficient historic flavour to make it useful to young readers. *Rose Deane or Christmas*

Roses (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 5*s.*) is a bit of good work by Mrs. Marshall, not quite satisfactory in some points of the plot and rather sad, but tender, full of faith in God's care, and likely to lead young people to be more gentle and considerate. *The Guilty River*, by Wilkie Collins (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 6*s.*), is a cheap reprint of one of the writer's most mysterious and stirring stories. *Chenna and His Friends*, by Edwin Lewis (Religious Tract Society, 2*s.* 6*d.*), is a story of Hindu life in South India, which brings out very powerfully the difficulties that a convert to Christianity has to face. We know no book that so graphically and so pleasantly describes village ways and customs. The sketch of Mr. Lewis by his widow adds greatly to the interest of the book. We noticed Mr. Cornwallis' *Song of America and Columbus* when it first appeared and are glad to have a new edition prefaced by a generous and enthusiastic tribute to our Queen, "suggested by the dawn of the new era of fraternal love and friendship between the United Kingdom and the United States," and followed by a poem on "The War for the Union." The poems are epitomes of national history written with a patriot's fervour and an historian's eye for great events. *John King's Question Class* (London: Heinemann, 2*s.*), is another volume of the Charles M. Sheldon Library. The heroine is a girl violinist with a drunken father and a twin brother who has a magnificent tenor voice. He takes to gambling and wrecks his life. The questions which John King's young people bring him give Mr. Sheldon pegs for manifold deliverances on social and religious topics. These are often bright and helpful, sometimes rather poor. They mar the harmony of the story, and it is hard to understand how such a book could be read on Sunday evenings to any congregation. Mr. Derry's *Rhymes of Road, Rail and River* (Bristol: Arrowsmith, 1*s.*), form a poetic guide book to Geneva and Chamounix, Devon and Cornwall, Holland, and the Thames. The book is bright and entertaining, though the poetry does not soar.

The Heavenly Bridegroom. By ROBERT THOMSON. (London: Elliot Stock.)

In this poem Mr. Thomson describes the relationship between Christ and His Church under the figure of a bride and bridegroom. The poem flows easily and is marked by becoming reverence, but it is not of a very high order. Some of the short pieces that follow are happily phrased.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

In the Forbidden Land. By A. H. SAVAGE LANDOR. With Two Hundred and Fifty-one Illustrations and a Map. (London: W. Heinemann. 7*s.* 6*d.* net).

EVERYONE who wishes to understand the Tibetans and to know their character and customs ought to read this book. It is a record of travel and exploration pursued under circumstances that would have baffled and dismayed the stoutest heart, yet Mr. Landor's nerve never failed; even under terrible torture and in the presence of death he kept his calm courage. The struggles with ice and snow read like the chronicle of an arctic expedition, but Mr. Landor had in addition to all these trials to face the hatred of a most suspicious, cowardly and cruel people. His story makes the reader hold his breath. The immorality of the people is deplorable, and the way in which the dead are eaten by the lamas, even when they have died of some pestilential disease, is revolting beyond words. There is no doubt a better side to the Tibetans, but Mr. Landor did not see it. The book is one of the most remarkable stories of travel published in recent years, and this cheap edition is profusely illustrated and beautifully got up. Everybody ought to read it. The chapters on Tibetan medicine are full of interest.

An Idler in Old France. By TIGHE HOPKINS. (London: Hurst & Blackett. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

We have got a great deal of pleasure from this volume. Mr. Hopkins knows his Old France well, and takes us through the streets of Paris wondering at their mud and filth. He shows us how monks and lay folk abhorred water until the evil custom of the age began to make the public bath a place where all kinds of immorality went on shamelessly. We study the manners of the time, visit the inns to find ourselves in the company of cheats and rogues. We go to hear Frère Maillard denounce the sins of the day, and watch the happy life of apprentice and craftsman. We trace the rise of surgery among the barbers, and see the eager attempts made by the medical faculty to crush the new science. We go with French kings to the chase, visit the Bagne, and read some thrilling stories of attempted escapes from those horrible convict prisons. The book is packed with matter, and is spiced with a pleasant

humour which makes it a delightful companion for a leisure hour.

Annals of an Old Manor House, Sutton Place, Guildford. By FREDERIC HARRISON. New and Abridged Edition. (London : Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Sutton Place is one of the earliest existing specimens of the purely domestic mansion-house, entirely planned and constructed in an era when no purpose of defence was to be thought of. It was built about 1523–5 and is one of the few extant specimens of the Gothic Renaissance style of Henry VIII. The builder was evidently under the influence of the châteaux of the Loire then recently erected. The ornamentation in terra-cotta is the most distinct feature of Renaissance work at Sutton, and after three hundred and eighty years of exposure the mouldings remain almost as perfect as when they were cast. Mr. Harrison's father and brothers have long been the lessees of the old manor house, and for twenty-four years he has found there opportunity for peace and quiet thought. He has repeopled the place in imagination from the times when its builder's only son was beheaded on Tower Hill for his alleged share in Anne Boleyn's guilt down to the present day. The popular part of Mr. Harrison's handsome quarto is condensed into this volume, and it gives not only the history of a house and a family, but a description of those stormy times when one mistress of Sutton, Dorothy Arundell, lived to see some twenty of her relatives die as traitors in the Tower. The condensation has been well done, and the book ought not to be overlooked by those who wish to know something of one of the most interesting houses in England. Its brickwork and moulded terra-cotta, "originally prepared in several shades of red and orange, has now been softened by age and exposure into a rich assemblage of different hues; red, brown, russet, chocolate, orange, salmon, and straw colour, but all harmonising with ordinary brick far better than would stone of any shade."—J. TELFORD.

Bird-Life in a Southern County, being Eight Years' Gleanings among the Birds of Devonshire. By CHARLES DIXON. With Ten Illustrations by Charles Whymper, and a Portrait of the Author. (London : Walter Scott. 6*s.*)

This is one of Mr. Dixon's best books. He has spent the

larger part of his life in studying the birds of the North of England and the East coast, so that he has been able to compare the bird-life of the South with that of other parts of England. Devonshire is rich in the sedentary species but poor in migratory birds, as it lies too far from the narrow sea passage which the migrants use. The field naturalist in Devonshire can follow his pursuits out of doors throughout the whole year under the most favourable and pleasant conditions, and some of our rarest British birds still find a sanctuary in the county. Mr. Dixon is a very pleasant guide, and his ten chapters take us among the heather and gorse, into garden and orchard, by river and stream, to lake, swamp and reed bed, to field and hedgerow, into woods and groves, along the shore, up the cliffs and out to sea studying the birds of each locality and gaining a mass of information about them. The cabinet naturalist has long given place to the field naturalist, and endless errors and fables respecting the habits of birds have thus been swept away. The carrion crow may be distinguished from the rook by his green instead of purple glossed coat and his black face. His note also is harsher. Mr. Dixon flushed a party of seven magpies from a meadow not half a mile from Paignton. The jay is specially fond of roosting among evergreens, and on a single evening as many as twenty jays have come to roost in the firs and larches within a mile of Mr. Dixon's house. The peregrine falcon is still indigenous to Devonshire, though how it manages to survive the ceaseless persecution to which it is subjected is a marvel. Mr. Dixon saw a pair of ravens in 1895 on the cliffs just outside Torquay. The volume closes with a brief record of the more important ornithological events of the Devonshire year. In the hedges, orchards, farm buildings, and on the open field birds in plenty may be watched the winter through. We strongly commend the book to lovers of birds. It is a marvel of cheapness, and is made very attractive by its pictures and its pleasant discursiveness.

Shakespeare's Country. By B. C. A. WINDLE. Illustrated by E. H. New. (London: Methuen & Co. 3*s.*)

A dainty little guide not only to Stratford and the surrounding villages but to Kenilworth, Warwick and Coventry. Mr. New's work is as good as in the early volumes of the series, and Mr. Windle is a careful and competent cicerone, whose book ought to be in the pocket of every Stratford pilgrim.

"*W. G.*": *Cricketing Reminiscences and Personal Recollections.* By W. G. GRACE. Containing Photogravure Portrait of the Author and eighty pages of Illustrations. (London: James Bowden. 6*s.*)

Dr. Grace is the prince of cricketers, and this volume of reminiscences covers thirty-five eventful years, during which the game has jumped by leaps and bounds into popular favour. A man once said to Dr. Grace, "Yours must have been a grand life, always playing cricket," and the veteran allows that his has been "a life of splendid freedom, healthy effort, endless variety, and delightful good fellowship." His only regret is that his career is ending instead of beginning. The Grace family hold the premier place in English cricket. The father was a Somersetshire doctor who settled at Downend, four miles out of Bristol, and found time amid exacting professional duties to take a lively interest in the game. W. G.'s earliest recollections of any cricket match are connected with one which his father arranged with William Clarke's All England team at Bristol in 1854. Mr. Grace captained the local twenty-two and his wife watched every ball with enthusiastic interest. The scrap-books in which she preserved notices of various matches have been of special service to her son in compiling this volume. Whilst E. M. Grace was becoming famous in all parts of the country, W. G. Grace, seven years his junior, was making a local reputation. His first appearance at the Oval was in July, 1864, and he afterwards achieved a notable success at the Hove Cricket Ground. The same year he played at Lord's. Cricket was then in a primitive stage, and the two scorers at Lord's were perched on high seats without any protection from sun or rain. There were no fixed boundaries to the ground. Mr. Grace gives some amusing incidents of those times, and traces the progress of the game and the feats of its chief exponents from year to year. His generous tributes to his contemporaries and his descriptions of famous cricketers, past and present, make the book very pleasant reading. The "Hints for Young Cricketers" will be of real value to beginners, and a hundred pages are filled by a statistical history of cricket.

VII.—SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June 15).—M. Fouillée writes on "Social Progress in France." It is a general law of history that moral and social progress are always in the rear of material and scientific progress. Even when men have gained a real superiority over the preceding age they still preserve, in their moral or legal relations, the standard of the past; more civilised materially and intellectually, they remain barbarians in morals. Our own epoch furnishes a new example. The first aspect under which it shows itself, especially in France, is that of moral disarray, confusion and struggle of interests, passions, and opinions. Under the ancient régime people toiled and suffered. That was the life which religion had consecrated with distant hopes beyond the tomb to brighten its present gloom. There was not the separation between the classes which some have represented. People lived together in a narrow world with the same limited horizon, they saw each other every day, knew each other, and mixed together without losing their own identity. Christian charity, in its private form, accomplished an immense work which is little understood. It only helped certain classes—invalid soldiers, maimed sailors, lepers, the sick and the incapable. There was as yet no dream of universal State aid. The corporations, whilst assuring work, were brotherhoods of mutual help. The workman was taken completely in charge and in exchange for his lost liberty found aid and succour. Misery increased everywhere. In vain did Vauban, Fénelon, Bossuet, La Bruyère, Turgot depict the horrors of the age. At last the Revolution burst on France. The men of 1789 had to struggle against the excesses of absolute power, against an oppressive organisation which extended to person as well as to property. To assure the rights of all, imitating in this respect English individualism, the Revolution declared the equal liberty of all. But that was not enough. Liberty was not in itself a motive or directive force. Nor was equality. It was beautiful and legitimate to decree theoretically that the workman was equal to his master but with the proviso that the master did not dispense practically with the moral obligation to assist, protect, and deal equitably with his men even in matters of contract. The duty of social justice was left in a vague condition under the name of fraternity. In abolishing privileges and monopolies the Revolution allowed itself to destroy even the principle of association. That was its great mistake. In founding a democracy the way was opened for a plutocracy. When men were declared free, equals and brothers, but not made such, wealth became the principal sign of social superiority in a civilisation that grew more and more industrial. The capitalists, under that régime of pretended equality, had only the right of association left and were not slow to profit by it. The introduction of machines and the development of industry on a large scale, generally in the hands of companies who enjoyed a practical monopoly, changed the condition of the workers. Socialism grew out of the excess of an individualism which had no other bridle than the State itself. Amidst all the evils of the new social state France never lost the fundamental virtue of any economic order—work with the complementary virtue of thrift, which has become stronger in France than in any other nation, and has had the effect of spreading capital more widely there than elsewhere. In England there are only two hundred thousand holders of State bonds with an average revenue of two thousand eight hundred and fifty francs; in France there are four millions with an average of four hundred francs. Peasants, workmen and little farmers have a large share in the French railways. Whilst they acquire by their labour and spirit of order the soil on which they were born; French agriculturists find means to make those little savings to which foreign nations are happy to have recourse. Social progress is being accelerated in France. There is a diffusion of wealth among the people and a more equal division of property. That, in the midst of so many evils which strike the eye, is a fundamental condition of stability, of morality, and of well-being for France.