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THE LOWER FORMS OF VEGETABLE LIFE.

1. *Klebs. Zur Physiologie der Fortpflanzung einiger Pilze:* in Pringsheim's *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Botanik.* Band 35, Heft 1. 1900.
2. *Lectures on the Evolution of Plants.* By DOUGLAS H. CAMPBELL. (London: Macmillan. 1899.)
3. *A Text-book of Plant Diseases caused by Cryptogamic Parasites.* By GEORGE MASSEE. (Duckworth. 1899.)
4. *Introduction to Freshwater Algæ.* By M. C. COOKE. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. 1890.)
5. *The Microscope and its Revelations.* By W. B. CARPENTER; edited by Rev. Dr. W. H. DALLINGER. New edition in the press. (London: Churchill.)

IN no department of nature is that sentence of Linnæus which has been adopted by the Royal Microscopical Society as its motto—"Minimis partibus, per totum naturæ campum certitudo omnis innititur, quas qui fugit pariter

naturam fugit,"—more true than in the study of the vegetable kingdom. The progress that has been made in our knowledge of the minute structure and the physiology of plants since the construction of high powers of the microscope and recent applications of microscopical technique is amazing. It may safely be asserted that at the commencement of the nineteenth century but little more was known of the secret history of vegetable life than was known to Aristotle and Theophrastus. The fact is scarcely credible that the whole process of the fertilisation of the ovule in flowering plants—the main features of which are now familiar to multitudes of School Board children—has been revealed well within the memory of men now living. It was, in fact, only in 1846 that the part played by the pollen-tube was fully demonstrated by the Italian botanist Amici.

And it is not only the minute parts of the higher plants that have thus disclosed their structure to the student of nature; whole realms of beings, whose very existence was before unsuspected, have been revealed to him. These minute organisms are, it is true, exclusively of a low type of structure; that is, they belong entirely to the "flowerless" or cryptogamic as contrasted with the "flowering" or phanerogamic section of the vegetable world. But, minute as they are, and to a certain extent lowly organised, they reveal to us, in some respects, more of the ways of nature, more of the laws which govern the existence of all living things, than their more highly organised brethren or descendants. It is no paradox to say that we can learn as much from the amœba as from the elephant, from the diatom or the bacillus as from the oak-tree.

A very interesting comparison was made by Professor Vines, in his presidential address to the Section of Botany at the recent meeting of the British Association at Bradford, of the forms of life known to Linnæus in the latter half of the eighteenth century with those known to us at the close of the nineteenth. Of flowering plants Linnæus described about 9,000 species; the number enumerated in

Bentham and Hooker's *Genera Plantarum* (1888) is just over 100,000, and it may be reckoned as now amounting to 105,000. In cryptogams the increase is proportionately still more remarkable. Linnæus knew about 1,000 species; a moderate estimate of those now known is over 70,000; and it is safe to predict that before many more years are past the known species of flowerless will outnumber those of flowering plants. The extraordinarily rapid advance in our knowledge of some branches of cryptogamic life may be illustrated by the following fact. The Laboulbeniaceæ are a small order of fungi parasitic on living insects, chiefly water-beetles, of which, until recently, but very few species were known. From an examination of the bodies of insects in zoological collections, and from other sources, an American botanist, Mr. R. Thaxter, has recently added to the order no less than seven new genera and considerably over one hundred new species.

The boundary line between the animal and the vegetable kingdoms is in many places but faintly drawn, and will probably become more and more obscure as our knowledge increases. Seeing that the animal undoubtedly represents a higher degree of development than the vegetable kingdom, one might have concluded *a priori* that, if any scheme of evolution be granted, the lowest forms of one of the kingdoms might show an affinity to the highest forms of the other. But this is not the case. It is the lowest forms of the two that display such a close affinity. Granting the principle of evolution, of descent with modification—by whatever laws this modification may be governed,—the animal and vegetable kingdoms are two great branches from the same root, each becoming gradually more and more highly developed, until one attains its perfection in the flowering plant, the primrose or the lily, the other in the mammalian vertebrates. In their lowest twigs there are a large number of organisms which have been placed by equally high authorities in the animal or in the vegetable kingdom; and, what is still more instructive, there are some which display during one period of their life a

preponderating animal, during another period a preponderating vegetable character.

If we now turn to those lowly forms of life which are placed, from a balance of characters, in the vegetable kingdom, we find they are conveniently arranged under two series, those which are green and those which are not green. And this is no superficial distinction, but depends on a deep-seated physiological differentiation. A green colour in plants, wherever it occurs, in the leaf or the bud, in the flowering plant, the fern, the moss, or the seaweed, is, with very few exceptions, the result of the presence in the cells of a substance which is scarcely known in the animal kingdom, chlorophyll, the substance which is the sole seat of that remarkable power possessed by plants of breaking up the carbonic acid gas produced by the respiration of animals, and giving back to the atmosphere that oxygen which is necessary to the life of both animals and plants. Plants, therefore, which do not possess chlorophyll, cannot derive their nourishment, as green plants do, directly from the carbonic acid gas of the atmosphere and the inorganic constituents of the soil; they must have their nourishment presented to them in an organised form; in exact language, must be either parasites deriving their nutriment from the living tissues of either other plants or of animals, or saprophytes, living on dead or decaying animal or vegetable substances. Commencing with the very lowest forms of vegetable life, the bacteria and bacilli, this non-chlorophyllous series attains no higher development than the more highly organised fungi, the mushroom, the truffle, the puff-ball. Fungi occupy in this respect a position by themselves in the vegetable kingdom; except that here and there a few species or genera of flowering plants have reverted to a simpler or at all events a more ancient mode of life, have attached themselves as parasites to other plants, or have become saprophytes, and have entirely or partially lost their green colour and their power of carrying on an independent existence. To this category belong the toothwort (*Lathræa squamaria*), the broom-rapes (*Orobanche*), the

bird's-nest orchis (*Neottia nidus-avis*), and the clover-dodder (*Cuscuta*).

The case is very different with the chlorophyll series. Commencing with unicellular organisms of exceedingly simple structure, it branches into numerous offshoots, each of which attains a comparatively high development of its own. One series can be traced upwards to the red seaweeds —for though most seaweeds are either red or brown, this is not due to the absence of chlorophyll, but to the masking of the green colour of the chlorophyll by that of a red or brown pigment—in which some of the physiological processes are of quite exceptional complexity; another to the mosses; another to the ferns and to the less familiar but more highly organised "fern-allies" (*Isoetes*, *Selaginella*, *Marsilea*, etc.); another to the pine and cedar tribe; and another, the most highly organised of all, to the great bulk of "flowering plants," the special characteristic of which is the production of true seeds.

It is to some phenomena connected with the life-history of the lower forms of this chlorophyll series that we desire to call the attention of our readers. Being almost without exception denizens of fresh-water, running or stagnant, or of very moist situations, they are known under the comprehensive term of Freshwater Algæ, and include organisms of very great diversity in the complexity of their structure. The greater number of Freshwater Algæ are microscopic, and can be detected by the naked eye only when they occur, as they frequently do, in enormous masses, forming a scum or pellicle on the surface of stagnant water. Others, the "confervæ" of rain-water tanks, cisterns, and ponds, are green silky threads well seen by the unaided vision. The close of the first half of the nineteenth century was marked by the publication of two standard and classical works in this department of nature,—Hassall's *British Freshwater Algæ* (1845), and Ralfs's *British Desmidieæ* (1848). The illustrations in this latter volume, in particular, by Mr. Tuffen West, have never been surpassed in accuracy and beauty, and the volume is still one of the most valued

treasures in every botanist's library. Yet, notwithstanding the extraordinary beauty and variety of the organisms depicted in these volumes, the vast abundance in which they occur in every slimy pool, and the ease with which they are collected and examined, Hassall and Ralfs had no immediate followers; and when, in 1886, the present writer began a series of papers in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Microscopical Society, on British Freshwater Algæ, there had been but very little added to our knowledge of the subject during the preceding forty years. These papers, however, often imperfect and wanting in minute accuracy, served to call the attention of microscopists to the enormous field comparatively unworked which lay open before them; and, during the last fifteen years, the labours of many skilled and enthusiastic workers, Mr. Barwell Turner, Messrs. W. and G. S. West, and many others, have greatly extended the bounds of our knowledge.

The variety in form, appearance, and structure among the lower algæ is immense, and we propose only to refer to a few of the more striking, and to call our readers' attention to the most recent discoveries respecting their mode of life. We will commence with a family which, from the enormous abundance in which they occur, and the beauty of their external markings, have always been favourite objects with the microscopist, *viz.* the Diatoms. Each individual diatom dwells in its own glass house; that is, the internal protoplasm which is the basis of its life is invested by an extremely thin shell of transparent silica, which it has abstracted from the water, fresh or salt, in which it lives. Now, since the quantity of soluble silicates present in either fresh or salt water[1] is always exceedingly small, while that of other alkaline salts is enormously greater, this power

[1] The most trustworthy analyses of the water of freshwater lakes and streams give proportions of silicic acid varying from 0·1 parts to 11·3 parts in one million; while in sea-water it is scarcely appreciable to the most delicate chemical tests; and yet it is out of this almost infinitesimally small proportion that the enormous amount of silica in diatom-deposits has been extracted by their selective power of absorption.

possessed by these minute organisms of choosing the one and rejecting the other cannot but fill us with wonder and admiration. If we are asked, How can we account for it? the only possible answer is, We know of no physical law by which it can be explained. In a few of the deep-sea forms this siliceous coating is very thin or may even be entirely wanting. When present it is almost invariably scored with the most beautiful markings, often of a very complicated character. So constant is the pattern of these markings in some species of diatom, that they are employed as "test-objects" for the microscope; that is, the apparent distance between these markings under a given object-glass gives its magnifying power. Whether these markings constitute actual perforations or pores in the cell-wall has long been a subject of controversy among diatomists. The most recent and trustworthy observations leave but little room for doubt that, in some cases at least, there is such a perforation; and the point is of importance in reference to one of the most remarkable properties of diatoms—their power of apparently spontaneous motion. This power of motion is very curious. If one of the diatoms which float on the surface of bog-pools or marsh-ditches, a Navicula or a Synedra, is watched under the microscope, it is seen to propel itself rapidly with a jerking motion, sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, coming to a halt and then moving forward again, and without any apparent organs of propulsion. This is only an extreme manifestation of that mobility which, in one form or another, appears to be an essential property of all living protoplasm, whether animal or vegetable; but its immediate cause is still, in the case of diatoms, involved in much obscurity. It has been referred to the action of delicate vibratile threads of protoplasm extended through the raphe, or seam which runs down one side of the shell in many diatoms—but these, if present, have escaped the notice of the most acute observers; to the contraction and dilatation of the protoplasm within the cell-wall; to the contractility of a protoplasmic layer outside the shell. This last is now the most generally

accepted explanation; but it does not seem to carry us much further in our knowledge of the secret springs of diatom-life; for what, we may ask, endows this layer of protoplasm with the power of contractility?

Notwithstanding the enormous abundance of diatoms, and the large number of observers who have concentrated their attention on their vital phenomena, there are still many points to be cleared up with regard to their mode of propagation. In many of the commonest diatoms the shell consists of two valves, one slightly larger than the other, and fitting on to the smaller one like the lid on to a cardboard box. When about to multiply, the two valves separate from one another and the contents divide into two halves, new siliceous shells being formed inside the old ones. By this process there is of course a constant reduction in size until a minimum is reached; the protoplasmic contents then leave the siliceous valves in the form of an "auxospore," which increases in size (or two such auxospores fuse together) until the original dimensions are attained, and a new siliceous envelope acquired. In other cases there is a process of "conjugation" similar to that which will be described in the case of the desmids; and in others, again, multiplication takes place by simple division or fission.

Diatoms are very rarely green; their most usual colour is a yellowish brown, owing to the presence of a soluble pigment known as diatomin diffused through the protoplasm. They are often enveloped in jelly, and form slimy masses attached to water-weeds. In bog-pools their abundance is simply astounding. Many of the largest and most beautiful forms are dredged up from various depths in the ocean, where they form the habitual food of marine animals. They have existed since the very early appearance of life on the globe; and the beds of fossil diatoms are of enormous extent. Under the names "Tripoli" and "Kieselguhr," they are largely used for various purposes in the arts, from the hardness of their siliceous coating; and it has recently been suggested that petroleum beds may in part owe their origin

to the storing up of the oil which is always one of the constituents of a diatom-cell.

Nearly allied to the Diatoms, and resembling them in many of their vital phenomena, are the Desmids, among which are some of the most interesting and beautiful objects for microscopical observation among Freshwater Algæ. They are, like the diatoms, unicellular organisms, for the most part solitary, and inhabiting almost exclusively fresh-water, especially stagnant, where they occur in very large numbers; there are no marine species. They always float free, without any attachment to the bottom or to other plants, and many species possess a power of apparently spontaneous motion, similar to that of diatoms, but not so marked. In some genera the cells are united into long filaments invested in mucilage, and forming a green slime on the surface of the water. They are always of a bright green colour, from the presence of chlorophyll unmasked by any pigment. Each individual desmid is usually divided by a deep constriction into two symmetrical halves, and the starch-grain and masses of chlorophyll are arranged symmetrically in the two halves of the cell, often forming patterns of great beauty of design. In Micrasterias, one of the largest forms, in which the individual is just visible to the naked eye, the so-called "frond" is very thin and flat, usually more or less orbicular or elliptical in outline, and each half is beautifully lobed or toothed; in Closterium the frond is crescent-shaped; in Xanthidium and Staurastrum the surface is elevated into prominent tubercles or hollow spines; in other genera the outline of the individual is nearly orbicular and is not indented; in others it is cylindrical and rod-shaped.

Desmids multiply in two ways—by direct division and by conjugation. The former process can be watched from beginning to end under the microscope, the whole proceeding being completed in a few hours. Its approach is indicated by a peculiar pulsating movement in the half-cells. The two halves then move apart, retaining their connexion only by a transverse band formed by the gradual broadening

of the isthmus which connected the two halves with one another. This band is at first quite colourless. After a time it becomes divided by a transverse wall midway between the two half-cells, and the chlorophyll pours out of each original half-cell into the half of the band in connexion with it, which now begins to bulge, and growing visibly under the eye, rapidly assumes the form and appearance of the original half-cell. The single individual has thus developed into two, which eventually separate from one another.

The mode of increase of desmids by conjugation is a very interesting one; and since two individuals (or, in the case of the filamentous species, two cells) must necessarily take part in it, it must be regarded as partaking of a sexual character. In those species in which the cells are isolated, two individuals lay themselves side by side, or across one another, and become invested in a mucilaginous jelly. In each individual, the outer of the two layers of which the cell-wall is usually composed gives way, and a circular opening is formed through which the inner layer protrudes in the form of a bladder, and these two protrusions come into contact. The outer layer of the cell-wall is now thrown off, and the portion of the inner cell-wall which separated the two protrusions disappears. By the passage into the tube thus formed of the green contents of the two original cells, it now swells up into a more or less spherical form, and becomes invested with a thick cell-wall, the outer layers of which are hard and brown, often covered with warts or with simple or barbed spines. These "zygospores" or "resting-spores," as they are termed,—which, before their life-history was known, have often been described as independent organisms,—now throw off the débris of the parent-cells, sink to the bottom of the water, remain there for a time in a dormant condition, and germinate in the following spring into new individuals in all respects resembling those from which they were derived.

The Desmids are but a family of a larger group, the Conjugatæ, characterised by a special mode of fertilisation,

known as conjugation, to which great interest attaches from a physiological point of view. We may take as a type any species of Spirogyra, among the most widely diffused and the most beautiful of Freshwater Algæ, the various species of which abound in fresh-water, whether running or stagnant. Each individual consists of an unbranched row or filament of comparatively large cells placed end to end, unattached to the soil or to other water-weeds, and therefore deriving their nutriment directly from the water and the various substances dissolved in it. The chlorophyll is not uniformly distributed through the protoplasm, but is arranged in one or more spiral bands running from end to end of the cell. Conjugation takes place between the cells of two filaments lying side by side. Lateral protuberances at right angles to the axis of growth are put out from each cell of one filament in the direction of the opposite cell of the other filament, and are met by corresponding protuberances from the cells of this latter individual. The mass of protoplasm in each of the two cells, with its spiral bands of chlorophyll, has in the meantime begun to contract, and to round itself off into a globular or ellipsoidal form. The cell-wall now opens between the two protuberances, and the whole of the protoplasmic contents of one of the two cells passes through the tube thus formed, and glides slowly into the other cell-cavity, where it mingles with the mass of protoplasm of that cell which has undergone a similar contraction and rounding off. The zygospore thus formed after a time invests itself with a coat of cellulose, and the colour of its contents changes from a bright green often to a brick-red; in this state it escapes from the wall of its parent cell, remains dormant at the bottom of the water, and develops during the next spring into a new Spirogyra filament.

The interest of this process from a physiological point of view consists in its presenting unquestionably a rudimentary type of sexual reproduction. When two filaments, which we will call A and B, conjugate, there must be some physiological difference between the two, as is shown by the fact that, when the conjugation is completed, it is

invariably found that all the cells of one of them, we will say of A, are empty, while almost every cell of B contains a zygospore. It never happens that some of the cells of A empty themselves into B, while some of the cells of B empty themselves into A. We are therefore justified in regarding A as a male and B as a female filament. But though there is this physiological difference between the two filaments, there is no external difference of form, or scarcely any. With regard to any particular filament which the observer may have under his microscope, it is quite impossible for him to tell, before conjugation, whether it will act as a male or as a female filament. Moreover, the question is complicated by the fact that conjugation occasionally occurs, not between the corresponding cells of different filaments, but between adjacent cells of the same filament. Here we must suppose a sexual differentiation, not between one filament and another, but between different cells of the same individual, what we should call in the higher plants a "monœcious" as contrasted with a "dicœcious" arrangement.

Lower in the scale of organisation than the Conjugatæ, but exhibiting some very interesting physiological phenomena, is a remarkable group of algæ known, from their peculiar property of apparently spontaneous motion, as the Oscillatoriaceæ. These organisms consist of very delicate threads of a blue-green colour, individually scarcely visible to the naked eye, but growing as slimy masses attached to water-plants in running water or in bog-pools, or often forming a thin coating or even a dense mat on wet soil or among damp moss. The filaments are unbranched, and often slightly curved at one extremity, and are divided by very thin delicate transverse partition-walls. The only known mode of propagation is by a filament escaping from the mucilaginous sheath in which a number are usually enclosed, and breaking up into fragments, each of which develops into a new filament. When growing in water the various species of Oscillatoria, and of other genera belonging to the family, are found to be endowed with a constant

active oscillating or gliding motion, quite independent of any currents in the water, and hitherto not explained by any physical laws. One observer who has paid much attention to these phenomena describes the movements of Oscillatoria as being of six different kinds: *viz.* (1) a rotation of the filament or of its segments round its axis; (2) a creeping or gliding over a solid substratum; (3) a swimming change of position in the water; (4) a rotation or flexion of the entire filament; (5) sharp tremblings or concussions; and (6) a radiating arrangement of the entangled filaments. Another observer regards the movements of the Oscillatoriaceæ as being of the same nature as those of the "sarcode" in the "pseudopodes" of the Rhizopods and the Protozoa, to which they bear a strong resemblance.

The next class of organisms to which we desire to call attention is represented by an exceedingly familiar form, about which much has been written, Protococcus pluvialis. It is a minute object, but often occurring in such enormous quantities as to form a green scum on the surface of stagnant, especially of rain water. In this condition it is in what is known as the resting or "palmella" condition, in which each individual consists of a nearly spherical cell, composed of a rather thick cell-wall of cellulose and a green "endochrome" more or less interspersed with red; large numbers of these palmella-cells being aggregated together in dense masses, and multiplying rapidly by simple bipartition of their contents. The change to the active condition takes place in the following way. The protoplasm withdraws from the cell-wall, and the whole cell-contents escape in the form of a spherical, ovoid, or pear-shaped body enveloped in an excessively delicate membrane, through which project, at its narrower end, two very slender filaments of protoplasm known as vibratile cilia. The cell-contents are of a deep green colour, in consequence of the large amount of chlorophyll; but this is usually varied by a larger or smaller amount of a deep red pigment, which is normally confined to a small tract near the point of attach-

ment of the vibratile cilia known as the pigment-spot, and bearing a close resemblance to the so-called "eye-spot" of the Flagellate infusoria, such as Euglena. The cell-cavity is not, however, entirely filled up by green protoplasm; it contains what is known as a pulsating vacuole, a small cavity filled with water, which is alternately contracting and expanding with great regularity. Like all other green plants, Protococcus, when exposed to sunlight, is constantly, through the activity of its chlorophyll, decomposing the carbonic acid of the atmosphere (or of the air dissolved in the water) and giving out into the air (or into the water) large quantities of the oxygen which is necessary to the maintenance of all animal and of nearly all vegetable life. The pulsation of the vacuole is believed to be connected with this constant absorption of carbonic acid gas and emission of oxygen; but at all events this internal pulsation and the constant lashing motion of its vibratile cilia are constantly propelling the Protococcus through the water with marvellous rapidity. At length it comes to rest, loses its vibratile cilia, becomes "encysted" or clothed with a thick cell-well of cellulose, and again enters the palmella condition. The red pigment of Protococcus is not always confined to the "pigment-spot"; it sometimes pervades the whole organism, which is then known as Hæmatococcus. In this state it sometimes forms blood-red incrustations on wet rocks or stones, or red stains on bread, potatoes, etc., or, in arctic or alpine regions, a red coating over large tracts of fresh-fallen snow, where it is known as red snow.

Before proceeding to any general considerations, allusion must be made to one other class of the lower algæ, the Confervæ or silk-weeds, those green organisms which, by their masses of green silky threads, so rapidly fill up rain-water tanks and water-courses. In the most widely distributed genus of this family, Cladophora, the threads are comparatively thick and coarse, of a deep green colour, and copiously branched, and, unlike Spirogyra, are always attached by their base to some solid substance. The ordinary method of pro-

pagation of the Confervæ is by the formation of "zoospores" or "swarm-spores." The process is this. The protoplasm, with its included chlorophyll, retreats from the cell-wall and rounds itself off into spherical, elliptical, or ovoid bodies, which finally escape from the cell by the rupture of the cell-wall. As they pass into the surrounding water, they are either entirely unclothed masses of green-tinted protoplasm, or are enclosed in an excessively delicate membrane; and in any case are provided at one extremity with two or sometimes with four vibratile cilia, by the rapid action of which they are driven through the water with great velocity. These zoospores are of two kinds, megaspores and microspores, differing from one another in no visible respect except their size. The former are comparatively large, the entire contents of a cell resolving itself into one or at most two megaspores; while a large number of microspores are formed out of the protoplasm of a cell of the same size. But though resembling one another so closely in appearance and structure, there is a striking physiological difference between them. A megaspore behaves exactly like Protococcus, in fact, is indistinguishable from that organism in any important point. It finally comes to rest, loses its cilia, clothes itself with a coat of cellulose, remains for a time in this resting-spore condition, and then, in the next season, develops into a new conferva thread. The microspores, on the other hand, have, as a rule, no power of germinating directly; two of them meet, gradually fuse together, only two of the four vibratile cilia remaining; in this condition the zygospore formed by the conjugation of two microspores retains its activity for a time; then goes through the same processes of rest and germination as the megaspore. It will be seen that this process of conjugation is physiologically identical with that in Spirogyra, the only difference being that the conjugating bodies are mobile instead of stationary.

Protococcus, though it be low in the scale of organisation, has many distinguished relatives or descendants. Among the more beautiful, and yet quite common, denizens of

bog-pools, are Gonium and Pandorina, the former consisting of a disc of usually sixteen cells; the latter of a spherical group of about the same number, the single cells being in each case almost identical with Protococcus in constitution, the whole colony rolling or tumbling through the water with wonderful rapidity; while in that marvel of pond-life, Volvox globator, the differentiation of the various cells in the colony for special functions is carried much higher.

If we now cast a general glance over the forms of vegetable life which we have had under review, and compare them with the higher organisms, I think we shall see that it is an error to say that the higher forms are distinguished from the lower by a greater vital energy. The power of motion is as marked in the diatom, in Protococcus, and in Volvox, as in any other forms of life, and as apparently spontaneous; we know of no physical tests by which we can deny to them the attribute of spontaneity which we ascribe to organisms included in the animal kingdom.

Undoubtedly the characteristic of the lower forms of vegetable life which strikes us most emphatically in comparing them with the higher is their plasticity. And this is what might naturally be expected. An organ which is constantly used for performing one function only, not only acquires greater facility for performing that function, but loses any power it may once have had of adapting itself to any other function. So with regard to organisms. In the early days of evolution, if we may allow ourselves to imagine such a period, a being of comparatively simple structure, which had not yet acquired organs whose functions were sharply defined, was able to adapt itself to a great variety of external conditions and to perform a great variety of functions. We have seen that the zoospores of algæ may be indistinguishable by any well marked characters from a complete organism like Protococcus. And these zoospores—at least the microspores when the zoospores are of two different sizes—may either germinate directly or may conjugate in pairs to form a zygospore before germinating; exhibiting in the first case a non-sexual, in the second case

a sexual mode of propagation. It has been clearly shown, in the case of that beautiful freshwater alga the "water-net" (*Hydrodictyon reticulatum*), that one or the other mode of reproduction may be artificially induced by changes in the light and in other external conditions.

It has been the custom of physiologists, especially of botanists, to draw a sharp distinction, and even a contrast, between vegetative or non-sexual multiplication on the one hand, and sexual propagation on the other hand, limiting to the latter mode the term reproduction, *i.e.* the production of a new individual. All other modes of propagation, whether by zoospores or by non-mobile spores (as in the mushroom) in the lower forms, or by grafting, budding, striking, etc., in the more highly organised plants, have been regarded as but natural or artificial devices for prolonging the life of a portion of the individual. But the fact just mentioned with regard to the zoospores of algæ shows that the two modes are not always sharply distinguished from one another, and may even be interchangeable. The coalescence or fusion of two apparently similar structures is probably the rudimentary phenomenon which lies at the base of all sexual reproduction.

The most recent researches[1] indicate that the contrast should rather be drawn between phenomena of growth on the one hand and phenomena of propagation of all kinds on the other hand. The two processes are antagonistic to one another. The conditions most favourable to the one are unfavourable to the other. To confine ourselves to the phenomena of vegetable life—though similar conclusions could be drawn also from the phenomena of animal life—we are familiar with the fact that perennial plants, trees, and shrubs must attain a certain age before they flower or ripen their fruits. We are apt to consider that this is because the plant must attain a certain vigour before it can produce ripe seeds or fruits. A more correct explanation is that, as long

[1] I refer here especially to the remarkable paper by Klebs, on the Reproduction of Fungi, the title of which is quoted above.

as all the vital energy of the individual is thrown into processes of growth, it has none to spare for processes of reproduction. Curb this growth, diminish the supply of nutriment by pruning the roots, or the power of assimilation by pruning the branches, and you at once direct the vital energy into a new channel, into the production of reproductive organs. They must be "purged, that they may bring forth more fruit." In the lower forms of vegetable life which we have had under consideration the law is equally evident. Expose one of the green algæ to the most favourable conditions of light and temperature, supply it with inexhaustible stores of congenial nutriment, and it will grow and flourish, but its life perishes with it. Reverse any of these conditions; lower the temperature, reduce the light, or restrict the supply of nutritious food, and growth will at once be arrested; and a tendency will be apparent for the formation of propagating cells which will detach themselves from the parent plant and begin life afresh; or for the production of reproductive organs, by the union of the contents of which an entirely new individual is born into the world. On the other hand, those plants which lead the luxurious life of parasites or saprophytes, which have their food presented to them in an already organised form, frequently exhibit a marked deterioration in their propagative powers. Throughout the large class of Fungi of which the mushroom may be taken as a type no mode of sexual reproduction is at present known; and even in parasitic flowering plants a tendency is manifested to the reduction and simplification of the floral organs.

Sexual is, after all, but a higher development of non-sexual propagation. Instead of merely separating a portion of the parent individual, it unites the properties of two parents, and thus tends to produce offspring of greater vigour and greater powers of resistance against unfavourable external conditions. The greater plasticity of the lower forms of life, their greater power of adapting themselves to changes, favourable or unfavourable, in their environment, renders it unnecessary that they should be continually strengthening their race by this

mode of reproduction. But with regard to all the higher forms of life, beginning with Mosses and Ferns, and ascending to the most highly organised of flowering plants (perhaps a buttercup or a columbine), vegetative modes of propagation can only continue for a time the life of the individual; the production of fruits and fertile seeds is absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of the race.

ALFRED W. BENNETT.

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL.

Ancient Ideals: A Study of Intellectual and Spiritual Growth from Early Times to the Establishment of Christianity. BY HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR. (London: Macmillan. 1900).

IT is the glory and the trouble of man that he can form ideals. The ideal is more than the idea; it is the idea sitting in judgment upon the actual, discriminating and deciding, that it may approve or condemn. It is not formed out of the actual, though it lives and moves in close relation to it; the ideal adds to the dull, grey, neutral atmosphere of common day

> the gleam,
> The light that never was on sea or land,
> The consecration and the poet's dream,

which is never far from anyone of us. Its existence is based upon an underlying postulate which finds expression in philosophy, in ethics, and in religion, but one which is necessary to the sage and the saint alike. Such a postulate belongs indeed to the very constitution of the human mind in its normal working,—a demand for one essential unity in the universe, one all-comprehending principle, one ruling purpose, however impossible it be for man at present to grasp it; one deep significance in the infinitely varied and elusive riddle of the world; one goal, dim, remote, at present inconceivable, which nevertheless shall be reached at last, when the race is run and the pilgrimage over. As is written in the Koran, "God said, Heaven and earth and all between them—think ye they were created in jest, and that all shall not return to Me?"

It is usual to compare nations and religions on the level of history, according to the practice and actual attainments

of men. It is even more instructive to compare human *aims* and *standards* in succeeding generations, to estimate and compare the prevailing *hopes* which have animated men in various ages, in their religious and national life. For it is the power to form ideals far transcending immediate realisation which has given meaning to national history and guided national progress. These aims and hopes have often been what men call "blind"; that is, imperfectly, half-consciously entertained, but none the less it is these that have caused the deep-seated "divine discontent" which has urged men onwards as with an irresistible impulse, and formed the driving power alike of leaders and followers in the forward march of history. The hope that "springs eternal in the human breast" is fed from hills high above the level of man's ordinary thoughts and ways. It is due to the faculty man possesses—God-given, as we must believe—a power to judge and an impulse to transcend existing conditions and standards. "Man's reach should exceed his grasp, else what's a heaven for?" The poet's argument may not pass muster with the scientist who is sure there is no heaven, or the philosopher who questions whether such there be, but thinks it desirable to invent one; but poet, philosopher, and scientist may learn much from history—the history of human ideals.

Can such a history be traced? Is there order, continuity, progress in man's dreams of what might be, in his struggles after what ought to be? To answer this question, we should not turn to the *Republic* of Plato, the *Utopia* of More, the *New Atlantis* of Bacon, the *Oceana* of Harrington, or the *News from Nowhere* and *Looking Backward* of later and more frivolous times. Such deliberate fictions have their uses, but they are straws on the surface, which do not always show which way the stream is flowing. Rather should we study the history of religions and penetrate as far as may be to the inmost significance and tendency of each, comparing its theories and precepts with the genius and temperament, the actual life and conduct of the peoples who profess to have been guided by it. Taking this view of the

subject, therefore, can any unity or continuity, any clear advancement or progress be traced in man's hopes and ideals? Has there been any "increasing purpose," any widening or deepening of men's best thoughts for themselves and for the race, "in the process of the suns"? And if so, what is the relation of Christianity to such a history?

Such are some of the questions which the author of *Ancient Ideals* essays to answer in the two handsome volumes before us. Mr. H. Osborn Taylor is an American, as his English readers soon perceive. So far as we are aware, this is his first work, and there are some indications in the style—especially in the earlier portion of the book—that the writer is hardly a practised hand. But the work as a whole is one of the most interesting and suggestive surveys of the subject that we know. The plan is excellent. It is proposed

> to treat human development from the standpoint of the ideals of the different races, as these ideals disclose themselves in the art and literature, in the philosophy and religion, and in the conduct and political fortunes of each race.

The writer has sought

> to make clear the nature of the contribution made by each race to the stages of human growth reached before the Christian era; and to indicate in what respects these contributions became permanent elements of humanity, and thus elements of its further possibilities—possibilities that find in Christianity perfect conditions for their final realisation.

The working out of this comprehensive scheme is on the whole—with some drawbacks which we shall attempt to point out—worthy of its high argument. Mr. Osborn Taylor is sufficiently master of his authorities to furnish a study of his subject in the full light of recent historical research. It is no easy task to give a bird's-eye view of the intellectual and spiritual condition of Egypt, Babylonia, India, Greece, and Rome, so far as the latest and best knowledge of those nations carries us. Such books as Maurice's *Religions of the World* and Hardwick's *Christ*

and other Masters were useful in many respects in their time; but they were comparatively slight in outline, and they have been left far behind by the researches of the last thirty years. Mr. Taylor has based his work, as far as possible, on original sources, as his scholarly notes indicate. But he possesses gifts quite as important for his task as erudition,—the insight which is necessary to interpret facts, to understand their relative proportions, and the skill to arrange his materials clearly and effectively, so as to bring his readers into direct contact with first-hand evidence, without overburdening his pages with detail. He is wise in giving his strength to Greece and Rome. The chapters on Homer, on "Greek Principles of Life," and on "The Genius of Rome" are amongst the best in the book.

Mr. Taylor is, moreover, fair and impartial in his sketches. He has no thesis to propound in the interests of orthodox Christianity. He does not write as an apologist, who uses "false" religions simply as foils to the true; but neither does he, after the fashion of many modern sceptics, seek to explain Christian truth as a mere product of evolution, which in its turn—an epoch supposedly close upon us—is to make way for another and more worthy apotheosis of human thoughts and hopes. The account of Judaism and Christianity contained in the second volume is written from the standpoint of a thoughtful, undogmatic, and candidly critical believer; and whilst the author avows his frank acceptance of the conclusions of at least the more moderate biblical critics, he has written nothing which can offend the taste or the reverent beliefs of the orthodox Christian. On the contrary, such a reader will find much to confirm his faith, as well as to broaden his ideas. Mr. Taylor's survey of history closes with the second or third century of our era—a period sufficiently advanced for Christianity to have fairly revealed its character and established its position among the nations.

Where the work as a whole is so good, it would be ungracious to dwell on minor defects. But the very excellences of the book make us regret that so many lesser flaws

should have been allowed to disfigure it. Mr. Taylor loves to invert the natural order of words in his sentences, so that far too many of them appear standing on their heads. "Never wholly favourable is the lot of man," "so starts the human race most emblematically of coming failure and endeavour to retrieve unto a new advance" are two specimens taken at random from the first two or three pages. The use of the possessive case is very awkward. Hence we read of "Chaldæa's foster-child" and "the Parthenon's architrave," phrases which jar on the ear when frequently repeated. In very many sentences the predicate is altogether omitted; thus on the second page we find, "No land without some change of seasons and the mysterious blowing of the wind." Such words as "absist," "joinder," "proselyters," "covenantor," are not English. Printer's errors are far too numerous in the Greek and Latin quotations, and blemishes such as "Zenophon," "Cyropedeia," "Ajaces," "Nichomachean" (several times), mar the pages. "Cuneiform" is repeatedly mis-spelled as "cuniform," but that may be an American abbreviation. A scholar should not write "Then there is the impotence of power unused, of *freedom unavailed of*," nor "the striving, *God-turned* soul," nor "the analysis, although embracing all life, *resolved it to* its parts." These are trifles which would not ruffle the serenity of the reviewer in dealing with some books; but *Ancient Ideals* is too valuable and interesting a piece of work to be thus marred, and we hope that in a subsequent edition these and similar defects will disappear. For in some parts of the book the style is excellent, clear without being shallow and lofty without being turgid. A writer who is capable of doing the best which this book contains will surely hasten to free his pages of blots which a few hours' revision would remove.

It is seen at once that many questions are involved in the determination of what are called, somewhat vaguely, national ideals. Mr. Osborn Taylor's book would have gained by a clearer statement at the outset of the factors implied in their formation. Kant's three great questions—

answers to which mankind are always seeking—are well known. What can we know? What ought we to do? What may we hope for? These are more closely connected together than at first sight might appear. And in the formation of an "ideal," whether by individual or nation, there is implied a judgment concerning the world as it is and the government of the universe, if government there be; also a judgment concerning man, his position, powers, and possibilities; also a judgment concerning the type of individual life which is esteemed most desirable and admirable; but above and beyond all these things there is implied a judgment concerning the future of the human race on earth and a decision concerning the prospects of life beyond the grave. What we mean is, that the character of the "ideal" formed will depend upon the answers given to all these fundamental questions. They are bound up together in the formation of a system by an individual thinker and in the character of a religion which may be accepted by a nation or a race. God, Duty, Immortality,—these three can hardly be considered apart. If with George Eliot we pronounce the first inconceivable and the third unbelievable, the character of the second—which she held to be absolute and peremptory—is seriously and vitally affected.

If this be so, it is clear that a writer has a formidable task before him who undertakes to trace out the history of men's thoughts on these high themes from the Egypt of (say) 3000 years B.C. to the Roman Empire of 300 A.D. It is no part of our object to follow Mr. Osborn Taylor in his detailed survey. Suffice it to say that he allots a hundred pages only to Egypt, Chaldæa, China, India, and Persia, whilst his description of Greece covers 250 pages, 150 are devoted to Rome, about as many to Israel, and nearly 200 to Christianity. The danger of course in these wide surveys of ancient religions and *Weltanschauungen* is that of hasty and superficial generalisation. He who would describe the "genius" of Buddhism in fifty pages must be scholar enough to have mastered original authorities,

possess insight enough to fasten upon the features that really matter, and mental detachment enough to sympathise with all that is excellent in that strange and fascinating religion, without losing himself in its bewildering abysses. Two books that occur to us, published within the last few years, each interesting and suggestive, have failed to avoid the initial difficulties of such generalisation—Miss Wedgwood's *Moral Ideal* and Bishop Boyd Carpenter's *Permanent Elements of Religion*. The latter especially is essentially subjective. The bishop lays down three elements of man's nature which must be met by any religion which claims to be permanent, as we might say in any "ideal" which is to be adequate and abiding—Dependence, Fellowship, and Progress. He then examines what he calls the three universal religions, Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity, to see how far these elements of a satisfactory ideal are met in each.

This is an example of the way in which such a subject should *not* be treated. Mr. Osborn Taylor has rightly pursued the historical method, and he gives his readers the opportunity very largely to judge for themselves concerning the accuracy of his generalisations by quoting in some detail from original authorities. Comparing the summary given in *Ancient Ideals* of the religions of Egypt and India with others known to us, we should say that Mr. Taylor's account will bear comparison with any drawn up on the same small scale. What strikes one, for example, in the religion of ancient Egypt, as in some other ancient religions, is the unconscious way in which inconsistencies are allowed to stand side by side. On this point, Mr. Taylor says, Egyptian thought

> analysed nothing, had neither clearness nor consistency, nor power to discriminate and classify. In consequence ethics remained unsystematised precept; with all the picturesque elaboration of a future life, no thought of spiritual immortality was reached; the religion saw no inconsistency between one god and many; and the race's mighty material accomplishment lacked ennobling aim.

And again, "Astounding is she (Egypt) at the time of her monumental beginning; but this strange ancient child fulfils no promise as the centuries pass." We should have been glad to trace out the bearing of this upon the Egyptian conception of a future life. The strange contrast between Egypt and Israel in this respect has often been commented on, but seldom rightly understood. Theologians who are disposed to classify religions according to the measure of revelation vouchsafed concerning a future life will do well to begin with a comparison between "the wisdom of the Egyptians" and the simplicity of the Hebrews in this regard. The subject is too large for us to develop here, and we mention it only to show how many suggestive vistas are opened up to right and left as we travel by the path Mr. Taylor marks out for us. Any theory of "development" in religion must take account of the phenomenon which Egypt presents on the very threshold of history—a religion at the same time so strangely advanced and so strangely primitive and childish.

Mr. Taylor's account of Buddhism and its "view of God and the world" is interesting, but all too brief. His explanation of Nirvâna is probably as just as the perplexing subject admits of. He points out that the *Book of the Great Decease* stops short and turns back just as one expects an account of Nirvâna.

> Buddha's teachings did but make clear that Nirvâna is a condition over which the law of causality, with its content of sorrow, death, and re-birth, has no sway. . . . No light is thrown on the condition, existent or non-existent, conscious or unconscious, of the Arahat after death. . . . Nothing might be predicated of it which might be predicated of life, except in this negative mode, that all short-coming, suffering, need, desire, is satisfied or quenched. But consciousness was one of the links in the chain of causation; and whatever made up that passing delusion, human individuality, was also part of the same chain.

Buddha did not explicitly state that extinction was the outcome of his system, because if his followers could not

understand so much as that, they understood nothing of what he would teach them. Such a gladly anticipated goal of human life is, indeed, almost unintelligible to the Western mind; but Mr. Taylor says it

> is not preposterous from the standpoint of the long-cumulating Indian yearning for release from mutability and that embodiment of it, the human individuality. . . . The best which can be is but the same as never to have been.

Truly, the study of human ideals leads us into strange regions! And strangest and most instructive of all, perhaps, to the student of human nature, is the revival of this "ancient ideal" in our own country and our own time under the name of Esoteric Buddhism, with Mr. Sinnett and Mr. Lillie for its prophets!

It was wise on Mr. Taylor's part to spend his strength chiefly on portraying the ideals of ancient Greece and Rome. Here the light of history shines clear, materials are abundant, and we leave the nebulous and hardly intelligible world of Eastern religions for views of life which present at the same time many points of contact and many features of contrast with the ideals of modern Christian nations. There is great charm about the pictures which Mr. Osborn Taylor so skilfully draws. His chapter on "Greek Beginnings" introduces us to the characteristic geography of the country, the Hellenic race in its earliest developments, and the effect of environment upon the budding germ. The discoveries of Schliemann and others at Tiryns, Mycenæ, and elsewhere are here duly utilised. But the Greek spirit is hardly itself till we come to Homer. The chapter on Homer is delightful, and contains many passages we should like to quote. The intense *humanism* of the Greek ideal is well brought out. The Greek enjoyed life and sought for nothing better than earthly life at its highest. Life means the exercise of faculty and the joy which that exercise brings. Sometimes —in Homer and the early days—the highest exercise of faculty is seen in the accomplishment of strenuous deed, bringing glory in its train; sometimes—in Plato and the later

periods—Hellenism was identified with the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. But in each case

the Greek sought to complete himself. In conduct and in that idealising reflex of life which is literature and art he sought to display heightened human traits and show the man enlarged —more closely kin to the race of gods.

The ideal of Hellenism did not begin and end with man. The Greeks had a religion, but it was essentially human. Mr. Taylor goes so far as to say "Homer and Hesiod made the gods." If that is hardly true in its literalness, it is certainly true that the Greek had no idea of revelation, that neither his knowledge nor his rules of conduct were considered as "revealed." Greek mythology contains rather "dramatic presentations of the gods, which sprang from the Greek artist soul, and afforded no standard of human righteousness or criterion of human sin." Both the source and the sanction of such principles of conduct as animated the Greek at his best and formed in truth his ideals were drawn from what he himself saw and knew.

Directly, luminously, in ways open to the tests of reason, they fashioned rules of conduct from their store of experience. In the data of their ethics they included all their knowledge of man and his environment, and their judgments upon life; herein entered their dismal views as to the outworn semblances which twittered out inane existence in the underworld, existence far too blank to hold reward or punishment; herein entered their thoughts of the results of acts on earth and also those farthest generalisations upon life which made up the thought of fate; herein entered those more plastic expressions of the powers which aid or thwart men's lives—those living, human, natural gods.

One of the most interesting questions in Greek mythology concerns the relation of the superhuman, yet most human figures called gods and the *μοῖρα*, *αἶσα*, and other words which represent fate, destiny, the irresistible course of things which masters gods and men alike. Sometimes fate is represented as the decree of Zeus, or is practically identified with the "father of gods and men." But such a description is far

from representing the whole state of the case. Greek poets and thinkers always recognised a certain Necessity—*ἀνάγκη*, to which all beings must bow, a mighty current of energy which was not wholly, perhaps not mainly, ethical. Mr. Taylor says:

> The ethical moment is not the sole factor in destiny. Human life lies not altogether within the pale of ethical considerations. . . . So fate never became entirely ethical, but always stood for those limitations on humanity proceeding from man's mortal nature and circumstances out of his control.

Who shall say that Christian ideals of a later time have always satisfactorily disposed of the questions raised by this aspect of human life?

Be that as it may, it is all important, in trying to understand the Greek view of life, to remember that the Greeks never rose to the conception of an omnipotent God, whose thoughts and purposes embraced and directed the non-ethical processes of nature and the various and often unaccountable strivings of the human will. The *ἦθος* of human character as described by Aristotle is unintelligible, if this be not borne in mind. The standard of conduct is high intelligence supported by a steadfast and courageous will; and intelligence implies a fair and just view of human circumstances and conditions, with the chief stress laid upon moderation and the avoidance of excess—*μηδὲν ἄγαν*. Virtue is a knowledge of the good, knowledge is essential to virtue and inseparable from it; no one—according to the paradox of Socrates which was a kind of truism in the later Greek view of life—does wrong intentionally. Philosophy is not only a guide of life, it is the very pith and core of life itself, the only means "of holding oneself poised amid life's storms." Hence springs the Greek idea of the highest good, which is found in the *βίος θεωρητικός*, the life of philosophic thought, too high perhaps for the multitude, but attainable by the few. Virtue is simply the perfecting of one's own nature according to the highest human intelligence. For the Greek the only gospel is culture.

We have done poor justice to Mr. Taylor in these few

sentences. We have not indeed been trying to summarise his admirable summary, but to present in few words some salient features of an ideal which is continually reappearing in the course of generations and one with which Christianity has still to reckon. It should be studied, as Mr. Taylor's book enables us to study it, side by side with the Roman ideal, which in some respects was so similar, in others so diametrically opposed to it. We find it difficult to illustrate by extracts the excellence of Mr. Taylor's description of the genius of Rome; but the following may serve as a specimen of his characterisation :

> To order well his house and serve the State was the compass of the duty, the compass of the life, of a Roman. To order well his house with respect to things divine and human, to accumulate wealth in his family and civic honours through the discharge of public office, made up his life within the walls of Rome; beyond those walls life meant defence of the city and all its hearths, and the increase of its power and possessions. To the fulfilment of this life all qualities and principles approved in a citizen contributed—energy, gravity, self-control, valour, fortitude, tenacity of purpose, adherence to his solemn word, insistence on his rights, intelligence, and definite conception of ends as well as means, order, obedience, and stern command, and insatiate desire to conquer and acquire for the city and himself. These traits, which made Rome great, are exhibited by her history; they constituted her morality and religion; they were exemplified in the Roman family and stamped upon the Roman law.

One thought which must always be kept in view in considering the genius or the ἦθος of the Roman character is its utter subordination of the individual life. Plato might preach to the Greek the importance of the State,—and what the πόλις was to the Athenian, readers of Thucydides know well,—but the Hellenic community never exacted the extreme, self-immolating devotion which the Roman gladly yielded to the *civitas* and *patria*. The subordination of members in family life to the one head, the tremendous despotism implied in the *patria potestas*, is one striking illustration of the same principle. The power of life and death lay with the

father, he could sell any member of his household. Neither wife nor child had any rights of property as against him; and there was no effective limit to the father's power, except the exigences of the State, to the solidity and cohesion of which this family despotism every way ministered. Mr. Taylor gives a luminous exposition of these well known features of Roman life. But we must not be enticed into further exposition of it or of its bearing upon that august but distant and abstract religion with which Roman life in its prime was permeated. We close this part of the subject by quoting a suggestive sentence or two of our author, contrasting Greek and Roman religion:

> The religion of the Greek might rise or sink, though never drop from beauty's sphere. But the Roman religion remains bound to the recognised needs and prescribed objects of the Roman State and the Roman household.

The question now before us is, What relation does the Christian ideal bear to the best hopes and aims of mankind as expressed in the religions and national literatures passed in review? A natural transition to this question would be effected by an examination of the history of Israel, to which Mr. Taylor devotes several interesting chapters. For that, however, our space is insufficient, and we turn at once to the more important subject. Under the general heading of "ideals" we should include (1) the view of the world taken by Christianity, (2) the type of individual character which it sets forth as the pattern to be imitated and the standard to be reached, (3) the goal of the human race contemplated, and (4) the prospects of a future life beyond the grave. Are the ideals of Christianity in this sense of the word different from those of India, Greece, and Rome, of Islam and Buddhism, in kind, or only in degree? Can Christianity fairly claim to furnish for mankind an absolute, authoritative, and final answer to the questions above suggested? and if so, on what are such claims to be based?

It is not a sufficient answer to fall back on the supernatural origin of Christianity. For this, with many, is the point at issue; and, whatever external evidences in favour

of Christianity as the absolute religion be forthcoming, it ought to be possible to present internal evidence such as would directly commend itself to a philosophical inquirer, without reliance upon historical evidence of a miraculous origin, such as would at once be questioned by a certain class of critics. We think Mr. Taylor's attitude is a wise one, when he says, "The origin of Christianity cannot be scientifically explained." If the resurrection of Christ be admitted, scientific "explanation" is of course excluded. But if Jesus did not rise again, the belief of the disciples, in spite of all their prejudices and prepossessions, that He did rise and the founding of a religion upon a delusion is still quite inexplicable. And in the present state of the controversy between believers and unbelievers concerning the origins of Christianity, it is better for our present purpose not to rely upon the, to us, evident proofs of supernatural intervention demanded by accepted facts of history. What is more important, however, is to urge that on any theory known to us Christianity still remains unexplained, unaccounted for. A letter of Professor Huxley in his recently published Life gives an almost grotesque account of the facts, showing to what straits an able writer may be reduced in defence of a *parti pris*. He contends that "the success of Christianity" had little or nothing "to do with the truth or falsehood of the story of Jesus," inasmuch as "the Church founded by Jesus has *not* made its way, has *not* permeated the world, but *did* become extinct in the country of its birth—as Nazarenism and Ebionism." On the contrary,

> the Church that did make its way and coalesced with the State in the fourth century had no more to do with the Church founded by Jesus than Ultramontanism has with Quakerism. It is Alexandrian Judaism and Neoplatonistic mystagogy, and as much of the old idolatry and demonology as could be got in under new or old names.[1]

[1] *Life*, Vol. II., pp. 228, 229. See also a letter to Professor Estlin Carpenter on p. 266: "I cannot see that the moral and religious ideal of early Christianity is new," etc.

Pending the acceptance of this extraordinary travesty of history by someone more competent to judge than a highly accomplished student of physical science bitterly opposed to theology of all kinds, we leave the question of Christian origins as thus far unsolved by unbelievers in the supernatural, and revert to the main question whether there is intrinsically in the Christian ideal that which distinguishes it *toto cælo* from the ideals of Greece and Rome and India, enough to stamp it as absolute and final for mankind.

That is of course a very large question, and we can only indicate the lines along which an answer is to be worked out. A religion which makes such lofty claims should be able to show that it is *actual*, meeting the actually existing needs of mankind, fitting the requirements of humanity as we know it, not constructed in the air for a being like Nietzsche's *Uebermensch*; that it is *universal*, as meeting the full nature of man in its length and breadth, its full scope, its contingent possibilities; that it is *inclusive* or *comprehensive*, taking up into itself all that is highest and best in the ideals of other religions and past ages; and that it is *final*, in the sense that its precepts contemplate all that man can attain, now and for ever. These are high claims. They never can be demonstrated as facts in science or propositions in Euclid are demonstrated. But the evidence in favour of them is cumulative, and it is steadily growing. The interest of tracing it out in detail forms a large part of the attractiveness of Mr. Taylor's book; though, as we have said, he does not write as an apologist for Christianity.

A part of the proof of the above very comprehensive theses would be found in the way in which the Christian ideal is presented. It is given by God, not discovered by man. Here lies one main distinction between Hebraism and Hellenism, and Christianity is true to the spirit of Israel, out of which "according to the flesh" it took its rise. And it is given, not in the form of a philosophical system, or an ethical code, or a bold prophecy or forecast of the future, but in the form of a Life. "That which we have seen and heard and our hands handled concerning the Word of life,"

says St. John, is the substance of the apostolic message. The very difficulty of presenting Christianity systematically is part of a proof of its universal adaptability. Mr. Osborn Taylor puts this well when he says :

> Christianity was not a philosophy, not a doctrine, nor a number of doctrines or ethical or religious principles. It was Christ; it was a life—a life which under the stress of exigency and trial constantly acted true to the highest motive, and expressed itself in correspondent utterances, beyond the application and guidance of which no life has passed. Besides this human life, so representative of all human life, there were mysterious suggestions of the divine. The fuller recognition of Christ's nature came to His followers only when He walked no more among them. But from the time when they first followed Him their minds were never free from the vague, questioning thought that the Master was more than man. Likewise, all who look into Christ's life, following with as much discrimination as they will the records of it, must recognise the fact that even while He lived His personality suggested divinity. And yet more. In the consciousness of Christ Himself, and as He always sought to make clear to His disciples, His human life, with its whisperings of the divine, was but a fragment. It was led among untoward conditions of sin, by them hemmed in from its full, joyful expansion in beneficence; and it looked forward to a mortal ending, which should be transition to eternal life. The life of Christ on earth carried foreshadowing experiences of eternity.

But if we consider rather the scope of that which Christ promised to men and, as we believe, had come to earth to obtain for them, the universality and absoluteness of the Christian ideal are made very plain. Put it thus,—for the individual, "eternal life," realised in the knowledge of the true God in Christ, in love to God and love to man; for the race, the realisation on earth of the kingdom of God. Let any impartial reader compare these descriptions (as expounded in the New Testament) of what man should set before him as a standard and may hope for the race in the future with any "ancient ideals" he chooses to adduce as the best and most permanent reached among the nations at

large, and he will see how comprehensive, permanent, and final is the Christian ideal. The mind of man cannot go beyond the idea of a spiritual kingdom, in which personal relations shall be perfected under the rule of a God of infinite wisdom, power, and love. Nor can a higher idea of such personal relations be presented than one in which all mankind may partake, each finding the fulfilment of his own nature and his relation to others in obedience to a law of righteous love and loving righteousness; but not a law imposed from without, rather a principle of life accepted from within as the highest standard for the individual, the family, the Church, the State, and the world.

One section of this widely ramifying subject would be concerned with the new type of individual character introduced by Christianity. In part this has been realised, and the effect may be shown in historical surveys such as those of Uhlhorn and Schmidt. In part it still remains an ideal, but none the less has proved very potent in leading men along paths which they have not yet traversed as far as the goal.

"No dispassionate student of history," says Professor W. Knight, "can doubt that the incoming of the Christian ethic has resulted in the formation of a new type of character and conduct, which may be literally described as 'a new heaven in a new earth.' . . . The Christian virtues of constancy, patience, tenderness, and devotion between the sexes have given rise to altogether new phases of character—the trust of the child, the devotion of the mother, the self-sacrifice of the sister for the brother, the toil of the father for his son, and of the son at times for his parents. All this has been the product of a new process of evolution within the Christian brotherhood, but it was not evolved out of the antecedent ethic of the world." [1]

To show this in detail, and how it has sprung partly from the idea of God revealed by Jesus, the Father as seen in the Son; partly from new ideas of man due to Him, man seen in his elder Brother; partly from the new value given to

[1] *The Christian Ethic*, Preface, pp. xii, xiii.

life by the revelation of immortality; partly from the new views of the race which the germinal teaching of Jesus implanted and left to fructify,—all this does not come within the scope of this article. The little volume by Professor Knight from which we have just quoted and Dr. Newman Smyth's *Christian Ethics* are but specimens of modern works in which these thoughts may be found more fully developed. But any account of the novelty or originality of the Christian type of character must be accompanied by illustrations of the extent to which it was not new, but took up into itself what was best in Jew, Greek, and Roman. No ideal can claim to be adequate, universal, and final which does not prove itself to be "heir of all the ages," as well as parent of the years to come. Of the Christian ideal it may well be said that "its secret affinity with everything good and true beyond itself is only a sign of its width of sympathy and its world-embracing character, while it may also be evidence of its univeral destiny."

So largely is this the case to-day, that the objection most frequently made is that the ideal of Christianity is too good to be true, "too high for sinful man below the sky," utopian, impracticable. It is no sufficient answer to say that systems of ethics are supposed to exhibit a lofty standard, that none but the loftiest can meet the requirements of the case. That may be true. But Christianity is no "system of ethics"; it is a religion, which provides a moral dynamic for the attainment of the standard it sets up. And whether the motive power be studied in its perfection as exhibited in the pages of the New Testament, or in that limited extent to which it has been actually displayed on the field of history, it would not be difficult to show that Christianity surpasses Stoicism and all the loftiest "ancient ideals" in the moral impulse it imparts and the sustaining moral and spiritual power which it maintains in all those who subject themselves to its benign sway. The motive power of Christianity does not lie simply in the power of lofty truth and inspiring example, though both these are present in the teaching and life of Christ in their most influential forms. Here it is that

writers like Professor Huxley, who examine religious truth from without, fail to appreciate the point at issue. No account of the "success of Christianity" can be adequate which simply compares what he calls the "Nazarenism" of Jesus with the Christian creed of the fourth century. It is the old story of Gibbon's "Five Causes" over again. The new moral energy which enabled Christianity in so short a time to conquer the known world was due to the operation of the Spirit whom Christ promised, who is Himself the giver of a religious force, which no analysis of a creed, or comparison of ethical codes, or study of political and social conditions, can explain. "The words that I have spoken unto you," said our Lord, are "spirit and are life." And their self-fulfilling power could only be shown when His work was done, His mission understood, and His salvation enjoyed in the experience of His followers, who if asked what "ideal" they were trying to realise, could only cry, "The love of Christ constraineth us."

There is but one drawback in studies such as we have been describing, one weak place in the arguments we have been sketching. It is to be found in the wide and terrible chasm between the ideal and the actual in Christendom. Enough has been attained in the course of the centuries to prove the practical as well as the theoretical power of Christian truth. Every day, amidst the most ordinary and commonplace scenes, are to be found examples of the transforming power of Christianity quite as striking in their way as the cloistered virtues of saints or the triumphant endurance of martyrs. But so much remains to be done, even in the Church of Christ, before His ideal of it can be realised, that it seems sometimes, as Max Müller expressed it, as if we were living two thousand years before Christ, instead of two thousand after Him.

"The good Lord Jesus has had His day."
Had? Has it come? It has only dawned. It will come by-and-by.
Oh, how could I serve in the wards if the Hope of the world were a lie?

There need be no fear concerning the coming of that Day, nor even transient doubt. But that which more than anything else causes doubt and fear, and that which delays the coming of the Golden Day, is the unfaithfulness of a large part of the Church to its own standard of duty, a feebleness of faith, a spiritual lethargy, a laxity of principle and deficiency of moral earnestness, which does not allow "the Christian ideal" an opportunity of shining forth in its beauty and splendour. The Church is not straitened in its Lord or its privileges, in its high hopes or its great destinies. It is straitened in itself. And a fresh study of the Christian ideal, in comparison with the best that the world outside Christ can produce, prompts anew the sigh for increased capacity to receive and use what God in Christ has so bountifully provided. "I will run the way of Thy commandments, when Thou shalt enlarge my heart."

W. T. DAVISON.

HUXLEY'S LIFE AND WORK.

Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley. By his Son, LEONARD HUXLEY. In Two Volumes. Royal 8vo. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1900.)

THESE handsome volumes form a fitting memorial of the life and work of a distinguished man, and a worthy tribute from a son to a father. Mr. Leonard Huxley has done his work well, with great tact, with much ability, and with unerring taste. For the most part the subject of the biography is allowed to depict himself. Happily his letters are abundant, and they record the aims, hopes, fears, endeavours, and work of the writer as these were evolved from day to day. We are permitted to share the fleeting feelings of the hour, and become greatly interested in the man and the worker. Those who knew Huxley only from his scientific work, and the much wider circle who knew him only as the fierce and unsparing controversialist, will form a new conception of the man from the picture of him in his more human aspects as set set forth in the pages of this biography. We are allowed to see him in the graciousness of his family life, in the sacredness and loyalty of his friendships, in the persistence and fervour of his work, in the awfulness of sorrow, and in the gladness of hope fulfilled and of success well earned.

He was without doubt one of the strongest men of his generation, as he was one of those who bulked most largely in the public eye. That he should interest and attract his countrymen and should greatly influence them was the inevitable result of his character and qualities. He was a man of commanding ability and of indefatigable industry, who had made himself master of his own field of science,

and who made incursions, more or less successful, into other fields of learning. Of swift and keen intuitions, but with the patience to submit his flashes of intuition to the ordeal of patient inquiry and verification, he had trained himself to habits of exposition which made his written style a marvellous instrument for the adequate expression of his thought and meaning. A man of keen and intense feeling and of deep and wide emotion, he was unable to keep himself out of his writings, and a great part of their fascination and of their power lie in the personal element. He could love with devotion; he was also a good hater. Let us also say that he was a lover of truth, and that a regard to veracity was one of his supreme characteristics. We desire to say this with all frankness, indeed to lay great stress on his many excellences, because we are of opinion that his influence on his generation was not altogether for good, and because we believe that his attitude towards many questions, and his opinions on philosophical and theological questions, if universally held would deprive mankind of the wealth of spiritual and ethical experience which has heretofore been the greatest and most valuable of human characteristics. Accept his agnosticism and the reasons he gave for holding it, and what worlds are away. We may admire his character, accept his guidance in scientific work, and yet think him an unsafe guide in philosophy and theology. We may wonder at the greatness of his work, and reverence him as a man who played a great part in the history of human endeavour; we may take him as an admirable and worthy example of English manhood; and yet feel how much might be added to his greatness, if he had not refused that aid which has raised so many in every generation to heights of impassioned goodness of which we find but little trace in these pages.

Huxley lived a full, strenuous, and in some respects a fruitful life. The biography enables us to trace that life from point to point. The opening chapters afford us a glimpse of his parents and of his education, which seems to have been of a very unsystematic and desultory sort. He says he

inherited from his father that glorious firmness which one's enemies call obstinacy, and from his mother a certain rapidity of thought which he thus describes :

Her most distinguishing characteristic was rapidity of thought. If one ventured to suggest that she had not taken much time to arrive at any conclusion, she would say, "I cannot help it; things flash across me." That peculiarity has been passed on to me in full strength; it has often stood me in good stead; it has sometimes played me sad tricks, and it has always been a danger. But, after all, if my time were to come over again, there is nothing I would less willingly part with than my inheritance of mother-wit.[1]

From his earliest youth he was interested in the how and the why of things; but as for anything that could be called education it was conspicuous by its absence. He was really self-trained. One of the strongest influences of his youth was that of Carlyle. So strong was that influence that it fired him to undertake the arduous task of mastering the German language. He early began

to teach himself German, an undertaking more momentous in its consequences than the boy dreamed of. The knowledge of German thus early acquired was soon of the utmost service in making him acquainted with the advance of biological investigation on the continent at a time when few indeed among English men of science were able to follow it at first hand, and turn the light of the newest theories upon their own researches.

It is therefore peculiarly interesting to note the cause which determined the young Huxley to take up the study of so little read a language. I have more than once heard him say that this was one half of the debt he owed to Carlyle, the other half being an intense hatred of shams of every sort and kind. The translations from the German, the constant references to German literature and philosophy, fired him to try the vast original from which these specimens were quarried, for the sake partly of the literature, but still more of the philosophy.[2]

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[1] Vol. I., pp. 3, 4. [2] Pp. 8, 9.

He began the study of German in his fifteenth year. The influence of Carlyle proved to be one that abode with him all his life.

He drifted into medical studies, partly from family connexions, and partly because no other opening to a career was apparent to him. His great desire was to be a mechanical engineer.

> The only part of my professional course which really and deeply interested me was physiology, which is the mechanical engineering of living machines; and, notwithstanding that natural science has been my proper business, I am afraid there is very little of the genuine naturalist in me. I never collected anything, and species work was always a burden to me; what I cared for was the architectural and engineering part of the business, the working out of the wonderful unity of plan in the thousands and thousands of diverse living constructions and the modifications of similar apparatuses to serve diverse ends.[1]

This is a characteristic self-revelation, and serves to throw light on the strength of his work, and also on its weakness. It reveals a belief in mechanism, and a fondness for it, which led him ever to seek a mechanical explanation where it was clearly inadequate. This will appear more clearly in the sequel.

Acting as assistant to an East End doctor enabled him to gain some experience of the very poor and their ways, it created in him a sympathy with them which never left him, and led him to devise means for their education in the laws of health and well-being. This social sympathy with the poor and the desire to help them is one of the noblest features of his character. It comes out in many ways, and it led him to take much trouble to make known to working men what he himself had learned as to the laws of healthy living and the rules of good conduct.

After he had so far completed his course as a medical man and had taken his degree, the question of a living

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[1] Vol. I., p. 7.

pressed on him. The offer of a commission as a medical man in the navy came, and was eagerly accepted. Soon he was appointed to the *Rattlesnake*, and went with her to investigate the phenomena of the Great Barrier Reef, Torres Straits, and New Guinea. In an eloquent passage Virchow points out the great advantage to Huxley of this appointment, and the use he made of his opportunity. Like Hooker and Darwin, Huxley was cast on his own resources, and brought face to face with the great problems of nature at first hand. These three of the foremost men of science of the last half-century owed a great deal to their time of service on the sea; but, then, they were men of self-reliance and of great and restless intelligence. The results of his scientific activity in these years are now collected in the first two volumes of his *Scientific Memoirs*, and the first publication of them gave him a high place among his scientific contemporaries. Men of science had warmly welcomed him, and highly valued his work. He writes his sister that

> Owen, Forbes, Bell, and Sharpey (the doctor will tell you of what weight these names are) are all members of the committee which disposes of the money, and are all strongly in favour of my "valuable researches" being published by the Society.

In the same letter he depicts himself, and reveals how he had come to a consciousness of his own powers and had already chosen what kind of life he had resolved to live.

> I have never asked, and I never will ask, any man for his help from mere motives of friendship. If any man thinks that I am capable of forwarding the great cause in ever so small a way, let him just give me a helping hand and I will thank him, but if not, he is doing both himself and me harm in offering it, and if it should be necessary for me to find public expression to my thoughts on any matter, I have clearly made up my mind to do so, without allowing myself to be influenced by hope of gain or weight of authority.[1]

[1] Vol. I., p. 63.

He had his time of anxiety before a suitable sphere of work was found; he had also his disappointments; but he did not need to wait long, and once started he continued on a course of strenuous work, which went on as long as life and strength lasted. A most strenuous life it was, incessant activity and wide interests leading him to incursions into almost all fields of human interests—into poetry, literature, philosophy, and theology. In this respect he was a contrast to his great contemporary Darwin, who mournfully complains of his lack of interest in anything but science.

It brings the great worker nearer to common humanity to read the beautiful story of his courtship and marriage. He met the lady in Australia, and they were speedily engaged. A long engagement of eight years followed, while he was fighting the battle of life and winning for himself a place and position in which they might live in comfort. It was a happy marriage. What depths of tenderness and sympathy were in the heart of this fierce fighting man we discover as we watch his conduct as a husband and a father. Incidentally he describes himself as

> a man who has well-nigh reached his threescore years and ten, and has graduated in all the faculties of human relationships; who has taken his share in all the deep joys and deeper anxieties which cling about them; who has felt the burden of young lives entrusted to his care, and has stood alone with his dead before the abyss of the eternal—has never had a thought beyond negative criticism. [This I venture to count an improbable suggestion.] It seems to me incredible that such a one can have done his day's work, always with a light heart, with no sense of responsibility, no terror of that which may appear when the factitious veil of Isis—the thick web of fiction which man has woven round nature—is stripped off.[1]

For years he laboured to give himself a complete training in the sciences he had to teach. How great and thorough was his training he enables us to see in the following

[1] Vol. II., p. 301.

quotation in his Journal, written in the strain of intense feeling. He is waiting the birth of his first-born:

December 31, 1856. . . . 1856-7-8 must still be "Lehrjahre" to complete training in principles of Histology, Morphology, Physiology, Zoology, and Geology by *Monographic Work* in each Department. 1860 will then see me well grounded and ready for any special pursuits in either of these branches.

It is impossible to map out beforehand how this must be done. I must seize opportunities as they come, at the risk of the reputation of desultoriness.

In 1860 I may fairly look forward to fifteen or twenty years of "Meisterjahre," and with the comprehensive views my training will have given me, I think it will be possible in that time to give a new and healthier direction to all Biological Science.

To smite all humbugs, however big; to give a nobler tone to science; to set an example of abstinence from petty personal controversies, and for toleration for everything but lying; to be indifferent as to whether the work is recognised as mine or not, so long as it is done:—are these my aims?[1]

Noble aims certainly; and if they were not always remembered by him, it was a great thing to think them in the silence and solitude of that anxious time.

The year 1860 was to give a new direction to Huxley's activities. When he wrote the entry in his Journal which we have just quoted, he little thought that a great deal of his thought and time would be occupied in popularising, illustrating, and defending the theory of Darwin. He seemed to grasp the main outline of the theory at once; and though there were difficulties connected with the proof of it which to him were never overcome, he accepted the theory at once as a working hypothesis. He early pointed out "that the logical foundation of the theory was insecure so long as selective breeding had not produced varieties which were more or less infertile"; and he adds, "that insecurity remains up to the present time."

Reading the biography diligently, and following his course from year to year, we are impressed with the

[1] Vol. I., p. 151.

magnitude of his work, with the immense variety of the subjects which interested him, and with the incessant toil he undertook. He was never idle. Text-books flowed from his pen, most of which are text-books of authority still; contributions to learned societies of a highly technical kind, articles in magazines, along with the work of teaching; and all this was done under pressure, and under the disadvantage of frequent illnesses and of chronic ill-health. His "Meisterjahre" was even more fruitful than he had hoped for.

The impression made on the reader as he peruses the pages of this worthy book grows as he reads. Huxley set himself to promote the increase of natural knowledge, and he succeeded; he strove to forward the application of scientific methods to all the problems of life and nature, and he was largely successful; he believed that there was no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and action, and veracity of thought and action was his characteristic. While we gladly recognise his greatness, and rejoice in the honesty and power with which he set forth his convictions, we may be allowed to say that, in his zeal for what seemed to him to be truth, and in the eagerness of his opposition to what he called make-believe, he threw away some of the most assured convictions of mankind, and disregarded the facts of human experience over a wide circle of life. He fought grandly for intellectual freedom, for the right to follow whither the facts seemed to lead; yet the love of freedom seemed sometimes to lead him to neglect other facts and the way which they seemed to point out to men.

The appearance of the Darwinian theory and the value it seemed to him to have as a working hypothesis had a great effect on his thinking. It hardened him in various ways, it led him to lay greater stress than ever on the mechanical side of things, and for a time he was so busily engaged in the fierce controversies of the time that he seemed to forget all else. He was the advocate, the populariser of Darwinism, and the speedy acceptance of the theory of evolution

was largely due to him. But he had to pay a price for it. For nearly twenty years his activity as the advocate of Darwinism continued, and not till afterwards do we find the other side of his manifold nature coming to the front.

As an illustration of the influence of Darwinism on his thought we may look at his descriptions of "life" before and after the publication of *The Origin of Species*. Writing in 1854 on the Educational Value of the Natural History Science he says:

> What is the cause of the wonderful difference between the dead particles and the living particles of matter appearing in other respects identical?—the difference to which we give the name of life? I, for one, cannot tell you. It may be that by-and-by philosophers will discover some higher laws of which the facts of life are particular cases,—very possibly they will find out some bond between physico-chemical phenomena on the one hand and vital phenomena on the other. At present, however, we assuredly know of none; and I think we shall exercise a wise humility in confessing that for us at least . . . this spontaneity of action . . . which constitutes so vast and plain a distinction between living bodies and those which do not live is an ultimate fact; indicating, as such, the existence of a broad line of demarcation between the subject-matter of biological and that of all other sciences.[1]

This was written in his pre-Darwinian days. But when biologists were led to accept the doctrine of the continuity of life, and of the doctrine of descent, they came to hold also that all living creatures were identical in structure. Huxley felt the full force of this new view. When in 1868 he had occasion to speak of life, and of the relation of the phenomena of life to the phenomena of inanimate things, he did not speak of the difference between them as an ultimate fact. In the well known and oft-quoted discourse on the Physical Basis of Life he says:

> If the properties of water may be properly said to result from the nature and disposition of its component molecules, I

[1] Quoted in Brooks, *The Foundations of Zoology*, p. 36.

can find no intelligible ground for refusing to say that the properties of protoplasm result from the nature and disposition of its molecules.

There is a difference in the two statements. In the one life is an ultimate fact; in the other it is a property of protoplasm. In the first flush of the victory won by the new view, and the grasp it seemed to give him of the unity and continuity of life, and of the identity of the basis of all life, he went on to speak of vitality as a term which had no deeper meaning than aquosity had. It was the resultant of molecular action. The parallelism between aquosity and vitality is far from complete. Whatever aquosity may be in itself, we can by doing work on them unite the oxygen and hydrogen, and water is the result. We can also reverse the process, and resolve the water back again into the gases of which it was composed. But life comes only from life, it lies beyond our power to make a living being, though it is possible to kill a living being and dissolve its body into its elements. It is not possible for us to gain any adequate conception of life by considering its physical basis alone. The study of protoplasm, however minute, extensive, and accurate it may be, leaves us only at the threshold of the study of life. For life is purpose, it is adaptation to the environment, it is activity, it is fitness; and the study of protoplasm and its properties does not lead us one step towards that purposiveness which is of the very essence of the conception of life. At other times and in other places Huxley himself laid great stress on life as an activity, and set forth in his own inimitable way the phenomena of growth, and the power of life to assimilate alien matter and to make it part of itself. To look on intussusception as merely a property of protoplasm adds no clearness to our thought. In the Prolegomena to his Romanes Lecture he lays great stress on the power of man to intervene in nature; for he says of a garden, "the state of nature was brought to an end, so far as a small patch of soil is concerned, by the intervention of man."

Of the intervention of man and its full meaning we shall

speak later on ; meanwhile we are content to point out that the activity of life cannot be described in language which may be quite appropriate in a description of physical and chemical phenomena. To describe life and its processes we need a new set of conceptions, for we have phenomena which are absent from the physical and chemical world. We do not leave physics and chemistry altogether behind. Gravitation abides, and living bodies are ponderable. So also the physical and chemical bodies remain, and in the living body they act according to their nature and properties. But life counts for something in the economy of the world. It acts, it is in interaction with the world, it reacts against the environment, it grows, and, along with many other properties, life presents new phenomena, which must be recognised as new and treated accordingly. To represent life as a property may lead to an apparent simplification of the great problem which biology has in hand, but the simplification is only apparent. Biology has become in many hands too much a matter of the scalpel and of the laboratory ; but when a body is in the dissecting-room, the characteristic marks of life have departed.

We do not say that Huxley neglected the study of living things in their habit as they lived. But in his great interest in the mechanical side of life he was tempted to generalise, and to make his problem simpler than it is in nature. When he is in that mood, he tends to lay stress on the passive side of life, to look at it merely as a resultant of something else, of something more easily grasped, and more amenable to the demands of formulæ. Hence the statement as to the parallelism between aquosity and vitality. There is a sore temptation to a speculative mind to reduce phenomena to the simplest terms and to make the conceptions which are more or less adequate to the expression of simpler phenomena serve for the expression of phenomena more complex. We like to put a physical problem into a shape to which we may apply our mathematics, and when we have done so the physical characteristics of the problem have vanished. Chemistry in its relation to physics might

give us another illustration of the same fact. A similar observation might be made regarding the relation of life towards physics and chemistry.

We may talk of the conservation of energy as learnedly as we please; we may demonstrate that the energy of a living body is only the sum of the energies of the matter of which it is composed; we may prove that the energy of the living body is altogether due to the food and air it draws from the environment; and when we have completed the demonstration we are still confronted with the fact that life is something and does something not otherwise accomplished in the wide world. It creates no new power, but it disposes the powers already there to new issues. It fixes the matter we know physically in new and more complex combination; it holds these together while it needs them; it replaces and restores those which have done their work, by others which it raises to the same level, and they occupy the place of others, and the stream of life goes on. It has also the power of fashioning other beings after its likeness. All this is commonplace; but commonplace though it be, it places a barrier against the parallelism drawn between aquosity and vitality. Happily when naturalists forget their theory of evolution, and their endeavour to obtain a working formula which will cover the whole field of knowledge, and when they describe the nature, character, habits, and activities of living things, they cannot help showing to us that life has a meaning peculiar to itself, a meaning not to be expressed in terms of physics and chemistry. They do not speak then of life as a property of protoplasm, nor as passive, nor as an eddy in a stream of dead matter and mechanical energy; but, as Huxley himself does, they speak of life as a garden. The energy of a living body may be calculated in foot-pounds; but the energy is localised in living bodies, it is directed by a localised living body, and it has been so directed as to produce other material bodies not to be found in mere physical nature. As Professor Brooks says, "the distinction between the works of non-vital nature and those of life is both useful and justifiable."

The view we take of life is important and has important consequences beyond the sphere of biology strictly so-called. According as we view life as a resultant, or as an active something which can do work, so very likely will be our view of psychology, of ethics, and of religion. For the doctrine of the passivity of life, or the view that it is a property of protoplasm, tends to make the man who holds this view look at human life not as self-guided and self-determinative, but as a resultant, as determined, and as a product merely. In the essay on Science and Morals Huxley says :

I understand the main tenet of materialism to be that there is nothing in the universe but matter and force; and that all the phenomena of nature are explicable by deduction from the properties assignable to these two primitive factors. That great champion of materialism whom Mr. Lilly appears to consider to be an authority in physical science, Dr. Büchner, embodies this article of faith on his title-page. Kraft und Stoff —force and matter—are paraded as the Alpha and Omega of existence. This I apprehend is the fundamental article of the faith materialistic; and whosoever does not hold it is condemned by the more zealous of the persuasion (as I have some reason to know) to the Inferno appointed for fools or hypocrites. But all this I heartily disbelieve; and at the risk of being charged with wearisome repetition of an old story, I will briefly give my reason for persisting in my infidelity. In the first place, as I have already hinted, it seems to me pretty plain that there is a third thing in the universe, to wit, consciousness, which in the hardness of my head or heart I cannot see to be matter, or force, or any conceivable modification of either, however intimately the manifestation of the phenomena of consciousness may be connected with the phenomena known as matter and force.[1]

So far well; he has avoided materialism, and appears as one who finds something in the world beyond matter and force. We are glad, but perhaps we are premature in our

[1] *Evolution and Ethics*, pp. 129, 130.

gladness. As we read further we find him saying of Mr. Lilly:

Unless I misunderstood him—and I have taken pains not to misunderstand him—he puts me down as a materialist; firstly, because I have said that consciousness is a function of the brain; and, secondly, because I hold by determinism. With regard to the first point, I am not aware that there is anyone who doubts that in the proper physiological sense of the word function, consciousness, in certain forms at any rate, is a cerebral function. In physiology we call function that effect, or series of effects, which results from the activity of the organ. Thus it is the function of muscle to give rise to motion; and the muscle gives rise to motion when the nerve which supplies it is stimulated. If one of the nerve-bundles in a man's arm is laid bare and a stimulus is applied to certain of the nervous filaments, the result will be production of motion in that arm. If others are stimulated, the result will be the production of the state of consciousness called pain. Now if I trace these last nerve-filaments, I find them to be ultimately connected with part of the substance of the brain, just as the others turn out to be connected with muscular substance. If the production of motion in the one case is properly said to be the function of the muscular substance, why is the production of a state of consciousness in the other case not to be called a function of the cerebral substance.[1]

The answer is easy. The physical changes in the organism is a closed system. That a movement in a nerve should give rise to a state of feeling is a fact, and we must acknowledge it to be a fact, account for it as we may. But to call consciousness a cerebral function serves only to mislead us, and to make us think we know when we do not know. We might as well call the movement of the arm a function of consciousness. Huxley says in the paragraph we have quoted above: "If one of the nerve-bundles in a man's arm is laid bare and a stimulus is applied to certain of the nervous filaments, the result will be the production of motion in that arm." But the motion of the arm can be

[1] *Evolution and Ethics*, pp. 135, 136.

produced without laying bare the nerve-muscle. I will to move my arm, and it moves. Are we to call the movement of the arm a function of consciousness? It is possible also to produce in us the feeling we call pain; but that does not warrant us in calling a state of consciousness a function of the cerebral substance. From the point of view of the conservation of energy consciousness is something added to the physical system, something over and above the series of changes which an organism passes through. So much is this the case that many, of whom Huxley is not one, believe that volition does not count for anything in he system of the world. They stoutly maintain that man can originate nothing, and can change nothing. We do not deal with such at the present time. Feelings, thoughts, volitions are real; we experience them, and they count for something in the world; but they are quite unaccountable on any system which makes consciousness to be a mere function of the cerebral substance. Each change in the cerebral substance is accounted for by the changes which have gone before in that substance, and every change in like manner accounts for those which follow. From that point of view consciousness is altogether inexplicable. You may trace as many parallels and correspondences between mind and brain as you please, but the mystery is not explained. Why should there be this mysterious surplus of consciousness with all these wonderful contents? Here is something added to the chain of physical changes, something as it were interpolated, something which does not add to the energies at work, but still guides them to unexpected results.

Huxley does scanty justice to the wonderful phenomena with which he deals. He speaks of consciousness as a third something in the world, distinct from matter and force. Well, it is more wonderful than that which he describes. At the utmost he speaks of consciousness as the sum of a series of states of consciousness. It is more; there is not only a series of states of consciousness, there is a consciousness of states. The school with which Huxley has the

closest affinity prefers always to speak of a series of states of consciousness. They can handle these more easily, they can more plausibly speak of mind as secondary and derivative, and as a product, when they limit their view to consciousness as a series of states. But there is also the awareness of the states, the reference of the states to a unitary centre, and to the activity which grasps them and make them one. Consciousness is thus spectator and actor, the play in the theatre and the spectators before whom it is played. It is a weakness of Huxley that he, in his frequent references to psychology, forgets one-half, and that the more significant half of the whole matter. This, that, and other experience are valueless, and meaningless, save as the experiences of one subject which holds them together in unity, refers them to itself, and grasps them as its own. The emphasis laid on this aspect of psychology is one of the services to philosophy rendered by Professor Green. The recognition of the activity of the subject, as the presupposition of the possibility of experience, gives the death-blow to materialism. But Huxley is, after all, only half-hearted in his repudiation of materialism, and he still reserves its claims and rights in his description of consciousness as a cerebral function.

It is in ethics that Huxley has made the widest departure from the views of those with whom he is usually in agreement. The Romanes Lecture came on these as a bolt from the blue. To those who had been working at the application of evolution to ethics, and who had seemed to themselves to have accomplished their task, this lecture was astounding.

"Let us understand, once for all," he says, with all the solemnity and earnestness of a Hebrew prophet, "that the ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it. It may seem an audacious proposal thus to pit the microcosm against the macrocosm and to set men to subdue nature to his higher ends; but I venture to think that the great intellectual difference between the ancient times with which we have been occupied and our day, lies in the solid foundation we have

acquired for the hope that such an enterprise may meet with a certain measure of success."[1]

In the passage preceding our quotation we have a beautiful and graphic description of the conduct of what he regards as ethically best:

In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside, or treading down, all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence.

Is Saul also among the prophets? Are these the words of Huxley? No wonder that they were welcomed in many quarters which usually did not agree with Huxley. Men who had spent their life and energy in trying to set forth the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount, and who had held up the example of Jesus Christ as the one pattern for men to copy, rejoiced, while they were amazed to read the words we have quoted. In whatever way he came to these conclusions they recognised them to be true and good. In the Life we read of the careful preparation he bestowed on the lecture, and of how stupid he thought the criticisms were, which were made by those who thought that if a man were part of the cosmic process he could not combat that process. In the Prolegomena he sought to meet that objection by a description of a garden. One sentence we quote because of its far-reaching significance: "Three or four years have elapsed since the state of nature to which I have referred, so far as a small patch of the soil is concerned, by the intervention of man." It appears, then, that nature is susceptible of intervention. It is a statement which has wide meanings, and may lead to many applications. It has bearings on many of the contentions of the man who said it, and is destructive of much of his destructive criticism.

[1] *Evolution and Ethics*, p. 83.

As to his ethical teaching we emphatically agree with it, though we would find agreement far from easy did we hold the view of the cosmic process which he held. But the cosmic process is not what he described it to be. The struggle for existence is not the only factor in nature, nor is natural selection the only rule which obtains in it. But that is too large a subject to be touched on here and now. The morality which Huxley sets forth so well is the transformation and perfecting of animal ethics. Fighting the cosmic process, if that be possible, began with the advent of fatherhood and motherhood, and grew wheresoever animals learned to act together for mutual help.

As to the attitude of Huxley towards religion, and particularly towards Christianity, we cannot speak without sadness. There is so much that is noble, grand, and admirable in the man and his work, that we feel sad when we think that he deliberately shut himself out from the help and strength which men have found in Christ. His ethical conclusions are distinctively Christian, and they have found unequalled expression in the Sermon on the Mount. If to fight the cosmic process is the supreme task of morality, surely no such help towards that end is to be found anywhere as is to be found in the teaching, the example, and in the inspiration of Jesus Christ. It seems to us that Huxley never gave the claims of Christianity a fair consideration. We have read his *Life and Letters* with great care, we have read most of his writings, and we do not find that he ever came into real contact with the Old Testament or with the New. No doubt he had read the Scriptures; he seems indeed to be well acquainted with them, and could quote them accurately. But that is quite consistent with what has already been said. Writing on the reception of the "Origin of Species," a paper written for the *Life of Darwin*, he says:

I was not brought into serious contact with the "Species" question until after 1850. At that time I had long done with the Pentateuchal cosmogony, which had been impressed upon my childish understanding as divine truth, with all the authority

of parents and instructors, and from which it had cost me many a struggle to get free.[1]

Having discovered, as he thought, that the Pentateuchal cosmogony was not a scientific account of the process of the making of a world as that process is set forth by science, he immediately came to the conclusion that the process described in the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis had no value of any kind. As the Germans say, he threw away the bath, but the child was in the bath. The ethical, poetical, and spiritual beauty of that wonderful chapter made no appeal to him. It was nothing to him that it grandly began thus: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Nor did it matter to him that the process of creation in its final outcome agreed with what science tells of the latest birth of time, the advent of man. The moral is twofold—one side directed towards Huxley, and one directed towards parents and instructors. These last ought to take care as to what they teach their children, and as to what they impress on them as divine truth. Many untenable propositions have been thus taught, and the result has been very sad. The young people find out how untenable these propositions are, and they fling them away, and along with them goes the creed by which their fathers really lived. The loss to Huxley was great.

Untenable propositions connected with the fringes of divine revelation came between him and the Bible. As he read the Scriptures he was ever looking for resemblances between them and the other religions of the world, he was on the scent for superstition, prejudice, imperfect morality; and the growing education of the Hebrew people was unobserved by him. Nor did he ever see what a problem is presented to the student of history by this Hebrew people. How did they come to their belief in the One God, Maker of heaven and earth, Upholder of everything that is; a righteous Ruler and Judge of the nations, who had His own

[1] *Life of Huxley*, Vol. I., p. 167.

purpose and His own way of working it out? The Hebrews began to believe in God, in the unity of the world, and in the oneness of man, when other peoples dwelt in isolated particularisms. Open before us are his *Essays upon Some Controverted Questions*, and as we turn over their pages we look in vain for some evidence that the real problem presented to the student ever dawned upon his mind. We have abundant matter dealing with "the Interpreters of Genesis and the Interpreters of Nature," with "Mr. Gladstone and Genesis," with "Science and Pseudo-science," with the "Value of Witness to the Miraculous," and with the "Gadarene Swine." But there is nothing to show that those features of the Scriptures which have made bad men good, selfish men unselfish, and transformed sinners into saints, ever attracted his attention. No! the Gadarene swine ever seem to come between Huxley and the essential truth of Scripture.

He delights to show the credulity of man, and to belittle the witness to the miraculous. We submit that he might have used his great powers to better purpose, if he had inquired, say, into the truth of the statement of Mr. Lecky:

> Christianity united with its distinctive teaching a pure and noble system of ethics. It produced more heroic actions and formed more upright men than any other creed. It transformed the character of multitudes, vivified the cold heart by new enthusiams, redeemed, regenerated, emancipated the most depraved of mankind.

If this witness is true—and it is not the witness of an apologist—might we not have expected something better from Professor Huxley than dissertations about the Gadarene swine? It was in him to do better, as witness his testimony to the influence of the Bible on the life of England, his eloquent recognition of the fact that for three centuries the Bible has been woven into the life of all that is best and noblest in English history, and his admission that the human race is not yet, possibly never may be, in a position to dispense with the Bible. But to him it was only a beautiful

fairy tale, interesting, and on the whole beneficial. There is in his writings no recognition of Christianity as a great factor in history; no examination of its claim to be a power able to save, regenerate, and bless men. This is a claim which may be examined by scientific methods, and subjected to scientific verification. After all that Huxley has written, this claim stands, and, we believe, it has been verified.

As to his agnosticism—well, we have left ourselves no space to deal with it. Only this we say: that his agnosticism subverts not only theology; it leaves him without any rational foundation for the natural knowledge on which he laid so much stress. If knowledge is possible, the principles on which its possibility rests lead to issues controverted by him. But on this we do not dwell. We know only in part, but we do know. Truth ever beckons us onward, and we are rewarded now and then by a vision of her gracious face. The clear, unclouded vision is for omniscience alone. Yet for us, too, there is the vision of the true, even though it be through a glass darkly. We are not absolutely ignorant, nor ignorant of Him in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge. We know that nature is intelligible, that there is reason at the heart of things, that what Heine calls "the terrible doctrine that God is dead" is not true, but a lie. We believe that God is the living God, that Christ liveth, worketh, saveth, and blesseth men to-day, and that all things, even the *Essays on Controverted Questions* by Professor Huxley, work together for good.

JAMES IVERACH.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF QUAKERISM.

1. *Quaker Strongholds.* By CAROLINE E. STEPHEN. (London : Kegan Paul & Co. Headley Brothers.)

2. *George Fox.* By THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L. (London : Methuen & Co.)

3. *The Friends : Who they Are and What they have Done.* By WILLIAM BECK. (London : Headley Brothers.)

4. *Manchester Conference of Friends, 1895.* Verbatim Report. (London : Headley Brothers.)

"IT is a pity, but the sect which has done most to make of philanthropy a dominant factor in modern life is hastening to an honoured grave." So ended an article on "The Attraction of Quakerism," which appeared in the *Spectator* of June 9, 1900. The next issue contained an able letter from the principal of the Dalton Hall, Manchester, pointing out that the writer of the article had fallen into a number of mistakes of fact—mistakes for which the editor at once offered a handsome apology. The correspondence appears to have aroused considerable interest beyond the confines of the little Quaker body, and the subject may perhaps deserve a fuller treatment than a weekly paper could afford to give it. Even were the Society of Friends nothing more than a picturesque and interesting survival of the spiritual vagaries resulting from the intense religious consciousness that followed the Reformation, the mere fact that it has a history of two

hundred and fifty years would claim for it respectful attention from the student of religion.

The popular idea that the Quakers are on the point of extinction arises, doubtless, mainly from the fact that they have nearly all abandoned peculiarities of dress. We cannot now recognise a Quaker by coat or bonnet. There are, indeed, those who say they can tell a "born" Quaker anywhere,—is it by a certain quietness of dress and demeanour, accompanied by repose in the eye and more than the average of strength and individuality in the face? —but these are brethren who know each other by the signs of an unconscious freemasonry. The "outsider" has no such advantage. For him the once familiar broad-brim is no more; the "troops of the shining ones," immortalised by Charles Lamb, are now but a memory of the past.

Statistics of Quakerism in Great Britain.

It is therefore with something of surprise that the ordinary person hears that for nearly forty years past the Quakers in Great Britain have held their own—and more.[1] Their numbers, it is true, are, absolutely, insignificant: at the end of 1899 they numbered only 17,153, in addition to about 8,000 habitual "attenders" of their meetings, who were not in membership. Relatively, however, the figures show a progressive increase, nearly equal to that of the general population. For more than the first half of this century, indeed, there was a continuous ebb tide in numbers—from close upon 20,000 in 1800 to the low-water mark of 13,755 in 1864. Since that time there has been a slow but continuous recovery. The following table shows the progress made since 1890,—the general population having at the same time increased from 32,766,805 to 36,024,438; this increase being at the rate of 9·6 per cent. for the nine

[1] From considerations of clearness and brevity I confine this study of Quakerism to Great Britain, leaving America, and even Ireland, out of sight.

years, or 1·058 per year. By "Quakers" is meant the number of actual members in each year.

Year.	Quakers, Great Britain.	Increase, per cent.
1890	15,836	
1891	16,102	1·7
1892	16,244	0·9
1893	16,369	0·8
1894	16,412	0·3
1895	16,476	0·4
1896	16,674	1·2
1897	16,854	1·1
1898	17,031	1·05
1899	17,153	0·7
In nine years		8·3

Some interesting questions arise from an analysis of the sources of gain and loss to the Society, as shown in the annexed table, which refers to 1899 only:

Gain of Members, 1899.		Loss of Members, 1899.	
By Birth	154	By Death	256
„ Admission	380	„ Withdrawal ...	145
„ Removal to Great Britain	30	„ Removal from Great Britain	41
		Net Increase	122
	564		564

The most striking feature of the above table is the contrast between births and deaths. While in the general population the births usually exceed the deaths by about 70 per cent., in the Society of Friends last year the losses

through death exceeded the gains through birth by 66 per cent. There are several explanations of this anomaly: the tendency to defer marriage; the relatively large number of people who now join the Society in adult life, adding to the death-rate without adding to the birth-rate; but, more important than either, the fact that the only "births" registered on the books of the Society are those where *both* the parents are members, and where in consequence the child becomes a member "by birthright." Now, the number of marriages between Friends and non-Friends considerably exceeds those of members one to another;[1] and the children of such "mixed marriages" do not count as members,—at least, until the "unbelieving" partner is "sanctified" by the other, and is received into the fold. The consequence of this fact on the statistics of the Society may be judged by the fact that whereas, at the beginning of this century, when "marrying out" was but little practised, about 500 members were added by birth every year, the number so received last year was only 154.

Such increase as there has been is due, it will be seen, entirely to the fact that the number of persons admitted to membership on application has largely exceeded the number of those leaving the Society by resignation and "dissociation." Some of the problems to which this fact gives rise will be considered later.

Has the Glory departed?

Leaving now the region of statistics, let us consider a more important question than any gain or loss of numbers. Does the surrender of the outward marks of Quakerism betoken a deeper change? Have the life and spirit of the

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[1] Members married during 1898 and 1899:

To other members	... ...	166, or 47 per cent.
To non-members	... ...	184, or 53 per cent.

(If *marriages* and not members married were stated, the earlier figure would be only 83 instead of 166.)

Society departed with the drab coats and bonnets? Is it as salt that has lost its savour, henceforth good for nothing?

In determining the answer to such questions, the factor of personal idiosyncrasy can hardly be eliminated. There are, no doubt, a few conservative Friends who, if questioned thus about the type of Quakerism now prevalent in this country, would feel themselves compelled to reply, sadly, in the affirmative. I do not pretend that all personal bias is absent from my own opinion; but I hope to be able to indicate some of the evidence that leads me to a different conclusion.

There are those who, in opposition to the class just mentioned, would cite, as evidence of persistent and growing life, the spread of home and foreign mission work in the Society,—a movement which, in its present form, is entirely the product of the last half-century, and which, in proportion to the size of the body, is a work of very considerable dimensions. This evidence, however, I must not lay stress on. For there is little to distinguish much of this work from that which is carried on by other religious bodies; and, however indicative it may be of religious life and earnestness, it might be set aside by objectors as having no direct relation to the inmost life and formative principle of Quakerism.

Nor would I seek the evidence we require in the fact that the Friends are still fully satisfied with their non-sacramentarian position.[1] While it might be urged that their continued rejection of the shadow is an indication that they possess the substance, it is not in any mere negation of the beliefs or practices of others that the signs of life should be looked for. I would seek them rather in that which is the most striking *differentia* of the Society of Friends—its

[1] Most readers will be aware that the Society of Friends from the first has dispensed with the outward rites of Baptism and the Supper, believing that Jesus Christ had no intention of establishing them as permanent aids to the Christian life. The Quaker position receives countenance from the conclusions of a modern school of critics of the New Testament, of whom Harnack is perhaps the most prominent.

congregational life and its method of conducting public worship. This is a direct consequence of its root principle, which is a profound belief in the present activity of the Holy Spirit in the heart of the individual and in the gathered Church.

The Quaker Method of Worship.

Everyone knows that the Friends have no professional ministry. Each of the 376 congregations reported last year in Great Britain "runs" itself, under the control (as is believed) of the Holy Spirit, without the aid of any paid or recognised pastor.[1] Everyone knows, too, that silence is a very general feature of Quaker worship. But it is not so generally known that there is much of vocal prayer and preaching found in the meetings of the Friends, and that this ministry is, at least to a large extent, of a type rarely found elsewhere. Three hundred and sixty-four persons (of whom 219 were men and 145 were women) were last year returned as "Recorded Ministers"; that is, as having been placed on the list of persons frequently engaged in helpful vocal ministry. Besides these an unknown number of other persons take part from time to time in the vocal service of the congregations, many of them to the spiritual help and comfort of their friends.

It is here the weakness and at the same time the strength of Quakerism are specially manifested. The theory of the Friends is that all their public worship is conducted, like that in the apostles' days at Corinth, under the immediate control and direction of the Spirit. Hence the "basis of silence," that there may be "liberty of prophesying" for anyone, man or woman, who is moved of the Spirit to offer words of prayer, praise, or exhortation. It will be no cause

[1] In a certain number of places paid mission-workers are now employed to build up congregations that have grown small or weak, or to establish new ones. But it is as teachers and workers, rather than as preachers, that they receive maintenance; in no case are they *expected* to preach in return for the support given.

for wonder that the Friends have to pay, sometimes dearly, for the liberty they enjoy. The wonder is rather that by fallible human beings such liberty should not be grossly abused, that it does not tend to mere disorder, that such a system (or want of system) can be worked at all to general edification. It must be confessed at once that much of the impromptu preaching of the Quaker meetings is sadly weak. In some congregations there is almost none; in others there is too much. There are cases in which self-willed and wrong-headed individuals insist on "easing their minds," even when the elders (officers whose duty it is to control and foster the ministry in the spiritual interests of the congregation) have privately urged them to forbear. Here and there you may be troubled with rambling, disconnected utterances, in which the speaker obviously mistakes the association of ideas or words between text and text for the operation of the Spirit on his mind. Now and then a person will enforce his own dogmatism with all the infallibility of ignorance.

But, when all weaknesses are freely admitted, there remains something in the Quaker mode of worship which many who have become accustomed to it feel to be quite unique and priceless, and which I for one have found to yield its own evidence, more impressive than any gained elsewhere, of the real and continued presence of that Spirit whose direct control the first Christians believed in and lived under. Disorder is very rare; in most congregations harmony prevails under the manifest power of God. When you have known, Sunday after Sunday, not only, amid the silence of all flesh,

> the Voice
> Like none beside, on earth or sea,

but also have found the simple words, spoken perhaps by those not personally known to you, "fall on the dry heart like rain"; when you have known the secrets of your own soul's spiritual needs and yearnings opened up, and directly met, by the words spoken,—then you can gratefully acknow-

ledge that the message is from a higher than human source, that God is in it of a truth. I speak from experience, and there are hundreds of Friends who would agree that, with due allowance for all drawbacks, such is the quality of much of the Quaker ministry to-day. In the light of this experience, which could only be verified by others at the cost of some perseverance in attending different Friends' meetings, I am wholly unable to agree with those who complain that "the glory has departed." This is the real test, and, in my judgment, the Society can stand it.

There is yet another. The Church meetings of the Society are held, in theory, under the same headship of Christ as the meetings for worship; and, though an order of business is preserved, and decorum maintained by a "clerk" who is at once president and secretary, no formal "resolutions" or "amendments" are put forward, and *no vote is ever taken.* Speakers express their views; others briefly concur or dissent; and the clerk's duty is "to gather the sense of the meeting." This he usually succeeds in doing to the satisfaction of all parties. In 1888 I was present throughout the discussion of a point of cardinal importance, on both sides of which feelings ran high, the question at issue being no less than the adoption of a Creed. The subject was debated a whole day long in a company of a thousand men and women, everyone of whom had an equal right to speak. Not one bitter or unkind word was uttered from first to last, and the clerk was able in the end to frame a minute which satisfied all present that he had expressed "the sense of the meeting"—the sense being that the creed should not be accepted. This was no exception, but happily a normal instance. Such repression of "the creature," such fundamental harmony, is strong evidence of life—the life of the Spirit.

The Ideal of Worship.

Turning back to the public worship of the Friends, we may hold it certain that if there were a real and general failure in it, a demand would have arisen for its super-

session. Intelligent men and women will not continue to maintain a unique system that works badly, even if it is financially economical. Now, it is certain that any proposal to alter the method of congregational worship in this country, in the direction of a paid pastorate and pre-arranged services, would meet with almost unanimous condemnation. I have recently been surprised at the vigour with which certain proposals in the direction of special training for ministers have been opposed by some of the most earnest and enlightened Friends, just on the ground that it would tend to set up a separate caste of preachers. There is, undoubtedly, a widespread consciousness of the weakness I have alluded to; but this has led, not to a desire to abandon the Quaker method, but to make its true spirit better understood and more worthily embodied in practice. A considerable part of the Yearly Meeting of 1899 was occupied with this subject; and as the outcome a document on "Worship and Ministry" was sent down to all congregations by order of the "Meeting on Ministry and Oversight." No apology, I think, is needed for making rather copious extracts from this address. It shows, in the language of to-day, what the Quaker ideal really is; perhaps also it expresses, not unworthily, the ideal of all true worship.

True worship is intensely active. It consists in offering ourselves to God,—body, mind, and soul,—for the doing of His will. We have a gift to bring to Him, and not only a grace to receive. If we have not individually brought this gift, we need seek no further for one great cause of weakness. . . . We realise that we have met with one another and with God, not as a matter of routine, nor for selfish enjoyment, but in order that the power of the Spirit may break forth to the awakening and conversion of souls, the refreshment and inspiration of disciples for the service of God, and the enrichment of their Christian character. These great purposes should be constantly ringing in our ears as we assemble. By our success in attaining them will our meetings be judged. It has been well said, "The Churches that convert most men, and best use the men they have converted, realise religion in the most efficient way."

In relation to the ministry, the same document speaks as follows:

We believe it is of the utmost importance at the present time to keep before our younger members the responsibility that our system of free ministry lays upon them for filling up the ranks and keeping the ministry in touch with the needs of the day. . . . It is not great powers of thought or of language, but experience of the things of God, that forms the chief condition of receiving a call to the ministry. . . . More important than the actual words used is the atmosphere the speaker brings with him, the evidence, which his hearers instinctively discern, that he is speaking of what he knows. We sympathise with those who are craving for a ministry that feeds their minds and souls, and who do not find such in their own meeting. There is among us a large and increasing number, whose inner conflict is with foes not only moral but intellectual, who need all the help that can be given by the wide vision and sympathetic insight of ministers who have thought deeply as well as felt deeply of the things of God. As [the minister] devotes every faculty to the service of Christ, his reading of the thoughts of the great teachers of every age, his contact with the passing events and vitalising ideas of the day, will become to him vocal with spiritual instruction, which he can use in ministry to others.

These passages will show, I trust, that the Quaker ideal of worship and ministry is still alive, and that it is held in no merely traditional manner. The reception which was accorded to the address from which they are taken, throughout the Society in this country, is an evidence of its timeliness.

Phases of Quakerism.

I have now shown reasons for believing that the Society of Friends is not dead nor dying. There are, however, certain striking differences between the Quakerism of to-day and that of its early and middle periods, which it is necessary to point out.

The Quakers of George Fox's day fully expected to bring over the great body of Christians to their view. Fox had

no idea, at least in his early ministry, of founding a new sect. What had been "opened" to him by the Spirit was for him the Truth, and he believed the "convincement" of all earnest seekers to be only a question of time. In the light of two centuries' experience, the Quakers of to-day can no longer maintain his cheerful faith. While they hold with earnest conviction that their conception of Christianity is much nearer to that of the first Christians than any to be found elsewhere, they have now sadly to acknowledge that the majority of Christian people do not seem to be ready for it. It is difficult to be a Quaker—it requires so much faith. As Mr. J. W. Graham wrote to the *Spectator* of June 16:

> Self-reliance is, as you say, attractive; but it is taxing also, and most people do not care to pay the tax. Think what it means to have no one to be relied upon to preach to you, no one to sing to you, no music in your worship, no æsthetic help in carved column or stained glass, no one to tell you what to believe, no creed to cling to, no sacrament to solemnise you, no clergyman to look after you in pastoral fashion. Every Friend must take a share in all these things for himself. And a Friend's inward exercise makes no less demand. Silence must not be to him a time of idle vacancy, but of communion, with no outward aid. The majority of men cannot enjoy this.

And so the Friends have made up their minds that it is only the minority that are likely to be drawn to them.

Already by the beginning of the eighteenth century the facts had made themselves felt. And, in consequence, the Society underwent a strange transformation. Instead of the fervent evangelism of earlier days, it withdrew into its own shell, and for four or five generations employed itself in seeing that its members duly maintained its "testimonies,"—not only those that concerned the weightier matters of the moral law, but those relating to speech and dress, and marriage with persons outside its limits. Individually, many of its members were actively engaged in various philanthropic causes; collectively, the Society was mainly occupied with itself. It is one of the perplexing problems of

religious history that a body which was founded on belief in the liberty of the Spirit should so soon have found itself in bondage to traditional observances.

About the middle of this century, partly under the influence of the evangelicalism that was spreading among the Churches of this country, these bonds began to be relaxed. At the same time something of the old fervour revived, and many Friends began to wonder whether after all they had a mission to humanity.

Quaker Missions.

The result was an uprising of missionary zeal, and of what the more conservative portion of the Society objected to as "creaturely activity." The new missionary fervour differed from that of the seventeenth century mainly in this —that it was concerned less with Quakerism as such than with "the gospel":[1] it thought mainly of saving the souls of men, and but little of making them Friends. If Quaker methods of worship proved inefficient towards this end, then they must give place to others.

To this new force, zealous, devoted, but (as it seemed to many) tending to sweep away everything that made the Society worth preserving as a separate organisation, we must undoubtedly trace the growth of home and foreign missions, and of the Adult School movement, which, whatever their ultimate influence may prove to be, have at least had this great advantage for the Society,—that they have provided a field for the religious energy of its most devoted members, who, if the limitations of former times had been maintained, would almost certainly have been driven beyond its borders. Their loss to the Society would have been almost fatal to its existence.

The foreign mission work of the Quakers dates only from about the year 1866. In that year the "Friends' Foreign Mission Association" was established, missionaries being

[1] The early Friends never drew such a distinction: for them Quakerism was the pure gospel of Christ, and there was no other.

sent to India, and in the following year to Madagascar. Last year (1899) the Association had 28 missionaries in India, 19 in Madagascar, 17 in Syria, 13 in China, and 2 in Ceylon,—79 in all; the greater number, though not all, of these being members of the Society. It administers funds amounting to about £20,000 annually, in addition to an almost equal sum subscribed during 1899 and 1900 for the help of victims of the famine in India.

The home mission work of the Society is conducted largely by local congregations and groups of Friends, and but little idea of its character or extent can be given. In most of the towns where any considerable congregation exists, and in not a few villages, Sunday evening mission meetings are held,—in some cases in addition to, in others in place of, the ordinary "meeting for worship." The method of conducting these mission services varies very much; but broadly it may be said that there is less silence and more prearrangement than in an ordinary meeting. Singing is general; in many cases there are periods of silence, when anyone who feels it right is at liberty to speak; but in others the service is almost undistinguishable from that which would be found under the auspices of other religious denominations.

In some places, notably at Birmingham, a mission membership has developed itself, quite apart from membership in the Society,—the cause of this being, clearly, that many persons appreciate the more "lively" mission services who cannot enjoy the quiet of a Quakers' meeting, and who show no inclination to pass on to the further stage.

The Adult Schools.

Many of the mission meetings are held in connexion with the Adult and Junior schools worked under the auspices of the Society, to provide an attractive religious meeting for the members and their families. These "schools," begun by Joseph Sturge of Birmingham about 1845, have had a remarkable development, and in some districts, notably in

Leicestershire, have spread far beyond the limits of the Society of Friends. They centre round a Sunday Bible-class, but many helpful agencies, like savings-funds and sick-clubs, are worked in connexion with them. It is a line of activity which has proved specially attractive to many Friends who desired to spend themselves in promoting the spiritual and moral interests of their neighbours, and of those who have been active in it a good many are "old-fashioned Friends" but little touched with the current "evangelicalism." The work is of great interest, and opens up remarkable possibilities in the brotherliness which is its leading feature; but considerations of space forbid my giving it more than a passing notice. Most of the schools which are conducted under the care of the Friends are bound together in the "Friends' First-day School Association," and last year had upon their books the names of about 28,000 adult members, and about 17,000 children and teachers. The greater part of these schools, though worked in the main by Friends, and usually held at or near their meeting-houses, are in no sense denominational in their character. The special religious views of the Society are as a rule but little pressed, and only a small percentage of the members of these classes attend the regular meetings for worship. In short, the work is done for its own sake, rather than as a feeder to the Church.

A Problem.

It will be seen that in the members of these schools, and in the attenders of mission meetings, the Society has quite an extensive *clientèle* of adherents, far more numerous indeed than its own members, who are directly under its influence but not in membership with it. Of late years much thought has been given to possible means of drawing these adherents closer. Some Friends would throw the door of membership widely open, and freely admit on application almost anyone who showed signs of a genuine Christian life; but the majority are far more cautious.

They would draw the line pretty tightly, and admit only such as, in addition to evidences of Christian life, show that they attend, and appreciate, the regular meetings for worship, with their silent worship and spontaneous ministry. And, indeed, the problem is a serious one; there is need for caution. It may be said with considerable truth that the ability to profit by a Quakers' meeting is the real test whether or not a person is a Quaker, or in the way of becoming one. To flood the Society with persons who, however truly Christian, do not understand its real nature, but who, if admitted under present arrangements, would not only have full rights as members themselves but *would transmit these rights to their children* (in cases where both parents became members), would almost inevitably lead to grave trouble in the future.

The Home Mission Committee.

This body was established by the Yearly Meeting of 1882, for the purpose of concentrated effort in the direction of reviving decaying congregations and establishing new ones, with liberty to offer financial support to mission workers who could satisfy the Committee that they had a real call to give themselves to the work. Strong opposition was offered by many conservative Friends at the time, on the ground that a paid pastorate was being set up, and for many years the work of the Committee provided a fruitful source of friction between those who believed that the very basis of the Society was being undermined, and those on the other hand who were just as firmly convinced that without such agencies as the Committee was employing the Society would inevitably die out. In 1893 the Yearly Meeting decided to put the whole organisation on a more representative basis, by having the Committee nominated by local "Quarterly Meetings" instead of by the Yearly Meeting itself. In this way the difference of opinion prevalent throughout the Society has since that time been represented on the Committee itself, whose work and methods have in

consequence been somewhat modified. About thirty-four mission-workers (of whom a fair number are women) are at present employed by the Committee, whose annual expenditure amounts to nearly £5,000.

Two Ideals of Mission Work.

The root of many difficulties appears to be that two different ideals of mission work are in competition with each other. For each there is much to be said. The first looks at the purpose for which a Christian Church exists, and is full of the Christlike passion for winning the souls of men into the kingdom of God. Without such a passion, it is felt that no Church worthy of the name can exist. In its presence sectarian differences fade into insignificance: all methods are right that are effective, so they be in harmony with the will of God. Hence the "adaptation" of methods of worship to the needs of the spiritually undeveloped; hence the "mission membership" for those who show no signs of being attracted to the regular Quaker meetings.

The second ideal looks rather to the purpose for which the Society of Friends exists. While the Society still believes its root principle to be identical with the simple and spiritual gospel of Jesus, and therefore to be intended for all mankind, it has abandoned the expectation of converting the world to its special applications of that principle. Hence, it is urged, the special mission of the Society is to a particular class of people,—to those, namely, who are already potential Quakers; whose longing is for the inward reality of personal contact with God, and to whom ceremonies are a hindrance and priestly intervention an impertinence. Those who hold this ideal question whether mission work of the ordinary type is not a misdirection of effort. Granted that it wins souls to Christ; but does it win those whom the Society was raised up to help? Does it not rather win a number who cannot be Quakers, while repelling those who could? It is urged that the true mission work of

the Society is to be done in its regular meetings: that, if these were full of power and life, they would find and capture the people who really need their help. On this view the problem what to do with our "mission members" is one that need never have arisen, had our methods been more wisely directed.

There is, it seems to me, much truth in both these ideals; but, as they lead in practice in opposite directions, it is hardly likely that complete harmony can be attained. I venture, however, to suggest that the Society may well be catholic enough to include them both; and to encourage its members to work along whichever line of service they feel themselves called to follow. Though the two methods appear antagonistic, it is clear that both are needed; and, if both are in the divine ordering, the difficulties they lead to are salutary, and will strengthen us as we find out how they can be met and overcome. Every Christian Church needs its evangelists; to discourage them is fatal to its very life. It cannot prosper on the conviction that its message is only for a few superior persons,—that it has nothing for "the common people," who heard the Master gladly. But if it is to reach "the unconverted," there must be the adaptation of means to ends; and those who feel that this is their line of service must not be "cribbed, cabined, and confined" by the rigid enforcement of a method of public worship which "the unconverted" will not, as a rule, attend. At the same time, others may be doing quite as truly the work to which they are called as Friends, in quieter and less numerically impressive ways,—in striving to make known the spiritual nature of Christ's religion; in helping to build up sterling and Christlike character in men and women who, if few in numbers, may yet become a leavening influence in the world around.

Doctrinal Position of the Society.

I have dealt at length with the difficulties connected with mission work, because it is in these practical directions

rather than in matters of speculative theology that Quakerism finds its field of service. The Friends have produced hardly one theologian of any note since Robert Barclay of Ury, who in 1675, at the age of about twenty-eight, wrote the *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*. One reason for this is, of course, that having no specialised clergy the Society has had no career to offer to men whose bent was theology. Another is that the fundamental doctrine of the Light Within, or immediate revelation by the Spirit of God to the soul of man, has led to a certain distrust and dislike of the operations of the speculative reason in the spiritual sphere, as savouring too much of "the creature" and too little of "the Creator."

The doctrinal utterances of the Society (which are mainly to be found in the "Epistles" issued annually to its members and congregations by the Yearly Meeting held in London) are therefore not remarkable for theological grasp and precision. Such as they are, they manifest, in common with other writings by Friends, the influence of three main tendencies of thought,—it would be incorrect, I am thankful to add, to speak of three "parties" in the Society. No labels for these "tendencies" can fail to be in some degree misleading, but it is necessary to characterise them somehow; I will therefore name them the Conservative, the Evangelical, and the Intellectual, respectively.

The Conservative Element.

The Conservative tendency is that which holds, not merely by things as they are, but above all by the central principle of immediate revelation. From this standpoint it is equally opposed to the "evangelical" attempt to restore the Bible to the position it held in the Puritan theology, as the *supreme* rule of faith and practice, and to the "intellectual" tendency to make what is reasonable the test of what is true. "Conservative" Friends maintain that to every soul of man, both Christian and heathen, a measure of divine Light is given, obedience to which leads to salvation. This is far from

making the Scriptures needless: the light given to prophets and apostles is recognised as having been far in advance of that granted to their contemporaries, and the books written under this illumination are cherished as the priceless treasures of the spiritual life. Most of all, the words and life of Jesus are appealed to as the paramount revelation given to men in the Word made flesh. His death is accepted as having been, in Scripture phrase, a propitiation for the sins of mankind; but it is strongly urged that there is no true justification by faith in Him which is not also an inward experience of sanctification by His Spirit. The weakest point of this theology appears to be the absence of clear thought as to the mode in which the Spirit enlightens the individual, the faculties that must be exercised to receive the light, and the nature and limits of authority. Friends who base everything on the Light Within are apt to give the impression that they regard the insight of the individual as the supreme test of truth, and their standpoint is rejected by many as tending to mere individualist anarchy. The fact is, however, that they do in practice recognise the authority of Scripture: they are always willing to test any doctrine by its teachings; they hold that the Spirit can never contradict itself, and that it is only by the present operation of the same Spirit which inspired the Scriptures that we can now appreciate or understand them.

The Evangelical Element.

The second "tendency" I have labelled, with grave misgivings, "Evangelical." In a true sense of the word *all* sections of the Society in this country are Evangelical. All recognise the reality of sin and the need of redemption. All regard Christianity as not mainly a doctrine of morals, but a doctrine of salvation. All accept the work of Christ as an atonement, however they may define its efficacy. But a name is needed for that line of teaching which exalts the Scripture, and even the letter of Scripture, as the supreme authority in religion; which regards man as absolutely

corrupt and sinful, and destined to an eternity of punishment, except in so far as he has accepted the substitutionary offering on Calvary as a satisfaction for his offences against the divine law; which declines to recognise the acceptability before God of any righteousness which does not thus "begin at the blood"; which therefore presses the distinction between justification and sanctification.

This familiar line of thought very nearly led to a disruption of the Society in this country so long ago as 1836, when Isaac Crewdson, who had adopted it, published *The Beacon*. There is obviously but little in common between this view and that of the Conservative Quaker, and it is no wonder that many who followed Crewdson were compelled to leave the Society, or that some of them became Plymouth Brethren. At the time of this fierce strife, a middle position was taken by Joseph John Gurney, the brother of Elizabeth Fry; and under his influence the Society in this country, while by no means going so far as Isaac Crewdson, became predominantly "evangelical." The Epistles of the Yearly Meeting, from the middle of the century onwards, show the influence of this type of theology. It is to this source we must, in the main, ascribe the new awakening to missionary effort, at home and abroad, to which reference has already been made. To this we must trace renewed interest in the Bible and in religious education, which, under the influence of an extreme belief in the Inner Light, were in some danger of falling into neglect. No fair-minded critic can hesitate to acknowledge that it has been on the whole a life-giving influence to the Society; the more so, perhaps, as in many saintly spirits its asperities have been (possibly with doubtful logic) softened by much of the tenderness and spirituality that marked the older view.

The Intellectual Element.

The third tendency is that which all the Christian Churches have known, at least since the days of Maurice, Kingsley, and Robertson of Brighton. It is the tendency to

seek in Christianity the satisfaction of the reason and conscience, as well as of the craving for forgiveness and deliverance from sin. In labelling it "Intellectual," I simply mean that it gives the intellect more scope, and treats it with more respect, than do the other lines of thought. It by no means regards the intellect as the sole faculty by which spiritual truth can be apprehended; rather it seeks to say, with Whittier,

> And all the windows of my heart
> I open to the day,

and looks upon the intellect as one of those windows. It is earnestly concerned to see things as they really are; and, while clinging closely to faith in the direct illumination of the Spirit, believes that the Spirit works, in part, through the ordinary faculties by which facts are observed and classified. It is seen at its best in the religious poetry of Whittier,—poetry which, though not to be compared with that of the great masters of English song, has yet enshrined in noble language the purest ideals of the Quaker faith, and has probably done more than any single factor to retain the loyalty of many who have come under the loosening influence of "modern thought." Thus, for example, Whittier lays the basis of all religious faith:

> Strange God of Fate, with fear, not love
> Its trembling worshipper! Can prayer
> Reach the shut ear of Fate, or move
> Unpitying Energy to spare?
> What doth the Cosmic Vastness care?
>
> I pray for faith, I long to trust;
> I listen with my heart, and hear
> A voice without a sound: "Be just,
> Be true, be merciful, revere
> The Word within thee: God is near!"
>
> O joy supreme! I know the Voice,
> Like none beside, on earth or sea;
> Yea more, O soul of mine, rejoice!
> By all that He requires of me
> I know what God Himself must be.

I know He is, and what He is,
  Whose one great purpose is the good
Of all. I rest my soul on His
  Immortal Love and Fatherhood,
  And trust Him, as His children should.

The same poet thus recognises the living Christ as the channel through whom this revelation has come and comes to men :

No fable old, or mythic lore,
  Nor dream of bards and seers;
No dead fact, stranded on the shore
  Of the oblivious years;

But warm, sweet, tender, even yet
  A present help is He;
And faith has still its Olivet,
  And love its Galilee.

O Love! O Life! Our faith and sight
  Thy presence maketh one;
As, through transfigured clouds of white,
  We trace the noonday sun,

So, to our mortal eyes subdued,
  Flesh-veiled, but not concealed,
We know in Thee the fatherhood
  And heart of God revealed.

We faintly hear, we dimly see,
  In differing phrase we pray;
But, dim or clear, we own in Thee
  The Light, the Truth, the Way!

The main evidences, in the corporate life of the Society, of the uprising of this "Broad Church" element, are to be found in the rejection by the Yearly Meeting of 1888 of a Declaration of Faith, which would have tied us down to statements in regard to the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, to eternal punishment, and other doctrines, which many Friends did not really hold; in the Conference held at Manchester, under the auspices of the Home Mission Committee, in the autumn of 1895, when the present posi-

tion and work of the Society was considered in all its bearings, including its "relations to Modern Thought"; and in two "Summer Schools" for biblical and religious study, held at Scarborough in 1897 and Birmingham in 1899. The Summer Schools, each attended by about 700 members, have been mainly due to the initiative of Dr. J. Rendel Harris; a strong feature of them has been the combination of devotional, intellectual, and recreative elements; and their purpose has been to raise the religious knowledge of the whole Society to a higher level, by courses of lectures on biblical criticism and religious history. A general high level of such knowledge is felt to be essential for our congregations in the absence of a specialised class of preachers with leisure for theological study. It also goes behind the old-standing dispute as to the true place and authority of the Scriptures; substituting for dogmatic statement, on the one side or the other, careful investigation of the great facts and methods of the divine revelation given to man, and recorded in the Bible documents. Such study, in the hands of those who are spiritually and intellectually equipped for it, is believed to be an essential preliminary to a reasoned and stable view of the inspiration and authority of Scripture.

While the three lines of religious thought, which I have thus attempted to indicate, undoubtedly exist in the Society, there is, I am convinced, no sign of anything in the nature of disruption, but on the contrary a growing harmony of fundamental conviction. I have been struck, when attending our Yearly Meetings, to observe how all sections are agreed that Christianity is not essentially a creed but a life and an experience; that for any effective Church life the prime condition is a personal experience of salvation from sin and submission of the will to God; that in Jesus Christ is to be found the supreme and final revelation of God to men. While it may be urged that the Conservatives need more breadth of view, the Evangelicals more "sweetness and light," and the Intellectuals more consecrated fervour

and missionary zeal, there is reason to hope that these desirable results may more and more ensue from the various elements continuing to work together.

Quaker Literature.

I may add that the views of the "Evangelical" section of the Society chiefly find expression in the *Friend*, a weekly journal in which foreign and home missions figure largely. The *British Friend*, a monthly magazine, was till 1892 the exponent of the "Conservative" view, but at that time was taken over by the authors of a little work which made some stir in the Society shortly before that time, *A Reasonable Faith*. Since then it has been in the hands of those who believe that what the Society chiefly needs, in the way of literary leading, is a restatement of the original thoughts and experience of its founders, in the light of present knowledge, and with reference to present problems. It voices, therefore, mainly the thoughts of the "Intellectuals." *Present-Day Papers* takes a somewhat similar line, but is on a rather wider basis. The *Quarterly Examiner* admits thoughtful articles written from various standpoints. *One and All* is the organ of the Adult Schools.

Education.

From early times in the history of the Society it has been felt that its continuance depended in no small degree upon the education of its children. There are indeed those who profess scepticism as to the possibility of such beings as Quaker boys and girls; if these exist at all, it is supposed they must be preternaturally solemn and demure. There is little foundation for this idea; a Quaker schoolboy is much like any other. It is impossible, however, to overrate the influence of early training in developing the true Quaker spirit and—may I say—its peculiar charm. It must be this more than anything that makes it so easily possible (for one who is initiated) to distinguish, in most cases, a "born" Friend from one who has joined "by convincement."

George Fox himself, feeling the paramount need of education, established a school for boys and girls at Waltham about 1667, "to instruct them in all things, civil and useful, in the creation." Four years later there were already fifteen Friends' schools scattered over the country.[1] But the subject gave much concern during a great part of the eighteenth century, and it was not until the boarding-school at Ackworth was established in 1779, to accommodate 300 children, boys and girls, that a solution of the problem seemed to have been found. Since that time seven other boarding-schools for boys and girls together have been established under the care of London Yearly Meeting, besides a high-class school for boys at Reading. There are also high-class schools at York for both boys and girls, which are under the care of Yorkshire Quarterly Meeting. In some of the schools where both boys and girls are boarded co-education is practised; in others not. The total number of children in these schools is something over a thousand; but of these only about 600 are actually members of the Society. As there are probably 2,000 children of school age among the born members, it is clear that the majority do not use these schools. A few of the wealthier Friends send their sons to the great public schools; and these, it is observed, for the most part leave the Society. Others, both boys and girls, are sent to private boarding-schools or day schools, or are taught at home. But a difficult problem remains. There is a large but unknown number of children whose parents cannot afford the cost of a boarding-school, and who are therefore sent to the elementary schools of the country. This applies also to many of the children of "mixed marriages," and of those of "habitual attenders" of Friends' meetings who are not in membership.

The religious education of these children is felt to be a

[1] From an able and exhaustive account of Education in the Society of Friends in England, in *Present-Day Papers*, September and October, 1900. (Published by Headley Brothers, 14, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C. 6*d*. net.)

pressing difficulty, and it is one of recent growth.[1] In the boarding-schools, religious education can be satisfactorily supplied: the history and principles of the Society may be and are directly taught, and besides this the children unconsciously breathe the "Quaker atmosphere" which is all round them. But there is little to attach a child to the Society if he only comes in touch with it through the attendance at a meeting for worship once or twice on the Sunday. It might be supposed that the children's Sunday schools (containing, as was stated, about 17,000 children and teachers) would meet the case, but they do not. Very few of these children are members of the Society; the majority are not even "attenders." The schools are not in any sense "feeders" to the Church; it is rarely the case that Quaker history or doctrines are taught in them, or that anything is done which brings the children into touch with the Society itself.

A long sitting of the last Yearly Meeting in London was devoted to this subject, which was commended to the attention of Friends in their localities, and adjourned for further consideration till another year.

Birthright Membership.

The large proportion of Friends who now "marry out" has produced the anomaly that many children of Friends are not members by birthright, while others are. The ratio of the two classes is not exactly known; but the preponderance of marriages between Friends and non-Friends makes it probable that the former class considerably exceeds the latter. This has recently led to a careful consideration of the whole position, and of the demand often made by some of the more markedly "evangelical" Friends, that Birthright Membership should be abandoned as a practice wrong in principle. It is felt by these to be inconsistent

[1] It arises (*a*) from the relatively large additions of members and attenders in recent times "by convincement"; (*b*) from the permission to "marry out"; (*c*) from the improvement of the education given in the elementary schools of the country.

with the true foundation of a Christian Church, that persons should be in a position to exercise the full rights of membership in it without having made some definite profession of allegiance to Christ. A whole day was allotted to the consideration of this subject at the Yearly Meeting of 1900; and at the end it was decided, by an overwhelming majority of voices, that the matter should rest *in statu quo ante*, but that the importance of the Christian nurture of children should be afresh brought under the notice of Friends. In the discussion much weight was attached to the danger of driving young people away by the introduction of anything in the nature of a test of theological belief; and attention was called to the fact that by Paul even the children of mixed marriages were regarded as "holy," that is, as within the Church (1 Cor. vii. 14).

Philanthropy.

The foundation thought of the essential dignity of man, in the light of the indwelling Spirit, has of necessity made every true Quaker a philanthropist. He necessarily objects to priestly assumption, and puts women in the Church on an exactly equal footing with men; but more than this, his sympathies are called out towards every human brother whose best nature is crushed by unjust conditions. "The still sad music of humanity" is in his ears,

> And much it grieves his heart to think
> What man has made of man.

Hence the Quakers took the lead in the agitation against negro slavery, and the reform of prisons and the criminal code; hence they have always stood foremost in denouncing war as unchristian.

Quakerism and War.

Everyone knows that Quakers hate war; but their opposition is not based, as some suppose, on a literal interpretation of such passages as "resist not evil," but on the whole

spirit and teaching of Jesus. The "kingdom of God," as an ideal condition of human society and not only of the individual heart, is felt to embrace all humanity in one brotherhood, and to extend to the life of nations as well as to the relations of individuals to each other. Many Christians seem to think that this is a dream impossible of accomplishment while human nature remains imperfect; but there are many signs of an approach, on the part of many spiritually-minded people in all Christian bodies, to the Quaker position. The Socialist and Labour organisations also are on the whole strongly opposed to war, though usually not exactly on Christian grounds: they esteem it immoral, unsocial, and barbarous.

Do the Friends of to-day maintain their "testimony" for peace? Undoubtedly the present war in South Africa has been a testing-time, and has brought to the surface many slumbering difficulties. People have had to declare themselves, who have previously kept quiet. There are some who, like Mr. John Bellows of Gloucester, still uphold the doctrine that all war is wrong for the Christian, but seem to attenuate their testimony by the concession that, as our Government does not hold this doctrine, war may not be wrong for them,—that, in fact, the Boers being what they were, the British Government could not have done other than it did. Others, particularly those who move much in public life, have undoubtedly come to question whether the Quaker "testimony" can be maintained in face of the practical difficulties which it involves. At the same time the heart of the Society remains "sound"—that is to say, idealist—on this question. A document on "Christianity and War" was adopted with practical unanimity by the last Yearly Meeting, and has been distributed in tens of thousands, which is probably the clearest and strongest declaration yet made by the Society of its Peace doctrine.

The address begins with an exposition of the nature of the "kingdom" which Christ proclaimed, points out the power of Justice as a "miracle-worker amongst men," deals with the gradual evolution of the moral ideal in Jewish

days before Christ came, and insists that no lowering of the perfect ideal can be justified on the ground of expediency.

> To further Heaven's ends we dare not break Heaven's laws.

The style in which it deals with some of the most pressing difficulties may be judged by the following extracts:

> The difficulty which is perhaps most often felt arises from the fact that, since even the most advanced nations are as yet only imperfectly Christian, their conduct is governed by mixed motives, and not by the pure spirit of Christ. Acquiescence in the action of the nation, whether right or wrong, is commonly regarded as the only patriotism. But devotion to the highest interests of our country and loyalty to truth alike require that we "obey God rather than men," and, in the meekness and gentleness of Christ, bear witness against wrong at the cost of unpopularity and even suffering. The lover of his country is jealous of her honour in the court of conscience of mankind, careful of all the finer elements of her character, deeply concerned to maintain that moral vigour which is the life of national greatness; for he knows that
>
> By the soul
> Only, the nations shall be great and free.
>
> The question is often asked, "How would England fare if she abandoned her reliance on armed force?" We answer that, as the change we have foreshadowed takes place, she will grow into a larger and a nobler spirit than the England of to-day. The energy, the self-sacrifice, and the heroism which now sport their God-given strength in the service of death will be animating an era of fuller brotherhood. As man advances, the moral forces of righteousness and goodwill become more and more the basis of power. They have given our country her moral influence in the world, and are the true foundation on which her empire now rests. It is difficult to set limits to the strength she would possess if her national character and policy became fully Christian. But, if sacrifice and loss were her portion, her service to the kingdom of God might even become the greater for her suffering.

Social Reform.

In the latter part of the document just quoted it is pointed out that the claims of human brotherhood are very wide.

It is the desire to get and to keep that breeds quarrels. . . . We shall endeavour to be free from all that would deface manhood or womanhood in industrial conflict or the keen warfare of relentless competition, and shall seek to ameliorate social conditions which impede the full development of the powers of life.

In these words is suggested the power of the Christian gospel as a force working for social regeneration among men. The Quakers, who claim to have received that gospel in its simplicity and spirituality, have, under its impulse, necessarily become reformers. Joseph Sturge and John Bright have been heroes whom many lesser spirits have striven, in their sphere, to follow. The breath of modern Socialism, indeed, has as yet but slightly touched them. They are a sober, middle-class community, mainly supporting themselves in business life, and are not easily carried off their feet by theories. A "Socialist Quaker Society" exists in London, which holds that the essential doctrine of the Inward Light, and of the ideal equality of all men in virtue of it, can only be truly maintained when conditions that crush humanity are being removed by the abolition of monopoly and the gradual socialisation of all the means of production. At present, however, their message meets with but little response.

Meanwhile the wider Socialism that believes in "equality of opportunity," but holds that this can be approached without surrendering private property and free enterprise, is present in many minds. The writings of John Woolman appeal to nearly all; those of Ruskin to an increasing number. Many Quaker employers are enlightened and generous; several, to my knowledge, have established schemes of profit-sharing among their workpeople, or used other means to promote their physical and moral welfare, often at some personal self-sacrifice. Not a few, like the late Alderman White, of Birmingham, are earnestly engaged in municipal and other forms of public life, where their sobriety and strength of character—aided in its development, one cannot but think, by the silent communion of

Quaker meetings—gives them an influence out of all proportion to their numbers.

I trust that these remarks, by one who is a convinced Quaker and knows what he is saying, will not be thought to savour of self-laudation or corporate conceit. Though conscious of many weaknesses in the body, both past and present, one cannot give a true picture of it without frankly delineating what seem to be its stronger features. While we no longer hope to convert the world to our special views or practices, we are yet thankful that the spirit of essential Quakerism has made itself felt in all Christian bodies.[1] The theology of the Protestant Churches to-day is nearer to that of the persecuted Quakers of the seventeenth century than to that of their Puritan opponents. We shall not live in vain if, though small in numbers, we can still be, like those before us, a leavening influence in the world around. Whittier's appreciation of our past worthies is on the whole a just one; would that it might be true of ourselves and our successors:

> The Quaker of the olden time!
> How calm and firm and true,
> Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
> He walked the dark earth through.
> The lust of power, the love of gain,
> The thousand lures of sin
> Around him, had no power to stain
> The purity within.

Such purity, such faith, such unswerving fidelity to convictions grounded in a deep experience of unseen realities, the world needs to-day.

EDWARD GRUBB.

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[1] "Quakerism," says Canon Curteis, "has been able, with the most extraordinary success, to infuse the spirit and essence of George Fox's teaching into the very veins (as it were) of the modern world."—*Bampton Lectures on Dissent*, 1871, p. 255.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

1. *Oliver Cromwell.* By the Right Hon. JOHN MORLEY. (London : Macmillan & Co.)
2. *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England.* By CHARLES FIRTH, M.A. (London : G. P. Putnam's Sons.)
3. *Oliver Cromwell.* By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Illustrated. (London : Archibald Constable & Co.)

OLIVER CROMWELL was never more alive than he is to-day. For a century and a half after that savage outrage of January 30, 1661, when "the carcases" of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn and hung up in their shrouds at the gallows, the name of the great Protector was looked upon with horror by the very men who, unknown to themselves, were carrying his policy to fruition. Cromwell's body was buried beneath the gallows, his head stood on a pole at the southern end of Westminster Hall, but his stout fight for liberty and for unity left its abiding fruit in English life, and the men who loathed his memory wore his mantle round their shoulders. To Clarendon Cromwell was a brave, bad man who "had all the wickedness against which damnation is pronounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared," with "some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated." Macaulay read Cromwell's character and achievement in a clearer light, and Thomas Carlyle set the Lord Protector up again on his pedestal, and taught us to see in him a real hero, the strong man in the high places of the field, "not a man of falsehoods, but a man of truths."

The study of Cromwell entered on a new phase with Carlyle's strenuous championship, and ever since his work

has compelled the respect of the historian and the statesman. The three latest books on Cromwell furnish no mean tribute to the Lord Protector. The English statesman and man of letters, the master of historical research, and the Vice-President of the United States have all yielded to the fascination that Cromwell still exerts on noble minds, and have paid due homage to the Ironside of Puritan England. They are not blind worshippers, but students who have in mind Cromwell's own words: "Mr. Lely, I desire you would use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all those roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything, otherwise I never will pay a farthing for it."

Mr. Morley's prologue sums up the contradictions of the story:

> The figure of Cromwell has emerged from the floating mists of time in many varied semblances, from bloodstained and hypocritical usurper up to transcendental hero and the liberator of mankind. The contradictions of his career all come over again in the fluctuations of his fame. He put a king to death, but then he broke up a parliament. He led the way in the violent suppression of bishops, he trampled on the demands of presbytery, and set up a state system of his own; yet he is the idol of voluntary congregations and the Free Churches. He had little comprehension of that government by discussion which is now counted the secret of liberty. No man that ever lived was less of a pattern for working those constitutional charters that are the favourite guarantees of public rights in our century. His rule was the rule of the sword. Yet his name stands first, half warrior, half saint, in the calendar of English-speaking democracy.

Cromwell was no mere plebeian. There is a quiet dignity about those credentials which he gave to himself. "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity." The sister of Henry VIII.'s minister, Thomas Cromwell, married a Welshman called Morgan Williams. He was loyal to his brother-in-law's memory, and found favour in the sight of the king who

enriched him with some of the spoil of the monasteries. The family took the name of Cromwell, but in his wedding settlement the future Protector is described as Oliver Cromwell *alias* Williams.

Many fictions have gathered round Cromwell's boyhood at Huntingdon. A royalist describes him as of "a cross and peevish disposition," whilst a panegyrist asserts that he had "a quick and lively apprehension, a piercing and sagacious wit, and a solid judgment." All that we really know is that he went to the Free School where Dr. Thomas Beard was master. Beard had bent his strength to prove that the Pope was Antichrist, and had written a little volume, *The Theatre of God's Judgments*, which showed how notorious sinners, especially those who defied human justice, must submit to the righteous judgment of God. Such a man was no unworthy preceptor for the infant mind of the great iconoclast.

Cromwell had been a year at Cambridge when his father's death called him home to settle family affairs. He then came to London to gain a smattering of law such as befitted a country gentleman. In 1620 he married Elizabeth Bourchier at St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate.

Eleven years passed quietly at Huntingdon. Cromwell farmed his estate, winning the good opinion of his neighbours who elected him their representative to the Parliament of 1628. It was a memorable hour in English history. Charles I. had been three years on the throne. His fatal struggle with the Commons had already begun. The Parliament of 1628 opened with a debate on the grievances of the nation. Sir John Eliot urged the members to bear in mind that "upon this dispute not alone our goods and lands are engaged, but all that we call ours." The famous Petition of Right was drawn up, and a strong protest entered against tyrannical innovation and rigorous reaction in things spiritual. Political and religious opposition were now leagued together. The fruit was soon to appear in the great Civil War. Cromwell was a scholar in that Parliament. He intervened, however, with a reference to his old school-

master, Dr. Beard, who had preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross refuting the rank Popery of the last preacher there. Cromwell said that Dr. Neale, Bishop of Winchester, had reprimanded Beard for disobeying his orders "not to preach any doctrine contrary to that which Dr. Alabaster had delivered."

A year later Cromwell was in hot water at Huntingdon. A new charter had been obtained for the town which transformed it from an open and popular corporation into a close one. The mayor and aldermen complained of what they regarded as Cromwell's unseemly attacks, and he was brought under arrest to London. He seems to have been acquitted of blame, though he admitted that he had spoken in heat and passion, and begged that his angry words might not be remembered against him. In 1631 he sold his property at Huntingdon for £1,800, and rented grazing lands at St. Ives. Five years later he moved to Ely, which became his home until 1647.

The period that followed his appearance in Parliament had been one of great spiritual conflict. A Huntingdon doctor describes him as "splenetic and full of fancies"; a friend writes:

> This great man is risen from a very low and afflicted condition; one that hath suffered very great trouble of soul, lying a long time under sore terrors and temptations, and at the same time in a very low condition for outward things: in this school of afflictions he was kept, till he had learned the lesson of the Cross, till his will was broken into submission to the will of God.

Religion was thus "laid into his soul with the hammer and fire"; it did not "come in only by light into his understanding."

Before the meeting of Parliament in May, 1640, Cromwell had passed through his time of testing. He says:

> If here I may honour my God, either by doing or suffering, I shall be most glad. Truly no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I have. I have

had plentiful wages beforehand, and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite.

The war-cloud was gathering over England. The judges had declared ship-money lawful, so that, as Strafford put it, royalty was "for ever vindicated from the conditions and restraints of subjects." Men saw, in the words of a Puritan lawyer, that "all our liberties were now at one dash utterly ruined." The Scotch had taken the Covenant in March, 1638; and in May, 1639, Charles marched north to subdue these rebels, but soon found it necessary to make peace. He forgave everything, promised everything. The Scotch regarded him as "one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen." But when Charles was safe in London he set himself to nullify the treaty. Strafford was called home from Ireland to whip the Scots. The Parliament wished to protest against this war; but Charles spoiled their scheme by a sudden dissolution. The king had no money, and his wretched army was untrained, necessitous, and cowardly. On their first encounter Leslie, the Scotch general, sent them streaming back into Yorkshire. Charles patched up a truce, and summoned the Long Parliament. Cromwell sat for the borough of Cambridge. He owed his seat to his opposition to the "Adventurers" for the drainage of the fens. Parliament was resolute to redress the grievances of the nation. Pym was the chief orator and guiding spirit. Mr. Morley says:

He had the double gift, so rare even among leaders in popular assemblies, of being at once practical and elevated; a master of tactics and organising arts, and yet the inspirer of solid and lofty principles. How can we measure the perversity of a king and counsellors who forced into opposition a man so imbued with the deep instinct of government, so whole-hearted, so keen of sight, so skilful in resource as Pym?

Hampden stood next to Pym in authority in the House; the country at large regarded him as the pilot that must steer the vessel through the shoals and tempests. He was "a supreme governor over all his passions and affections."

Cromwell was in his forty-second year. A young royalist tells us that one morning he

perceived a gentleman speaking, very ordinarily apparelled in a plain cloth suit made by an ill country tailor, with plain linen, not very clean, and a speck or two of blood upon his little band; his hat without a hatband; his stature of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; his eloquence full of fervour. . . . I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for this gentleman was very much hearkened unto.

Another observer tells us that his temper was "exceeding fiery; but the flame of it kept down for the most part, is soon allayed with those moral endowments he had." He sat on a parliamentary committee to examine a case of enclosure of waste land in Huntingdonshire. Hyde, who was chairman, had to administer sharp reproofs to the clamouring witnesses.

Cromwell in great fury reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, which justified him, and declared that he behaved himself as he ought to do; which more inflamed him (Cromwell) who was already too much angry.

His whole carriage was so tempestuous and his behaviour so insolent that Hyde threatened to complain of him to the House.

This is what Mr. Morley calls "the outer Cromwell." He was as yet a stranger to the more invigorating education of responsible contact with large affairs, but he had qualities that destined him for a large part in the coming struggle.

He was both cautious and daring; both patient and swift; both tender and fierce; both sober and yet willing to face tremendous risks; both cool in head and yet with a flame of passion in his heart. His exterior rough and unpolished, and with an odd turn for rustic buffooneries, he had the quality of directing a steady, penetrating gaze into the centre of a thing.

Nature had endowed him with a power of keeping his own counsel, that was sometimes to pass for dissimulation; a keen eye for adjusting means to ends, that was often taken for craft; and a high-hearted insistence on determined ends, that by those who love to think the worst was accounted guilty ambition. The foundation of the whole was a temperament of energy, vigour, resolution. Cromwell was to show himself one of the men who are born to force great causes to the proof.

The Long Parliament was soon engaged with the impeachment of Laud and Strafford. Laud had done more to kindle the blaze than anyone else. In the Star Chamber and the High Commission his restless mind, sharp tongue, and hot temper had earned general ill will. Strafford's ardent and haughty spirit made him energetically oppose the popular claim, and its champions soon saw that it was "my head or thy head." The only question was who should strike the first blow. Strafford hastened to London, when a motion for a Grand Committee on Irish affairs was carried. Within twenty-four hours he was committed to the Tower. The king had sworn to protect him, but with incredible baseness gave consent to the bill of attainder. Next January came that attempt to seize the five members which drove the staunchest royalists to despair, and sent a shock through the entire kingdom. In April Hull barred its gates against the king; in August the royal standard was unfurled at Nottingham, and Prince Rupert appointed general of the horse. Cromwell had foreseen the coming storm. He got a Dutch officer to teach him drill, and raised a troop of horse in his own district. His modest means were used for the public service; he also seized the magazine in Cambridge Castle, and prevented the university from sending its gold and silver plate to the king. His share in the confused and doubtful fight at Edgehill taught him the urgency of military organisation. He desired to make "his instruments help him in that work," but his friends were astonished at his foolish simplicity. He told John Hampden:

Your troops are most of them old decayed serving men, and

tipsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? . . . You must get men of a spirit, and of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else, I am sure, you will be beaten still.

Hampden thought Cromwell's notion impracticable, yet the thing was soon in a fair way of accomplishment.

I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward I must say to you they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually.

His captains of horse were "men patient of wants, faithful and conscientious in their employments."

"I had rather," he says, "have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else. I honour a gentleman that is so indeed."

His own manners were overbearing. We catch a glimpse of him in Ely Cathedral where he bids Mr. Hitch "forbear altogether your choir service, so unedifying and offensive." When the clergyman took no notice of the brawler, Cromwell stamped up the aisle with his baton, calling out, "Leave off your fooling, and come down, sir."

Cromwell's men were soon in action, and with every fight he became more skilled in handling them. It became clear that

a new cavalry leader had arisen in England, as daring as the dreaded Rupert, but with a coolness in the red blaze of battle, a piercing eye for the shifts and changes in the fortunes of the day, above all with a combined steadiness and mobility such as the fiery prince never had.

The shock of his charge was terrible. After the death of Pym and Hampden the leaders of the Parliamentary party

lost nerve. Cromwell saw clearly that the war must be prosecuted with greater vigour or else the people would become weary and cry out for peace. He showed his own mettle at Marston Moor, where he first encountered Rupert and won from him the name of Ironside. The honours of that hard-fought day must be divided between Leslie, who chased Rupert's broken forces so that a rally was impossible, and Cromwell. He showed the soldier's quick perception of his enemy's weak point, and struck home with hawk-like promptitude.

Marston Moor produced no decisive effect, because there was no general to take advantage of the Parliamentary victory. Cromwell saw that the battle must first be fought in Parliament. He attacked Manchester in the House as a backward and utterly inefficient general. Cromwell did not escape reprisals. It was said that he had himself hung back from attacking the enemy, had appropriated all the praise of other men's actions, and had made many inflammatory speeches. One night Essex met the Scotch commissioners and consulted the lawyers whether Cromwell should be tried as an incendiary. Whitelocke advised caution :

> I take Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons ; nor is he wanting of friends in the House of Peers, or of abilities in himself to manage his own defence to the best advantage.

The conspirators saw that their wisdom was to let Cromwell alone. He secured the passage of the Self-Denying Ordinance which removed members of both Houses from military command. The army was reorganised on the New Model. Cromwell himself escaped the surrender of his commission. His services were no doubt indispensable, but his proceedings at this moment are aptly described as "oblique."

In June, 1645, came the decisive battle of Naseby. It was Cromwell's victory, and it practically ended the war. The king had to be restrained from putting himself at the head

of the Royalist horse by Lord Carnwath, who seized his bridle, and asked, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" Cromwell not only routed his foe, but pursued with unsparing energy. The Irish camp-followers were put to the sword. The king's cabinet was seized with those private papers which revealed his truthlessness and showed that it was impossible to trust him. Next spring Charles surrendered to the Scots at Southwell.

From that time the king sank deeper and deeper into the morass. Mr. Morley says:

> The undoing of Charles was not merely his turn for intrigue and double dealing; it was blindness to signs, mismeasurement of forces, dishevelled confusion of means and ends. Unhappily mere foolishness in men responsible for the government of great states is apt to be a curse as heavy as the crimes of tyrants. With strange self-confidence Charles was hard at work upon schemes and combinations, all at best most difficult in themselves, and each of them violently inconsistent with the other. He was hopefully negotiating with the independents, and at the same time both with the catholic Irish and with the presbyterian Scots. He looked to the support of the Covenanters, and at the same time he relied upon Montrose, between whom and the Covenanters there was now an antagonism almost as vindictive as a Corsican blood-feud. He professed a desire to come to an understanding with his people and parliament, yet he had a chimerical plan for collecting a new army to crush both parliament and people; and he was looking each day for the arrival of Frenchmen or Lorrainers, or Dutchmen or Danes, and their march through Kent or Suffolk upon his capital. While negotiating with men to whom hatred of the Pope was the breath of their nostrils, he was allowing the queen to bargain for a hundred thousand crowns in one event, and a second hundred in another, from Antichrist himself. He must have known, moreover, that nearly every move in this stealthy game was more or less well known to all those other players against whom he had so improvidently matched himself.

After Naseby Cromwell began to stand out clearly in the popular imagination. His troops adored him. "He prayed and preached among them; he played uncouth practical

jokes with them; he was not above a snow-ball match against them; he was a brisk, energetic, skilful soldier, and he was an invincible commander." His tactics in the House were like his tactics on the field. He knew when to strike, and he struck hard. The struggle between Presbyterian and Independent became more acute. When Cornet Joyce seized the king at Holmby, Parliament awoke to the danger that menaced it from the army. The reign of violence had begun.

Purges, proscriptions, camp courts, executions, major-generals, dictatorship, restoration—this was the toilsome, baffling path on to which, in spite of hopeful auguries and prognostications, both sides were now irrevocably drawn.

Cromwell did his utmost to establish some agreement between the army and the king. But Charles was too false and too firmly wedded to his own ideal of kingly prerogative to make any honest attempt to end the struggle. Cromwell was baffled in his attempt to deal with extremists on all sides. His personal influence was seriously weakened by the discredit into which he now fell among the zealots. But events soon made it abundantly clear that he was the man for the time. War broke out again in 1648. Cromwell's victory at Preston is reckoned the finest exploit of the Civil War. It did much to save him and his allies from their perilous position at Westminster. The Presbyterians had been trying their hand at negotiations with Charles; but these also split upon the quicksand of royal duplicity. Cromwell was absent from London for six months. On his return the army resolved to act. Pride's purge shut out one hundred and forty-three members from the House of Commons. A council of officers resolved that Charles should be brought to Windsor, and on January 1, 1649, a high court of justice was set up for the king's trial.

During the last weeks of 1648 Cromwell is wrapped about by an impenetrable cloud. He was waiting for guidance. The endless maze of complications that must follow the death of Charles probably made him pause. At last he saw

that the trial was inevitable. His doubts came to an end. Algernon Sidney, who had been selected as one of the judges, withstood the regicides to the face. He held that no court could try the king, and that such a court as that could try no man. Cromwell was indignant. "I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown upon it." "I cannot stop you," said Sidney, "but I will keep myself clean from having any hand in this business." The trial went forward. Before the month was over Charles died upon the scaffold.

Mr. Morley sums up the situation that now had to be faced. "The death of the king made nothing easier, and changed nothing for the better; it removed no old difficulties, and it added new." The three kingdoms were in a blaze. Cromwell set out for Ireland. At Drogheda he put to the sword about three thousand men. The modern historian makes no attempt to condone Cromwell's ruthless severity. It is not even clear that the butchery actually prevented further bloodshed. At Wexford two thousand more perished, though Cromwell had intended to save the place. His whole policy Mr. Morley regards as "a clumsy failure." Strafford whom Cromwell so mercilessly denounced had a far clearer grasp of the social conditions of Ireland. "He knew the need of time and management. He knew the need of curbing the English lords." Mr. Roosevelt is even sterner than Mr. Morley in his verdict on the Drogheda and Wexford massacres, those "black and terrible stains on Cromwell's character." His deeds were the same in kind as those of Philip II. and Alva in the Netherlands.

Whilst he was in Ireland the Scotch declared for Charles II., and Cromwell was recalled as general of the forces of Parliament. Fairfax refused to lead the army against the Scotch. Cromwell was therefore the sole hope of the Parliament. He had a hard task. Sickness and lack of provisions compelled him to retreat from Edinburgh, and the veteran Leslie hemmed him in at Dunbar. But when Leslie ventured down from the hills Cromwell launched his thunderbolt. Three thousand Scots were

slain, ten thousand captured. Next day Cromwell wrote to his wife:

> My weak faith has been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvellously supported, though I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease.

His health had been broken by the strain of the past eight years, and Parliament sent two London physicians to see him in February, 1651. On July 31 the Scotch army set out for the invasion of England. Cromwell, after a month's chase, joined issue with them at Worcester. The battle was a stern one; but though the Scotch fought like lions, they were totally defeated. Three thousand lay dead in and around the city, two or three times that number being taken prisoners. Charles escaped, but few of the Scotch ever saw their own country again. Worcester was Cromwell's "crowning mercy." He never fought another battle.

Parliament voted him £4,000 a year in addition to £2,500 granted twelve months before. Hampton Court was given him as a residence. He entered London accompanied by the Speaker, Council of State, Lord Mayor and Aldermen. But he kept his head. When his attention was called to the crowd, he replied that there would have been a still mightier concourse to see him hanged. His modesty was afterwards ascribed to craft, but it was really "the natural bearing of a man massive in simplicity, purged of self, and who knew far too well how many circumstances work together for the unfolding of great events, to dream of gathering all the credit to a single agent."

Days of discord and unrest followed. Parliament was pushing through a bill for recruiting its own numbers which Cromwell and the army leaders felt would put perilous power into the hands of the Commons. Cromwell went down to the House with a file of troopers. He listened awhile to their debate, and then loaded the members with reproaches. "Come, come," he said, "I will put an end to your prating." He commanded the mace to be taken away and the doors

locked; then he returned to Whitehall. Bradshaw was not cowed. He told Cromwell that no power on earth could dissolve the Parliament save itself. But the deed was done. Cromwell had broken with the past. Strafford would indeed have had his revenge had he lived to see that day. The Parliamentary remnant who survived had been "deep in all the proceedings of Cromwellian thorough. They were the very cream after purification upon purification. If they could not govern, who could?"

Cromwell was now the greatest man in England. He and his council of officers nominated a Parliament. He opened it in a kind of rapture. "I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is this day in this work." He fancied that men who had fought together so long would act in harmony, but a few weeks dispelled the dream. He soon had to lament. "I am more troubled now with the fool than with the knave." In five months the Parliament of Saints had to be strangled with the best dispatch possible. Fanatics are ill rulers for a nation.

On December 16, 1653, less than a week after Parliament had been dissolved, Cromwell accepted the office of Lord Protector. His first Parliament soon fell to work discussing the constitution; but the Protector effectually gagged them by requiring them to sign a promise to be faithful to the Protector and Commonwealth. Three hundred out of four hundred and sixty yielded. Men like Bradshaw and Haselrig refused, and returned to their homes. Charles had never reached such a height of despotism. Even thus purged Cromwell found the Parliament unmanageable, and was glad to dissolve it on the first opportunity. Mr. Roosevelt says:

> Had Cromwell not become cursed with the love of power; had he not acquired a dictatorial habit of mind, and the fatal incapacity to acknowledge that there might be righteousness in other methods than his own, he could certainly have avoided a break with this Parliament. His splitting with it was absolutely needless.

For twenty months Cromwell and his Council of State exercised despotic rule. A new Parliament met in September, 1656; but nearly a hundred members were refused admission because they were not approved by the Council of State. Even then the Parliament proved a thorn in Cromwell's side. In March, 1657, however, it offered the Protector the title of king. There is little doubt that he would have accepted the title had not Colonel Pride and twenty-six officers appeared at the Bar of the Commons to pray that the proposal might not be pushed. Cromwell felt it wise to refuse the proffered royalty.

He struggled bravely with the difficulties of his position. It is not possible to claim for him, Mr. Morley holds, a high place in the history of original and creative statesmanship, though he kept order at home and made the name of England respected over the Continent. It must be added that he made a strong effort to secure much needed reform, but all his laws were annulled at the Restoration. In the summer of 1658 gout and other disorders undermined the Protector's strength. His favourite daughter died in August, and the long strain of her illness sorely taxed her father. He was seized with low fever which turned to ague, and on September 3 he followed his daughter to the grave. He met death with quiet fortitude. A little incident shows that his conscience and heart were busy. He asked one of the ministers who were in attendance, "Tell me, is it possible to fall from grace?" "No, it is not possible," was the answer. "Then," said the Protector, "I am safe; for I know that I was once in grace." His body was laid to rest in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster; but two years later Charles had his ignoble revenge, and it found its way to the gallows at Tyburn.

The drama of the great Civil War is the most memorable in English history. It has laid its spell on Mr. Morley whose masterly study will be long and eagerly pondered by all who wish to understand the motives of the chief actors in that great drama. Mr. Roosevelt looks on these scenes with the eyes of a trained American statesman, and his

comparisons between the English rebellion and the rebellion of the American colonies are often very suggestive. He does justice to Cromwell as "a mighty force for good and against evil," though he holds that he marred his great work "when he permitted himself to fall from the position of a leader among free men to that of a master over men for whose welfare he sincerely strove but in whose freedom he did not believe."

Mr. Firth's book is perhaps the most satisfactory of the three judged as a compact and complete biography. It is the work of an historical expert who knows how to share his treasures with his readers. He points out that Cromwell hoped to reconcile the majority of the nation to the rule of the minority by the real benefits conferred on England by his honest and sagacious rule. But the hope was fallacious. Puritanism was quickly "ceasing to be a party held together by religious interests, and becoming a coalition held together by material interests and political necessities." Cromwell lowered the crest of kings and saved England from royal tyranny; but his own government degenerated through circumstances over which he had not complete control into a military despotism, and England was ready to welcome back its royal house. Cromwell did not live in vain, nor did he die too soon.

JOHN TELFORD.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE MINISTRY.

1. *Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Wesleyan Theological Institution*, 1900.
2. *Handbook of the Theological Colleges of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church in Scotland.* (Longmans, Green, & Co. 1900.)
3. *Report of the Senatus Academicus and Calendar of Associated Colleges, British and Colonial*, 1900.
4. *The College Calendar of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1899–1900.
5. *Free Church Year-Book and Official Report (England)*, 1900: *Paper on Interdenominational Possibilities in Ministerial Education.* By Professor A. S. PEAKE, M.A.

SLOWLY the English people is waking up to the fact that education is its greatest practical need. The mastery won by past achievements, on which it has presumed, is now effectually challenged, and it is discovering in commerce, in industry, and, alas, through the stern teaching of war, that native force is of poor avail without skilled direction; that the wealthiest resources are lavished in vain where management, preparation, and expert knowledge are wanting in the conduct of affairs; and that in modern competition unintelligence spells ruin to the empire or to the individual business man. Forty years ago we laughed at Germany, with her dreamy and unpractical ways, her score or so of universities, her elaborate and overdone pedagogic system, her *Wissenschaft* and her neologies; but who laughs now? She has taken the start of England in scien-

tific training by a couple of generations. This country has had enough of "muddling through somehow"; that old trick may be tried once too often. Science has touched everything with her transforming wand; and science means exactness, method, organisation, comprehension. The mechanism of the new civilisation, in its complexity and swiftness, is as the enginery of an American liner compared with that of the merchantman of a hundred years ago. Any community that does not put itself to school with science and bring into the field an alert and disciplined intelligence, is doomed to be outpaced in the progress of the future. England has never loved the schoolmaster, nor troubled herself more than she could help about his work and his needs; it is high time she did. For the battles of the twentieth century will be decided in the schoolroom and the college hall.

The trend of things we have described, and the discovery that the British people is making of its supineness in regard to education, must tell upon religious work and Church agencies in many directions. Educational topics preoccupy Convocations and Conferences and Councils. How best to Christianise the secular training of our children, how to leaven science with religion, to spiritualise the gigantic material forces of the age, this is the vital problem with which all our Churches are struggling; and it sharply divides the two great parties of English Christendom. With the increased complication of modern life, there is going on *pari passu* an increased integration and unification in the play of human activities. At home, social and economic questions have stormed the ecclesiastical platform, clamouring for a solution from those who "preach the gospel to the poor." A Labour Church raises its head amongst the rest, and claims a succession, truer than the episcopal or the dogmatic, to Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth. Abroad, foreign missionary evangelism grows more difficult and involved as it proceeds, as it disturbs the systems of thought and the deep-founded social fabrics of the primeval Eastern peoples, and makes itself a factor in international movements

and revolutions. The merest reference to such matters is enough to show how much wisdom and largeness of mind will be required in the religious leaders of the coming age (who must be Christian statesmen no less than Christian enthusiasts), and how critical a question for every Church with any considerable stake in the future is that of the higher education of its ministry.

One perceives, moreover, that as general education improves our Churches will have to reckon with a new temper in the popular mind, such as manifests itself already with disquieting symptoms in the cultured classes. Public teachers must be prepared for more critical and exacting demands upon their powers of thought, as well as of sympathy, than hitherto they have had to meet. What is looked for and found indispensable in other departments of life will be, and ought to be, expected in the spiritual guides of the people—a trained and sure intelligence, a mastery of their craft, joined to the unfeigned faith and unwearied love of the Christian pastor the ripe and deep knowledge of the "scribe instructed unto the kingdom of heaven." Nor can any pains be thought too great that may be spent upon this preparation, when we remember how much of the labour and the care of our blessed Lord was devoted to the training of His twelve.

Is the Christian ministry of this country rising to the tasks that lie before it? Is the training given to its candidates adequate, in a practical and intellectual as well as in a spiritual sense, to the demands that have now to be faced? Is that training thorough, liberal, broad and deep, well-organised and business-like in its methods? Is it keeping pace with the education of the people? We wish that it were possible to give a more reassuring answer to these inquiries. We need not lay too much to heart the censure of deserters from the Churches, who tell us that they are weary of the ineptitudes of the pulpit; these people may be but repeating a fashionable, or an offensive, excuse. But it is another matter when, for example, a friend and kinsman like Dr. R. F. Horton, who is no alarmist, deliberately

asserts at City Road Chapel in the face of all Methodism,[1] that "we as Free Churchmen, and even as Protestants, are to some extent losing our hold upon the country by a certain want of trained intellectual power"; or when leading Anglicans confess "the scandal"—which, sooth to say, is patent in both fact and effect—that "the training required for the highest of all professions" is the slightest and the cheapest of all, and that the candidate for Holy Orders seldom receives a preparation as thorough and as carefully directed towards its end as that which is insisted upon in the case of every medical practitioner. From Wales, the classic soil of Nonconformist preaching, and which has secured in advance of England its Intermediate Education Act, we hear the alarm raised with Celtic emphasis by a distinguished professor (Dr. T. Witton Davies, of Bangor), that may well be echoed across the border:

> The policy of putting raw, uneducated men to the study of theology for a few years and then sending them into the ministry is disastrous; and I cannot think it is widely known among Free Churchmen, or it would not be tolerated. The charge applies, so far as I know, to the colleges of all denominations. The general level of education in Wales is rapidly rising. Ministers are to be the leaders of the people, and their training should improve at least to the same extent. Unfortunately, in my opinion, it does not. . . . Should not *five years* be the minimum in all our colleges? . . . I am sure of this, that if the Welsh ministry is not better equipped in the near future, better educated people will turn away from our Churches. Surely our colleges will move on with the times.[2]

The brevity of the time available for tuition leads almost inevitably to a haste and crowding of subjects unfavourable to mental digestion; and the work done within that time suffers from another cause, which is well stated by Mr. James Rutherford in an article on "College Training"[3]

[1] See *Wesley's House: Dedication Services*, 1898, p. 176.

[2] Letter to the *South Wales Daily News*, December 30, 1899.

[3] The eighth of a series of valuable papers on "The Problem of the Congregational Ministry," now republished in pamphlet form.

that appeared in the *Christian World* for August 9, 1900:

The first thing that strikes one is the multiplication of comparatively small colleges, with a separate staff, each member burdened with so many branches of study that he can hardly be expected to be an expert in all, if in anyone, and with probably three [often *more*] stages of students in each subject; consequently the class-work must frequently comprise only three or five men at a single class.

The same radical defect is further indicated by Mr. A. S. Peake, M.A., the able lay Professor of Biblical Criticism at the Primitive Methodist and Lancashire Independent Colleges in Manchester, who writes in the paper cited at the head of this article:

I plead for co-operation, that we may secure a larger efficiency. The present system involves much waste of labour, which receives no compensation in the higher quality of teaching, but the reverse. The professors teach too many subjects. This leads to a double disaster. In the first place, the teacher cannot keep pace with the development of his subjects. So great is the activity in every department of theological scholarship, that to follow the movement fully in anyone of its branches would tax the power of most tutors. The second result is more disastrous still. The teacher finds original research very difficult, and becomes too much the retailer of second-hand knowledge. The misfortune of this does not lie so much in his inability to advance the knowledge of the subject—though this is a loss to the cause of research—but in the inevitable lowering of his efficiency as a teacher. If he is to kindle a living interest in his students, he needs himself to be an enthusiast. But enthusiasm cannot be maintained, unless he is doing original work with a keen interest in the problems for their own sake. . . . Only in rare cases is this possible to a man burdened with work that should be distributed among three or four professors.[1]

The Master of the Wesleyan Theological College at Melbourne, Australia, whose work is carried on under

[1] Pages 171, 172.

conditions very similar to those of the Theological Institution of the parent Conference in this country, makes the following frank appeal in his Annual Report for 1900 just to hand, which his confrères at home might well endorse:

> With the opening of the new century and the advent of political and ecclesiastical Federation, it seems to me desirable that something should be done to reorganise and improve our system of theological training. At present, owing to the shortness of the course (two or three years at most) we are compelled to combine the literary and theological portions of it in a way that renders it impossible to deal with either satisfactorily. The work for Matriculation, or for any year of the Arts course at the University, is enough by itself to occupy a man's full time during the session; and yet we have to add to this lectures in Theology, Biblical Introduction, Apologetics, Greek Testament, Homiletics, and in some cases Hebrew; in a word, the work of two years has to be crowded into one; and even then many important subjects have to be excluded. A five years' course, of which two years could be devoted to general literary work and three to theological work proper, would be the solution of the difficulty; which means that we must get our candidates at an earlier age, and be prepared to spend more money on their training.—E. H. SUGDEN.

It is painful, and perhaps superfluous, to gather further evidence upon these points; nor shall we attempt the invidious task of meting out the general impeachment as it may lie more particularly at this door or that. Enough has been said to show that the Theological College question is one of common anxiety, which calls for the serious and prompt attention of all who value the Christian ministry and are concerned for its continued influence.

The great religious bodies of the country are not, indeed, asleep in this matter; though we take leave to doubt whether they feel a solicitude so awakened and active as the situation calls for. The Church of England, with her privileged status, her unrivalled learning and immense wealth, finds herself ill-furnished and belated in the training of her clergy. From Diocesan Conferences up and down the country urgent representations have been sent up respecting the supply and

training of candidates for Holy Orders. The subject occupied a full day's debate in the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation last May,[1] from which issued a series of twelve weighty resolutions, bearing mainly on the question of *supply* (on which we do not now propose to enter), but of deep interest to all observers of the Church movements of the day. Attention should also be drawn to the report of the *Seventh Conference on the Training of Candidates for Holy Orders*, found in the *Guardian* of May 24, 1899, and to the summary of correspondence thereanent in the issues of the same newspaper for April 5, 12, and 19, 1899.

In Nonconformist collegiate circles, schemes of amalgamation, improved staff-organisation, migration to the Universities, are in the air; changes of this sort have taken place or are in progress—the removal of Springhill College to Oxford (Mansfield) and of Westminster (Presbyterian) to Cambridge, the union of the Rotherham and Airedale Congregational Colleges at Bradford, and the association of New, Hackney, and Regent's Park Colleges in London and of the Nottingham and Rawdon Baptist Colleges, to which we shall afterwards refer, being cases in point. The topic appeared on the programme of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches held at Sheffield in March of last year, and formed the subject of Mr. Peake's address, already quoted. Time was wanting, unfortunately, for discussion; but Mr. Peake's paper was referred to the Standing Committee of the Council, and we shall await with interest their judgment on its proposals. Professor Peake shows the crippling and narrowing effect upon ministerial training of the division of our constituency into isolated sectarian establishments, cut off from each other like so many water-tight compartments; he makes various suggestions towards a "federation of colleges," which if it could be realised would secure a large economy in teaching resources, and might organise Nonconformist scholarship to new and powerful effect. The Wesleyan Conference of

[1] See the *Guardian* of May 16, 1900.

1899, after a strong pronouncement upon the subject from President Macdonald in his inaugural address, appointed "a Special Committee to consider whether greater efficiency and economy cannot be obtained in the working of the Theological Institution by a policy of reconstruction and concentration." On all hands it is admitted that the ordinary term of Wesleyan studentship is too short for its purposes, and that the present slender staff is overburdened. The college system of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches is eminently successful upon its scholarly side; it produces the most theologically learned and, in part for this very reason, the most popular ministry in Christendom. But this system also is on its trial, and its friends have their searchings of heart. The Presbyterian no less than the Episcopal Churches are disquieted at the dwindling number of their candidates in training. In the north as in the south the complaint is heard that the ministry wins fewer recruits than formerly from the levels of higher education; and this diminution aggravates the difficulties of training. Methodism, it must be confessed, has never drawn her supply largely from this quarter; she is doing so now in a somewhat increased degree; she is bound to recognise that the ministry of Christ requires the flower of her youth, the strongest and best furnished heads, as well as the warmest hearts that are forthcoming.

The multiplicity of theological colleges is a consequence and a sign of our unhappy divisions. Each Church is compelled to set up and to guard its own ministerial seminaries. No great national schools of Divinity are possible, such as the other main branches of learned study have created for themselves—in law, in medicine, in the various fields of art and science. Our Church colleges, numbering not far short of a hundred, and with their constituency of perhaps 2,000 students all told, separated as they are by distance and by so many denominational barriers and each struggling with its own burdensome tasks, have no collective life or intercommunication; although their aims are identical and their teaching covers in great part of its extent the

same ground. They form no corporation of learning; they lack the distinction and the stimulus, the interchange of thought, the comparison of methods, the facilities for specialisation and research, which the secular Faculties possess through their internal organisation and unity of action. In this respect, as in so many others, "the sons of this world are wiser than the sons of light." The University chairs of Divinity are the property of the Established Churches, and exercise, in England at least, but a limited influence upon the education of the clergy even of their own communion. On the other hand, the Divinity Schools of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the Scottish Universities provide largely for ministerial training within their particular sphere. Moreover, the new London University, whose example is likely to be followed by the provincial Universities, is incorporating the theological schools of the metropolis, and will supply them with a meeting-ground and a professorial status hitherto wanting. But such incorporation will not affect their internal condition. It remains the case that scarcely anywhere is any large aggregate of theological students gathered, or that influence generated amongst them which accrues from the common life of a multitude of fellow-learners and gathers round a powerful, well articulated teaching staff.

There is much to be said, on the other side, for institutions of the prevalent type. Retired places of learning, with a score or two of residential pupils, afford religious advantages and opportunities of close fellowship that we might not safely forgo, while the great educational commonwealths have their great perils. Manifestly, the Church will depend in the main, for some time to come, on comparatively small detached colleges for the rearing of her ministry. But this makes it the more necessary to recognise their drawbacks—their relative expensiveness, the stunting of student-life, the limitations of scholarship, and the dissipation of teaching power which they involve—and to use all possible means to counteract, if we cannot altogether remedy, these evils. The gravitation towards the Universities,

to which the Congregationalists and Presbyterians have already yielded in the case of Mansfield and Westminster Colleges, is being felt by the other Nonconformist bodies. No Church which sends her young laity in any considerable numbers to these mainsprings of English culture can afford to have her clergy unimbued from the same source and out of touch with the world of life and thought that centres in the ancient seats of learning. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the education of the Methodist ministry would be generally advanced by the planting of a single college, or modest hostel, at Oxford or at Cambridge; for this could only serve the few candidates of graduate standing, and would leave the bulk of our students untouched or benefited only indirectly and from a distance.

The theological colleges of the country are of very various types. For our purpose it will be sufficient to characterise them under four heads,—as *Anglican* (*Episcopal*), *English Nonconformist*, *Scottish* (*Presbyterian*), and *Wesleyan Methodist*, leaving out of count the colleges of the minor Protestant bodies, the undenominational colleges, and the Roman Catholic Clergy Schools, from which last probably much might be learnt.

1. The Anglican establishments catalogued in the "Handbook" published by Messrs. Longman[1] are 27 in number, 5 of them being foreign missionary colleges. King's College, London, and the Theological School at Durham (with its two branches of University College and Bishop Hatfield's) alone amongst these are upon a university footing; they are well found in point of staff, and well attended, and conduct the student through his whole undergraduate and post-graduate course. Several Anglican colleges, and these amongst the largest, are attached informally to the Universities, like Mansfield and Westminster, and train university men under the shadow of their *alma mater*. All are modern in date—the oldest being the C.M.S.

[1] See for further information *The Official Year-Book of the Church of England*, pp. 10 and 268.

College at Islington, founded in 1824. With the two exceptions above referred to, all are private and voluntary institutions, being under no collective control and forming no part of the Church system. Wycliffe Hall at Oxford and Ridley Hall at Cambridge are Evangelical nurseries; most of the others have a "High" complexion, and their party character is said to be pronounced. About half of the total number are diocesan colleges, under the patronage of the bishop and designed to serve the needs of his province. Some, like Wycliffe and the Leeds Clergy School, admit only graduates; others, such as St. Aidan's, Birkenhead, and Lincoln Theological College, have but a small proportion of graduate students. The number of their students varies from 16 to 60 (the figures for Durham and King's College are not in evidence); the total sum may amount to 600—the number of annual ordinations to the diaconate being about 700. The great bulk of the Anglican ordinands now pass through these colleges. The term of studentship is *one* year for graduates, and *two* for non-graduates (*three* years in the foreign missionary colleges); the goal of the curriculum is the preliminary examination of candidates for Holy Orders, now uniformly imposed in every diocese.

Admission is guarded by a "central examination of non-graduate candidates for entrance to theological colleges," requiring knowledge of an easy Latin and Greek author, the outlines of Scripture history (with the Gospel of Luke in Greek) and of English history, and the first book of Euclid *or* elementary logic. The staff consists, as a rule, of three or four clerical tutors, under various titles. The course of study, being so brief, is slight of necessity as compared with that of the best Nonconformist colleges. The majority of these establishments are residential; much importance is attached in them to devotional and moral training. In many localities the students give regular assistance in parochial work under direction, as a necessary part of their curriculum. Fees (for tuition and board) range from £25 to £120 per annum. There are some

half-dozen Societies, endowed or otherwise, which render pecuniary aid in the education of poor and meritorious candidates for Holy Orders; and most of the colleges offer one or more exhibitions, or scholarships, to their abler students.

2. The English Nonconformist colleges, Congregationalist and Baptist—about thirty in number—trace their beginning to the ejected ministers of 1662, many of them men of university breeding and amongst the most learned as well as the most devoted of the English clergy. From that time there has been transmitted a high tradition of personal culture and theological attainment in the Dissenting clergy. These holy men were careful to commit to others "the faithful word" whose maintenance cost themselves so dearly. Here and there they opened their houses to receive disciples for the ministry. Gradually private seminaries grew into "academies," as funds were gathered and tutors multiplied. Endowments, seldom of any large amount but relatively numerous, accrued in course of time, which gave stability to the institutions that had thus sprung up. Of the early Academies many naturally decayed in a generation or two; others were lost in the rationalistic reaction of the eighteenth century. The greater part of the Baptist and Independent colleges now in existence arose towards the close of the last or in the beginning of the present century, owing their inception or resuscitation to the impetus of the Evangelical Revival. An interesting sketch is given of their history in the yearly *Calendar of the Associated Colleges*, published under the direction of the Senatus Academicus. Spurgeon's Pastors' College and the Home Missionary College established by Dr. J. B. Paton in Nottingham, are new foundations designed to give a less laboured and more practical training, while the Mansfield College, over which Dr. A. M. Fairbairn presides, is a development in the direction of higher scholarship.

All these have come into being, after the genius of Independency, as separate and self-contained foundations, each with its particular property and distinctive character, its local constituency and Council of management

representing the contributors. These colleges splendidly illustrate the vigour of the voluntary principle, and the compatibility of democratic institutions with superior culture. Their work is probably unequal; they have had, in this place or in that, their periods of declension; the picture of a college interior drawn in the late Mr. Hale's *Mark Rutherford*, however regrettable in its animus, is unmistakably life-like. But in the main their record is honourable in the highest sense; and they will continue, as we may anticipate, to lead the van in the intellectual progress of the Free Churches. The Senatus Academicus, dating from 1880, associates seventeen of the Nonconformist colleges, including the English Presbyterian College and the Victoria College (Congregational) of Melbourne, Australia, in forming a conjoint Board of Examination, thus controlling and unifying their teaching curriculum; the Senatus confers diplomas and prizes, and will probably seek legal incorporation for the conferment of degrees in Divinity. The exclusion of Nonconformists from such degrees in this country is a badge of religious inequality that ought to be removed. Reports of the Senatus, in which its examination papers are printed, indicate a high standard of attainment amongst the alumni of the colleges represented, in theology, biblical literature, and philosophy. The Congregationalists are credited with 375 students, the Baptists with 222; in the Churches of the former body about 90 new settlements take place every year, of which 73 are supplied by college-trained men. In comparing these figures with those of the Methodist colleges it must be borne in mind that they represent, as in the case of the Anglican collegians, *candidates* for the ministry, many of whom may not reach ordination. The term of studentship varies from three to six years; in the "associated colleges" it is five or six in most instances. Usually the longer term is divided between Arts and Theology in succession; the United Independent College at Bradford sends its clients elsewhere for their Arts course, before admitting them to its own Divinity classes. The entrance examination varies in difficulty; as a rule, it is

somewhat below the Matriculation standard. The Baptist colleges appear to be generally residential; the Congregational colleges are so to a less extent. All require substantial fees from their students; but most of them have handsome scholarships to offer for competition. Cheshunt College (founded by the Countess of Huntingdon), along with Mansfield, opens its doors to candidates preparing for any Evangelical ministry. No distinction is made between men destined for home or foreign work; Cheshunt, in particular, counts amongst its scholars a great number of Colonial ministers and foreign missionaries.

Amongst experiments in combined teaching, the most interesting is that presented by the New and Hackney Congregational and the Regent's Park Baptist Colleges in London, which are situated within a short distance from each other. For Arts the three employ a joint staff of five professors, who meet the students of the three houses (about a hundred in number) together in the rooms of New. In Divinity this is impracticable. Hackney and New Colleges are debarred by their trust-deeds from actually uniting; three, however, out of their four theological professors (excluding only the Principals) are appointed similarly in both, and go to and fro. By these arrangements each of the three establishments commands a staff of eight or nine tutors at a moderate cost; while the two Congregational colleges share the maintenance of their whole staff with one exception. The Baptist colleges of Nottingham and Rawdon, unable to effect local union, have amalgamated in another way. Their students take first at Nottingham the Arts course, extending over two or three years; then they are drafted on to Rawdon for teaching in Theology. The two institutions are thus welded into one continuous school under the same direction.

3. For Presbyterianism, the colleges of the (late) Free Church of Scotland will suffice by way of example. The admirable *College Calendar of the Free Church of Scotland* (1899–1900) is our chief source of information. These are of a widely different type from the colleges already noticed,

inasmuch as they form an integral and vital part of a connexional Church. Their constitution is determined, their staff appointed, and their affairs are yearly reviewed, by the General Assembly. In this fundamental respect they resemble the Methodist colleges; but they differ from these again in that their students, like the Anglican and Nonconformist collegians, are lay candidates, not yet accepted for the ministry nor in any sense incorporated with it. "External" students, preparing for work in other Churches, are admitted to the classes; at New College, Edinburgh, a considerable number of these are in attendance. The curriculum, covering four years—with a term of six months in the year—is strictly a Divinity course, and open to men who have graduated in Arts or who can pass an equivalent examination. Westminster and Mansfield Colleges in England impose a similar test. Students are non-resident, the only item of maintenance furnished by the college being *dinner* during term, which is contributed by a separate "dinner fund." Moderate fees are required for tuition; and these are met, with aid toward maintenance, by the numerous fellowships, scholarships, and bursaries accessible to gifted students. The establishments are three in number, situated at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen in proximity to the Universities; they contain about 170 Free Church students.

Financially, the Free Church colleges hold an enviable position. Their establishment was one of the earliest cares of the leaders of the Disruption of 1844. The history of the Church shows scarcely any finer example of enlightened liberality than is seen in their foundation. Chair after chair was set up and endowed, at the three centres in turn—in Systematic Theology, Apologetics, Hebrew, Biblical Exegesis, Natural Science—with an emulation of generosity and an enthusiasm for sacred learning such as Scotland alone could exhibit. These colleges possess above £200,000 in funded property; and the Church supplements by annual contributions of £1,500 the income thus secured. The Scottish laity take a warm interest in their Church colleges.

They set a value on high education, and they possess an hereditary love and reverence for theology which we cannot boast south of the Tweed. And they have their reward. Perhaps in no other country does the Christian ministry command such universal and intelligent respect; nowhere else is the "defence of the gospel" conducted with so much vigour, and the ascendency of religion over public thought and life so well maintained. Amongst its professors the Free Kirk has counted, and still counts, men of European celebrity. One trembles to think where British Evangelical theology and literature would have been by this time, but for the men bred in the Presbyterian colleges. A glance at the list of contributors to the New *Dictionary of the Bible*, beginning with the editor, Dr. James Hastings, is enough to show how great an influence has been won in this field by Scottish Free Church scholars, an influence out of all proportion to the size of their communion.

For all this, there appears to be something to seek in the northern plan of ministerial training. It tends to make better scholars than preachers. There is said to be a want of elasticity and adaptation in its products,—a certain stiffness and sameness,—traceable in part perhaps to the Calvinistic system. It leaves the students too little cared for outside the lecture-room. If hardihood and independence are fostered by the severe conditions of Scottish studentship, much is forfeited of the home discipline and spiritual nurture, of the close comradeship and the strong corporate feeling that under good management are realised in the fuller collegiate life of the English residential system.

4. It is unnecessary, for most readers of this REVIEW, to enter upon any detailed account of the Wesleyan Theological Institution, whose Sixty-sixth Annual Report lies before us. The Institution is the offspring of the middle age of Methodism. John Wesley wished to have formed a "seminary for labourers," had the times been propitious. So white unto harvest were his fields, that the reapers had to be thrust into their work instantly,—the work being that of a rapidly itinerating evangelism, amongst an unedu-

cated and spiritually destitute population. As Methodists gained intelligence and taste, and grew into a settled Christian community craving all the means of grace, a trained ministry became indispensable. "The Institution," established by the Conference of 1834, bears the stamp of the master mind of Jabez Bunting, that prince of Methodist statesmen, who was its first and only President. Unhappily it was not, like the colleges of the Free Kirk, set up by a unanimous and an eager movement of the Church. The Warrenite agitation clouded its birth, and aggravated the natural distrust of many simple Methodists who felt no need of preachers better trained than those to whom they owed their own conversion, and who cherished the prejudice against a college-bred ministry[1] inherited from an evil age when the English clergy shone in almost every taste and accomplishment except those proper to their work. In a few years, under the stimulus of the Centenary Fund of 1839, the single Institution spread into two "Branches" (which our modest fathers were careful not to call "colleges"), established at Didsbury in the north and Richmond in the south. The erection of the Headingley Branch followed in the year 1868, and of the Handsworth Branch in 1881, based respectively upon the Foreign Missionary Jubilee Fund of 1864 and the Thanksgiving Fund of 1879. In the case of the last two extensions, it is fair to say that the action taken was determined by considerations of general Connexional policy and by the competing claims of powerful Districts which urged their need and right to have central Church institutions upon their soil, rather than by any primary regard to educational efficiency and to the internal equipment of the Institution. Hence it came to pass that as our students multiplied and our

[1] Not so many years ago an Institution student, who united learning with home-bred simplicity, was congratulated after preaching by a pious old lady on the fact that he had escaped "the college *tarnish*"—*varnish* the good soul probably meant. On either reading, she well expressed the godly jealousy felt by many of our most worthy people in this matter, and the real danger which higher education brings with it.

necessities increased, college after college was set up on the original pattern, without any improvement of the pattern itself. That plan—a scheme generous and admirable for the time when it was first laid down—provided a staff of four: the House-Governor (or House-father), with pastoral and domestic charge of the establishment, to whose office the greatest weight is justly attached; a Theological Tutor; and a Classical Tutor, having general responsibility, along with his probationer Assistant, for all non-theological studies, and now styled "Tutor in Biblical Literature, Exegesis, and Classics."

In the early seventies, when the classical chairs at Didsbury and Richmond were filled by those eminent scholars, Drs. Geden and Moulton, the overgrown work of their department was divided; and by the year 1880–1881 the three Branches of the Institution then existing were manned each by five tutors (including the House-Governor). The establishment of the fourth college embarrassed the Institution Fund, which has not gathered the increased revenue that was hoped from the localities in which the several colleges were planted, except to a partial extent in the Lancashire Districts. Retrenchment was effected by *reducing the staffs*, which have been cut down to the old scale, except in the case of Didsbury. This last "anomaly" (as economists naturally regarded it) was on the point of being abolished in 1899, when the Conference arrested the reactionary movement and set on foot the inquiry referred to at the outset, which is still pending. With a single precarious exception, the staff of the Theological Institution stands to-day therefore on the footing on which it was first placed two generations ago. The Old and New Testament provinces, so urgently calling for division in the present state of learning, are still charged on a single man, who has "classics" on his shoulders besides. Church History and Philosophy are lumped with Systematic Theology and Classics, and get such attention as they may. Meanwhile the term of studentship has been raised to three (occasionally four) years, and instead of the less-educated probationers only being sent to college as used to be the case, it is now the rule that all

shall pass through the Institution. Manifestly, on these two grounds alone, the work of teaching in the Institution has become far more laborious than it was sixty years back, to say nothing of the signal change and development in all departments of theological and biblical study that have come about in the meanwhile, and the anxious and critical nature of research in these fields, with which tutors are bound to be acquainted. The staff that was ample for the needs of 1840 is sorely inadequate for the needs of 1900.

There are peculiarities in the nature of the Wesleyan colleges, that are not always well understood even by their friends. First, as to their *constituency*. Methodism requires in her candidates for the office of ministry three qualifications, *gifts*, *grace*, and *fruit*. Amongst "gifts" she has always ranked first those of *the preacher*. In the body of her local preachers she possesses the best recruiting-ground for the ministry in Christendom.[1] Where a young man feels the call of God and vindicates the call to his own Church and its pastors by his religious character and promise as a preacher, the want of means never bars his access to the ministry, and poverty of education raises no barrier hard to surmount. The power to preach acceptably of itself implies mental ability, and a certain minimum of culture; the literary tests imposed are such as condescend to men of low estate. The Methodist ministry is drawn from the rank and file of the people; its greatest preachers have in many instances come from humble occupations. In adopting this democratic principle and in opening to her sons a wide door into her ministry, the Methodist Church acts on the conviction, justified by long experience, that inborn talent and spiritual energy in young men can over-

[1] It is to be desired however, especially in view of the longer training necessary for the ministry, that recruits were enlisted *at an earlier age*. After twenty-one, every year makes a difference in plasticity of mind and aptness for sustained and various study. Parents and patrons should regard it as a most religious duty to put prospective candidates in the way of mental self-improvement, apprenticing them to study and giving them every possible facility therefor.

come the greatest disadvantages, and that, where the metal is good, God can make polished shafts to replenish His quiver out of rude and blunt instruments. But this policy renders the task of the Theological Institution one of extraordinary difficulty. Within the same college walls are gathered men whose attainments in theology and in general knowledge range, upon the showing of the entrance examinations, from "excellent" down to "poor,"—the honours graduate side by side with the miner or the ploughboy.

This is a delightful thing in itself, and makes wonderfully for social education and for the brotherhood of the ministry; but how trying for the tutor! There are few subjects in which the same lessons and lectures will serve all his men. With scholars of so many grades, whose previous training is defective in such various degrees and directions, a strong and varied staff is essential to satisfactory teaching. How is it possible that a company of three or four tutors, doing within the same class-rooms the work of both school and college, required to teach Arts and Divinity in their manifold branches side by side, and to deal with their subjects at once in the elementary and advanced stages, should be otherwise than distraught and overtasked? Either the teacher has too many subjects and classes for effective handling, or he must place in the same class men at quite different levels in point of knowledge; or both these offences against the rules of sound teaching are committed at once. These adverse conditions, we are bound to say, subtract in a serious degree from the efficiency of our Institution training; their existence and operation will be obvious to anyone conversant with educational matters, who carefully studies the annual reports and college time-tables. To retain students a fourth year, adding a further and higher course to the ordinary curriculum—a change already determined in principle—will of course make matters greatly worse in these respects. As it is, the graduate or graduating candidates, scattered through the four branches of the Institution, have to be treated to a large extent as private students, reading under the general direc-

tion of their tutors and without continuous personal instruction. It is obvious that little can be done for higher education with a staff engrossed by lower education, and where one set of men can only be helped by robbing another set of the time and attention due to them.

To sift out the several grades of candidates and draft them into distinct colleges would simplify the task; but such a separation would, it is felt, be contrary to the spirit of Methodism and would destroy the *camaraderie* of Institution life. Or again, to merge the four colleges in three, or better still in *two*, would make the educational problem manageable by the existing staff; but this proposal, on the other hand, endangers our domestic system which is suitable only to establishments of limited size, while it provokes alarmed remonstrance from the localities concerned, which regard any such uprooting as a wrong and almost a sacrilege. Other schemes of rearrangement and combination between the colleges suggest themselves to practical men; all of which are disturbing, and each of them attended by its drawbacks. Whether any such plan is desirable, and would secure economy in administration without loss in other ways, remains to be determined. To man the four colleges alike, upon the scale that their educational needs prescribe, means a heavy addition to an expenditure already exceeding the current income—and that in face of the anticipated increase in the number of yearly recruits, and in face of the demand for a lengthened term of studentship, circumstances both of which must aggravate the annual charges upon the Institution Fund. The question teems with difficulties and dilemmas.

Our *financial* system has, moreover, features of its own that should be appreciated. The annual outlay upon the four branches of the Institution, including Richmond College (supported by the Foreign Missionary Society), is about £14,000. This covers *education and maintenance*, bestowed both of them without charge, with a liberality practised towards their ministry in training only by the Methodist and (as we are informed) the Roman Catholic

Churches. The Institution receives subscriptions on behalf of students of well-to-do families, to the extent of £600; it charges no fees. The Church treats accepted candidates for the ministry as her sons, whom she is bound to provide for and train, until they can render her full service. Of the £14,000 yearly spent on the Institution, the greater part is devoted to maintenance and establishment charges. £5,000 covers the cost of the Wesleyan staff (including houses, etc.), for Arts and Divinity (185 students); while the Scottish Free Church people, thriftiest of mortals, spend upon their Divinity staff, for three establishments and 170 students, as much as £9,000; and the staff expenditure of four of the chief Congregational colleges, containing in all 130 students, is above £7,000. Taking the average length of Methodist studentship at two and a half years, Presbyterian at four years, Congregational at five, and adding to the total of staff expenditure in each instance the sum of £1,500 as covering, upon a liberal estimate, other strictly educational charges (for books, appliances, up-keep of lecture-rooms, library, etc.), we arrive at an outlay upon *teaching* for the entire student course of about £90, £250, and £325 in the three cases respectively.

In both these parallel instances the establishment and maintenance charges are much smaller than in the Wesleyan Institution—being respectively about £2,000 and £4,500—since the other Churches do not adopt, or the Congregationalists only in part, the residential plan. We do not dwell upon these facts with the purpose of making invidious comparisons; but it is right to point out where the onus of expense really lies, and how severe an economy is enforced on the educational side of the Institution.

The financial accounts of the Institution (pp. 94, 96 of the Report for 1900) show that the household expenses of its four colleges, which are most carefully supervised, exceed in amount their educational expenses, the item of "Governors' and Tutors' Salaries," for instance, being nearly balanced by those of "Provisions" and "Servants' Wages" together; in other words, the kitchen counts for

about as much as the lecture-room. In the balance-sheets of three residential Nonconformist colleges of similar size, which lie before us, there is a notable difference upon this head, and the outlay on "Education" much exceeds, and in a uniform measure, that upon "Housekeeping." If this ratio may be taken, as we think it may, for an index of the *height* of higher education and of the adjustment made between "plain living and high thinking," the inference is clear. Not for a moment do we suggest that there is any lavishness in the maintenance of Methodist students, knowing well the contrary; but it does look as though there were an especial frugality, not to say parsimony, upon the other side. When an Englishman retrenches, it has frequently been observed that one of the first things he will cut down is his children's education, and the very last is his house-establishment: Methodists are true Englishmen.

It would be unbecoming to enter here into plans for improvement, which are under the consideration of the Special Committee charged to advise the next Conference upon the subject. What appears in these pages is written, at the editor's desire, to set forth frankly the facts of the situation and their general bearing, in view of the prospective needs of the rising ministry, and as part of a great educational problem which concerns not one Church alone but the whole body of Christ and the common interests of religion. With complete control of her schools of the prophets, with her skill in organisation and her power of building up central Church institutions, and with the larger plans and possibilities opening before her in the progress of the New Century Fund, Methodism will surely be prepared and able at this juncture to lift the training of her ministry on to a higher platform and to set her Theological Colleges upon a worthy educational footing. Like England herself, Methodism has relied too much on native genius and on the triumphs of her past, and has felt too little the necessity of systematic training and expert knowledge in these altered times.

Of other factors in ministerial training, the most sacred and the highest of all—the devotional life of the colleges, their missionary spirit, the cultivation of pastoral sympathies and aptitudes, the art and practice of preaching—little or nothing has been said; they are not in the least forgotten. The Wesleyan colleges have great advantages in these respects. Their students are already approved preachers, men tested and versed in public Christian work; they have passed the threshold of the ministry, and are under its initial vows. This puts their college-life on a high religious level, and dictates a more intimate discipline and fellowship than might otherwise prevail. No change could be desired by any responsible person that should lead to these interests being subordinated in any degree to merely intellectual objects. Spiritual and mental development in every growing Christian mind are interdependent; and the truest "love" strives most to "abound in knowledge and all discernment." Misuse of talent and opportunity in the intellectual sphere brings spiritual penalties on the individual student, or upon the community that is at fault. The Church that fails to feed and to trim her lamps of knowledge will be scant of light, and in dark days and time of sore need may find "none to help her of all the sons whom she hath brought forth."

Our one and all-sufficing guide is the Paraclete, whom Christ sends unto us; His wisdom illuminates the simplest faith. To trust in human learning or power as against Him, or apart from Him, would be for the Church a suicidal unbelief. But to scorn in His name the gifts of wisdom and powers of thought that are His creation and His needed instruments, to reject these endowments when offered by His providence, or neglect their exercise, to have our sons poorly and slightly taught where they might be richly schooled in the lore of Christ, this is to prove ourselves ill stewards of the manifold grace of God, and to grieve the Spirit of truth Himself; it is to offer for Christ's work servants slower and duller than they might have been, when He calls for men in all ways "of quick under-

standing in the fear of the Lord." The Holy Ghost has put no premium upon mental indolence or inefficient teaching. That "chosen vessel" of His in the first Christian age, the apostle Paul, was the keenest scholar of his time and ranks amongst the most strenuous and deepest thinkers of all times. By many tokens Christ is summoning His servants to enter, for their Lord's glory and the help of men, upon their heritage in the divine increase of knowledge given to this modern age.

The Church is the mother of our civilisation ; she should be spiritual mistress of its forces, and yoke them all to her mission of redemption. It belongs to her calling to "make captive every thought" of science and of learning to Christ's obedience, to wrest these instruments from the adversary's hand, and to forge out of them new weapons, joined with the old, to ply in His warfare, engines "not carnal but mighty with God to the pulling down of strongholds." For her captains in the enterprises of the coming century the Church needs the strongest and bravest of her sons ; and they will need the amplest equipment she can give them.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

THE THEOLOGY OF HORACE BUSHNELL.

1. *God in Christ.* 1849. (London : Chapman. 1850.)
2. *Sermons for the New Life.* 1858. New edition, *The New Life.* (London : Dickinson. 1892.)
3. *Nature and the Supernatural.* 1858. (Edinburgh : Strahan & Co. 1861.)
4. *Christian Nurture.* 1861. Fifth edition. (London : Dickinson. 1899.)
5. *Work and Play.* 1864. (London : Dickinson. 1888.)
6. *Christ and His Salvation.* 1864. New edition. (London : Dickinson. 1880.)
7. *The Vicarious Sacrifice.* (London : Strahan & Co. 1866.)
8. *The Moral Uses of Dark Things.* 1868. (London : Dickinson. 1881.)
9. *Sermons on Living Subjects.* (London : Sampson Low. 1872.)
10. *Forgiveness and Law.* (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1874.)
11. *Building Eras in Religion.* (New York : Scribners. 1881.)

WHATEVER the final verdict may be on the value of much of Horace Bushnell's work, it will at once be acknowledged that his writings bear everywhere the stamp of that higher order of original, creative thought of which we can never have too much. Everyone will confess

this to be the case with the books which we have placed at the head of this article. But the same qualities are seen in his more occasional efforts, the mass of lectures, sermons, addresses, orations, and other publications of smaller bulk and more limited interest than those which are named in this select list. His writings of all kinds went to enrich the literature of the land, and turned men's ideas of Christian truth in a new direction. They made a contribution to the theology of America such as none had made since Jonathan Edwards, with the single exception of Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton. It was a contribution notable not only for its weight and its independence, but also for its opportuneness. It fitted the temper and the cravings of the time.

Horace Bushnell came to the fulness of his powers at a critical period in the history of religious thought in America, when a man like him was greatly needed. A change had been in progress in the Churches of New England, which had come slowly and in a way but half realised by its subjects. The massive theological system which had long been dominant, and which had been a power working for reverence and righteousness in the hands of its authors and its first adherents, had been losing its hold on younger minds. The Nemesis that dogs the steps of all that aims too high had overtaken it. For many years that theology had spent its force in controversy over the finesse of its great dogmatic affirmations, over the logical connexions and issues of its most abstract propositions. But the winds that blew from a whole new world of philosophical and scientific ideas which had been opening up were searching it. There was a natural disposition on the part of many of the younger generation to rush to the opposite extreme of religious negation or to seek refuge in the chill reasonableness of Unitarianism, without pausing to consider the old ways or understand and adjust the old thoughts. Things were waiting for the emergence of a theologian of a new kind, one who could appreciate the past while he looked at it with modern eyes, one in whom the new wine of nineteenth-century ideas was to be turned to a better use than

the noisy bursting of the ancient skins, and who might at least begin the work of mediation and reconciliation.

Horace Bushnell was the man to whom this rare opportunity first offered itself. It came to him. He did not seek it. He had as little thought as any man well could have of constructing a new system or founding a school that might be called by his name. It was simply that he had thoughts born of profound, transforming religious experiences through which he had passed, and that he could not but speak these out to others. Circumstances conspired with his own natural bent to make him reflect much and preach much and write much, and in the course of time the results of all this were seen in ways of conceiving and expressing the great Christian verities which had at once a certain novelty and a certain unity, and which brought him the unsought prominence of the man on whom the public eye was fixed and who was owned as master by multitudes in America and in Europe.

What, then, was the theology of Horace Bushnell? Its primary interest was in the Person and the Work of Christ, most particularly in the latter. But it had also its characteristic views of the Trinity, the nature and the consequences of sin, free will, future punishment, forgiveness, the existence and the ministry of angels, the Fall, and other questions. Some of these had a quite subordinate place in Bushnell's statement of Christian doctrine, and a comparatively slack connexion with his vital beliefs. Even the question on which the Reformation of the sixteenth century turned, that of justification by faith, appears to have bulked but little in his thoughts. He allows it a chapter in his book on *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, but at best he looks at it only by the way. He gives little attention to the idea of the Church and the doctrine of the Sacraments. The distinctively Calvinistic answers to the questions relating to the decrees, predestination, and the Lord's supper are little noticed, and when he refers to Calvinism he shows little comprehension of what it really is. Topics of another kind, those connected with the work of the Spirit, for example, the subjective

operations of grace, the assurance of faith, and the like, with which we should have expected him to be more in sympathy, do not seem, so far as his writings indicate, to have occupied any great space in his thoughts. He has a notable sermon indeed on "Regeneration," and it was his intention to compose a treatise on the Holy Spirit. That we should have been glad to get from him. It was a subject so germane to his genius and his experience that the marvel is that he did not write largely on it. All that he did was to begin the proposed treatise, but this was near the close of his career, and he accomplished only a few pages. His mind turned to other themes. The Incarnation and the Atonement—from the beginning to the end these were the subjects that formed his main concern. These made the marrow of his theology. On these his thoughts were always at work, always growing, and in some measure always changing.

It is of great interest, and it is also comparatively easy, to understand how his most cherished theological conceptions originated and took their shape. It is by no means so easy to say how they were related to each other, what they ultimately came to be, or in what way and to what extent they diverged really and finally from the accepted teaching of the Evangelical Churches. Horace Bushnell was always brooding on his favourite themes, always seeking for more light, always reconsidering his conclusions. He was never above confessing error or inadequacy in the terms in which he expressed them, never slow to revise, correct, and restate. His gift of words, too, sometimes ran away with him. He had a habit, when things first dawned on him, of giving his impressions or ideas in large and somewhat inexact language. Opinions on the fundamental facts and verities of Christianity which seemed, when he first uttered them, to involve wide departures from the wonted forms of Christian doctrine, turned out in course of time, under the pressure of further reflection and more precise expression, to be far less formidable in their dissent than at first appeared to be the case. In point of fact, on most of the questions which most deeply and

continuously exercised his thoughts and on which he seemed to be in the sharpest antagonism to the prevalent theology of his day, he made before all was done a much closer approach to the statements of the great creeds and the best representatives of the ordinary evangelical faith.

To understand him aright and come to any proper estimate of his place and service as a theologian we have to follow him over a wide and varied field. We have to study his ideas as they present themselves under different aspects in the different classes of his writings, and as they were modified from time to time, and more clearly defined. There are five of his books which have more of the character of professed theological treatises than any others—*God in Christ, Christian Nurture, Nature and the Supernatural, The Vicarious Sacrifice, Forgiveness and Law.* These of course must be the main study. But it will not suffice to limit ourselves to these. Together with them we must take his volumes on *Christ in Theology, The Moral Uses of Dark Things,* and *Building Eras.* The first of these goes with his treatise on *God in Christ.* The second, though far from satisfactory in some of its contentions and over bold in some of its efforts to remove the veil from things in the order of life and the world that pain and perplex, is one of the most attractive and suggestive of all his works. It should be read alongside *Nature and the Supernatural,* the argument of which it illustrates and complements at certain points. The third volume, which consists of a number of articles designated by the author his *Reliquiæ,* contains among other things two papers on "The Christian Trinity" and "Christian Comprehensiveness." These are both remarkable discussions, the one dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity as a "practical truth," the other touching on such subjects as the doctrine of the Real Presence, the Quaker tenet of an inner light, the Episcopalian theories of succession and descending magisterial grace, etc.

But we must also make ourselves acquainted with his minor writings, and above all with his volumes of sermons. For his theology was in most things that he wrote, and

nowhere more distinctly or characteristically than in his pulpit discourses. There is much that deserves notice and much that is helpful in his more occasional efforts, as, for example, in his addresses on *Work and Play*, *The Growth of Law*, *Barbarism the First Danger*, and *The Age of Homespun*. In the second of these he took up the burning question of slavery. In 1863 Professor Goldwin Smith published his brilliant pamphlet entitled *Does the Bible sanction American Slavery?*—an essay which came like a flood of light to many young minds in difficulty about the attitude of Christianity to such things. In his discourse on *The Growth of Law* Horace Bushnell anticipated by about twenty years Goldwin Smith's remarkable performance, and applied principles of large moment to the problem of slavery, its place in the Mosaic law, and the relation in which the ethics of the Bible stood to such institutions.

From all these something of Bushnell's mind is to be gathered, but least of all can his sermons be ignored by those who would understand his theology. For his theology had a history to which his sermons are often the key. It has always a vital, practical purpose, which finds its best expression in his discourses. In them, too, we see more clearly how his theology was "formulated Christian experience," the reflection of his own religious history, not the product of logic and cogitation.

When all is done, however, we are far from having anything like a connected statement of Christian doctrine. It was not in Horace Bushnell's nature to be systematic. He did not think of attempting to elaborate his ideas or to work them into an articulated whole. He gave them as they came to him by vision or intuition, and as they formed themselves along the line of his own growing insight. What they come to is not a scientific exhibition of the contents of Revelation, the deposit of Christian truth, or the sum of the analysis of the Christian consciousness, but a series of statements or deliverances, some of them fragmentary and given in the mass rather than the particulars, others more fully worked out, some in the way of hints, others in more

reasoned form, not always clearly consistent, lacking in precision of definition, having little logical connexion, but always vital, fruitful, and in close relation to the life of religion.

The student of Horace Bushnell's theology, therefore, has to lay his account with a certain vagueness, indeterminateness or elusiveness that hangs about it, or, let us rather say, a certain lack of singleness of aspect about it. Often it is difficult to say what his exact position is. When we seem to have it tied down to a particular expression, we find it by-and-by so differently put that we become uncertain. This is not accidental. It is due to his distrust of definition. And this he justified by a theory of language which he applied to his theology. So much is made of this theory that it has been called "the key to Horace Bushnell." Dr. Munger speaks of it in extravagant terms. He says of it that "whether true or false, it runs throughout his theology and makes it substantially a unit," and he claims for Horace Bushnell that "his entrance into the company of New England theologians with such a theory was like Copernicus appearing among the Ptolemaists." There are a good many far-fetched things in Dr. Munger's interesting and appreciative book on *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian*, which seem strange to one who looks on them from a distance and outside the haze of hero-worship. But this certainly is one of the most remarkable. The theory in question was in some respects innocent enough. Practically it came to be much like Matthew Arnold's theory in his *Literature and Dogma*. The good that it served was in that direction. It was a sensible protest against an extreme use of dialectics and an over-driven reliance on rigorous, logical definition in matters of faith. It may also be said on its behalf that it was a seasonable protest. American theology had been in the hands of system-builders who worked largely by ratiocination and inference. It had to be recalled to a sense of the bounds put upon all human knowledge and the essential imperfection of the most carefully constructed schemes of doctrine. Horace Bushnell helped to remind over-confident theologians of

this by insisting on the weakness of the instrument of language by which the mind works, as others had displayed the limitations of the mental faculty itself.

The theologian had to begin, he said, by considering what language was really capable of doing as the medium between the mind and the objects of its knowledge. He found two distinct departments in language—a physical department, providing names for *things*, and an intellectual department, providing names for *thought* and *spirit*. In the former "names are simple representatives of things, which even the animals may learn." But it is different with the latter. There "names of things are used as representatives of thought," and can be learned and used only by "those who can read the inner sense, or receive the inner contents of words," that is to say, by "beings in whom the logos of the creation finds a correspondent logos, or reason, to receive and employ the types it offers in their true power."

Words, therefore, being mere types, symbols, or analogies, things thrown out at truth, as Matthew Arnold would have phrased it, are at the best nothing more than "proximate expressions" of thoughts. They are necessarily inexact. They carry something false in them, and are never to be taken too strictly. The most they give us is a single aspect of the reality, and even that they only shadow forth. They are for suggestion and expression, not for definition. To require more of them is to make them "serve as beasts of burden" and "forget their poetic life as messengers of the air." They are the *reflections*, not the *representations* of things and thoughts, images and figures of the realities, which are inherently so weak as to require to be multiplied, compared, and corrected, the one by the other if they are to bring us near the objects and give us real knowledge.

"Language," he says in his essay on *Christian Comprehensiveness*, "cannot convey the truth whole, or by a literal embodiment. It can only show it on one side, and by a figure. Hence a great many shadows, or figures, are necessary to represent every truth; and hence, again, there will seem to be a kind of necessary

conflict between the statements in which a truth is expressed. One statement will set forth a given truth or subject-matter under one figure, and a second under another, and a third possibly under yet another. The doctrine of Atonement, for example, is offered in Scripture under a great variety of figures, and a history of the doctrine up to this moment consists in a great degree of the theologic wars of these figures doing battle, each for the supremacy. For as soon as any figure of truth is taken to be the truth itself, and set up to govern all the reasons of the subject by its own contents as a figure, argument itself settles into cant, and cant is enthroned as doctrine. For cant, in rigid definition, is the perpetual chanting or canting of some phrase or figure, as the fixed equivalent of a truth. And hence, as most men who speculate, both in philosophy and religion, are not fully aware of the power of words, or how, if they place a truth under one word in distinction from another, it will assuredly run them into dogmas that are only partially true, successive dogmas in theology or philosophy are perpetually coming upon the stage, and wearing themselves down into cant to die,—in which, though they resemble themselves to the swans, it is yet with a difference; for the swans only sing when they die, but these sing themselves to the death. The number of contrary theories that may be gathered round a given subject is limited, of course, only by the number of figures adjacent to it."

This is a characteristic passage, and it gives the best side of his theory. It is both true and useful, as he puts it in this popular form. The instance also which he adduces is to the point. It is the case that the doctrine of the Atonement is given in terms of a number of distinct figures of speech in the New Testament. It is also true that if we attempt to construe it according to anyone of these figures to the exclusion of the others we shall have an imperfect and misleading conception of it, and any dogmatic statement made of it under these limited conditions will be false in virtue of its partiality. But Horace Bushnell pressed the principle to extreme issues as against exactness and definition in theology. It did not prevent him from constructing doctrinal statements of his own which were sufficiently positive. But it was a reason for his polemic against dogma,

and against logic in theology. It was his apology, too, for the vagueness for which he had such favour. He had a rooted disinclination to commit himself to fixed or well understood terms. He preferred the suggestive to the descriptive. He was not prepared to say in any case, "The truth is there." The utmost he could consistently say was, "The truth is thereabout." When urged in matters of controversy, where he left men uncertain as to his real meaning, to give his ideas in precise and definite form, he replied frankly that he chose rather to dwell with the obscure.

But his theory of language in its application to theology had more in it than this. His sympathy with the Greek type of theology naturally led him to make much of the Greek idea of the Logos. His theory of language had its roots in that idea, and was connected also with his general conception of nature. The outer world was to Bushnell a vast system of symbols, "itself language, the power of all language." The divine Logos was in creation, in the outer world, and in man. In the outer world there is an inner sense which is given in the types which it offers, and in man there is a correspondent logos that can read the thoughts of the divine Logos in nature's figures. "There is a logos in the forms of things," he says, "by which they are prepared to serve as types or images of what is inmost in our souls," and there is a "logos of construction in the relations of space, the position, qualities, connexions, and predicates of things by which they are framed into grammar." In another passage, which is notable also as indicating how he had anticipated many in grasping the great idea of Revelation as an historical disclosure of God, he looks again at the question whether a complete and proper Christian theology can be produced in human language—whether "the Christian truth can be offered in the moulds of any dogmatic statement." And of this "Christian truth" he says: "Pre-eminently and principally, it is the expression of God,—God coming into expression through histories and rites, through an incarnation, and through language—in one syllable, by the Word."

In this way he comes finally to the conclusion that the perfecting of theology depends upon the perfecting of language and of physical science. His hope for the final settlement of mental and religious truth, he tells us, is this—

> that physical science, leading the way, setting outward things in their true proportions, opening up their true contents, revealing their genesis and final causes and laws, and weaving all into the unity of a real universe, will so perfect our knowledge and conceptions of them that we can use them, in the second department of language, with more exactness. . . . And then language will be as much more full and intelligent, as it has more of God's intelligence, in the system of nature, imparted to its symbols. For undoubtedly the whole universe of nature is a perfect analogue of the whole universe of thought or spirit. Therefore, as nature becomes truly a universe only through science revealing its universal laws, the true universe of thought and spirit cannot sooner be conceived.

This conception of the instrument of thought and vehicle of expression is at the basis of Bushnell's whole idea of the possibility of a construction of Christian truth, and of the method to be followed. It explains much in his theology; not only its lack of exactness, but the mystical vein that sometimes appears in it. It has both a popular or practical side and a philosophical. Those of his writings which are least under the influence of its philosophical relations are likely to live longest. This holds good especially of his *Sermons* and his *Christian Nurture*.

Of the former fortunately we have a considerable collection. They are indispensable, as we have said, to a proper understanding of his theology. Not a few of them have for their subjects the doctrinal topics discussed in a different way in the theological treatises, and the one should be compared with the other. But apart from this these volumes of sermons have an exceptional interest. In a high degree they have the elements of life in them, and will probably outlast his other writings. His strength was in the pulpit. It was a quiet strength, but great. His early ministry was characterised by a fiery vigour. In his

maturer years this became a subdued intenseness. He threw all that was in him into his preparations for the pulpit. He read his discourses, and he did it with little of the orator's art. But the impression was deep. And we can understand why it was so. His sermons are sometimes wordy, sometimes even what the more chastened taste of our day would call turgid. His rhetoric runs away with him, and his statements become at times involved and strained. He was a great master of words, and coined curious novelties of phrase which lodged like arrows in the mind, but were apt to suffer by iteration. But everything had the note of intense conviction. His discourses were fertile in ideas, and the man himself was in them all. Everything came straight from the laboratory of his own mind and experience, and was felt to be part of his own inner life. His sermons are of the same order as those of Frederick Robertson of Brighton, with much of the same living quality of style, though less clean and finished in that respect, instinct with thoughts which dwelt with the principles of things, redeeming Christian truth from the grasp of the schools, and making it a thing of the life and the consciousness.

He had a lofty conception of the preacher's vocation. How high his ideal was we see by his remarkable essays on *Pulpit Talent* and *Training for the Pulpit Manward*. He attached importance to style, but far greater importance to matter. He insisted that "only good and great matter makes a good and great style." The things which he held most essential in the preacher were the "non-canonical talents," as he called them,—the talent for growth, the talent of a great conscience, the faith-talent, the undefinable quantity which he described as the man's *atmosphere*, "the moral aroma of character," "the magnetic sphere of the person," and behind and within all the talent of thinking. "There cannot be much preaching worthy of the name," he assures us, "where there is no thinking. Preaching is nothing but the bursting out of light, which has first burst in or up from where God is, among the soul's foundations.

And to this end, great and heavy discipline is wanted, that the soul may be drilled into orderly right working."

Dr. Munger would have the first of these essays read often by preachers to "reinstate them in the requisites of their profession." It has also the personal value of being, as he rightly terms it, "an unconscious revelation" of Horace Bushnell himself. His sermons show how he toiled towards the attainment of that ideal. They are opulent with the kind of talent which makes the real power and greatness of preaching—the talent that "looks into things and through them," the thinking talent that does not become "stalled in abstract theology," but "struggles right away from formula, back into fact, and life, and the revelation of God and heaven." Not a few of them have titles contrived with a singular suggestive, mnemonic art, which give them a lasting place in our memories. Many of them rank among the great discourses of our century. In choice of subject and in method of treatment many of them have become the models which multitudes of preachers have been glad to imitate. Their names crowd at once upon the memory—"Every Man's Life a Plan of God," "Living to God in Small Things," "Unconscious Influence," "The Capacity of Religion Extirpated by Disuse," "The Power of an Endless Life," "Respectable Sin," "Duty Not Measured by Our Own Ability," "Spiritual Dislodgments," "Dignity of Human Nature Shown in its Ruins," "The Insight of Love," "The Wrath of the Lamb," "Feet and Wings," "The Gospel of the Face," "The Dissolving of Doubts," "Our Advantage in being Finite," "The Coronation of the Lamb." A goodly company, with others too in its train, with a sure place in our memories, consecrated by the sense of indebtedness!

Next to the sermons his book on *Christian Nurture* has probably the surest future. There is in it a direct, simple, practical force which gives it the promise of life. It was no hasty effort, but the product of the reflections of many years. It was not published in the form in which we now have it till 1861. It had its beginnings, however, in a

couple of discourses which were printed under the same title of *Christian Nurture* thirteen years before that. It had been in preparation indeed ten or eleven years earlier still, for its real original is to be found in an article on "Revivals in Religion," which was written in 1836, and afterwards incorporated in the publication of 1847. Even in its finished form it is not a treatise in the proper sense of the term. It is a collection of essays or discourses. It has much of its author's maturest and most characteristic thought, however, and it made a deep impression.

It is a plea for a Christian training of youth according to nature, especially as nature works in the sanctuary of the family. It addresses itself to the question—What is the true idea of Christian education? And it answers it in the proposition that "the child is to grow up a Christian and never know himself as being otherwise." It recalls attention to the great laws of heredity, influence, and example; to the scriptural idea of a covenant relation; and to the organic order and power of society as exhibited alike in the Church, the State, and the Home. There was need for this at the time when the book was written. On the subject of conversion, regeneration, and free will ideas were current which seemed to Bushnell to be hurtful to the religious life—mechanical ideas which meant that there was but one way of entering the kingdom of God. The theology of sin and grace had assumed a form which implied that no one could regard himself as an heir of that kingdom who had not passed consciously through a certain fixed and recognised experience of conviction and conversion, terror and relief, and that the training of the child was to be directed to the making of him a Christian in that pronounced and stereotyped way.

The book was a protest against all such exaggerated and limiting ideas of God's ways with human souls, young or old. It was also a reassertion of the place and power of the organic forms of life as against an extreme individualism. Bushnell was the last man to speak lightly of the individual life, the individual responsibility, or the relation of the

individual soul to God. He acknowledges the gain that had been brought to theology by "fixing the attention strongly upon the individual man, as a moral agent, immediately related to God, and responsible only for his own acts." But he thought that in their one-sided speculations the men of his day had lost sight of the important truth underlying the old doctrine of federal headship, and original and imputed sin, though strangely misconceived. The tendency of the thought of his time seemed to him to be towards an over-driven individualism which was both fictitious and mischievous—an individualism which made little or nothing of organic laws, and overlooked the fact that "character may be, to a great extent, only the free development of exercises previously wrought in us, or extended to us, when other wills had ours within their sphere."

He enlarged, therefore, on the divine institution of the family and on the forces which have their seat there. He would not have the child dealt with as a creature that had to wait for some unmistakable mental convulsion, which was to be the condition of his right to be called a Christian. He would have him *trained* from his earliest youth into piety by use of those simple, silent, fundamental forces that are deposited in the family for the purpose. And these forces he held to be more than we ordinarily understand when we speak of *influences*. The parent has indeed a "persuasive" or a "governmental" power, which he employs purposely, "with a conscious design to effect some result in the subject." That is *influence*. But besides that he has a power of a different kind over his children, a force contained in his character, feelings, spirit, and principles, which "must propagate themselves, whether he will or not." The organic unity of the family is a great fact which we cannot discount in our ideas of Christian nurture. It means that "the family is such a body that a power over character is exerted therein, *which cannot properly be called influence*." The "manners, personal views, prejudices, practical motives, and spirit of the house" make an "atmo-

sphere which passes into all, and pervades all, as naturally as the air they breathe." There is an organic connexion of character between parent and child, which makes the proper theory of Christian nurture to be that of an education into piety. The child is more within the organic power and the organic laws of the family than the adult is, and if these are on the side of good the child should grow up under them as a Christian child.

"Consistent Calvinism," says Dr. Munger in his exposition of Bushnell's doctrine, "allows no place in the Church for children." The truth is all the other way. It is only of an inconsistent Calvinism that such a statement can be made with any right. It is Calvinism that has found a place for the biblical idea of a covenant-relation, and with that a place for the child. Bushnell says much against a false orthodoxy, much that was just and seasonable in face of the type of orthodoxy which was in the ascendant when he wrote this book. But there was an orthodoxy before that, which was truer to the real genius of Calvinism, and the argument of his book, in some of its main points, was an appeal for a return to that earlier doctrine.

In his *Nature and the Supernatural*, with which we should take, as I have said, his book on *The Moral Uses of Dark Things*, Bushnell grapples with a very different series of questions. He had a profound sense of the truth of the Christian revelation on the one hand and the majesty of nature and law on the other. He felt acutely the difficulty of adjusting the facts of the New Testament to the science of the time. For the apologetics of the school of Paley he had small regard. The old way of dealing with miracle as credible in virtue of its place in the New Testament, and of looking at it as a seal attached to revelation and attesting it, was wholly unsatisfactory to him. He could not accept the idea of miracle as a suspension of the laws of nature. He was more in sympathy with Coleridge in regarding miracle in the case of Christ as credible in the light of the character, teaching, and personality of the Worker. But he required more than this.

He wanted a view of things which would place miracle and nature in a proper relation to each other, or rather one which would solve the apparent antithesis between nature and the supernatural. And he did this not by bringing the supernatural down to the level of the natural, but by lifting up the natural at a certain point into the realm of the supernatural, and making one large system or order of the two. The object which he set before him was to "find a legitimate place for the supernatural in the system of God," as he puts it, "and show it as a necessary part of the divine system itself." And in this way he was to exhibit Christianity, not only as having a place in the divine order of the world, but as being "the design or final cause revealed," by which "all the distributions, laws, and historic changes of the world are determined and systematised."

In developing his argument he makes much of a distinction between "things" and "powers." "Things" are natural; "powers" are supernatural and use "things" for their own ends. Nature is much, but it is not all. The universe of God includes more. There is a higher system—a spiritual system, not under the law of cause and effect, and for it nature exists. He defines *nature* as "that world of substance whose laws are laws of cause and effect, and whose events transpire in orderly succession under those laws." The *supernatural* on the other hand is "that range of substance, if any such there be, that acts upon the chain of cause and effect in nature from without the chain, producing thus results that by mere nature could not come to pass." But man is not in the grasp of endless causation. He is a free agent, who can act upon the chain of cause and effect. In virtue of his will he belongs to the supernatural realm. He is the meeting-point between nature and the supernatural. The difficulty as to miracle is solved by bringing miracle itself under law—*supernatural* law. For nature and the supernatural have each its own laws. The higher order of the supernatural is served by the lower order of the natural. But the two make one system—the universe of God.

A good deal of the illustrative matter which Bushnell draws from science is inapplicable now. Not a few of his instances must be otherwise viewed now. Nor is his argument so applicable to the present position of things as it was to the circumstances of his own time. His view of creation does not recognise sufficiently the divine immanence. He did not anticipate the hypothesis of evolution, although he spoke of "an about-to-be, a definite futurition, a fixed law of coming to pass" as "in the whole of things called nature." But his book was a relief to many minds at the time. It was an important contribution to the spiritual interpretation of the world, and by its view of man as essentially a supernatural being in virtue of his endowment of will, it did something to prepare the way for those discussions of personality as applicable to man and to God which are characteristic of our time. Above all it is to be remembered for the noble and original chapter in which he showed how the moral perfection of His humanity and the harmony of contrasts in His character made it impossible to class Christ with men.

For his views of the Trinity and the Person of Christ we have to look specially to his books on *God in Christ* and *Christ in Theology*. They meet us also in others of his writings which deal with different points of doctrine, and they are expounded in some of his sermons and addresses. On the subject of the Trinity he endeavoured to find a middle term between Unitarianism and orthodoxy. He felt the Unitarian idea of God insufficient. His heart cried out for more. He regarded the ordinary doctrine of the Creeds on the other hand as essentially tritheistic. He found it difficult to accept either the doctrine of two distinct natures in Christ or that of three metaphysical persons in the Godhead. The latter resulted, he thought, in the affirmation of "three vital personal Gods," inconsistent with the unity of God, and in a conception of Christ as begotten and sent by the Father, which is inconsistent with the real divinity of Christ. He sought refuge, therefore, in a doctrine which refused to say anything of the interior nature of the God-

head and made Christ one with God in a way that merged His personality in the Father.

His doctrine is essentially Sabellian, although he did not himself regard it as adequately designated by that term. It is a Trinity of revelation. He thought he came nearest the "simple, positive idea of the Trinity" if he called it "an Instrumental Trinity and the persons Instrumental Persons." He agreed with the Sabellians in defining the Trinity as one simply of manifestation. But while the Sabellians also denied that God existed eternally as a triad of Persons, Bushnell would say nothing of the interior or immanent being of God. What he did insist on was that there was in God a power of self-expression.

This power of self-expression in God he held to be eternal. He identified it as the Logos. He found in that "the permanent ground of possibility for the threefold impersonation called trinity." He added that, "if God has been eternally revealed or revealing Himself to created minds, it is likely always to have been and always to be as the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." In his *Christ and Theology* he made further explanations, and came nearer the Nicene doctrine. He believed indeed that his doctrine was not essentially different from that of the ancient Church. He spoke of God as "in some high sense and undefinable . . . datelessly and eternally becoming three," and confessed it to be to him a refreshing surprise to find himself able to "approve the general truth" of that which he had supposed himself to have rejected. But while he made approaches at times to the doctrine of an immanent Trinity, it does not appear that he ever got really beyond that of a Trinity of manifestation.

With his view of the Logos as an "eternal self-expressing power in God which appeared as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," he proceeded to further conclusions. He became to some extent a Patripassian, giving a considerable place in his theology to the idea of the passibility of God. And with this he reached a view of Christ's Person which takes from the perfect integrity of His human nature. In Christ God

suffers, entering into the pain and sorrow of man. In God there is a suffering humanity, of which Christ is the expression.

> "Christ is in such a sense God, or God manifested," he says, "that the unknown term of His nature, that which we are most in doubt of, and about which we are least capable of any positive information, is the human."

In all this he followed another and less happy way than Robertson of Brighton. Instead of rising from the study of the historic Christ to his conception of God, overwhelmed with the sense of Deity he came from the idea of God to that of Christ and thought of the humanity of Christ as merged in His divinity. The effect of this is also seen when he deals with the sinlessness of Christ. He explains that as due to the divine being "so far uppermost in Him as to suspend the proper manhood in His person." He says of Christ in this respect

> that He does not any longer act the man; practically speaking, the man sleeps in Him. He acts the divine, not the human, and the only true reality in Him, so far as moral conduct is concerned, is the divine.

With all this he connected a mystical view of Christ, derived from Coleridge—the view that Christ is the *form* of the soul, the "indwelling, formative life of the soul."

It was not in these directions, however, that Bushnell's most considerable contribution to theology was made. It was on the great question of the Atonement. His main interest was always there. The subjects which occupied his thoughts beyond all others from his earliest manhood to his old age were the great ideas of Sacrifice and Forgiveness, and the power and purpose of Christ's sufferings and death. All that he attempted to do in reconstructing the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ, or in putting a new aspect on those of justification, sin, and imputation, was done with a view to his interpretation of Christ's work, and had its chief value in that relation. It was his great ambition to give a worthier exposition of the Atonement, one truer to

life and experience, and in completer harmony with the highest reason, than he believed the ordinary doctrine to be. It was an early ambition. So far back as 1859 he wrote thus: "I think the day is at hand when something can be done for a better conception of the work of Christ. Here is the great field left that I wait for grace and health to occupy." The thoughts of many years at last took shape in two books which are written with exceptionable power and with a glow that becomes almost a passion—these are *The Vicarious Sacrifice* and *Forgiveness and Law*. The latter was afterwards incorporated in the former. The original title of the former was, *The Vicarious Sacrifice grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation*. That of the latter was, *Forgiveness and Law grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies*. When the two treatises were made one book on *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, the explanatory title of the earlier work was displaced by that of the latter, and the prominent idea became that of *Human Analogies*.

Bushnell was never able to accept those views of the Atonement which were current in New England in his time. The doctrine which recognised an objective as well as a subjective value in Christ's work and explained the former in terms of substitution and satisfaction, had suffered from logical refinements, and had become associated with commercial and commutative ideas which were not of its essence. It had assumed a hard, abstract, theoretical aspect, which provoked a natural reaction. To relieve it the theory had been constructed which is known as the governmental theory or that of rectoral justice—a theory which interpreted Christ's sacrifice as an *expression* simply of divine justice, a transaction giving in connexion with God's forgiveness of sin such a manifestation of His regard for justice as would secure the interest of the moral order of the world and make the necessary impression of His righteousness. This provision of relief failed in its purpose. It was repudiated on the side of orthodoxy by men like Dr. Charles Hodge on the ground that it presented a fictitious view of the righteousness of God, and to theologians of another school it seemed as

unsatisfactory as the doctrine which it sought to improve. Bushnell could rest content neither with the older view nor with the newer. Both appeared to him to move, though in somewhat different ways, within the narrow limits of human jurisprudence and political analogy. He was in quest of a view of Christ's work which would relate it to principles of universal obligation and carry it into the region of eternal law which lies behind and above all human law.

In his book on *The Vicarious Sacrifice*, therefore, he aimed at constructing a doctrine of the Atonement which would clear it of all lowering and limiting connexions with forensic notions, and exhibit it as a moral power. He dissociated it from all purely legal or judicial relations, from all conceptions of a satisfaction rendered to justice or a compensation made to law, from all ideas of a substitution for the sinner or a bearing of his penalty, and placed its essence in Christ's profound identification of Himself with men in their fallen condition and His being "burdened in feeling with our evils." Our forgiveness, he thought, is secured by Christ bringing us out of our sins themselves. The meaning of His sufferings and death is that He bore our pains and sins upon His heart and thereby won an influence over us that makes us His own. "Christ in what is called His vicarious sacrifice," he says, "simply engages at the expense of great suffering and even of death itself to bring us out of our sins themselves and so out of their penalties." This He did simply in accordance with the great law of love. For love is itself a "vicarious principle, bound by its own nature to take upon its feeling and care and sympathy those who are down under evil and its penalties."

In *kind*, therefore, Christ's work is nothing exceptional. His cross and sacrifice were His "simple duty, and not any superlative optional kind of good, outside all the common principles of virtue—not a goodness overgood and yielding a surplus of merit in that matter for us," but only "just as good as it ought to be, or the highest law of right required it to be." He expresses himself again and again in terms like these: "Christ was under obligation to do and suffer just

what He did"; "Christ is not here to die, but dies because He is here"; vicarious sacrifice is "the economic law of discipleship." It pertains to all other good beings as truly as to Christ Himself in the flesh. He goes so far as to say that "the Eternal Father before Christ, and the Holy Spirit coming after, and the good angels before and after, all alike have borne the burdens, and struggled in the pains of their vicarious feeling for men." He enlarges on the passibility of God in this connexion, so that his view comes to be this—Christ is the moral power of God, and He is so because He "humanizes God." It is God who suffers in Christ. "Here then it is," he says, "in the revelation of a suffering God, that the great name of Jesus becomes the embodied glory, and the Great Moral Power of God."

Thus the virtue of Christ's Atonement lies wholly in the moral effect produced in and upon the sinner. In elaborating his argument Bushnell says some strong and even scornful things of the current theology on the subject of Christ's work and that of the Holy Spirit. He calls it a "theologic gospel of dry wood and hay." What he fights against, however, is not the evangelical doctrine of the Atonement as it is expressed in the great Creeds or in the writings of the most authoritative divines, but rather certain extreme forms into which it had been driven by over-zealous defenders. His polemic is good against commutative or commercial glosses upon the doctrine, but not against the essentials of the doctrine. It does not appear indeed that he had thought himself sufficiently into the real import of the doctrine. It is surprising to find him content to repeat the popular objections to it in their most superficial form.

"The justice is satisfied," he cries, "with injustice! The forgiveness prepared is forgiveness on the score of pay! The judgment-day award disclaims the fact of forgiveness after payment made, and even refuses to be satisfied, taking payment again! What meantime has become of the penalties threatened, and where is the truth of the law? The penalties threatened against wrong-doers are not to be executed on them, because

they have been executed on a right-doer, *viz.* Christ. And it is only in some logically formal, or theologically fictitious sense, that they are executed even on Him."

In endeavouring to establish his doctrine on the testimony of Scripture, he performs some remarkable feats of exegesis. These are seen in his treatment of most of the classical passages, those dealing with the *bearing* of sin, Christ *made a curse for us*, and the like, and most especially in his interpretations of the numerous New Testament passages in which Christ's work is expressed in terms of the sacrificial system and services of the Old Testament. These are emptied of their historical meaning. By help of Bushnell's theory of language which is much in evidence here, they are made symbols of fine modern ethical ideas. They are "spiritual word figures," as he calls them, "altar forms," "vehicles of religion," which he takes as "clear interpreters and equivalents of God's mercy on the cross," but only in the nineteenth-century sense which he puts upon them, not in the sense which they had to those who used them and for whom they were originally meant.

So far Horace Bushnell's doctrine of the Atonement recognised only a subjective purpose and efficacy in Christ's work. But he did not rest there. There were things in his thought and passages in his experience which carried him farther. He had a profound sense of the demerit of sin, the majesty of law, the burden of penalty, and the righteous judgment of God. He believed in eternal punishment, and saw "no show of evidence or possibility" in purgatorial restorationism. He repudiated indeed all quantitative ideas of future punishment, and explained that the word "eternal" need not be understood in the speculative sense. But he thought it was best dealt with when taken to mean practical finality. He spoke also of the penalty of the future as consisting, not indeed in extinction, but in a wasting away of the religious nature. But he held that, with such explanations, there is

nothing left in the matter of endless punishment by which we can fitly be disturbed, except that it does not bring out the

kingdom of God in that one state of realised unity and complete order which we most naturally desire, and think to be worthiest of His greatness and sovereignty.

All this made it probable that Bushnell would not settle finally in the purely subjective view of Christ's work which was elaborated in his *Vicarious Sacrifice*. In that book itself indeed there were intimations of this. For he recognises there the fact that legal penal enforcements have their place, and speaks of Christ as combining with the moral influence of His work the natural forces of retribution. He even makes the striking confession that without these "altar-forms" in which Christ's work is expressed we "should be utterly at a loss in making any use of the Christian facts that would set us in a condition of practical reconciliation with God." It is not enough to look at Christ's death as a martyrdom, eloquent of love.

"We want to use these altar-forms," he says, "just as freely as they are used by those who accept the formula of expiation or judicial satisfaction for sin; in just that manner, too, when they are using them most practically."

So in his volume on *Forgiveness and Law* he is led to look at Christ's work definitely on its God-ward side. He does not abandon the moral view which he had so powerfully advocated, nor does he go over to the doctrine he had so severely handled. But he discovers more in the Atonement than he did when he wrote his earlier book. He sees there is more in it than a reconciling power on man's side, and he is no longer satisfied with the figurative explanation of the great New Testament idea of *propitiation*, of which he had made so much. There is a real propitiation of God, he now acknowledges, a sense in which He propitiates Himself. There is an analogy, not to be overlooked, in acts of human forgiveness. These are all done *at cost* to the person who forgives. They imply the removal of difficulties on his part,—the laying aside of the resentment and reaction of his own moral nature, the sense of indignation, the feeling of injury. "If this is true of all moral natures," he

asks, "why not of the Great Propitiation itself?" The analogy of human forgiveness is applicable to the divine. There is something in God that is met by Christ's work, as well as something in man.

"I asserted a propitiation before," he says, "but accounted for the word as one by which the disciple objectivizes his own feelings, conceiving that God Himself is representatively mitigated or become propitious, when he is himself inwardly reconciled to God. Instead of this, I now assert a real propitiation of God, finding it in evidence from the propitiation we instinctively make ourselves, when we forgive."

It is a remarkable confession, indicating a notable advance. It is at last a frank recognition of the fact that no interpretation of Christ's work of Atonement is adequate which limits it to certain purely subjective aspects, and finds in it only a moral power effective in man's heart. Bushnell's lifelong reflection on the mystery of the Atonement led him in the end to see that there is something behind that moral power in the divine nature itself, something in God Himself to which Christ's Atonement has relation. Dr. Munger fails to recognise the importance of this. He takes but slight notice of *Forgiveness and Law*, and deals with it in a way which makes one surmise that he would rather that Bushnell had not written it. But in confessing that the Atonement has an objective value as well as a subjective, and a relation Godward as well as a power in and over man, the brilliant Hartford preacher attached his doctrine at last to the profoundest testimonies of Christian experience, and placed himself in line with the greatest name in theology. And it is at the point touched in his *Forgiveness and Law* that the interest of Horace Bushnell's theology culminates.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

The World of Books.

I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought. An Essay to which was awarded the Kaye Prize for 1899. By Henry St. John Thackeray, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s.* net.)

THIS is the first systematic attempt in English to apply our newly acquired knowledge of Jewish contemporary literature to the illustration of the New Testament, and as such it is welcome. The chief works of this class are well described in the author's introduction—the Book of Enoch, Psalms of Solomon, Book of Jubilees, etc. While our knowledge of this field is still incomplete, it has received valued accessions through the labour of scholars like Charles Burkitt, Conybeare, and, above all, Weber's able work on Jewish Theology. It seems natural that Paul's system of thought should bear traces of the teaching on which in his student-days he fed. Prejudice indeed has objected to the use of Jewish literature for such a purpose, lest Paul's originality should be interfered with. The present volume supplies ample evidence that there is little ground for such fear. The relation between Paul and the Judaism of his day is much more one of contrariety than of agreement. The author works out the comparison under such heads as Sin and Adam, the Law, Justification by Faith or Works, Eschatology, the World of Spirits, Use of the Old Testament. The second and third of these topics are fundamental in Paul's teaching. As to the Law, our author says, "St. Paul's view shows the most radical revolt from the Judaism of his day"; as to the other, "in it the apostle's independence of thought and his complete break from Judaism is most apparent." On the other questions, while the points of contact are more numerous, there is no

"slavish dependence." Pfleiderer in the new edition of his *Paulinism* has greatly overrated the dependence. Dr. Bruce says, "St. Paul was not the slave of rabbinic theology." It would be strange if Paul's writings betrayed no acquaintance with the theological ideas of his day. The many points of contact and contrast supply much matter for reflection.

J. S. BANKS.

The Doctrines of Grace. By John Watson, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

A master in the world of fiction here proves himself a master in the world of theology. The fourteen chapters, discussing such topics as Regeneration, the Vicarious Sacrifice of Jesus Christ, Saving Faith, the Holy Catholic Church, the Holy Ministry, the Sacraments, cover a considerable portion of the theological field. One effect of the book will be to reassure many who were disturbed by a previous work of the author's. It is not so much the conservative tone that impresses us as the jealousy for the more austere aspects of religious truth. The two chapters on the Sacrifice of Christ and Future Punishment are especially satisfactory. The following extract from the chapter on Forgiveness is significant: "The idea which some people have imagined of the Eternal is virtually an extremely good-natured but very weakly father, who cannot find it in his heart to punish anybody and who is feared by nobody. This is not the scriptural doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and this is not the likeness of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." The chapter on the Church is the longest in the book, and is a cogent presentation of the Protestant doctrine. The idea of the Church advocated is very pure and strict. George Herbert and Samuel Rutherford are well compared in their devotion to the Church. "That Christian has missed one of the most spiritual emotions of our faith who has not felt the fascination of the Church, which is above all controversies, behind all divisions, holier than all Christians, kindlier than any home; for which a man might be willing to die, which he ought to love even as he loveth Christ." The unity of the Church is finely argued. In the chapter on the Ministry the priestly theory is briefly but convincingly refuted. Clear thinking, incisive speech, healthy doctrine pervade the work.

J. S. BANKS.

The Divine Love: its Sternness, Breadth, and Tenderness. By Charles J. Abbey, Rector of Checkendon. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

The accomplished "joint-author" of the *English Church in the Eighteenth Century* appears here as the advocate of Universalism. The mode of advocacy adopted is that of brief comments on passages of Scripture. There is no formal, connected argument; the conclusion is suggested in tentative, interrogative form. There are a hundred and forty-one brief comments, which are divided into two sections, one on the "Sterner Element in Divine Love," another on the "Tenderness and Breadth of Divine Love." At first sight little order is apparent in the arrangement of the passages; but we can easily believe that there has been a reason in the mind of the writer for the position of each passage. We notice a difference in the tone of comment between the two sections. In the first the "sterner element" is minimised; indeed, it is reduced to zero, for in the end no evil or condemnation is left. In the second full significance is attached to all passages of hope and promise. If the minimising tone had been continued in the second part, the result would have been different. "Christ is the Saviour not on this side of the grave only." "Can we believe that the Father's love, the Saviour's redeeming energy, the Spirit's power, abruptly ends to any man with his last earthly breath?" Of Dives it is asked, "Why are we not to suppose that suffering would at last end, and that the heavenly Father of that purified and redeemed soul would welcome him into a home where pain and suffering would be no more?" The author's desire is to recommend Christianity to those who stand aloof. Whether he will do so by eliminating the retributive side of law and ignoring the sternness in Scripture and in life is very doubtful. "M. Arnold" in note on p. 112 is a mistake. On p. 104 "have" is a slip of the pen for "has."

J. S. Banks.

Christ the Truth. Eight Lectures delivered in 1900 by Rev. W. Medley, M.A., of Rawdon College. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

Few things are more necessary in these busy days of multitudinous mental activities than the *co-ordination* of thoughts in harmony and order. It is not merely a question of the relation

between science and religion, but the relation of religion to philosophy, art, politics, social economy, and a thousand matters besides. Men have hardly time to get their thoughts into order on one subject, to say nothing of all subjects, the highest included.

An "Essay towards the Organisation of Christian Thinking"—which is the sub-title of the volume before us—is therefore very welcome. Mr. Medley's choice of subject for the third series of Angus Lectures is appropriate and timely. He is also in some respects well fitted for his work by the cast of his mind. He writes clearly and soberly, and is not unsuited for that comprehensive survey of thought in general which is necessary for one who would "organise" the whole in the interests of religion. No one can read these lectures without gaining much fresh light upon a complex and difficult subject.

We think, however, that Mr. Medley would have done well to remember that "the half is more than the whole." He has undertaken so much in the very plan of his work that the severest compression of detail becomes necessary in every part. It was surely unwise to detain the reader at the outset by the detailed account of the processes of logic and the methods of physical science. The account of Greek philosophy and the scope of philosophy in general which is given in the fourth lecture and the description of ethics in the sixth are much more to the purpose, but it is not until the seventh lecture—the last but one—that Mr. Medley shows us the *principle* of co-ordination towards which the reader has all this time been groping his way. The last two lectures contain some excellent remarks on the functions of religion in relation to all departments of knowledge, especially on "Personal truth as the highest form of reality," and the only kind of unity in which the human mind can rest. But to our thinking the object would have been better secured by another arrangement of matter and a clearer presentation in the earlier portion of the book of the unitary and unifying principle of knowledge which is well unfolded at the end.

The task which the lecturer had set himself was a difficult one. He will probably esteem it a real success if he has only partially attained the end at which he aimed. This there can be little doubt that he has done. The book must prove interesting to every thoughtful Christian, and if the style had been relieved by a somewhat freer use of imagination and

illustration it would more readily have attracted the intelligent young men for whom the subject is one of the first importance.

W. T. Davison.

The Life of Jesus of Nazareth. A Study. By Rush Rhees, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in Newton Theological Institution. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1900.)

This latest addition to the enormous literature of its subject reaches us from the other side of the Atlantic. The author seeks chiefly to set "the Man Jesus before the mind in the reading of the gospels," thinking this the best way to reach a recognition of God manifest in the flesh. He brings before his readers most of the important subjects of controversy that have arisen in connexion with the life of Christ, but calmly and unargumentatively, sometimes giving his own conclusions, sometimes leaving the judgment in suspense, but always giving references which enable a reader to follow out the subject for himself. Professor Rhees is evidently content to leave undecided a large proportion of the questions with which "harmonies of the gospels" are concerned, with the view that a decision concerning them is not so important as has often been imagined. But his own views are in the main sound and moderate, and he proves a fair guide through the thorny thickets of age-long controversy. The dates and authorship of the gospels, the chronological order of Christ's ministry, the occurrence of "doublets" in the gospel narratives, the identification of "the feast" in John v. 1, and the date of the Last Supper, are some of these questions. The student who would enter fully into such subjects must still go to Andrews and to larger works. But a brief treatment such as Professor Rhees gives will suffice for many readers. We have noticed a few printer's errors and a number of Americanisms which strike an English eye unfavourably; but these are slight flaws in a carefully prepared and useful volume. W. T. D.

The Ascent through Christ. A Study of the Doctrine of Redemption in the Light of the Theory of Evolution. By E. Griffith-Jones, B.A. Fourth Edition. (London: James Bowden. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

A popular edition of this able book in a light and cheap form is welcome for many reasons. The book has already passed

through three editions since its appearance in the spring of last year; and that alone is a high testimony to its merit. It has some obvious defects due to the only partial assimilation by the author of some of his favourite modern writers, and to the provisional and tentative character of much of his own work. Of the doctrine of the Atonement he justly remarks, that the time has not yet fully come for its restatement on evolutionary lines; and with equal accuracy the same might be said of several other subjects of review. In the eschatological chapters conjecture is allowed to play far too large a part, and the interpretations of Scripture are somewhat free. The conception of God is vitiated by a sentimentality that involves in fact a destructive modification of the fundamental definitions of theism. But on the other hand the merits of the book are both many and great. It is reverent, sincere, occasionally strenuous, a genuine attempt to grapple with an urgent problem. The writer is acquainted with all the most important recent literature on the evolutionary side of his subject, and most of that on the theological side. He is an ardent lover of truth, a fair controversialist, a sagacious leader of opinion. And his book may be confidently commended for discreet reading to anyone who wishes to see how the various lines of progress in scientific and in theologic thought are gradually converging, and making the glory of God more manifest.

R. Waddy Moss.

The Spirit of God. By Rev. G. Campbell Morgan. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

It has been said by a competent authority that more books and booklets on the work of the Holy Spirit have been issued during the last twenty years than in all the time since the invention of printing. The complete and satisfactory treatise has yet to be written. Mr. Morgan deals especially with the biblical theology of his subject, examining and classifying the various texts. After a too brief discussion of the personality of the Spirit, he examines His work in creation, prior to Pentecost, in the pentecostal age, and in the individual, a central section being given to the teaching of Christ on the subject, and a final one to a practical application. In so wide a range of exposition unfailing agreement is hardly to be expected; but the writer is consistently sympathetic, and never fails to command the respect and elicit the interest of his reader. The

book is, as far as it goes, a thoroughly sane and effective treatment of a difficult theme, with both edification and correct thinking as its natural products. Should a second edition be called for, as is not unlikely, an index of Scripture passages would be a valuable addition, and a supplementary volume, exhibiting the history of thought within the Church on the subject and its philosophical relations, with a discussion of the controversial matters involved, would lift up Mr. Morgan's book to the rank of a treatise of the first order. R. W. M.

The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1900. By Rev. Robert J. Drummond, B.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 10*s.* 6*d.*)

The new series of the Kerr Lectures deals with a burning question of the day, namely, the attempt to set up opposition between the teaching of Christ and that of the apostles, especially of Paul. We know how deeply Paul has influenced Christian theology; the doctrines of sin, redemption, incarnation have been largely shaped by his teaching. His was the master-mind of the Reformation, and his influence was never greater than it is to-day. It is a bold attempt that is now being made by leading writers to discard his authority altogether, to place him on a level with ordinary teachers, and to accept nothing as binding except what can be proved to have come from Christ's own lips. The specious feature in the scheme is the appearance of greater honour done to Christ. This is not the place to discuss the questions thus raised, the provisional nature of Christ's teaching, the need of further exposition, the explicit claims of Paul, and the effect on his trustworthiness of setting aside those claims. To say nothing of inspiration, the nearness of Paul and the other apostles to Christ gives them an influence which no later expositors can possess. Mr. Drummond's volume deals with this whole subject in an excellent way, by positive exposition and comparison instead of by controversial argument. On each of the leading doctrines the teaching of Christ and that of the apostles, especially Paul's, is set side by side, so that the relation of the two is seen at a glance. The discussion is very complete and calm. No invective is indulged in. Incidentally the chapters are excellent studies in New Testament theology. The result is to show convincingly that the

difference is in form rather than substance, and that apostolic teaching is as much a development from sayings of Christ as the plant is from the seed. One of the best proofs of the truth of this position is that advocates of the new theory have roundly to deny, without historical warrant, the genuineness of many important sayings of Christ. The revolutionary character of the theory is evident at a glance. When Paul's distinctive teaching is dismissed along with everything in Christ's words that anticipates it, Christianity is reduced to very narrow dimensions. The offence of the cross has ceased. We do not say that the motive of the opposition is to get rid of the doctrines which have always formed the centre of Christian belief, but such is the result. One of the chief offenders is Dr. Mackintosh, who in a recent work, *The Natural History of the Christian Religion*, charges Paul with having completely changed the basis and substance of Christian doctrine. Christ's, he says, is a doctrine of salvation without atonement, Paul's one with atonement; Christ makes man self-dependent, Paul makes him depend on Christ. This is outspoken enough; but it is only what is assumed or implied in a certain school of great influence. Mr. Drummond's volume well expounds and illustrates the true relation between the two teachings. The full indices and summaries prefixed to the chapters are excellent helps to the reader.

J. S. B.

Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice. A Report of a Conference held at Oxford, December 13 and 14, 1899. Edited by W. Sanday. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

The idea of a conference of Anglican and Nonconformist divines to consider the central doctrines of the Christian faith and Church was an excellent one; it has already borne good fruit, and by the publication of this report will bear more. In effect, all the Churches are invited to take part in the conference. The necessary brevity of the discussions and report is in itself a benefit. We get the meaning of the different representatives in the fewest possible words; all evidently did their best for the sides they represent. There is little or no ambiguity in their utterances, while many of the statements of doctrine are admirable alike in substance and form. Dr. Salmond's contributions (pp. 110, 145, 166), Canon Gore's (p. 147), Dr. Fairbairn's

(p. 141) are particularly forcible, and others are scarcely inferior. The Third Discussion on Priesthood is described in the volume as the most important; but this again depends on the former one respecting Sacrifice. Is the eucharist an expiatory sacrifice? The answer to this determines whether the minister is a priest in the proper sense. As far as we can see, only two of the ten Anglican divines incline to give an affirmative answer (Father Puller and Dr. Moberly). Three others (Canons Gore and Scott Holland and Mr. Headlam) approximate to them. Canon Bernard, Dr. Ryle, Dr. Sanday, Mr. Lang, Archdeacon Wilson are nearer the position of men like Dr. Salmond. But in the case of Canons Gore and Scott Holland and Mr. Headlam there is an important admission which separates them altogether from the sacrificial doctrine strictly taken, for they all acknowledge in the plainest terms that Christ's sacrifice is unique in its propitiatory character. Canon Gore is especially emphatic on this point (pp. 96, 113, 133), although he contends that sacrifice has other meanings besides propitiation. He does not indeed tell us what these are, but he distinctly excludes propitiation from any sacrifice offered by the Church. In that case sacrifice and priesthood assume a harmless character. Drs. Salmond, Fairbairn, and Davison do not hold more explicit language on this vital point than Canon Gore. To have brought out this fact is an immense gain. The same differences appear in the discussion on the question of the Priesthood. On the whole the agreement far outweighs the difference. It is delightful to find such eminent representatives coming so near together. The tone of the discussions is equally admirable. There are many other interesting points that one would like to refer to, such as Dr. Moberly's attempt to find the core of Christ's sacrifice in an act of perfect penitence—an idea taken from McLeod Campbell. But we have done enough in indicating the relation of the different speakers on the decisive question. The result again emphasises the welcome fact that the new school of High Churchmen do not hold the eucharistic sacrifice and priesthood (*i.e.* do not hold sacerdotalism) in the strict sense. We are quite at one with Dr. Sanday, Canon Gore, and Mr. Headlam in their appeal to all English Churches to assist in developing the true idea of sacrifice common to all the Churches instead of simply denouncing unscriptural conceptions. Heaven speed the work of union among English Churches! Scotland has shown us the way. J. S. B.

Design in Nature's Story. By Walter Kidd, M.D., F.Z.S. (London : Nisbet & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Some advocates of evolution maintain that it has cut up the argument from design by the roots. The purpose of the present book is to illustrate the argument from the evolution standpoint, and the purpose is worked out with great mastery of detail and force of reasoning. Adaptation is the term substituted by some evolutionists for design, hoping to bury out of sight the element of intelligence and foresight. The author argues that the adaptation in nature implies intelligence everywhere. Not only organisms but their environments imply it, for life is the result of the twofold condition and twofold adaptation. The other chapters illustrate the principle of adaptation under a single aspect, namely, the wonderful provision for the protection of the organism in the plant and the animal world and in the human structure. The argument is most ably carried out. For its full appreciation considerable knowledge of natural science is necessary.

Reasons for Faith in Christianity with Answers to Hypercriticism. By Dr. J. M. Leavitt. (New York : Eaton & Mains.)

If Dr. Leavitt can bring himself to give us the "Reasons" without the "Answers," his book will gain immensely, and will be a really valuable and popular book on the Evidences. It is brightly written and up-to-date—a fresh and interesting statement of old and tested verities. Perhaps the best chapter is that on Archæological Proofs, and the last three chapters on the Resurrection give us all that we need to know in a concise and handy form.

One notes inaccuracies here and there; for example, the paragraph on the *Codex Ephremi* on page 114 should be re-considered. This codex is usually ascribed to the fifth century, not the sixth. It represents as many texts as a MS. of that age very well could, and yet we are told that it is written "in Greek of great purity." The works of Ephraim are said to be "written over a Septuagint imperfectly erased." Out of 238 leaves of this codex, there are only 64 of the Old Testament. Why call it a *Septuagint*? The first chapter of the book is a very tall indictment of Dr. Briggs and "the hypercritics." For intemperance and extravagance of statement and for screami-

ness of style it out-Herods anything known to us in all the writings of "the hypercritics." It will convince nobody who is capable of weighing the evidence, and will enlighten nobody. It would be easy, though scarcely fair, to transcribe a few very entertaining sentences. The book would gain every way if the author would delete the whole chapter. A. MOORHOUSE.

Studies of the Portrait of Christ. By George Matheson, D.D. Vol. II. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

Dr. Matheson's earlier volume has gained great and deserved popularity. He here carries on his study of our Lord's spiritual development from the feeding of the Five Thousand to the Crucifixion. It is a very fresh and suggestive handling of a difficult theme. The special value of the work lies in the way it quickens thought and sheds new light on the familiar incidents of the gospel history. The study of our Lord's first visit to the family at Bethany will be eagerly read and discussed. We do not find it convincing; but the chapter is a fine tribute to Jesus as the man of the hearth. The discussion of the three parables of Luke xv. has greatly pleased us. There is much food here for the devout student of the gospels, and Dr. Matheson knows how to set out his dainties.

Cambridge Bible for Schools: "The Book of Daniel" with Introduction and Notes. By Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D. (Cambridge: University Press. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This little commentary is worthy of the great scholar to whom it has been committed. Dr. Driver tells us everything that we need to know of the language and history of the book, and his notes are models of clearness and condensation. But we find ourselves quite unable to accept his verdict that the narrative part of the book is "a vivid presentation of real and important religious truths, even though the events described in it did not in all cases occur in actual fact as the narrative recounts." He regards the book as a work of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, who began to reign in 175 B.C.

Thirteen Homilies of St. Augustine on St. John xiv. With Translation and Notes. By H. F. Steward, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 4*s.*)

This volume has been prepared with special regard to the wants of candidates for holy orders. It gives the Latin text

with a translation on the opposite page, and contains all the apparatus needed for an exact study of the homilies. Besides notes on the text there are hints on grammar, a vocabulary of new words, a table of readings which compares Augustine's Bible quotations with those in the Vulgate and the Old Latin. A mass of information as to Augustine's life and teaching is condensed into the introductory notes.

The Holy Bible. Two-Version Edition. Being the Authorised Version with the Differences of the Revised Version Printed in the Margins. (Oxford: University Press.)

We heartily agree with the Venerable Bishop Ellicott that this Two-Version edition will be welcomed by all students, and especially by all teachers of the Bible. It has been prepared in the most skilful way, and by seven simple signs every difference between the two versions, including even punctuation, can be recognised with readiness and certitude. Two editions on India paper at half a guinea and fifteen shillings have been prepared; two on ordinary paper at seven shillings and sixpence and half a guinea; an interleaved edition at a guinea.

The Philosophy of Dissent: Analytical Outlines of some Free Church Principles. By J. Courtenay James, Ph.D. (London: J. Clarke & Co. 5*s*.)

Despite a too ambitious title the aim of the present work is right. It seeks to point out the principles involved in the position of Nonconformist Churches. The title shows that the work does not claim to be complete. Still, it is a wide field of discussion over which we are led. No essential principle is omitted. The questions considered are such as the Conception of the Church, Orders, Church Polity, the Position of the Laity, Church and State. The opposite attitudes taken on these subjects by the hierarchical and dissenting Churches are clearly indicated, and reasons for and against canvassed. The author's tendency is decidedly democratic. If we offered any criticism, it would be that he does not always sufficiently allow theory to be controlled or qualified by practical necessities. The best scheme theoretically is not always the best in "practical politics." The chapters on the Position of the Laity in different Churches, on Church Government and State Alliance are full of interesting information. Still, the factor of experience and fact

comes in and needs to be taken into account. The author has criticisms to offer on the position of laity in Methodism, in which it is not difficult to point out anomalies. Without at all closing the door to further development, we cannot help asking, How does the system work? Compared with other systems which come nearer to the theoretical ideal, Which has the balance of practical advantage? Apart from criticism, the work will afford much guidance in these days of ecclesiastical change.

Unto You Young Men. By the Venerable W. D. Sinclair, D.D. (London: Grant Richards. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Archdeacon Sinclair's aim has been to help young men to a settled faith in Christ and in the Christian life. He has given impressive utterance to the argument for Christianity, and has illustrated the subject in a way that will appeal to the judgment of all thoughtful readers. It is a golden book for the young.

A Young Man's Religion. By Rev. George Jackson, B.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3s. 6*d.*)

Perhaps the highest praise we can give to Mr. Jackson's new volume is to say that these are such sermons as Wesley would now preach in Edinburgh. They are profoundly evangelical, yet up to date in diction, illustration, and appeal. They are simple, clear, direct, methodical; alive with thought and feeling; instinct with energy and urgency; aflame with an intelligent and well directed zeal. All that he writes is full of sense and taste. Young men would be enriched for ever by the ethical religion here described; and not young men alone. They are models of the highest style of popular address.

T. A. Seed.

The Miracles of Unbelief. By Frank Ballard, M.A., B.Sc. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 6*s.*)

Mr. Ballard thinks that apology has not its due place in modern preaching, and suggests that preachers might, as he himself has done, give one Sunday evening a month to this work. Without endorsing all his reasons and criticisms, we acknowledge the great force of his suggestion. A preacher has abundant helps in the work. Mr. Ballard gives a remarkable bibliography of modern apologetic literature, which might be further enlarged; *e.g.* we miss from it Dr. Tymms' *Mystery of God*. The present work will be of great use to anyone contemplating such a course of teaching. It gives examples

from many realms, while treating none exhaustively. The design argument, the early Christian history, Christ's resurrection, the moral effects of Christianity, Paul's conversion, are among the facts discussed at length. As to each one, it is argued that faith involves far fewer difficulties than unbelief. Mr. Ballard is nothing if not logical; he puts reason, conviction, intelligence first, and has no faith in emotional faith apart from intelligent conviction. In substance he is right. He reasons well; he is vigorous alike in logic and language. He does too much honour to the coarsest unbelief even in mentioning it, and one or two other books discussed are almost out of date. But as a whole the book is a strong one, and ought to be most useful. We are glad to see that Mr. Ballard is not afraid to recommend Paley's books, which are incomparable in their kind, and Lyttleton's *Conversion of St. Paul.*

From Apostle to Priest: a Study of Early Church Organisation. By J. W. Falconer, M.A., B.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 4*s.* 6*d.*)

The present work, growing out of a course of lectures on the Early Episcopate at Kingston University, Canada, gives in untechnical language and clear sequence a history of the way in which the early view of the Christian ministry was superseded by the sacerdotal theory, which became universal and continued so till the Reformation. The transformation was extraordinary. The view of the ministry in the New Testament and through the second century is non-priestly, then by degrees it becomes priestly. At first we should think such a revolution impossible. The Christianity of Christ and the apostles is emphatically free from priestly form and colour. Still, the change took place. The causes and steps of the change are not easy to trace. It was not the work of one man or school. By much research light has been cast on the disastrous process, and we are not likely to learn much more. The story is told in many learned treatises, such as Lightfoot's unanswered essay. Here it is told for ordinary readers with the greatest clearness and convincing force. To anyone who wishes a plain, accurate account of the growth of the sacerdotal theory of the ministry we confidently recommend this work. The chief defect is the absence of an index, which is not completely atoned for by a full table of contents. The most modern writers on the subject are taken into consideration.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have published Bishop Butler's works in two handsome volumes of their *English Theological Library* (7*s.* 6*d.* net per volume). They have been edited with great care by Professor Bernard of Dublin, who has supplied a brief biography, many valuable notes, and a few hints as to the present-day value of the argument, and a marginal summary. The work could not have been better done, and it is an edition which every student will find of the greatest value.

An All-round Ministry (Passmore & Alabaster, 3*s.* 6*d.*) is a collection of Mr. Spurgeon's addresses at the Annual Conferences of the Pastors' College. They are full of spiritual insight, of sound sense, and loving zeal. Subjects that interest preachers most deeply are handled by a master and in a way that makes a preacher's heart glow with desire for greater usefulness.

My Counsellor (2*s.*), a series of daily meditations from Holy Scripture, published by the Clarendon Press, is one of the most helpful of little books of devotion. The way in which the passages are strung together often throws new light on familiar verses, and many a fruitful Bible reading might be based on these selections. We know nothing better of the kind.

The Biblical Illustrator ("Joshua, Judges, Ruth"), by Rev. Joseph J. Exell, M.A. (Nisbet & Co., 7*s.* 6*d.*) There is rich material in this volume for the preacher and teacher who knows how to use it wisely. It has been gathered from a wide circle of homiletic literature, and it is well put.

The fourth volume of Dr. Alexander Whyte's *Bible Characters* (Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 3*s.* 6*d.*) will be as popular as the earlier studies. There is much food for thought in these suggestive pages, though Dr. Whyte is often wild in his hypotheses. Lazarus fares badly at his hands, and so does Matthew.

The Expository Times (T. & T. Clark, vol. xi., 7*s.* 6*d.*) has steadily increased its circulation during the past ten years, and is eagerly read, not only at home, but in all parts of the mission field. It deserves its popularity. It is a magazine that teachers and preachers prize more highly every year.

Messrs. Jarrold & Sons have published a third edition of Major W. H. Turton's *The Truth of Christianity* (3*s.* 6*d.*) It is an examination of the Christian argument which will greatly commend itself to thoughtful and devout students. The work has been thoroughly revised, and we hope that it will be put into the hands of every honest doubter.

II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. By H. B. Swete, D.D. (Cambridge: University Press. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Dr. Swete's Introduction to the LXX. Version is intended to accompany the valuable edition of the text which he has conducted through the press. The second edition of the portable text was completed last year; the larger Cambridge Septuagint is still in hand, and the first volume of that will, we gather, not be ready for some years. We join very heartily in the welcome which this *Introduction* will receive on all hands. Hardly any account of the LXX. is available in English which is fully up to date, except articles in the Bible Dictionaries, and of all versions—the Vulgate not excepted—this has the chief claim upon the student of the Bible. Of course, as Dr. Swete says, "the literature of the subject is enormous"; but that forms an additional reason for adding to it. A compendious statement of the position from the pen of a fully competent expert was greatly needed both by those who could not and those who could pursue their researches into this voluminous literature. Dr. Swete was the very man to do this work, and he has done it well.

The volume includes an account of the Alexandrian version and the history of its composition. There follows a chapter on Aquila, Theodotion, and other Greek versions. This is followed by an excellent account of the Hexapla and the Hexaplaric and other recensions of the LXX. The MSS. of the LXX., the printed texts, and the ancient versions based on the LXX. receive due attention.

One very important subject is the Alexandrian canon, which includes, as is well known, certain "apocryphal" books not admitted into the Hebrew canon. This subject is clearly and succinctly treated, and a sufficient account given of the variations. The Greek into which the version is rendered possesses characteristics of its own; but this idiom has never been examined with the thoroughness it deserves, the references to it in standard New Testament grammars being only incidental.

Dr. Swete thinks that a separate grammar of the Greek Old Testament is a real want; but, pending its production, the fourth chapter of his second part will be found most instructive and helpful. Very useful also—for other purposes than the study of the LXX.—is his account of the various text-divisions, *stichi*, lectionaries, etc.

The third part of this valuable treatise is concerned with the "literary use, value, and textual condition of the Greek Old Testament," in which the author deals with the quotations from the LXX. in the New Testament quotations in early Christian writings, its uses in biblical study and influence on Christian literature—the part of the subject which will probably prove most attractive to the "general reader."

But the book is not written for the general reader, and would not have answered its chief end had that aim been kept in view. It is scholarly, and written for scholars. It is not dry, but fascinating from end to end; nevertheless its attractions can hardly be appreciated by those who do not possess an elementary acquaintance with biblical study. Biblical scholars, however, of all grades will find it quite indispensable. The tyro will learn here what he cannot find elsewhere, and the more advanced student will turn again and again to the valuable lists of MSS., of words, of *usus loquendi*, and—last but not least—the carefully prepared bibliographies, for assistance in the closer study of this venerable version. We should add that an appendix contains the letter of Aristeas carefully edited with a learned introduction by Mr. H. St. J. Thackeray, whose essay on "St. Paul and Jewish Thought" just published promises a new and valuable recruit to the ranks of English biblical scholars.

The only critical remark we care to make is to express the wish that more had been done to guide the student as to the characteristic differences between the Hebrew and the Alexandrian version. The variations in text are quite fully dealt with, but the section extending from page 323 to 330 is all too short for the important subject with which it deals, even though it is supplemented by the very useful notes on page 330 *et seq.*, exactly adapted to the needs of beginners. Examples of the paraphrastic renderings which show the desire of the translators to avoid anthropomorphism are to be found on page 327, but we would gladly have seen a somewhat fuller account of the idiosyncrasies of the translators in their handling of the Hebrew. It must, however, have been exceedingly difficult for the editor

to preserve just proportions in the space allotted to the several topics requiring discussion, and his judgment has proved so sound throughout that the probability is we are wrong in desiring to disturb the balance as he has determined it.

We hope that the publication of this admirable *Introduction* may prove the means of promoting the study of the LXX. in this country. In the higher classes of theological colleges something might be done in this direction, as well as in the arrangement of the theological curriculum at the universities. Such study is now rendered possible by the monumental Concordance to the LXX. issued by the Clarendon Press, and it will prove valuable to the student of the Old Testament and the student of the New Testament alike,—one hardly knows which ought to profit most by it,—not to speak of its bearing upon other subsidiary studies. All biblical and theological students are greatly indebted to Dr. Swete for this most useful work.

W. T. Davison.

Studia Sinaitica. Nos. IX. and X. Select Narratives of Holy Women from the Sinai Palimpsest. Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S., etc. (Cambridge: University Press. IX. 21*s.* 6*d.* net; X. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.)

The work of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in connexion with the recently published MS. of the Old Syriac Gospels is well known. The Syro-Antiochene or Sinai Palimpsest contained for its under-writing that ancient text of the gospels which Professor Bensly, Dr. Rendel Harris, and Mr. Burkitt have helped to bring before the world of scholars and the public. The two handsomely printed volumes before us contain the text and a translation of the saintly legends which formed the over-writing of the same MS. A certain John the Recluse of Qantîn near Antioch thought these narratives of such value, that for their sake he sacrificed that fourth-century text of the gospels which scholars of to-day have found so valuable. The story is unfortunately only too common. In hundreds of instances the sacred text of ancient MSS. has been erased to make way for monkish scribblings, though the patient ingenuity of palæographers has in many cases succeeded in restoring the original writing, or a portion of it, and made it legible for modern eyes.

As a rule, the over-writing in a palimpsest is comparatively neglected. In this instance, however, Mrs. Lewis has judged

that the "Stories of Holy Women" were worth preserving, and these volumes are the result of her scholarly editorial care. She does not rate their value too highly, and thinks it would be a difficult task to "sift the few grains of historical truth they contain from their bushels of imaginative chaff." They are filled indeed with the usual incredible narratives of impossible escapes on the part of martyrs—Eugenia, Mary, Onesima, Irene, and the rest—from the excruciating tortures devised for them by their persecutors.

Hence their popularity in the age when John the Recluse preferred them to the gospels. They possess some literary beauty, but are chiefly literary curiosities. The text is admirably reproduced by the Cambridge Press, the fac-simile pages taken from photographs being both interesting and instructive. The text of the palimpsest is of the seventh or eighth century, but some of the stories are found in the library of the British Museum in a fifth-century form, and in these cases Mrs. Lewis has given both texts. The whole work is of great interest for scholars, and forms one more proof of the diligence, learning, skill, and accuracy of the accomplished lady editor. W. T. D.

1. *The Christian Prophets.* By Edward Carus Selwyn, D.D. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6*s.* net.)
2. *The First Epistle of St. Peter (Greek Text).* By Rev. J. Howard B. Masterman, M.A. (London: Macmillan & Co. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

1. The title of this volume is somewhat misleading, for the writer is mainly (in six out of the nine chapters) concerned with the Christian prophet *par excellence*, namely, the author of the Apocalypse. At the same time he contends that there was a distinct order of prophets in the early Church. They stood in the true succession of the earlier Jewish prophets, and their teaching is prominent in the Pauline and Catholic epistles. In the first chapter of this book Dr. Selwyn surveys the New Testament and patristic evidence in favour of this view. "Prophecy" was not synonymous with "Apocalyse"; nevertheless the New Testament Apocalypse is "the fullest and ripest fruit of Christian prophecy." In a subsequent chapter the author discusses the relationship of the Apocalyse with extant Jewish apocalypses like the *Book of Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, and the like—an order of literature in which the interest

of students has been awakened by the recent brilliant investigations of Dr. R. H. Charles. But the chief feature of this book is the author's view of the authorship of the Apocalypse and its relation to the other Johannine writings. Here he strikes out a definite line of his own, parting company with scholars like Westcott, who maintain that the author of the Apocalypse and the author of the Fourth Gospel were one and the same. Dr. Selwyn's theory may be stated in his own terse words: "It is hardly too much to say that if one writer had to be named as not the author of the Apocalypse, it would be the author of the Fourth Gospel." He goes still further and believes that the main purpose of the Fourth Gospel was to correct ideas which the Apocalypse might suggest and to supply some of its deficiencies. The real author he believes to be John the Presbyter, for whose existence our chief authority is Papias as quoted in Eusebius. He wrote the greater part of the Apocalypse before 70 A.D., and was banished to Patmos by Domitian for having written it; he afterwards re-edited the work and added the first three chapters. Within the limits of a brief notice we cannot trace, still less discuss, in detail the arguments adduced in support of these views. But we may call attention to the vigour of style, the fair-minded treatment of opposing views, the adequate scholarship, the close grasp of the literature of the subject as features which render the book worthy of serious study. Whether convinced by its reasoning or not, the student of the Apocalypse and its problems will admit it to be a stimulating and valuable piece of work.

2. Mr. Masterman's edition of the Greek text of 1 Peter supplies a distinct want. The most noteworthy recent commentary is that of Dr. Hort on a portion of the epistle. But Mr. Masterman's work is on less ambitious lines, and his aim is to provide a short volume of notes which may serve as an introduction to larger and more detailed commentaries. It is an attractive and withal scholarly little volume. The comments are clear and to the point, while their interest is constantly enhanced by apt poetical quotations. We have noticed no startling novelties in the exegesis. This is perhaps a gain in treating an epistle which leaves scope for considerable speculation in the interpretation of some of its passages—that, for example, dealing with "the spirits in prison" and the verse which asserts that the gospel was preached "even to the dead." Here Mr. Masterman keeps to doctrines regarding the first as

evidence of a real descent of Christ into Hades, and the second as indicating an undoubted preaching of the gospel to the *physically* dead. We think he is right in regarding both passages as connected and an allusion to the same subject. We can cordially recommend this useful exposition to the notice of Greek Testament students. R. M. Pope.

A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Bible students will welcome this new edition of Dr. Beet's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. The original work, which appeared more than twenty years ago, placed its author in the foremost rank of New Testament expositors. Its accuracy and profound learning were acknowledged by the most eminent Greek scholars, including Bishop Ellicott, Dean Vaughan, and Dr. Sanday. After passing through eight editions it has been for several years out of print. The whole has been now rewritten, and embodies the writer's mature thought about the greatest work of the greatest of the apostles of Christ. Space does not permit us to set forth in detail the excellence of this work. It combines all the essential features of a good commentary. Scholarly and accurate exposition of the text is united with deep spiritual insight and sound judgment. It is the work of a fresh and independent, yet profoundly reverent mind. Dr. Beet takes nothing for granted; he allows himself to be bound by no traditional views, but grapples with every difficulty first hand. The style is remarkable for directness and simplicity. Not a word is wasted. The writer goes straight to the heart of the subject. The meaning of an involved passage is often expressed in a single vivid sentence. The student is greatly assisted by the excellent type, and by the arrangement of the book, which includes sectional headings throughout, a table of contents, and an index to the words and matters discussed. We heartily commend this commentary not only to scholars, but to the many intelligent readers who wish to become acquainted with the exact meaning of the sacred text, and the inmost thought and spirit of the apostle. H. L. Yorke.

III. HISTORY.

Richelieu and the Growth of French Power. By James Breck Perkins, LL.D. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5*s.*)

THIS is a masterly study of a great period and a great man. Richelieu had a long fight before he planted his foot on the ladder of success, and became familiar with disappointment in his early years; but when once he was made minister to Louis XIII. he kept his seat despite all the efforts of the queen, of the king's mother, and of the courtiers to secure his overthrow. Mr. Perkins' chapter on "Richelieu and his Enemies" is of enthralling interest. He does not spare the cardinal's weaknesses, but he brings out the iron will, the dauntless courage, the wonderful sagacity of the great minister who made France the first State in Europe. Dr. Perkins has given us a brilliant book which we have been very reluctant to put down.

The Story of my Life. By Augustus J. C. Hare. Volumes IV.—VI. (London: George Allen. 31*s.* 6*d.*)

We owe Mr. Hare a great debt for the host of delightful books which have issued from his workshop, and he has increased our debt by these volumes. They are so frank, so intimate in their relation of all personal and family matters, that we seem to get into close touch with the man and his kinsfolk. The story of his life takes us not merely among princes, but into the charmed circles of English society. Everywhere Mr. Hare opens his treasures to us. There is wit enough here to set up half a dozen dinner-table orators, ghost stories, stories such as John Wesley would have put in his magazine under "The Providence of God Illustrated," that would furnish excitement for half a dozen Christmases. We know no volumes that will be more fruitful in innocent mirth or which give such delightful pictures of English society on its most attractive side as these. Mr. Hare is not always free from errors. He represents the Bishop of Bath and Wells as much occupied with the question

whether the Israelites were 200 or 400 years in the *wilderness*, instead of in *Egypt*; and speaks of Coleridge Paterson instead of Patteson.

Hampton Court. A Short History of the Royal Manor and Palace. By Ernest Law, B.A. With numerous Illustrations. (London : George Bell & Sons. 5*s.*)

Mr. Law's three volumes on Hampton Court have taken their place as the classic work on Wolsey's palace. He lavished his skill and time upon it, and produced a history which is a model for all workers in a similar field. The present book puts the treasures of the three quarto volumes within the reach of the general reader. It is an intensely interesting narrative of four centuries of English history, and the illustrations are both numerous and attractive.

Froissart in Britain. By Harry Newbolt. With Twenty-four Illustrations from originals in the British Museum. (London : James Nisbet & Co. 6*s.*)

This is a beautiful selection from Froissart, and its quaint old pictures, bold type, good paper, and binding will make it a prize for young people and for their elders. Mr. Newbolt prints Lord Berners' preface to his famous translation, and it is well worthy of its place of honour in this volume. His own introduction makes the reader eager to enter Froissart's picture gallery, in which hang landscapes, battle pieces, and portraits that have been the delight of many generations. We hope the book will get into every school library and into the hands of all intelligent young Englishmen and Englishwomen.

Westminster Abbey. By G. E. Troutbeck. Illustrated by F. D. Bedford. (London : Methuen & Co. 3*s.*)

A wealth of loving labour has gone to the making of this "Little Guide-Book." It is packed with matter of the deepest interest, and its stores are arranged in a way that tempts the reader on from page to page and makes him regret when the journey is done. Old stories are retold so brightly that we welcome them as though they were new friends, and many a little touch of interest is added to the architecture of the Abbey by Miss Troutbeck's pages. The illustrations are a real success, and so is the whole book.

IV. BIOGRAPHY.

Archbishop Plunket. By F. D. How. (London : Isbister & Co. 16*s*.)

The fourth Baron Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin, was a notable prelate of the Irish Church, and his life was one eminently deserving to be written and held in memory. Being of the Anglo-Irish stock and descended from one of the most distinguished and gifted judges who have sat on the Irish Bench, his gifts of quick apprehension and of ready and appropriate speech, rising often to eloquence, great as they were, were not greater than might naturally have been looked for. But the combination of some other qualities by which he was distinguished was as rare as it was excellent. Quickness and keenness of feeling in him seems never to have taken the form of anger or jealousy, of personal animosity or party passion. He was an Irish Protestant, and could not be persuaded to look with friendly allowance on the characteristic tenets of Romanism or on the tactics of the Roman hierarchy. Yet in his personal relations with Roman Catholics, from the tenants or servants on his estate to his Episcopal colleagues on the Irish Board of National Education, he was uniformly kindly and never ungenerous. Even Archbishop Walsh, the most partisan of popish prelates, was subdued by the nobleness of his spirit, and the two prelates of antagonist Churches became in their relations on the Board of Education excellent friends, and so remained to the end. It need hardly be said that with Protestant Nonconformists his relations were always very friendly.

Such a spirit also prompted him to take an active interest in the movements towards national reform which arose in the two Roman Catholic peninsulas, the Iberian and the Italian. For years he did all he could to encourage and to suitably guide and counsel the Spanish reform of which Señor Cabrera was the leader, and it was a day of triumphant happiness for him when, after years of hope deferred, it was his privilege, assisted by the Bishop of Clogher, to ordain the Spanish Reformer as Bishop Cabrera.

The picture given in this biography of his home life is delightful. Happily for him he found a congenial and every-way helpful consort in Miss Lee Guinness, the daughter of Sir Benjamin Lee Guinness, a family whose ancestors a century ago were Irish Methodists—at once Methodists and members of the Church of England. The biographer in the present volume has done his work better than in the Life of his father, Bishop Walsham How. He writes as if he had long been familiar with Irish affairs, and especially with the affairs of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland. R.

The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman. By Wilfrid Ward. New Impression. Two Vols. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 10*s.* net.)

Mr. Wilfrid Ward followed up his masterly volumes on his father's life and times by this great biography of Cardinal Wiseman, of which a new edition has just been issued. It is a work of unique and intense interest to students of the "Catholic Revival." No one contributed more largely to that revival than Nicholas Wiseman. His subtle and learned articles in the *Dublin Review*, which Newman said gave him "a stomach-ache," his tact and warm sympathy in dealing with possible converts, and his influence in softening the prejudices and changing the attitude of the "Old Catholic" party, had the utmost weight in that memorable period when Rome seemed to be casting her net into the English universities and drawing forth its noblest sons. Wiseman's famous pamphlet on the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England was one of his notable achievements as a controversialist. The volumes throw a flood of light on Romanism and its inner discords.

General Sir Arthur Cotton, R.E., K.C.S.I. His Life and Work. By his Daughter, Lady Hope. With Some Famine Prevention Studies, by William Digby, C.I.E. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 12*s.* net.)

Sir Arthur Cotton's Tanjore, Godaveri, and Krishna irrigation works have, in the opinion of experts, "already saved thousands of lives, and will continue to do so as long as the world lasts." He was one of India's "water apostles" who held that the Government had spent on railways money that ought to have been devoted to canals. He never ceased to maintain

that instead of famine relief there might have been prevention of famine and the saving of thousands of lives. We hope that a cheap edition will be prepared, giving the story of his life as an engineer in India, in the Burma expedition, and as a Christian gentleman. It is a story that everyone ought to read. Sir Arthur Cotton was a noble man, who delighted in all good work and kept a young heart up to his ninety-seventh year. His advice to Lady Hope, "Do something, my girl, do something; never be idle for a single moment; remember time is short, eternity is near!" was the rule of his own life.

The Story of Alfred. Told by Walter Hawkins and E. Thornton Smith. (London: Horace Marshall & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This is an admirable little book based on a careful study of the best authorities, and written in a simple and unaffected style. Alfred's character and work are a precious inheritance for our country, and everyone who wins attention for them is doing real service to England. The famous story is told with much skill in this volume. The book is never dull or obscure, it is arranged with great skill, and has ten full-page illustrations of great interest.

The Westminster Biographies. "John Wesley." By Frank Banfield. (London: Kegan Paul & Co. 2*s.*)

This is the neatest little life of Wesley ever published, and it is thoroughly well written. Mr. Banfield is in error in putting Miss Hopkey before Betty Kirkham in Wesley's affections, but he does not often trip, and his temper is admirable. He shows unfailing good sense and warm appreciation of Wesley's character. His space ties his hands somewhat, but he makes wise use of it. His comments on the claim made by Toplady's admirers that he stood "paramount in the plenitude of dignity" soon prick that bladder, and referring to Whitefield's somewhat grovelling letter to Lady Huntingdon he says, "Wesley could not have written this; it would have choked him." We have enjoyed the little Life, and every friend of Wesley's will wish it success.

George Whitefield, M.A.: Field Preacher. By James P. Gledstone. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

Mr. Gledstone's *Life of Whitefield*, which was published in 1871 and received with great favour, has long been out of print.

He had mastered the whole subject, so that no one was better qualified to meet the call for a biography that should be brief yet complete and exact. He has done his task well and given us a thoroughly readable book. The portrait and bust of Wesley and the picture of the Bell Inn, Gloucester, are very interesting, and the whole Life is full of applications to our own time.

Buddha and Buddhism. By Arthur Lillie. (Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 3*s.*)

This new volume of "The World's Epoch-Makers" is written by an expert and an enthusiast. We do not at all agree with the statement that "the loftier ideals of Christianity, its substitution of the principle of forgiveness for that of revenge, its broad catholicity, its missionary energy, and even its rites and parabolic legends, were due to an earlier religious reformer," that is to Buddha, yet the coincidences between the gospels and the teaching of the great Indian sage are profoundly interesting. Mr. Lillie's account of Buddha's life and teaching will charm even those who dissent from his conclusions.

Irene Petrie, Missionary to Kashmir. By Mrs. Ashley Carus Wilson, B.A. With Portraits, Map, and Illustrations. (London : Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

A charming record of a charming life. Irene Petrie was one of many who have counted social position and rich endowments of culture and grace loss for the service of Christ in the mission field. The divine call came to her very early. As soon as circumstances permitted she went out to India in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. After a few months' training in work at Lahore in the Punjaub, she went to the remoter and less-inviting field of Kashmir. That country is with us a synonym for all that is beautiful. The reality, both physical and moral, is often the reverse. We are told of the "autumnal odours" of the chief city, Thrinagara. The volume is fascinating for the variety of scenes it puts before us—natural scenery, native life and homes, all forms of missionary work, conflicts and triumphs. Very wisely, the writer, who has done her work with great skill and sympathy, allows Miss Petrie herself to speak in graphic letters and journals. Only a woman would see many of the incidents and features which give life to

the story. At first the biography seems long for so brief a course, but the reader soon feels that nothing could be left out without loss. J. S. BANKS.

Daniel O'Connell and the Revival of National Life in Ireland. By Robert Dunlop, M.A. (London: Putnam's Sons. 5*s.*)

Mr. Dunlop has made a careful study of Irish history for some years, and his articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography* have been recognised as both well informed and thoroughly impartial. He has fallen under the spell of Daniel O'Connell, and pays high tribute to the eloquence, the wit, and the devotion of the great liberator. The picture of O'Connell's youth, his beautiful home life, and his early successes at the bar is very pleasing. Mr. Dunlop has given us a book that throws a flood of light on the struggle for Catholic emancipation.

The Life of Henry Calderwood, LL.D., F.R.S.E. By his Son and the Rev. David Woodside, B.D. With Portraits, and a special chapter on his Philosophical Works by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, LL.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

A beautiful biography of a noble, wise, and widely influential man. A little too elaborate and diffuse, perhaps, for many readers, and a burden, as we note, to the jaded reviewer; it will, nevertheless, be welcomed by all who knew the man, and prized, even in its minutest details, by all students of his times. Dr. Calderwood occupied a position and exerted an influence second to none amid a brilliant succession of enlightened and devoted public men. Greyfriars, Glasgow, during the twelve years of his ministry from 1856 to 1868 was the scene and centre of just such work as is now done in all the "missions" of our towns and cities, and throughout his long, laborious life, even when absorbed in his manifold duties as lecturer in Moral Philosophy and as leader in the Synod of his Church, the minister of Greyfriars never ceased to foster and promote that evangelical life and those social reforms in which he was so early and so actively engaged. He is most widely known by his writings on the relations of science and religion, his *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, and his *Philosophy of the Infinite*, the latter of which was written while he was still a probationer, but

afterwards enlarged into a powerful critique of Hamilton, Mansel, and Spencer. The Life is exceedingly well written, and is rich in varied interest for the general reader as well as in important matter for the historian. T. A. SHED.

George H. C. Macgregor, M.A. By Rev. D. C. Macgregor, M.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

George Macgregor was one of the most esteemed and influential of the speakers at the Keswick Convention, and this record of his brief life will be largely read, and will stir every heart. Mr. Macgregor had been well trained, and he had all the gifts of a popular preacher. He was not always free from a touch of exaggeration in his statements of Christian doctrine and experience, but everyone who knew him felt him to be a real saint, and a most lovable one. He was full of buoyant spirits, and threw himself heart and soul into everything. Young people were greatly attracted by him. He exhausted his strength by his excessive labours, and we have not been able to resist the feeling that he would have done better service had he limited his work somewhat more severely. The whole Church of Christ is poorer for the loss of such a worker. Professor Moule pays a fine tribute to his friend: "We never met but I felt a new sense of deep spiritual brotherhood, along with a rebuke and a stimulus which I thankfully remember. His social brightness and power of enjoyment were contagious. His admirable good sense, when matters of common interest were discussed, always impressed one."

Thomas Henry Huxley: a Sketch of his Life and Work. By P. C. Mitchell, M.A. (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 5*s*.)

This volume of "The Leaders in Science" Series gives a careful account of Huxley's contributions to biology, to educational and social problems, and to philosophy and metaphysics. It makes no pretension to be an intimate or authorised biography, but draws its material mainly from Huxley's own books. It is rather contemptuous in its reference to Bishop Wilberforce, but it is marked as a whole by good sense and fairness. The sketch of Huxley's early life is very interesting, and the latter chapters will be prized by all who wish to know what his life work was. There are some excellent portraits.

William Herschel and his Work. By James Sime, M.A., F.R.S.E. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3*s*.)

The story of William Herschel and his sister is part of the romance of science. Mr. Sime tells us how the Bath music-master became "the fairy prince of science, coming to the sleeping princess of the heavens to awake her and all her company from the sleep of ages," and his sister the family Cinderella won fame as his noble helper. The story is well told, and it opens up the wonders of astronomy in a very delightful and instructive way.

Memories of the Tennysons. By Rev. H. D. Rawnsley. (Glasgow: MacLehose & Sons. 5*s*. net.)

Canon Rawnsley was born in the vicarage from which Tennyson was married, and his family enjoyed the intimate friendship of the Poet Laureate for many years. Under his guidance we visit the churches round Somersby, and talk with the peasants who knew the laureate in his youth. One of them speaks of Alfred's frequent conversations with a Wesleyan minister and his disgust with the curates of the region who "were such hypocrites." "He was quite a religious young man was Mr. Halfred, you know, leastways would have been if he had been dragged up by the Wesleyans, you know." The book has a set of fine portraits and pictures, and will give real pleasure to all lovers of our great laureate and his poetry.

A new edition of Dr. Robertson Nicoll's *James Macdonell, Journalist* (Hodder & Stoughton, 6*s*.), has just been published. No one who wishes to understand the life of a high-class journalist can afford to overlook this book. It is profoundly interesting and instructive.

C. H. Spurgeon Anecdotes (Passmore & Alabaster. 1*s*.) One hundred anecdotes compiled by an old friend of Mr. Spurgeon's. They reflect all sides of the great preacher's character and work, and are of much interest, though we do not think they are always well told. No. 17 is very bald.

V. ART AND TRAVEL.

Chinamen at Home. By Thomas G. Selby. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.)

When a facile pen and a forceful and attractive style are employed to set forth the results of keen observation during an extended residence among any people, the result can hardly fail to be interesting. Mr. Selby's book answers to this description, and is a timely contribution to the better understanding of a nation whom we are in danger of judging harshly and unjustly because of recent deplorable occurrences. The reading of the book is an education in right views of the Chinese. The author used to good purpose his opportunities of studying the country and its inhabitants, and was not less an acute observer because he was a missionary, or less a missonary (rather more) because a diligent student of everything Chinese. The home, social, and business life of the people are here vividly pictured, with many telling illustrations of a foreigner's experiences among them; their teachers, their civilisation, their ceremonies, are ably discussed and criticised; and altogether Mr. Selby gives us a sane and fair-minded view of a people still imperfectly understood by Western nations. A useful outline of the history and teaching of Confucius is included. The difficulties and prospects of missionary work in China are carefully treated by Mr. Selby, whose counsels in this matter are weighty and reasonable. He is clear and outspoken on the Opium question. It is well to read a book like this at the present time, which will also be good to read at any time.

M. Hartley.

Life and Sport on the Pacific Slope. By H. A. Vachell. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s.*)

This is a very pleasant narrative of a young Englishman's life on a Californian ranch. His love of sport found abundant gratification in the far West, and he has much to tell us about the grizzlies from whose clutches he had several narrow escapes, and of the monster tuna that he caught off Catalina Island. More exciting sport no fisherman could have than in measuring his strength and skill against these giant mackerel, as one might call them, weighing up to three hundred pounds. The fun of the book lies in the descriptions of Californian society. The bumptiousness and braggadocio of the small boys is amazing,

and the way that parents spoil their children astonishes an English visitor. It is the sacred right of the American child to do what he pleases, where and when he pleases. The amount of patent medicine consumed on the Pacific slope is stupendous. Cooking is detestable, and viands are gulped down in a few minutes, so that the finest digestion is soon ruined. Funerals are much-enjoyed entertainments. Mr. Vachell once murmured his condolence to the chief mourner. He asked what Mr. Vachell thought of the funeral, and before he could receive a reply said: "It was fine. Everything according to Hoyle. Well, sir, she'd been a good wife to me, and me and my friends appreciated that fact, and so—*we gave her a good send off!*" Mr. Vachell has much to tell about ranch life and the work of the farmer, and he tells it well.

Along French Byways. Written and Illustrated by Charles Johnson. (London: Macmillan & Co. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Mr. Johnson scored a distinct success *Among English Hedgerows*, and his good fortune does not desert him when he crosses the Channel. He loves the homely life of the peasant, and has an eager interest in the little world of farm and cottage which he unveils in these pleasant pages. He was much troubled by his lack of French, but found the people wonderfully obliging, and made capital out of his own limitations. The wonderful thrift of the French peasant greatly impressed him. He says, "A Frenchman saves as naturally and with as little effort as he breathes. Money never slips away carelessly, even for pleasures." No hardships or reverses can overthrow the habit of saving. A man of exceptional intelligence warned Mr. Johnson against accepting the pictures given in French novels. He said, "Courtship is with us very commonplace. There is little glamour about it, and the novelists in order to give their stories interest add spice without limit, and lug in all sorts of wickedness that have little or no foundation in reality." The sketches of Millet's home at Barbizon and Joan of Arc's birthplace are beautifully done, and we follow our guide with deepening interest to the end of his tour. His pictures of peasant costume and farm life are charming, and so is the whole book.

The Romance of Spain. By Charles W. Wood, F.R.G.S. (London: Macmillan & Co. 10*s.* net.)

The Romance of Spain is as interesting as *The Valley of the Rhone.*

Mr. Wood's pen and pencil are equally happy, and we are steeped in romance from the first page to the last of this record of travel. At St. Sebastian, the watering-place to which all the rank and fashion of Spain flock in summer-time, it was charming to hear the terms of universal admiration and reverence applied to the queen. Courtesy and gallantry in Spain seemed confined to the upper classes; the lower classes might in these respects shake hands with the Germans. Burgos was modern and terribly disappointing, but Segovia was a rich storehouse of treasures. Mr. Wood places it above all other towns of the world for beauty, interest, and charm. Mr. Wood thinks that as long as the bull fight keeps its place in Spain it is hopeless to expect anything from the people. We are sorry when this charming romance of Spain comes to a close. It is written in the most light and graceful style, and its pictures are exceedingly fine.

1. *Sodoma.* By the Contessa Priuli-Bon. (London: George Bell & Sons. 5*s.* net.)
2. *Luca della Robbia.* By the Marchesa Burlamacchi.

1. Bazzi or Sodoma, as he is generally called, is one of the less-known artists of Renaissance times. He had in him the making of a great master, but his lower nature clipped the wing on which he might have soared to the heights of his profession. Sodoma is at his best in portraying Eve as she first steps into the light of day, St. Sebastian uplifted in the wonder of his martyrdom, or, most profound of all, our Lord in the hands of the scourgers. This study of his life is beautifully written, and the volume is in itself an art gallery full of treasures.

2. Luca was the great master of statuary whose discovery of a glazed enamel enabled him to execute bas reliefs in terra cotta for decorative purposes which no modern pottery can equal. He was a great sculptor. Symonds says: "Movement has never been suggested with less exaggeration, nor have marble lips been made to utter sweeter and more varied music." His life was one of frugality and labour without passions or adventures save those connected with his art. His bronze doors for the Sacristy of the Duomo in Florence are a marvel of workmanship, and his Madonna dell Agnolo, a lovely masterpiece over the door of a miserable house in a by-street of Florence, is a constant delight to every lover of art.

Messrs. Dent & Co. are publishing Vasari's *Lives of Italian*

Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, in eight dainty volumes, with portraits, brief notes, and index, at 1*s.* 6*d.* per volume net. Vasari did not content himself with simply giving facts; his critiques, although marked by some partiality towards Florentine artists, are a mirror of thought and feeling of the sixteenth century, and his stories are often delightful. Little artists who mark the progress of art are not forgotten, and though Vasari is not always a safe guide, he always charms those who are in his company. It is a great boon to have such a classic of art in this cheap and attractive form.

The Shakespeare Country. Illustrated. By John Leyland. (London: George Newnes. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.)

This is a delightful book. The text is brightly written, and all the facts are given about the places sacred to the Shakespeare pilgrim, but the charm of the book lies in its pictures. They are simply exquisite. You feel as though you were really visiting the shrines; every line stands out in sunlight. Nothing that one wants to see is missing, and everything is seen at its best.

Sussex. By F. G. Brabant, M.A. Illustrated by Edmund H. New. (London: Methuen & Co. 3*s.*)

This is a workmanlike "Little Guide." Mr. Brabant has not only mastered the literature of his subject, but has roamed the country and felt the charm of rural Sussex. He has arranged his book alphabetically, so that it is an index to itself. The descriptions are concise, yet full and accurate. We have found the little book, with Mr. New's pictures, quite a treasure. The Introduction is specially good.

The Travels of Sir John Mandeville (3*s.* 6*d.*) have been edited for Macmillan's English Classics by Mr. A. W. Pollard, who has reproduced the Cotton version which was edited most carelessly in 1725. The book has abiding interest as "a compilation, as clever and artistic as Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*." The childish credulity with which all the travellers' tales are told is delightfully refreshing in our age of scientific scepticism, whilst the literary style cannot fail to charm all readers. It is a splendid edition, and amazingly cheap.

With Note-Book and Camera. By Edith M. E. Baring-Gould. (London: Church Missionary Society. 1*s.* 6*d.*) These notes were written day by day during Miss Baring-Gould's journey in the East, and have the freshness and interest of first impressions. The pictures are very happy.

VI. BELLES LETTRES.

Shakespere's Predecessors in the English Drama. By John A. Symonds. New Edition. (London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*)

Mr. Symonds began these studies of the drama in England nearly forty years ago, but after composing a series of essays he laid his manuscripts aside. Twenty years later he was encouraged to resume his task and publish this volume. It is a critical inquiry into the conditions of the English drama during the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. The stage is a mirror of the times, reflecting the life of men and interpreting human nature to itself. Mr. Symonds sketches the chief features of the age. Then he devotes chapters to miracle plays, moral plays, the rise of comedy and tragedy, the life of the theatre, and the chief representatives of dramatic art before Shakespere. The stage exercised far-reaching influence over the development of English character, and from that point of view Mr. Symonds' book has the deepest interest and value for students.

Tennyson : his Art and Relation to Modern Life. By Stopford A. Brooke. In Two Volumes. (London : Isbister & Co. 5*s.* net.)

These dainty volumes will make a strong appeal to all lovers of our great laureate. Mr. Stopford Brooke is an accomplished critic, and his study of Tennyson's works is quite an education in that difficult art. He thinks that simplicity and stateliness were vital in the texture of Tennyson's poetry. His stuff was of almost an equal quality throughout. Tennyson kept his faith in the doctrine of immortality. "Its truth held in it for him the Fatherhood of God, the salvation of man, the brotherhood of man, the worth of human life." His long battle for the Christian faith entitles him, Mr. Brooke holds, "to the steady gratitude of mankind."

The Oresteia of Aeschylus. Translated and explained by George C. W. Warr, M.A. (London: George Allen. 7*s* 6*d*. net.)

This is the first of a series of volumes on the Athenian drama, which promises under the general editorship of Professor Warr td sustain and even to enhance the reputation of Ruskin House for excellence of workmanship, regardless of cost. Paper, type, and binding all are of the best. The analysis of the character and motives of Clytemnestra and Orestes, the Lady Macbeth and the Hamlet of Greek tragedy, is most interesting, and supplies the key to this great trilogy, the crown of Aeschylus's work, and one of the transcendent glories of the human mind. The text of the plays is followed by a copious, learned, and most helpful commentary. T. A. SEED.

Roses of Pæstum. By Edward McCurdy. (London: George Allen. 3*s*. 6*d*. net.)

The publisher has given us a work of art in this little book. The printing and binding are all that one can desire. There are very fine examples of word-painting in these essays, and men of a dreamy and poetical temperament will find much that is interesting throughout the book. It communicates to the reader something of the spell of mediæval Italy; but the book is very like the subject, if one may borrow the author's words: "dreamlike and mystic, hard to translate to a world of human endeavour and human love." A. M.

Love's Argument, and Other Poems. By Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6*s*.)

We are glad that Miss Fowler's success as a novelist has not made her forsake her loftier vocation as a poet. She does not lack tenderness, but her verse sparkles with wit, and has a pleasant spice of humour with not a few quaint turns and quips of fancy. But whilst her muse is often gay it touches a deeper note in the fine poem "A Song of War," which describes England's awakening and ennobling through her sorrows in South Africa. Some of the sacred poems, such as "An Unprofitable Servant," are marked by real power as well as deep feeling, whilst the sonnets are tuneful and full of vigorous thought. The book shows that Miss Fowler's gifts are ripening and expanding, and fills us with hope for even richer fruit.

Tommy and Grizel. By J. M. Barrie. (London: Cassell & Co. 6s.)

We can scarcely forgive Mr. Barry for his degradation of Tommy. He is a dreamer who lives in a world of visions, throwing the reins on the neck of fancy, and spoiling the peace of those who are dearest to him by the impossibility he finds of being a man. His advent at Pym's with his little sister Elspeth is inimitable, and flashes of humour light up the whole progress of the drama; but Tommy is not pleasant company. He gets engaged to Grizel, and then backs out of it by showing her that he does not really love her. His flirtation with Lady Pippinworth is a pitiful thing, and the way he gets into her toils at the last and is then hung up and choked on the iron spikes of the garden wall, over which he is climbing, is simply execrable. The weaknesses of the artistic temperament, of the Romneys of the world, have never been more powerfully described.

Eleanor. By Mrs. Humphry Ward. Illustrated by Albert Sterner. (London: Smith & Elder. 6s.)

Mrs. Humphry Ward has shaken herself free from social and religious problems and given us a real love story, steeped in Italian sunshine, and rich in glimpses of Italian life and character. Manisty is by no means a faultless hero, but his genius and his fascination are admirably sketched, and the two women that love him are noble types of England and America. The glamour of the papal ceremonies, the hardness of the papal yoke, the sorrows of Italy, the life of her peasants, are described with rare felicity. Mrs. Ward has never given us any book that finds its way to one's heart so completely and gives such unmixed pleasure as this.

The Infidel. A Story of the Great Revival. By M. E. Braddon. (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 6s.)

Miss Braddon has never done anything better than this story of the Evangelical Revival. The style of the story is decorated, but not florid; the plot deepens in interest to the end. But the chief charm of the book is its portrait of Wesley, who has evidently captured Miss Braddon's heart and intellect. There may be an expression or two that the Methodist leader would not have used, but the picture of him and his work is admirably

conceived and carried out. Wesley's calm reasonableness, his warm affection for his friends, his power as a preacher who searches the mind and conscience have never been more vividly or felicitously described. The infidel becomes a true Methodist and a real Christian. The story is one in which Methodists will delight, and it will do everyone good to read it.

In the Palace of the King (Macmillan & Co., 6s.) is a romance of Spain in the days of Philip the Second. Don John of Austria loves the daughter of Mendoza, the stern old soldier who commands the household guards. Dolores is a perfect heroine. Her trust in her lover and her courage in bearding Philip to save her father's life are painted by a master-hand. It is a thrilling tale, and has special historic value for its portraits of Philip and his courtiers.

Messrs. Macmillan have sent us some stories of unusual interest. *Prejudiced*, by Florence Montgomery (6s.), shows how a girl's prejudices against a stranger melt into admiration and love. The hero is a manly fellow, and the unveiling of his past is done with great skill. The book will be read with real pleasure, and it does one good to keep such company. *The Increasing Purpose* (6s.) is a piece of James Lane Allen's finest work. It describes the unfolding of a Kentucky yokel who goes to a Bible College, and after a time of mental ferment in which he is very unwisely handled returns to his father's farm. There he finds a true helper in the village schoolmistress, and gradually wins his way back to some measure of trust and light. The bigotries of a remote village, the struggles of a soul tossed by doubt, the dawn of a better day are described by a master-hand, and many a little nature picture adds to the delight of the story. *Modern Broods* (6s.), by Charlotte M. Yonge, swarms with young people whose names and fortunes rather bewilder us. There is a great deal of character and a good deal of adventure in the book, and we feel loath to part company with such a happy crew. *Marshfield the Observer* (6s.), by Egerton Castle, is a series of stories, very powerful, though weird and unpleasant. The book is a study of the passions—the passion of love, the passion of hate, the passion of patriotism. It is masterly and overmastering. *Rue with a Difference*, by Rosa Nouchette Carey, is a charming story of a canon's widow and daughter. They both have their lovers and their sorrows, but everything ends happily. A saner, sweeter, more graceful story we do not often read.

The Heart's Highway (John Murray, 6*s.*) is a piece of Mary E. Wilkins' most dainty work. The scene is laid in Virginia in the seventeenth century, and the "convict tutor," who is the hero of the story, is a fine study. The literary style is exquisite and the story delightful, though we fail to see why Harry Wingfield suffered so much when a few words might have cleared his character.

As Luck Would Have It (Chatto & Windus, 6*s.*), by William Westall, hinges on the mystery of a railway accident in France, where Lord Alwyn is killed and his cousin who had been travelling with him is mistaken for the peer. A plentiful crop of complications follows, but the web is unravelled happily at last. The American girl who becomes Lady Alwyn is very attractive.

In a Cathedral City (Chatto & Windus, 6*s.*) appears in a new edition. The innkeeper's son with his splendid tenor voice loses his head amid his first successes, but at last comes to his senses and gains a great reputation. Mr. Christopher, the vicar choral, is the hero of the book, and he well deserves the happiness that crowns his life after long patience. It is a very pretty story.

A Man's Woman, by Frank Norris (Grant Richards, 6*s.*). The hero of this story is an Arctic explorer—a massive fellow with an imperious will, who loves an American lady that has turned nurse. Her cases are described with much realism, and the way in which Bennett wins her love is intensely exciting.

The Marriage of True Minds, by Theophila North (Grant Richards, 3*s.* 6*d.*), is a beautiful story of a girl with a genius for musical composition. The man who had won her heart is carried off by a vain and empty woman and two lives are spoiled, but Octavia finds a man that is worthy of her at last and has the good sense to see it, and to resist the great temptation of her life. The musical discussions of the book are very interesting.

Records of Craysmere Village. By Dayrell Trelawney. (Church Newspaper Co. 2*s.* 6*d.*)

This book is full of the humour and the pathos of village life. The maiden sisters and the young newspaper man from town who brings a burst of sunshine into their lives; the girl who dies

in a London hospital, and whose body is brought back forty miles by her stepfather on a wheelbarrow, are delightfully sketched. Craysmere and its humble folk will find their way to many hearts.

Messrs. C. A. Pearson are issuing an "Illustrated Scarlet Library" of Standard Works, printed on antique cream-laid paper, and in bold type. *The Pilgrim's Progress* is the first volume, and the eight illustrations by H. M. Brock are very fine interpretations of the story, full of vigour and originality. The price of the book is only two shillings, and we certainly have no cheap edition of Bunyan's great work more attractive than this.

VII. BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

MESSRS. T. NELSON & SONS send us *Ye Mariners of England*, a boy's book of the Navy by Herbert Hayens (6*s*.) It is a history of our ships from Anglo-Saxon times down to the present day. The great exploits of British sailors are described with much spirit, and a world of information is given as to modern battleships. *Rhoda*, by E. L. Haverfield (2*s*. 6*d*.), is a story of five girls whose struggles to earn a living and the happy sequel to their brave fight are very pleasantly told in this lively book. *A Toast Fag*, by Harold Avery (1*s*. 6*d*.), is a set of tales in which schoolboys will revel. They are full of adventures, and the boys we meet are worth knowing. *A Little Ray of Sunshine*, by Jennie Chappell (1*s*.), is a very pretty child's tale, which shows what a little girl may do to brighten her home. *Ships and Havens*, by Henry Van Dyke (1*s*. 6*d*.), is a piquant and stimulating talk on work and character. The volume is very tastefully printed. The latest volumes of the "New Century Library" (2*s*. net) are Thackeray's *Book of Snobs* with his *Christmas Books* and *Sketches and Travels in London*, and his *Burlesques* with *The Fitzboodle Papers, etc.* No one should overlook these most attractive and cheap editions of Thackeray's delightful papers. *Our Darling's First Book* (1*s*.) is a picture alphabet-book so ingenious and so dainty in all its pictures that little folk will learn their letters almost without knowing it. *The Red, White, and Green*, by Herbert Hayens (5*s*.), is a spirited story of the Hungarian revolt against Austria in 1848. The fight inside Vienna with its adventures for the boy heroes is lively reading, and there are many hair-breadth escapes which will delight every young reader. *One of Buller's Horse*, by William Johnston (3*s*. 6*d*.), gives a stirring account of the Zulu war. It pays high tribute to General Buller, and is full of fighting. *Adventurers All*, by K. M. Eady (2*s*. 6*d*.), breaks fresh ground in the Philippines. The Malays furnish the writer with much good material, and the plots, street fights, pursuit by gun-boats, and war scenes make this a splendid book for lively boys. The girls in *Ivy and Oak* (2*s*.)

are pleasant company, and teach many a happy lesson of courage and truthfulness. Everyone must fall in love with *The Overtons* (1*s.*), the vicarage children who set up shopkeeping in the attic, and have such rare fun together. They are a delightful set, and the pictures are just what small folk will love.

Mr. Lane sends us *The Little Boy Book* (6*s.*), a delicious volume of child verses by Helen May, with the oddest pictures by Frank der Beck. It will be a real wonderland for the nursery. *Improved Proverbs* is another dainty youngster's book, with twenty-four coloured pictures by Grace A. May, and charming verses by F. Chapman. *Britons and Boers* (1*s.* 6*d.*) is a war book in praise of our soldiers, with very quaint verse and lively pictures. *The Bible in Spain* (2*s.* net) is the neatest and most attractive edition we have seen. The book itself is a mine of adventures.

Mr. Ernest Nister has published *In the Time of the Roses*, by L. T. Meade (5*s.*), a bright story for girls, with a timely warning against deceitful ways. Florence Aylmer comes out of the fire braver and better, and her example will help other girls to resist temptation. The volume ought to be in great request as a prize. *In Alfred's Days*, by Paul Creswick (3*s.* 6*d.*), is packed with adventures, and full of healthy life. Boys will be more manly for keeping company for a time with Alfred and his brave messenger Cedric. The illustrations are excellent.

The new volumes published by the Wesleyan Sunday-School Union are very cheap and attractive. Among the eighteen-penny books *The Notes on the New Brief Catechism* are both instructive and popular, brightened by good stories, and eminently suited to stir a teacher's mind and heart. *How to Steer a Ship and other Sermons to Children* is from the pen of the late Rev. Samuel Gregory, whose genius for such talks to the young has been so warmly recognised. The phrasing and illustration, the whole tone and style of these sermonettes are really excellent. We rejoice over the book as an unexpected hoard. Mr. Forster's *Tents of Kedar* are sensible, honest, lively talks with children. He has also written *Florrie's Telegram* and *Cousin Jack's Umbrella*, two sets of bright tales which will be much enjoyed by small folk, and *Tom and His Chum*, with other lively stories from the French, is sure of a warm welcome among boys and girls. *The Fun o' the Fair*, by Bessie Marchant, is a capital tale of a girl who runs away from some snakes in a fair, and finds a happy home with kind people

who have lost their own children. *That Dreadful Boy* is a good story from the same pen about a wild lad who turns into a fine man. *Our Boys and Girls* for 1900 is rich in good things, brightened with pleasant pictures. *The Twentieth Century Reciter* (1s.) is full of really good poetry on the sea, temperance, and other subjects; it is a book that will meet a real need. *In Solomon's Porch* (1s.) is another volume of Mr. W. J. Forster's bright talks with children; and the smaller books are both cheap and attractive. *Story Weavers*, by Isabel S. Robson, introduces young people to sixteen writers of story books. The sketches are well done.

Messrs. W. & R. Chambers send us three beautifully got-up volumes for young folk. *Venture and Valour* (5s.) is a collection of stirring tales by such masters of the craft as Mr. Henty and Dr. Gordon Stables. They keep the reader in a state of excitement from first to last. *The Three Witches* (3s. 6d.) is a piece of Mrs. Molesworth's dainty work which children will rejoice over. The young people are charming, and Lady Mandane's heart melts at last towards her charming little grandchild. It is a beautiful tale. *The Story of a School Conspiracy*, by Andrew Home (3s. 6d.), deals with life in a great school, but its chief interest centres in a plot to get possession of some jewels, which ends in the utter discomfiture of the villains of the story. Frank Hornby's adventures will keep every boy's attention on full stretch from first to last.

Messrs. Cassell & Co. publish *The Mystery of Master Max* and *Fluffy and Jack*, by H. Atteridge. They are capital children's stories, full of school life, with its little joys and sorrows. They are also remarkably cheap.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sends us a parcel of reward books full of bright reading and fine moral teaching. *Uncle Bart*, by G. Manville Fenn (6s.). shows how a boy tyrant is cured and turned into a manly fellow. *The Shadow of the Cliff* (3s.) is just the book for boys tempted to self-indulgence. It is a powerful warning against bad temper and bad ways. *Over the Garden Gate* (2s. 6d.) is a capital story both for children and young people. Dr. Charlie and Miss Granville are enough to make the fortune of any book. *Four Every-day Girls* (2s.) will save many a reader from pride and help all to be kind and considerate for others. *The Son of Ælla* (2s.) tells the story of the conversion of Northumbria, giving many a picture

of life in the woods and in the Saxon court. It is a tale of unusual interest. *A Work-a-day World* (2*s.*) tells how a soldier who returned from Omdurman learned to conquer his worst foes after a hard fight. *Sounding the Ocean of Air* (2*s.* 6*d.*) deals with the romance of science. The atmosphere, the clouds, baloons and kites used for meteorological purposes furnish a set of singularly interesting and instructive chapters. *Augustine's City of God* and *The Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions* are two welcome additions to the "Early Church Classics"; they are published at eighteenpence, and are most efficiently edited. The introductions are excellent, and both books are of great interest and value to students.

Messrs. F. Warne & Co. have published a very handsome volume, *Heroes of the United Service* (7*s.* 6*d.*), by Mrs. Valentine. It tells the story of our famous soldiers and sailors in a series of spirited chapters full of food for patriotism and intensely interesting for both young people and their elders. The volume is profusely illustrated. We never saw such a fine set of views of Gibraltar. *The Dogs of War*, by Edgar Pickering (6*s.*), is a tale of the Great Civil War, which will bring vividly home to boys and girls the horrors of that bitter struggle. Cromwell is the hero of the book, but it gives glimpses of the chief leaders on both sides, and is full of adventure and fighting. *To Pay the Price*, by Silas K. Hocking (3*s.* 6*d.*), is the story of an earl's son who serves a sentence of two years on a charge of forgery, and earns his living afterwards as a bricklayer's labourer. He bears the punishment to save the man whom he regarded as his father, but he is proved innocent at last. *Sailor Songs* (1*s.*) is a capital collection of spirited and patriotic songs.

Messrs. Blackie & Son send *Out with Garibaldi*, by G. A. Henty (5*s.*), a capital story of the liberation of Italy. An English lad becomes one of Garibaldi's chief officers and friends. He is a fine fellow, and his adventures will delight boy readers. *In Far Bolivia*, by Dr. Gordon Stables (3*s.* 6*d.*), deals with wild life in the forest, with perils from jaguars and savages. The young people are very good company. *Held at Ransom*, by Bessie Marchant (2*s.* 6*d.*), describes the excitement of diamond-hunting in a snake-haunted ravine. There is an exciting rescue and much stirring incident. *Queen Charlotte's Maidens* (2*s.* 6*d.*) have found a pleasant chronicler in Miss Tytler, who goes to the days of the Georges for her graceful story of a group of girls and

their love affairs. *Tony Maxwell's Pluck* is an exciting burglar story. Tony proves himself a hero, and saves not only his father's plate, but his friend's diamonds. *Do your Duty* is a delightful tale of the sea, in which pirates and smugglers appear, and a brave boy wins the approval of Nelson by his plucky deeds. *A Little Red Purse* (9*d*.) and *Bravest of All* (6*d*.) are capital little tales that will do children real good.

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS.

Wooings and Weddings in many Lands. By Louise Jordan Miln. With many Illustrations. (London: C. A. Pearson. 16*s.*)

MRS. MILN leads her readers in a kind of marriage procession from the Arctic circle to China and Japan. Her *Epithalamium* is in prose, but the prose is touched with poetry, and lit up with pictures of dusky brides, quaint costumes, and wedding groups from all lands. The book is written with unfailing good taste. Mrs. Miln has no belief in single blessedness for her own sex. "For woman love is unqualifiedly best of all great goods. No woman is quite unblessed, unrich, who has it and knows it, no woman's life that lacks it is worth living." This bright and racy book ought to be one of the first volumes put into every bride's library.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

Woman, Her Charm and Power, by R. P. Downes, LL.D. (3*s.* 6*d.*), will be popular with both sexes. Ladies will find it a mirror for their graces, lovers and husbands will endorse its tributes and catch something of the writer's chivalry. The book is full of good things, and they are brightly put and well arranged.

Things that are Excellent, by W. A. L. Taylor, B.A. (1*s.*), is a little set of essays that will appeal to every devout thinker. Mr. Taylor's grace of style and freshness of thought make this a book that ought to be read and pondered by all who want to make the best of life. A new edition of *The Methodist Temperance Manual*, by W. Spiers, M.A. (2*s.* 6*d.*), has been called for. It is an admirable summary of the scientific argument for temperance, and is packed with matter. *Jeannette of Jersey* (1*s.*), by E. G. Rôbin, describes the introduction of Methodism into the Channel Islands by Robert Carr Brackenbury, Adam Clarke, and John de Queteville. It is a pretty story, and very brightly told. *The North Sea Lassie*, by E. M. Bryant (2*s.*), is a delightful

book. Its stories are full of character and very pleasant reading. *Bluebell of Swanpool* (2*s.*) is rather sad, but it is well written and full of good lessons. The *Message of the Birds* and *Flowers* are two charming books for budding naturalists. *Early Days* for 1900 (2*s.*) is full of pleasant stories, lively papers, and bright pictures. It is a very attractive magazine for little folk.

Religious Tract Society's Publications.

Mr. E. W. Maunder has written an account of *The Royal Observatory, Greenwich* (5*s.*), which is at once popular and instructive. It is the work of an expert who is absolute master of his subject, and it is full of information on matters of the greatest interest. The pictures are excellent. *Hidden Beauties of Nature*, by Richard Kerr (2*s.* 6*d.*), is a second edition of a delightful set of natural history studies. The book is full of pictures. *Knots*, by Archibald N. Mackray (2*s.*), is one of the freshest and most racy set of talks to young people that we have ever seen. *The Great Rest Giver*, by W. Haigh Miller (2*s.* 6*d.*), is a set of brief papers admirably woven together and full of charming incident. *The Way to the Kingdom*, by the Rev. J. D. Jones (1*s.* 6*d.*), of Bournemouth, is a study of the Beatitudes, full of rich thought and fruitful applications. *How to attain Fellowship with God* (1*s.* 6*d.*) is a sequel to the Rev. J. A. Clapperton's *Soul Culture*. Its aim is to make prayer, whether in private, in the family, or in public, more truly helpful. Everyone will find much to learn from this little manual. *The Care of the Home*, by Lucy H. Yates (1*s.*), will be greatly prized by every woman who wishes to make the best of her home. It deals with food, meals, clothing, bath-room, bedding, and linen in the most practical way.

The Leisure Hour (7*s.* 6*d.*) has never been better edited or more variously interesting to all sorts and conditions of men and women. Sir Walter Besant heads the list of story-tellers with a remarkable study of a usurer's son. Articles such as those on Woolwich Arsenal, The Range of Modern Guns, Sir John Millais, are excellent, and the bus and cycle pictures are delicious. *The Sunday at Home* (7*s.* 6*d.*) has had the good fortune to secure some attractive homilies from Dr. Hugh Macmillan, and its coloured reproductions of Tissot's scenes in the life of our Lord are wonderfully fine. Stories and papers of every sort,

with news of the Churches at home and abroad, make up an annual volume of the greatest interest and value.

Dr. Edersheim's book on *The Temple: its Ministry and Services as they were in the Time of Jesus Christ* (5*s.*) holds a unique position as the authority on this subject. It deserves its reputation, as every reader of this new edition will find, and it throws a flood of light on the whole gospel story.

The Force of Truth, Thomas Scott's memorable record of his conversion, has survived a century, and is still as precious as ever in its tribute to divine grace. It is a precious record.

Yet Will I Trust Him (1*s.* 6*d.*) is the autobiography of a Melbourne lady who for twenty-seven years has scarcely ever been free from pain. She pays her tribute to the mercy of God in a way that ought to banish fear, and fill the hearts of all sufferers with new trust. A sadder yet a brighter story one seldom reads.

The Swearer's Prayer (6*d.* net) is the life history of a tract published in 1804, of which the Religious Tract Society has issued 4,722,000 copies. It warms one's heart to read it here with a host of tributes and the blessings it has brought into multitudes of lives. No tract has contributed so much to that reformation in speech over which we all rejoice. It was a wise thing to print these wonderful stories.

1. *The School Journey*. By Joseph H. Cowham. 2*s.* 6*d.*
2. *The Principles of Oral Teaching and Mental Training*. By Joseph H. Cowham. 3*s.* 6*d.* Sixth Edition.

(Westminster Book Depôt.)

1. Mr. Cowham has been accustomed every year to take a class of Westminster students for a geological field-day in the Caterham Valley. He here describes the careful preparation made in class for this expedition, and then allows readers of his book to share in the profit and pleasure of the journey. He makes everything so clear and answers all a student's questions so completely that we do not wonder the Caterham visit is regarded as a red-letter day in the Westminster calendar. The men are trained to observe and to connect the facts brought to their notice in one region with those presented by similar districts in other parts of the country. Excellent maps and sections make the whole subject delightfully simple. No

teacher can afford to miss a volume that will do so much to guide him in his own work.

2. *The Principles of Oral Teaching* has now reached a sixth edition. It is revised and enlarged in the light of Mr. Cowham's growing experience and knowledge of the needs of teachers. It not only deals with the elements of psychology and ethics so far as these relate to school teaching and discipline, but it shows how to prepare, give, and criticise lessons. The book well deserves its popularity.

Messrs. Macmillan's reprint of Charles Kingsley's *Glaucus, or the Wonders of the Shore* (3*s.* 6*d.*) ought to be put into the hands of every boy and girl. It is a book that fills a sea-side holiday with wonders and with true reverence for God and His works.

The Sphere Atlas (1*s.* 6*d.*), on which Mr. Reginald Gill has been at work for three years, has some new features of great interest and value. It pays special attention to the British Empire, and shows by colouring the height of the land. It gives the phases of the moon, the planets, the chief mountains in a very effective way, and its maps of industrial and railway England, of the county of London, and the various towns of England are just what one wants. The price puts the *Sphere Atlas* within the reach of everyone, and we hope it will have the success its great merits deserve.

The Advance of Popery in this Country, by the late J. C. Philpot, M.A. (London: F. Kirby, 1*s.*) is a little book that true Protestants will heartily welcome. It is full of facts which can scarcely fail to open some blind eyes.

State Prohibition and Local Option (Hodder & Stoughton, 1*s.* net) is a reprint of the invaluable chapters in Mr. Rowntree and Mr. Sherwell's *Temperance Problem*. Here is the unvarnished truth about prohibition in America. Every student of the temperance question will have to master these facts. The book is indispensable.

IX. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October 1).—M. J. P. des Noyers describes the whole course of a presidential election in the United States, basing his study on the campaigns of 1896 and 1900. He says that America is not the only country where consciences are not sufficiently armed against temptations to bribery and corruption, but it is the place where these seductions multiply most freely as the scandals of Tammany have shown. The writer thinks that many of the arrangements most open to criticism are due to abuses of the work done by the founders of the federal republic. They may be explained in large measure by the rudimentary state of communications then existing between different regions of the Union. Railways and telegraphs have put the electors into closer touch with each other, and these modern facilities of communication bring out more strikingly the archaisms of legislation which only maintains its hold through the repugnance of the Americans to touch their constitutional edifice even for the purpose of improving it.

(October 15).—M. Filon has an article on Social Colonies and Workingmen's Colleges in England, which describes with much insight and sympathy the work carried on at Tonybee Hall and Ruskin Hall. There is a good article on "Experimental Astronomy and the Observatory of Meudon," which M. Jannsen established on Mont Blanc at an altitude of 4,800 mètres; and a discussion of Calvin's literary work by M. Brunetière. France has been afraid of Calvin. Its facile genius, its social genius, its literary genius have not been willing to submit to Calvin's tyranny over manners and consciences, nor to take part in the anathema which he cast on art and letters.

(November 1).—M. Leroy-Beaulieu discusses "The Chinese Problem." He thinks that any partition of the empire would be a criminal folly that would involve the risk of universal war. To suppose that any foreign nation, whatever it is, would be capable of governing eighty to a hundred millions Chinese he regards as a mere utopia.

(November 15).—M. de Vogue gathers up the lessons of the defunct Exhibition. He thinks that its results will be smaller than people imagined, because the last decennial period of the century has been marked by no great revolution in art, science, or industry. It has, however, revealed the progress made in the past and paved the way for further advance.

(December 15).—This number is full of valuable papers. Huxley's Life is reviewed under the title "A Victim of Darwinism." The writer thinks that Huxley would have played a more important rôle in the history of science if he had taken Darwin's advice, and occupied himself less with Darwinism and reverted to his study of ascidians and crustaceans.

THE METHODIST REVIEW (September-October).—The place of honour is given to a stimulating paper on "The Devotional Life," delivered by Dr. Allen at the Midland Federation of Free Churches. An editorial note says it will recall to American readers "the stalwart and sturdy personality of its author; whose utterances were sensible and virile, without eccentricity or ostentation, indicating a well balanced union of the scholar with the practical man of affairs; and whose style of vocal delivery has been aptly described as 'the leisurely gigantic.'" Professor Stuart pays tribute to the memory of John Mason Neale in a very interesting paper on the man and his hymns. A brief appreciation of "The Religion of Gilder's Poetry" will be welcomed by readers of *The Century*.