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THE

# LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1891.

## ART. I.—THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

1. *The Oxford Movement* (1833–1845). By R. W. CHURCH, M.A., D.C.L., &c. Macmillan & Co.
2. *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman during his Life in the English Church.* Edited by ANNE MOZLEY. Longmans.

THE materials for the late Dean Church's volume must have been in preparation for many years. Fulness of knowledge, mastery of details, ripeness of judgment—from the author's own point of view—distinguish the history from first to last. The style is not everywhere finished. In the latter part of the volume there are blemishes here and there—not by any means numerous—which show that the writer had not revised his first draft. These, however, are but superficial, and do not affect the substance or sense of any paragraph or passage; they are not such as to involve any confusion of thought or inconsistency of statement, or even to introduce any superfluity into the narrative. Here and there occur in different chapters some instances of repetition, but hardly more than must occur in every history which has to go back from time to time to the same subjects, or to revive them in new connections. The book may accordingly, as a whole, be regarded as the mature and finished product of the writer's mind.

It had been for some time known among the intimate friends of the late Dean that he was writing the history of the Oxford movement, and that the work was nearly ready for publication. It was, of course, looked for with great interest. Church had himself been one of Newman's friends and disciples at Oxford, and he had retained his close friendship with him through all his life. As one of the University Proctors—the junior of the two—he had, on occasion of the condemnation in 1844 of W. G. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church*, borne his part in the responsibility of the veto pronounced by his colleague on the proposal brought before Convocation by the Hebdomadal Board of the University (besides condemning and degrading Mr. Ward) to pronounce a formal censure on the principles taught in Newman's Tract 90, published three years before. Soon afterwards he left Oxford, and during many years of retirement from public life, years spent for the most part in the obscurity of a country parish, he was understood to have devoted himself very largely to those wide and various studies of literature and ecclesiastical history, chiefly Continental, of which the results are found in the excellent works which were reviewed in the last number of this journal. It was therefore expected that, notwithstanding his well-understood High Church principles, his Oxford training and history, and his friendship with Newman, his account of the Oxford movement would be written with a detachment of mind and a freedom from prejudice—especially after the lapse of nearly fifty years—such as could not be expected in the case of any one who had taken part in the intermediate history and controversies as a recognised public leader of the party which had followed, first Newman and afterwards Pusey, along the line of doctrinal development and ecclesiastical controversy. We regret to say that, as regards this point, the volume before us is disappointing. Rarely indeed is Dean Church at all unkindly in his tone; his temper in speaking of the adversaries of his party is sometimes generous, and nearly always respectful; only indeed in the case of Dr. Hampden do we think his censures savour of unfairness, or any other narrowness than such as was necessarily imposed upon him by the narrow and unspiritual principles

which belong to his Church party. But to those principles he holds tenaciously. It is only from 1840 that his views begin to diverge in any important sense from those of Newman. As to what are really main principles, it is evident that he never differed from the views which Newman taught at Oxford; he held fast to all that Dr. Pusey taught, and Dr. Pusey's views, it is certain, were essentially in agreement with all the necessary *agenda et credenda* of the Roman Communion, except only Mariolatry and the Papal Infallibility. Our conclusion after carefully studying the whole volume is that the position of Dean Church does not materially differ from that of Dr. Pusey. He does not regard any as "Roman" so long as they do not approve or accept the Curial Policy of the Papacy —the specific Papal Development—Mariolatry, Infallibility. The list he gives of men "not Roman," who were in full sympathy with Newman and his teachings up to 1860, is sufficient evidence on this point. Chief among these Tractarians who were "not Roman" he sets down Pusey, joining with him such men as Isaac Williams and Charles Marriott. Our own view is very different. We hold that

"Puseyism is essentially Popery; not, like the Laudian movement, Popery revived from its embers in a nation of which the great mass of the people had never really embraced the Reformation, but Popery revived after ages intervening in which England, through all its ranks and classes, had ceased to be Popish, and, with whatever shortcomings, had yet been an enlightened and Protestant nation, delivered alike from the gross superstitions and the spiritual despotism of Rome. The two plague-spots of Puseyism—of High Church Catholicism—are its sacramental perversions, whereby the holy seals of the Christian faith and profession are turned into superstitions; and its dehumanising doctrine of the confessional. And these two roots of error being once accepted, there is no tenet either of Tridentine or of modern Popery which may not be received. Those who have learned to regard the priest-confessor as the searcher of hearts, and the healer and absolver of the soul, gifted for his office with corresponding attributes and authority from God, need find no difficulty in addressing prayers to the Virgin Mary, or to perfected saints, and can surely find nothing too hard for them in the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, as the 'Vicar of Christ.'" *

Dean Church would, no doubt, have accepted for himself

* Rigg's *Dr. Pusey: His Character and Life Work*, p. 91.

the ecclesiastical character or description of an "Anglo-Catholic." He was a Catholic; he followed Newman in accepting that designation; but he would not have dropped the qualifying *Anglo*. He held to the character of an English Churchman. But neither would he have allowed himself to be regarded as a simple English Churchman, apart from all that is implied in the designation *Catholic*. The position represented by Dean Burgon in his *Twelve Good Men* would have been regarded by Church as too narrowly national, too strictly Anglican. He was a High Anglo-Catholic.

The history of the "Movement" is strung upon a succession of names of leaders. It will be found, however, that in this history, as given by Church, the number of actors, of actual leaders, is very small. Dr. Pusey is little more than a name—to the movement he contributed nothing. Church has less to say of him than even of Charles Marriott, who was merely a literary drudge, an editorial hack, working to the order of others, chiefly Newman. Both Pusey and Marriott were absolutely blind to the intellectual and ecclesiastical laws and influences which governed the movement and drove it to its destiny. The real links in the chain of active and vital influences which ruled the movement were Keble, Newman, with whom must be bracketed Froude, and Ward. Isaac Williams was an echo of Keble, and the strain of his influence soon died away. What in this volume is most valuable relates to the four men whom we have specially named. Of the four, Ward is the marplot—or the over-zealous fireman—through whose unrestrainable impetuosity and honest, though always more or less ill-informed, perversity, the grand "catastrophe," as the author calls it, took place, which broke up the Tractarian alliance, and brought the movement to an end, by the secession of Newman, following Ward, to the Roman Communion. The drama which ended with this "catastrophe" is the subject of this volume, and Newman is its great hero, in whom, more and more, as we advance from stage to stage of the history, all the interest and fortunes of the narrative are concentred, and with whose passing off the Oxford stage the volume terminates. With a force of language and in a style altogether unusual in the tranquil writing of Dean Church, he refers

(p. 276) to "the strange and pathetic events of 1845" as having "for a time hushed even anger in feelings of amazement, sorrow, and fear," and as having "imposed stillness on all who had taken part in the strife, like the blowing up of the *Orient* at the battle of the Nile."

How it was that Church did not accompany his admired teacher and friend in his parting from the Church of England—at what precise point in his course he found himself unable further to follow him—how, whilst agreeing with so large a part of his premisses, he escaped his ultimate and decisive conclusion—it is by no means easy to discover. The question is not distinctly dealt with by Dean Church, and it is only by a careful observance of the places where he fails directly or indirectly to indicate his agreement with Newman, and a few places besides where the turn of expression or the form of reflection shows that the author is speaking distinctively for himself, and at the same time is gently criticising or intimating his difference from his master, that we are able to learn in what respects Dean Church was less Romanising than Newman. The upshot of the whole is that, knowing much more history than Newman, and being at the same time less logical and less energetic as a speculative reasoner, he could not, although conscious of the false position of the Church of England, leave it for a Church which had such a history as that of Rome in respect of its hierarchy, especially its Popes, and in respect of its corruptions, such as those which stirred up the indignation of Luther, including indulgences and the excesses of Mariolatry and other forms of hagiolatry. He held that the objections on such grounds against the Church of Rome were as grave and as undeniable as any objections which Rome could urge against the Church of England, and therefore that it was his duty to remain in the Church of his nation, and of his early choice.

If Dean Church had been a less biassed or a more exact thinker he would have seen that this argument of his in extenuation of the defective notes and titles of the Church of England, as co-heir with the Church of Rome of the Catholic character and inheritance of the true Church of Christ, is an irresistible two-edged and two-handled sword, which he places

in the hands of Continental and Nonconformist Christian Churches, for their own defence against Anglo-Catholic as well as Roman Catholic pretensions. For, first, it cuts away the ground from under the assumption which Dean Church accepted from Newman—as set forth in the first of the Tracts—that the Catholic Church character descends of necessity and exclusively by the line of Apostolico-episcopal succession. That principle, as Newman in the end came to see and feel, must for all that hold it fast, invest the Roman Communion, notwithstanding all its faults and corruptions, and especially as against the claims of an excommunicated Church like the Church of England, with an indefeasible supremacy, reducing the Church of England, as Cardinal Manning, criticising Dr. Pusey's *Eirenicon*, long ago proved and insisted with unanswerable force and pungent emphasis, to a relative position towards the Church of Rome, precisely resembling that which Churchmen would assign to Nonconformist Communions in England. Then, in the next place, if, notwithstanding the superior ecclesiastical—or may we be allowed to say "technical"?—claims of the Church of Rome, Dean Church, for such reasons as he assigns, felt himself bound to maintain his allegiance to the Church of England, by parity of reason the Nonconformist Churches—such, for example, as Wesleyan Methodism—even if they were prepared to admit, as they are not, the superior ecclesiastical claims and titles of the Church of England, might well, in view of the frequent blemishes and stains of that Church's history, of the abuses, the irregularities, the worldliness, the barrenness and impotence which have marked its annals, often for several generations in succession, and especially which, by confession of its own best and greatest sons, gave to its history during the eighteenth century a peculiar flagrancy of discredit, hold fast their allegiance to their own Church principles and ecclesiastical organisations.

The following passage expresses, in part, the feeling of which we have been speaking, as enabling Church to resist the influence of his leader's example in going over to Rome:

"The English Church was after all as well worth living in and fighting for as any other; it was not only in England that light and dark, in teaching and

in life, were largely intermingled, and the mixture had to be largely allowed for. We had our Sparta, a noble, if a rough and an incomplete one; patiently to do our best for it was better than leaving it to its fate, in obedience to signs and reasonings which the heat of strife might well make delusive. It was one hopeful token, that boasting had to be put away from us for a long time to come. In these days of stress and sorrow were laid the beginnings of a school, whose main purpose was to see things as they are; which had learned by experience to distrust unqualified admiration and unqualified disparagement; determined not to be blinded even by genius to plain certainties; not afraid to honour all that is great and beneficent in Rome, not afraid with English frankness to criticise freely at home; but not to be won over, in one case, by the good things, to condone and accept the bad things; and not deterred, in the other, from service, from love, from self-sacrifice, by the presence of much to regret and to resist" (p. 347).

With this passage may well be compared the Dean's description of the Tractarian movement in the stage of its best early promise and hopeful vigour:

"It might well seem that it was on its way to win over the coming generations of the English clergy. It had on its side all that gives interest and power to a cause. . . . . It had the promise of a nobler religion, as energetic and as spiritual as Puritanism and Wesleyanism, while it drew its inspiration, its canons of doctrine, its moral standards, from purer and more venerable sources—from communion, not with individual teachers and partial traditions, but with the consenting teaching and authoritative documents of the continuous Catholic Church" (pp. 193-4).

The "continuous Catholic Church" is a large and impressive phrase, but is scarcely more than a phrase. And notwithstanding its supposed derivation and descent from this hypothetically defined but scarcely verifiable organisation—scarcely verifiable at least by an English Churchman—the Church of England, according to the showing of Dean Church, had fallen into such a state of lethargy and confusion, of neglected duties and traditions or of divided counsels, that the violent remedy of the "Movement" had become necessary to correct its errors and to reorganise and revive it, and the highest point of success which that movement had in this its vigorous youth attained was that "it had the promise of a nobler religion, as energetic and as spiritual as Puritanism and Wesleyanism." Surely, in the light of such testimony, "Puritanism and Wesleyanism" may quite as fitly, and to the full as boldly, maintain their ecclesiastical position against the

unlimited claims to superiority and allegiance of the Church of England, as that Church assert its legitimacy and authority against the claims of the Church of Rome.

In another passage, with which, of course, we cannot but sympathise, and which, it is evident, is part of a contemporary record of Church's own reflections and mental struggles in the later agonies of the "Movement," a Tractarian is described who shrinks with all his heart from the thought of giving up his "best friends and the most saint-like men in England" in order to "escape the very natural suspicion of Romanising," and yet

"has no feeling towards Rome, does not feel, as others do, the strength of her exclusive claims to allegiance, the perfection of her system, its right so to overbalance all the good found in ours as to make ours absolutely untrustworthy for a Christian to rest in, notwithstanding all circumstances of habit, position, and national character; has such doubts on the Roman theory of the Church, the Ultramontane, and such instincts not only against many of their popular religious customs and practical ways of going on, but against their principles of belief (*e.g.*, divine faith = relics), as to repel him from any wish to sacrifice his own communion for theirs" (p. 345).

Such was Church's own position in the interval between 1840 and 1845 while Newman, urged continually by Ward, was coming nearer and nearer to Rome. During the latter part of this interval, indeed, Newman was engaged in building that bridge of argument by which, as he conceived, he made for himself a sure and solid roadway from the position of advanced Tractarianism which he had reached in 1841, into the territory of the Roman Communion which, simultaneously with the publication of the work to which we refer, his *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, he at length entered in 1845.

Up to 1840 Church went entirely with Newman, as will be seen from the following comprehensive and unqualified eulogy which he pronounces on the movement and its leaders during the earlier period of their history:

"Anglicanism was agreed, up to this time—the summer of 1839—as to its general principles. Charges of an inclination to Roman views had been promptly and stoutly met; nor was there really anything but the ignorance or ill-feeling of the accusers to throw doubt on the sincerity of these disavowals. The deepest and strongest mind in the movement was satisfied;

and his steadiness of conviction could be appealed to if his followers talked wildly and rashly. He had kept one unwavering path; he had not shrunk from facing with fearless honesty the real living array of reasons which the most serious Roman advocates could put forward. With a frankness new in controversy, he had not been afraid to state them with a force which few of his opponents could have put forth. With an eye ever open to that supreme Judge of all our controversies, who listens to them on His throne on high, he had with conscientious fairness admitted what he saw to be good and just on the side of his adversaries, conceded what in the confused wrangle of conflicting claims he judged ought to be conceded. But after all admissions and all concessions, the comparative strength of his own case appeared all the more undeniable. He had stripped it of its weaknesses, its incumbrances, its falsehoods; and it did not seem the weaker for being presented in its real aspect and on its real grounds. People felt that he had gone to the bottom of the question as no one had yet dared to do. He was yet staunch in his convictions; and they could feel secure.

"But a change was at hand. In the course of 1839 the little cloud showed itself in the outlook of the future; the little rift opened, small and hardly perceptible, which was to widen into an impassable gulf" (pp. 194–5).

Of what nature the "little rift" was and into what a "gulf" it opened during the four or five following years has been indicated in the previous quotations. The last quotation shows how absolutely Church was able to identify himself, not only at the time but permanently, with all Newman's earlier course, and with his original principles as the founder of the Tractarian party. Let us then turn to the very first of those Tracts, those "early Tracts," which, as Dean Church writes, "were intended to startle the world, and succeeded in doing so," and learn from it on what foundation, first and most of all, Newman built up his ecclesiastical system of principles and aims. "I fear," he says, "we have neglected the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLICAL DESCENT. We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to the Apostles: they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and those again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops, who have appointed us as their assistants, and in some sense representatives" (p. 101). This postulate of Tractarianism Church accepted and ever held fast, notwithstanding (or was it, by way of reaction, because of?) his

lineage and earliest education as a Quaker. He embraced all that followed in the long series of Tracts up to No. 90, as to some points in which he appears to have had doubts and scruples. Among the preceding eighty-nine, besides those Tracts which contained Newman's own development of his opinions, some of which had anticipated the methods and processes of No. 90, although they had not disclosed the whole scope of its purpose and meaning, there were Dr. Pusey's portentous misinterpretations of baptismal texts and references, and the monstrous errors of doctrine he built upon these false interpretations, in his series of Tracts on Baptism, and there was Isaac Williams' Tract on "Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge," to say nothing of Keble's on "The Mysticism of the Fathers in the Use and Interpretation of Scripture." The whole of this series Church had accepted as true and timely teaching, or, if there were some points as to which he might have doubts, they involved nothing serious or material.

He was therefore, in this respect as well as in others, eminently fitted to write a history of the movement as seen and known from the interior. Although his was not naturally the temper and spirit of the partisan, although his temper was serene, and his disposition habitually liberal and kindly, he was steeped to the lips in the spirit of the "Oxford Movement," alike as to its spiritual teaching and dogmas, and its ecclesiastical principles—which, indeed, imply each other—and he appears, with all his breadth of culture, never to have outgrown or in any way lost the Tractarian habit of thought and feeling, although, like Pusey, he never became an extreme Ritualist of the now prevailing type. The volume he has left may therefore be regarded as a most authentic relation of the main history of the "Movement" from beginning to end as regarded in the most favourable light, written by one of its most reasonable and least extreme adherents. It is accordingly unique in its authority and importance. The *Apologia* was the personal defence of the head and chief of the movement after he had led his followers to destruction, from the Anglican point of view, and had himself taken refuge in the enemy's citadel, and become the censor and satirist of his former disciples. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, in the Life of his father,

W. G. Ward, has described the movement from the point of view of a Roman Catholic bred and trained as such, although a man of remarkable candour, insight, and fairness in dealing with all parties concerned, and by no means a mere partisan or eulogist of his father, the logical driver and the *enfant terrible* of the movement. From such narrators Dean Church stands sharply distinguished. He was a loyal disciple of Newman, until it could no longer be hidden from any but recluse and one-sided men like Pusey, Williams, and Marriott, that, with whatever hesitation and windings, Newman was leading the way down a steep declivity towards the Roman territory, which he had already approached within measurable distance. When he could no longer follow his leader, Church retained his personal relations of friendship with him, and throughout life, even when he had himself reached one of the most eminent positions in the English Church, he kept up his intercourse and intimacy with him. No wonder the Cardinal always treated the Dean of St. Paul's with distinguished regard. At Oxford he had owed not a little to the Junior Proctor who bore half the responsibility of shielding the author of Tract 90 from the express condemnation of the University. His memory was to owe still more to the writer of the *Oxford Movement*. The Dean's book was written as the history of the life-work, as an Anglican, of his still surviving ancient friend. It is evident, as we have already intimated, that he was carrying out a long-cherished idea. His intimate familiarity with every detail of the history of which he writes, as wrought out on the side of Newman and his immediate co-workers, is manifest on every page. The volume must have been largely composed from contemporary documents, journals, or letters. Some of his references, by way of illustration, in the text, and especially in the notes, tell of a leisurely study and revision of the narrative in its details and in its points of analogy with the records and remains of ancient as well as later literature.

Dean Church follows Newman in recognising Keble as the "true and primary author" of the Tractarian movement. We venture to doubt the justice of this conclusion. His influence, no doubt, contributed much to the movement; it was one of the various sources from which emanated the ideas that pre-

pared the Anglican mind, not only at Oxford, but still more outside of Oxford, for the reception of Newman's teaching. It was natural, also, that Newman should be disposed to place the name of so distinguished and revered a man as Keble in the forefront of his own muster of associates, and not less natural that Church, himself, in some marked respects, a man of Keble's sort and of Keble's spirit, should follow Newman in this. But Church's own description of the two men sufficiently settles the question. To the movement, as a movement, Keble seems to have actively contributed no momentum whatever, although his reputation, like Pusey's later on, lent it a powerful sanction. To Newman belongs all the merit or demerit of the Tractarian line of policy and action. Without him the movement would never have taken form or gathered way. Froude was, very early, a powerful and energetic colleague—indeed, without him Newman would not have been what he was, or done what he did. And Froude's principles were taught him by Keble. But as to Keble, let the words of Dean Church be noted:

"Mr. Keble had not many friends, and was no party chief. He was a brilliant University scholar, overlaying the plain, unworldly, country parson; an old-fashioned English Churchman, with great veneration for the Church and its bishops, and a great dislike of Rome, Dissent, and Methodism, but with a quick heart; with a frank, gay, humility of soul; with great contempt of appearances, great enjoyment of Nature, great unselfishness, strict and severe principles of morals and duty" (p. 23).

On the preceding page we read that "he had no popular aptitudes, and was very suspicious of them"; that "he had no care for the possession of influence—he had deliberately chosen the *fallentis semita vitæ*, and to be what his father had been, a faithful and contented country parson, was all that he desired." "The Kebles were all of them men of the old-fashioned High Church orthodoxy, of the Prayer-Book and of the Catechism—which valued in religion sobriety, reverence, and deference to authority, and in teaching, sound learning and the wisdom of the great English divines; which vehemently disliked the Evangelicals and Methodists for their poor and loose theology, their love of excitement and display, their hunting after popularity. This Church of England

divinity was the theology of the old Vicar of Coln St. Aldwyn's, a good scholar and a good parish priest, who had brought up his two sons at home to be scholars." He brought them up not only to be scholars and orthodox Churchmen, but to be among the narrowest of bigots. The author of the *Christian Year* did not allow Dissenters to be even Christians—he ranks them as "heretics," and uses the word "Puritan" habitually as synonymous with "Rationalist"—as may be seen from the preface to his one volume of Sermons;* and the Primitive Methodists in his parish (Hursley) learnt thoroughly to appreciate the edge and intensity of his rigid orthodoxy; while in Bisley, as several generations of Wesleyan Methodists could have borne witness, Thomas Keble was conscientiously intolerant in his parochial spirit and administration, the reverse of evangelical in his preaching—a man who received into his parish a succession of curates such as desired the advantage of being trained under such a model priest, but who is justly described in Dean Church's words as "a man of sterner type than his brother; curt and keen in speech; intolerant of all that seemed to threaten wholesome teaching and the interests of the Church; and equally straightforward, equally simple in manners and life."

John Keble, of so absolutely old-world a character, so immovable in his views, so narrow and limited in his personal sympathies, could never have shaped the policy of a new party in the Church, could never have led or inspired a movement. What he was as a poet we know, but he was in no sense a leader of men. He did, however, impregnate with his intense and intolerant High Church spirit one who became, with Newman, the joint originator of the Tractarian movement. Froude became the pupil of Keble, and

"Keble attracted and moulded Froude—he impressed Froude with his strong Churchmanship, his severity and reality of life, his poetry and high standard of scholarly excellence. Froude learned from him to be anti-Erastian, anti-Methodistical, anti-sentimental, and as strong in his hatred of the world, as contemptuous of popular approval, as any Methodist. . . . . In accepting Keble's ideas, Froude resolved to make them active, public, aggressive; and he found in Newman a colleague whose bold originality

* *Sermons, Academical and Occasional*, 1847.

responded to his own. . . . . Keble had given the inspiration; Froude had given the impulse; then Newman took up the work, and the impulse henceforward, and the direction, were his" (pp. 27, 28).

We do not need to say much in this article of Froude, whose character has been several times dealt with in our pages. The chief interest attaching to him is that, being what he was, he so powerfully influenced Newman, who said of him, in his *Lectures on Anglicanism*, that he, "if any, is the author of the movement altogether;" a saying hardly, however, consistent with the statement already quoted from the *Apologia* as to Keble's relation to the movement. He was a man of much force of will and some power of intellect; perhaps he was even, to some extent, a man of genius; he was a handsome and attractive man, a bright and lively companion, a warm and affectionate friend, a "good fellow," but very free indeed of his tongue; he was as intense a hater as he was a warm friend, very ignorant, very self-confident and audacious, a bitter bigot, a reckless revolutionist, one who delighted to speak evil of dignities, of dead worthies and heroes reverenced by Protestant Christians at home and abroad. Church, who did not know him, but took his estimate of him mainly from Newman, makes a conspicuous figure of him, giving much more space to him than to Pusey, more even than to Keble. That this should be so shows how deeply Church had drunk into the spirit that prompted and inspired the Tracts. Even his friendly hand, however, cannot omit from his picture certain features which, to an outsider who is not fascinated by the *camaraderie* of the Tractarian clique as it was in the early days of the movement, will be almost sufficient, without further evidence, to warrant the phrase, "a flippant railer," in which Julius Hare—himself assuredly no evangelical bigot or narrow sectary—describes the man whose *Remains* were published by his friends, that Anglican Churchmen might be led to admire the zeal and devotion, and to drink into the spirit, of this young hero of the new party. According to their view, his early death, in the odour of sanctity, although of true Christian saintliness in temper or spirit he seems to have had as little tincture as any Spanish persecutor, left an aureole of glory upon his memory.

Such was Froude's hatred of Puritanism that, as may be learnt from Dean Church, he was "blind to the grandeur of Milton's poetry." Church speaks himself of his "fiery impetuosity, and the frank daring of his disrespectful vocabulary." He quotes James Mozley as saying: "I would not set down anything that Froude says for his deliberate opinion, for he really hates the present state of things so excessively that any change would be a relief to him." He says that "Froude was made for conflict, not to win disciples." He admits his ignorance. "He was," he tells us, "a man strong in abstract thought and imagination, who wanted adequate knowledge." He quotes from the *Apologia* Newman's admission of two noticeable deficiencies in Froude: "he had no turn for theology;" "his power of entering into the minds of others was not equal to his other gifts." Such a power, we may note, is very unlikely to belong to men of fierce and hasty arrogance and self-confidence. It finds its natural home in company with the "wisdom from above," which is not only "pure," but "gentle and easy to be entreated," the characteristics of a saintliness of another sort than that of Froude. Dean Church admits that the *Remains* "contain phrases and sentiments and epithets surprisingly at variance with conventional and popular estimates;" as, for example, we may explain, when Froude speaks of the illustrious Bishop Jewel, whom Hooker calls "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years," as "an irreverent Dissenter." Church adds that "friends were pained and disturbed," while "foes exulted, at such a disclosure of the spirit of the movement." The apology he offers is that, "if the off-hand sayings of any man of force and wit and strong convictions were made known to the world, they would by themselves have much the same look of flippancy, injustice, impertinence to those who disagreed with the speaker or writer. . . . . The friends who published Froude's *Remains* knew what he was; they knew the place and proportion of the fierce and scornful passages; they knew that they did not go beyond the liberty and the frank speaking which most people give themselves in the *abandon* and understood exaggeration of intimate correspondence and talk." To which the reply is obvious—If the editors had disapproved

of the tone and style of these *Remains*, as it is evident that Dean Church himself, notwithstanding his strong friendly bias, could not help disapproving of them, they would either not have published them, or would at least have suggested some such apology as that suggested by Dean Church. But, in fact, they published them without any explanation and apology, and it cannot be seriously doubted that they rather rejoiced in than condemned such gross improprieties. Further, if this sort of writing is common in the intimate correspondence of responsible clergymen, how is it that it is so hard, if it is at all possible, to match the flippancy and insolence of these *Remains* in any other correspondence or remains of men of Christian culture and character known to literature? Dean Church, indeed, cannot but admit that "Froude was often intemperate and unjust," and that "his strong language gave needless exasperation." He endeavours, however, to make one point in favour of the "Movement," from the publication of the *Remains*. Whether it was wise or not, he argues that "it was not the act of cunning conspirators; it was the act of men who were ready to show their hands and take the consequences —it was the mistake of men confident in their own straightforwardness." We have no wish to revive against the forward and violent men of the movement, as represented by Froude and the admiring editors of his *Remains*, the charge of being conspirators. Certainly Froude, in the earlier stage of the movement, like Ward in its later stages, had nothing in him of the conspirator's temper or craft, whatever may be said as to Newman. But we should not describe the act of publication as Dean Church does; we should say that it was the act of men whose honesty may be admitted, but who were ignorant and arrogant partisans—men carried away by their sectarian temper, by their sanguine and overbearing self-confidence.

But it was a strange little world—the world of Oxford—in which Froude was regarded as a bright and leading character sixty years ago. It seems as we look back upon it to be very much farther away than half a century, and to belong almost to a different planetary sphere. Here is a scene as described by an early friend of Newman and Froude, the late Lord Blachford, better known by his earlier style and title as Sir

Frederick Rogers, long Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and who was ennobled by his school and college contemporary and life-long friend, Mr. Gladstone:

"I remember one day his grievously shocking Palmer of Worcester, when a council in J. H. N.'s rooms had been called to consider some memorial to which Palmer wanted to collect the signatures of many, and particularly of dignified persons, but in which Froude wished to express the determined opinions of a few. Froude, stretched out his long length on Newman's sofa, broke in upon one of Palmer's harangues about bishops and archdeacons and the like, with the ejaculation: 'I don't see why we should disguise from ourselves that our object is to dictate to the clergy of this country, and I, for one, do not want any one else to get on the box'" (p. 54).

"He would," we are told by the same relator on another page, "(as we see in the *Remains*) have wished Ken to have the 'courage of his convictions,' by excommunicating the non-jurors in William III.'s time, and setting up a little Catholic Church, like the Jansenists in Holland."

It was, in fact, a very young and ignorant, as well as bigoted, circle in which the idea of the "Oxford Movement" first germinated. Newman, doubtless, was far superior in knowledge, in ability, and in depth and gravity of feeling, as well as in insight and caution, to those who were in the closest fellowship with him. It was a school-boyish sort of clique, and in wildness, enthusiasm, ignorance of the actual forces and the gathering movements of the world outside, their projects and dreams remind us of schoolboy plans and projects for moving the world and achieving fame and greatness. The Tractarians lived in an unreal world all through their party history. Newman, it cannot be doubted, crossed over in his dreams from Oxford to Rome. Even the last "catastrophe" was but as an interval of sharp disturbance and partial awakening to a dreamer, and having crossed the border he dreamed again. Oxford was a semi-monastic, secluded, academic world. That most quaint antique, Routh, like a survival from the seventeenth century, was its great ancient. The principles of Non-juring and Jacobite times and parties had descended through successive generations who had inherited from old-fashioned and hereditary clerical families or fossilised gentry the traditions of the Stuart Church and

State. Hence the possibility of such sentiments as those cherished by Froude—as expressed in our last quotation—and which, no doubt, had been strengthened by his association with Keble. These things must be borne in mind in trying to understand the character of the Oxford movement. The special *camaraderie* of the place must also be remembered. Schoolboys' friendships are often intense and romantic. Those of Newman and his circle were passionately deep and warm—more like those of boys in some respects than of men, perhaps still more like those of women who live aloof from the world in the seclusion of mutual intimacy—intimacy which is suffused with the fascinating but hectic brightness of a sort of celibate consecration to each other, apart from any thought of stronger or more authoritative human ties that might ever interfere with their sacrament of friendship. This *morbidezza* of moral complexion and temperament, this more or less unnatural and unhealthy intensity of friendship, was a marked feature in Newman's relations with those around him. In this journal attention has been before directed to this feature in the Tractarian society of Oxford. There is a touching side to it. Dean Church speaks of "the affection which was characteristic of those days," and adds that for both Isaac Williams and William John Copeland "Mr. Newman had the love which passes that of common relation" (p. 57). Of the mutually feminine attachment which bound Newman and Froude together we have no need to speak. The *Apologia* sets it forth all the more fully because Froude was no longer living. It was indeed one of Newman's greatest powers for the work that he had taken in hand that he fascinated not only into admiration, but into entire and enduring friendship, so many of his companions, although at the same time he inspired most of them, as Isaac Williams, for example, with more or less of distrust. They admired him, were fascinated by him, obeyed him, but he was yet a mystery to them, and they stood in awe, and sometimes in doubt, as to what his deepest purposes might turn out to be.

The following description of Oxford as it was at the beginning of the Tractarian movement is interesting and instructive in relation to the points we have suggested :

"The scene of this new movement was as like as it could be in our modern world to a Greek πόλις, or an Italian self-centred city of the Middle Ages. Oxford stood by itself in its meadows by the rivers, having its relations with all England, but, like its sister at Cambridge, living a life of its own, unlike that of any other spot in England, with its privileged powers and exemptions from the general law, with its special mode of government and police, its usages and tastes and traditions, and even costume, which the rest of England looked at from the outside, much interested but much puzzled, or knew only by transient visits. And Oxford was as proud and jealous of its own ways as Athens or Florence, and like them it had its quaint fashions of polity: its democratic Convocation and its oligarchy; its social ranks; its discipline, severe in theory and usually lax in fact; its self-governed bodies and corporations within itself; its faculties and colleges, like the guilds and 'arts' of Florence; its internal rivalries and discords; its 'sets' and factions. Like these, too, it professed a special recognition of the supremacy of religion; it claimed to be a home of worship and religious training, *Dominus illuminatio mea*, a claim too often falsified in the habit and tempers of life. It was a small sphere, but it was a conspicuous one; for there was much strong and energetic character, brought out by the aims and conditions of University life; and though moving in a separate orbit, the influence of the famous place over the outside England, though imperfectly understood, was recognised and great. These conditions affected the character of the movement and of the conflicts which it caused. Oxford claimed to be eminently the guardian of "true religion and sound learning"; and therefore it was eminently the place where religion should be recalled to its purity and strength, and also the place where there ought to be the most vigilant jealousy against the perversions and corruptions of religion. Oxford was a place where every one knew his neighbour, and measured him, and was more or less friendly or repellent; where the customs of life brought men together every day and all day, in converse or discussion; and where every fresh statement or every new step taken furnished endless material for speculation or debate, in common rooms or in the afternoon walk. And for this reason, too, feelings were apt to be more keen and intense and personal than in the larger scenes of life; the man who was disliked or distrusted was so close to his neighbours that he was more irritating than if he had been obscured by a crowd; the man who attracted confidence and kindled enthusiasm, whose voice was continually in men's ears, and whose private conversation and life was something ever new in its sympathy and charm, created in those about him not mere admiration, but passionate friendship, or unreserved discipleship. And these feelings passed from individuals into parties, the small factions of a limited area. Men struck blows and loved and hated in those days in Oxford as they hardly did on the wider stage of London politics or general religious controversy" (pp. 139–141).

A picture of Newman, drawn from the life by his

admiring friend, explains in some degree his power over men:

"Mr. Newman, who lived in College in the ordinary way of a resident Fellow, met other University men, older or younger, on equal terms. As time went on a certain wonder and awe gathered round him. People were a little afraid of him; but the fear was in themselves, not created by any intentional stiffness or coldness on his part. He did not try to draw men to him, he was no proselytiser; he shrank with fear and repugnance from the character—it was an invasion of the privileges of the heart. But if men came to him, he was accessible; he allowed his friends to bring their friends to him, and met them more than half-way. He was impatient of mere idle worldliness, of conceit and impertinence, of men who gave themselves airs; he was very impatient of pompous and solemn emptiness. But he was very patient with those whom he believed to sympathise with what was nearest his heart; no one, probably, of his power and penetration and sense of the absurd, was ever so ready to comply with the two demands which a witty prelate proposed to put into the examination in the Consecration Service of Bishops: 'Wilt thou answer thy letters?' 'Wilt thou suffer fools gladly?' But courteous, affable, easy as he was, he was a keen trier of character; he gauged, and men felt that he gauged, their motives, their reality and soundness of purpose; he let them see, if they at all came into his intimacy, that if *they* were not, *he*, at any rate, was in the deepest earnest. And at an early period, in a memorable sermon, the vivid impression of which at the time still haunts the recollection of some who heard it, he gave warning to his friends and to those whom his influence touched, that no child's play lay before them; that they were making, it might be without knowing it, the 'Ventures of Faith.' But feeling that he had much to say, and that a University was a place for the circulation and discussion of ideas, he let himself be seen and known and felt, both publicly and in private. He had his breakfast parties and his evening gatherings. His conversation ranged widely, marked by its peculiar stamp—entire ease, unstudied perfection of apt and clean-cut words, unexpected glimpses of a sure and piercing judgment. At times, at more private meetings, the violin, which he knew how to touch, came into play" (pp. 161, 162).

At the same time, the artist who paints this description has to add that Newman's influence was limited, and more or less marred by what seemed like "over-subtlety," and that "his doctrine of the Church had the disadvantage of an apparently intermediate and ambiguous position." Newman was accessible and conversible, was an adept in the arts of conversational persuasion and casuistry—especially evasive casuistry—but appears to have been very rarely frank and

outright, even when most confidential. Froude was more extreme, but he was always outspoken—leaving no suspicion of an undisclosed meaning or an *arrière pensée*. Hence, quiet men like Isaac Williams, though disapproving of his violence, felt they understood and could trust him; while, much as they admired the abler and more cautious Newman, they were, in regard to him, haunted by a sense of distrust. Their relation to Newman, accordingly, was "a curious mixture of the most affectionate attachment and intimacy, with growing distrust and sense of divergence" (pp. 64, 67, 68). Froude in the earliest, Ward during the later, stages of the "Movement," were powerful motive forces by the side of their leader. Both of them alike were easy to read; they used plain speech, and spoke aloud so that all might hear. Their leader's object was to win over adherents one by one, by every lawful art of persuasion, to detach them gradually from their old principles, to transform the very aspect and colour of the traditional Church of England to their medicated vision, to bring them unawares to points of view from which the past should appear to them altogether different from what they had heretofore understood it to be. Hence, his methods were in contrast with those of his outspoken friends. Hence, too, even those who admired Newman much, and could not resist his spell, in following him felt that they did not share his deepest counsels, and could not foresee whither he might lead them, or into what perplexing, or even alarming, position he might bring them in the end. This being so, we are not surprised to learn from Dean Church that a certain "austerity" was felt as tingeing the relations of Newman with his disciples, or that these regarded him with more or less of "awe."

This volume does not add much to our previous knowledge of the main points in Newman's history as an Anglo-Catholic, or the chief features in his character and influence. We, at least, have found no reason in this volume, any more than in the correspondence of Newman relating to the same period which has lately been published, to revise our estimate of his character. He was a very gifted man within a limited range of personal and intellectual influence; he was a man of sympathy and insight in regard to character, and the relation of character

and conduct to circumstances and environments; he was an exquisite writer of English; he was a man of true poetic genius. He was a preacher of extraordinary power of persuasion and penetration when dealing with conduct, motives, the realities of character; not a popular preacher, not a preacher for any but cultivated people, people of disciplined habits of mind, but a soul-searching preacher. His preaching, in fact, was a yet greater power than his private influence; and his personal influence would not have prevailed as it did in private intercourse apart from the power of his pulpit ministry at St. Mary's, though his audiences were very rarely numerous—were generally, indeed, small. His main logical instrument as an ecclesiastical leader and innovator was always the same—he used continually the same leverage. By degrees he drove home the master principle of external Church unity, as defined by the postulate of apostolical succession laid down in his first Tract. In dealing with short-sighted people it was, perhaps, one cause of his success that he himself was almost as short-sighted as they were. His principle could not but lead to Rome; but it took even Newman many years to find this out. When at length this truth began to take definite and solid shape to his vision he was terribly alarmed—hesitated, shuddered, would if possible have drawn back. But the slow compulsion of his first principles gradually, through years of agony and latterly of seclusion, wrought out its necessary results upon one who was at bottom sincere, and whose logical faculty, though only quick when playing a short-distance game of verbal fence or subtlety, was yet, in its power of slow and gradual evolution of results from accepted principles, a living power that could not but in the end obtain the mastery. It wrought out his final argumentative *Apologia* for completing the passage, by way of the "succession" road, to Rome, in the Development Theory, by which he was enabled to accept the mediæval corruptions of the Roman Church as part of the whole authorised teaching of the One True and Apostolic Church. The movement began, Dean Church expressly tells us, in Mr. Newman's determination "to force on the public mind in a way that could not be evaded the great article of the Creed, 'I believe one Catholic and

Apostolic Church.'" Into what form and attitude the movement had shaped itself even before the "catastrophe" came —five years before—is vividly described by Dean Church:

"Thus a great and momentous change had come over the movement, over its action and prospects. It had started in a heroic effort to save the English Church. The claims, the blessings, the divinity of the English Church, as a true branch of Catholic Christendom, had been assumed as the foundation of all that was felt and said and attempted. The English Church was the one object to which English Christians were called upon to turn their thoughts. Its spirit animated the *Christian Year*, and the teaching of those whom the *Christian Year* represented. Its interests were what called forth the zeal and the indignation recorded in Froude's *Remains*. No one seriously thought of Rome, except as a hopelessly corrupt system, though it had some good and catholic things, which it was Christian and honest to recognise. The movement of 1833 started out of the anti-Roman feelings of the Emancipation time. It was anti-Roman as much as it was anti-Sectarian and anti-Erastian. It was to avert the danger of people becoming Romanists from ignorance of Church principles. This was all changed in one important section of the party. The fundamental conceptions and assumptions were reversed. It was not the Roman Church, but the English Church, which was put on its trial; it was not the Roman Church, but the English, which was to be, if possible, apologised for, perhaps borne with for a time, but which was to be regarded as deeply fallen, holding an untenable position, and incomparably, unpardonably, below the standard and the practical system of the Roman Church. From this point of view the object of the movement was no longer to elevate and improve an independent English Church, but to approximate it as far as possible to what was assumed to be undeniable—the perfect Catholicity of Rome. More almost than ideas and assumptions, the tone of feeling changed. It had been, towards the English Church, affectionate, enthusiastic, reverential, hopeful. It became contemptuous, critical, intolerant, hostile with the hostility not merely of alienation but disgust. This was not of course the work of a moment, but it was of very rapid growth. 'How I hate these Anglicans!' was the expression of one of the younger men of this section, an intemperate and insolent specimen of it. It did not represent the tone or the language of the leader to whom the advanced section deferred, vexed as he often was with the course of his own thoughts, and irritated and impatient at the course of things without. But it expressed but too truly the difference between 1833 and 1840" (pp. 210, 211).

How small, after all, and how narrow was the intellect of Newman cannot but be evident to any unfascinated person who will exercise sober, manly thought, from the fact that it was Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman's quotation of St. Augustine's words in reference to the Donatist controversy,

*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*,* "ringing continually in his ears, like words out of the sky," which really vanquished Newman. That saying "opened a vista which was closed before, and of which he could not see the end." Nor is it less indicative of extraordinary intellectual weakness on the part of Newman, notwithstanding his gifts and accomplishments, that "one of the blows which broke" him, as he himself says in the *Apologia*, was the business of the Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem. Only a man already under the spell and bondage of an intrinsically Romish superstition could so have felt. Such weakness as is thus disclosed was a main part of Newman's character. Not less marked was that perhaps amiable, but extreme and almost ultra-feminine self-consciousness, which is disclosed in his correspondence, especially that with his sister, in regard to the ecclesiastical questions which wrung his soul. The letters are touching; they reveal a character which had its aspect of true sincerity as well as acute sensibility; but they do not well harmonise with the idea either of mental or moral greatness.

We venture to affirm, indeed, that Mr. Hutton's estimate of Newman's character, with which we felt it our duty to deal recently, is not likely to be ratified by the verdict of later generations. The glamour which has misled so many is not likely to invest his story in the future. Mr. Hutton, in the *Spectator*, is now in controversy with Dr. Abbott on the subject. Into that controversy we shall not enter. Little as we sympathise with Mr. Hutton in his excessive admiration for Newman, we find it impossible to forget that the author of *Philomythus*, in his former appearances as the author of *Philochristus* and *Onesimus*, has, though a clergyman of the Church of England, done not a little to undermine the faith of a Christian nation, and in particular of the youths whom he had himself educated as a clergyman, in the grand facts on which our Christian faith and hope reposes. We therefore cannot sympathetically listen to his arguments to prove the trained and excessive, though unconscious, sophistry and dishonesty of Newman. Moreover, by his undertaking to

* "The judgment of the whole world must stand good."

write on the subject of post-apostolic miracles as treated by Newman, we cannot but be reminded of what John Wesley writes in his journal about Conyers Myddelton's *Free Inquiry* into the writings of the Fathers on the same subject, to which Wesley wrote a free and pungent reply: "He aims every blow, though he seems to look another way, at the fanatics who wrote the Bible." *

That Newman, however, was accustomed to live consciously in an atmosphere of straight and truthful thinking is more than any critic, however fair and dispassionate, can be expected to admit. He did not believe in logical truth as an instrument of spiritual influence or instruction. He did not believe in objective truth at all, as scientifically or intellectually regarded. All truth for him was merely relative, except what was directly disclosed to him in consciousness or made known by Divine Revelation. His doctrine of faith and obedience stood in no relation whatever to history or argument; the only faith he acknowledged was immediate and implicit, recognising the direct voice of God, and ignoring all besides. Reason for him, as such, had no authority. A man habitually dwelling in such an atmosphere of unreal thinking as this, however sincere, must be devoid of the intellectual sensibility which compels the trained Christian reasoner, no less than the critical philosopher, to recognise the laws of thought, alike in history and in abstract science, by which truth is discriminated from falsehood. Hence, although it led to harsh judgments, which strict and impartial investigation has compelled later generations to abandon or to modify, there was a natural and by no means unreasonable ground for the views which prevailed forty years ago as to the subtlety and deceitfulness of the whole Tractarian system of thought and teaching, and which were held by men of such mark as Dr. Arnold, Dr. Whately, and Henry Rogers.

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* Wesley's *Journals*, Aug. 12, 1771.

## Art. II.—UNEARNED INCREMENT.

1. *The Unearned Increment: or, Reaping without Sowing.* By William Harbutt Dawson. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.'s Social Science Series. London. 1890.

2. *Free Exchange:* Papers on Political and Economic Subjects, including Chapters on the Law of Value and Unearned Increment. By the late Right Hon. Sir Louis Mallet, C.B. Edited by Bernard Mallet. London. 1891.

IN the fore-front of his little volume—a volume full of valuable, if one-sided, information—Mr. Dawson places an extract from the codicil to an ancient will, which is evidently meant to serve not only as a motto to his work, but as a model for more modern times.

"Whereas I [John Harrison, of Leeds, 1579–1656] heretofore bought of Richard Falkingham, Esq., divers lands and tenements . . . . part of which I since sold to several persons for *a good sum of money more than I purchased the same for*, I thought myself bound to bestow upon the eldest son of John Green and the eldest son of Richard Hamerton, who married the co-heirs of the said Richard Falkingham, *the surplus of all such moneys as I sold the lands for, over and above what, indeed, they cost me.*"

Nothing definite is said as to the motives which led this Yorkshire worthy to act in this unusual way. His motives may have been the most whimsical or the most conscientious, the most abject or the most heroic. We are not concerned to inquire into them. Our interest in this curious codicil arises from the fact that it raises, in a convenient form, the question of "unearned increment"—a question, partly ethical, partly economic, partly political, which we have long desired to discuss. It is not a party question, nor need it be discussed in a partisan spirit. The interests of all parties and of all classes are concerned in it, and it is a matter of vital moment to civilised society all over the world that the true solution should, if possible, be found. From John Harrison to "the whole civilised world" may seem a "far cry," but we

shall find that the principles involved in his conduct are principles which lie at the root of all civilisation.

Whether the piece of land in question was agricultural land or building land we need not inquire. The arguments we shall use will apply to both. Nor need we discuss the question whether the land could rightfully be owned by Mr. Harrison. We do not propose to argue with those who deny the right to private property in land. The estate was bought and sold in the ordinary way, but sold for more than it cost, and, for some reason, the owner thought it either right or expedient, or both, to remit the difference to the heirs of the person to whom he had sold it. Now the only question with respect to this particular landowner that we care to ask just now is this: Had he any right to remit this difference? He had no doubt a right to do what he liked with his own. But was the increased value of the land his own? If not, what right had he to bequeath it to any one? and what becomes of his action as a precedent to be followed? On the other hand, if the difference in value was the owner's very own, he clearly had a right to give it away; but then the right to give it away implies the right to retain it, and then what becomes of the incident as an example to modern landowners, who, according to the teaching of the whole of Mr. Dawson's book, have no such right? Which horn of the dilemma does the author prefer? He will not say that the increase in value both did and did not belong to his model landlord. Both assertions cannot be true, and if he makes either of them he destroys the value of his frontispiece.

So far we have not expressed an opinion as to whether the increment belonged to Mr. Harrison or not. If pressed, Mr. Dawson would probably contend that it did not, and it is at this point that we join issue. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the details to form an absolute judgment on this particular case, but we shall contend that if Mr. Harrison was the rightful owner of the land he had a right to the increase in its value. If he had a right to its value at the time he acquired it, he had—so we shall contend—a right to its value at the time he parted with it; and we shall farther contend that it would not have been inconsistent

with his duty to society if he had exercised that right in the ordinary way when he finally disposed of the property. In other words, and in order to enlarge the scope of our argument, we shall contend that if private property in land be just and expedient at all, it is just and expedient that the owners of land, like the owners of every other commodity, should have the benefit of any increment that may arise in its value.

We do not say the full benefit. Land values, like all other values, as they rise and fall, should be taxed for public purposes. This, however, does not satisfy Mr. Dawson. He admits that owners of land should have the benefit of any increase in the value of their property that can be shown to have been produced by their own exertions or expenditure, minus, of course, the ordinary and necessary rates and taxes; but he maintains that any additional increment should be, not taxed, but taken by the community. In this he differs from his master, J. S. Mill. Mr. Mill only went so far as to teach that this additional increment might be subjected to "special taxation." But this is not far enough for Mr. Dawson. In the opening paragraph of his chapter headed "Root and Branch" he writes:

"It may be said that property owners do already pay both higher taxes and higher rates because of the growing value of their possessions. But it is not enough merely to return to society in this way a low rate of interest on the value which it has created. Society has a right to the entire capital worth."

And then, that there may be no mistake as to his meaning, he adds an example, and repeats his assertion of the rights of society:

"To take an example: The value of a given quantity of land is to-day £100; a later valuation shows it to be worth £120. This increase is demonstrably not due to any labour, any exertions, any expenditure of capital on the owner's part, but to purely social causes. The increment of £20 should not, then, be appropriated by the landlord, who has not done anything to create it, but by the community. Surely no real injustice would be inflicted upon a man by withholding from him something which he never possessed. This unearned increment never was his; how, therefore, could he be said to suffer injustice if society, without touching the original £100, kept all value exceeding that amount?"

On first reading this astounding passage, we were reminded of the Hindu story of the philosopher, who, to show his

power, undertook to call the bones of a tiger back to life. The experiment succeeded admirably. There was neither hitch nor flaw; only, when the tiger was fully alive, the first thing it did was to eat up the philosopher. If his theory of rights be true, Mr. Dawson is in danger from his own philosophy. Society, according to him, has a right to all the increment in value due to social causes. To take an example: Mr. Dawson's volume is now worth, say, £100. But the interest in social questions is spreading. The question of "unearned increment" is being more and more widely discussed. It is only reasonable, therefore, to expect that the demand for a book bearing that title will increase, especially when there is added an alternative title which so deeply offends the British sense of justice as "Reaping without Sowing." To complete this argument *ad hominem*, we have now merely to repeat the rest of the passage cited above, with the necessary emendations.

"A later valuation shows the book to be worth £120. This increase is demonstrably not due to any labour, &c., on the author's part, but purely to social causes. The increment of £20 should not, then, be appropriated by the author, who has not done anything to create it, but by the community. Surely no real injustice would be inflicted upon a man by withholding from him something which he never possessed," &c.

And now the tiger holds the field. Let us examine him more closely. Let us find, if possible, his vulnerable points. He is evidently no respecter of persons. Permit him to remain at large, and there is no domain of social life he will not ravage, no class in the community that he will spare. He has not even spared his maker. Killed or captured or conciliated he must be, and that right speedily, if society is to be safe and free. Possibly, we may find, before we close, that the hungry monster has obligingly devoured himself.

"The key to all science," says an eminent authority, "is the note of interrogation; we owe most of our great discoveries to the word, 'How?' and the wisdom of life consists in asking ourselves at every turn, 'Why?'" Applying this method to the matter in hand, let us ask how came the book we are noticing to be worth £100? Why should the author

be entitled to £100 for it at one time, but not to £120 at another? Was it the labour and capital which the author expended on it that made the book worth £100 in the market? If he had spent the same amount of time and strength and money in producing a learned treatise, say on "Curious Codicils to Ancient Wills," would that have brought him in £100? If not, why not? Is not the value of his book, as well as any increment that may arise, due entirely to social causes? Are not both due to the desire and the need giving rise to the demand for such books? And, if both the original value and the increased value are due to the same cause, how can it be right for an author to receive the one and wrong for him to receive the other? Both the value and the increment are "unearned"; both are determined, or, if any one should prefer the word, caused, by society; and, if the community has a right to either of them, it has a right to both of them. And what is true of a book is true of a piece of land or of any other commodity. Its value does not depend upon the labour or the money expended on it; it depends entirely upon the demand for it. If the demand for a thing, whether it be land or labour or learning or anything else, be greater than the supply, that thing will be relatively valuable, and in the market, it will be dear; but if the supply exceeds the demand it will be relatively valueless and cheap. And, if there is a greater demand or a lesser demand for a commodity at one time than at another, there will be a corresponding increment or decrement in the value of that commodity. But neither the original value nor the increment nor the decrement can be said to have been earned in the ordinary sense of the word. They are all alike unearned. Let a man spend his time and energy and means in producing things that no one wants, and he will find that he has laboured in vain and spent his wealth and strength for naught.

Why are the deserts of Sahara or the Arctic regions valueless? Because no one desires them. The nations most anxious for outlets for their surplus population would not give a cent for them; and, if the sand and ice of which those regions are composed had been produced by vast expenditures of human wealth and energy, it would not one whit alter men's appre-

ciation of their worth. There is no intrinsic value in anything, not even in diamonds. A mine of diamonds would be valueless to a man if he did not desire them himself, and could not exchange them for something that he did desire—*i.e.*, if there were no demand for them. The question with respect to any commodity that is offered for sale or loan is, not what did it cost the owner, but what is it worth to the buyer or the borrower? It may have cost little and yet be worth much; it may have cost much, and yet be worth little or nothing; it all depends on the demand. But for the fact that their opposites lie at the foundation of the doctrine we are combating, and of a great deal of the socialistic teaching of the time, we should be quite ashamed to dwell upon these elementary economic truths. The value of a commodity, it cannot be too often insisted upon, depends on the demand for it. To make our first quotation from Sir Louis Mallet, whose luminous chapters on "Value," on "Natural Monopolies," and on the "Unearned Increment," we commend to all who desire to form a sober and impartial judgment on these difficult questions:—

"The value of a commodity, whether produced by man or Nature, is not due to human labour or to Nature, but to the fact that its possession satisfies a human want, and that men are ready to give their labour or their property (from whatever source derived) in order to obtain it. It is the service for which they pay, and it is this which causes and determines its value" p. 284).

In saying, just now, that value is not earned, we were careful to add "in the ordinary sense of the word." There is a sense in which, perhaps, it may be said to be earned. Either the original value of a commodity, or the increment in that value, may be said to be earned by the service which the producer or the owner of the commodity renders to another person by exchanging it for some other commodity. Value is something that arises in exchange. It is a relation between services and between commodities. Money is ordinarily the standard of value and the medium of exchange. I buy a piece of land for £100. Both I and the owner consider the value of the service he renders me in transferring the land to me to be £100. I hand him the money; he hands me the title-deeds. Whether we say that I have earned the land by

giving him the money, and that he has earned the money by giving me the land, or that we have exchanged services which we considered to be equivalent, comes to the same thing. He pockets the money and I appropriate the land, and for the time we both are satisfied. But now suppose that in the course of years the population grows and thrives, and the same man thinks my piece of land would now be worth £200 to him, and I prefer this sum of money to the land, and we again effect an exchange, is not the service I now render him worth twice as much as the service he rendered me by selling me the land, and have I not earned the increment in value by rendering him the more valuable service? This is not a case of "reaping without sowing." I sow the more valuable service and reap the more valuable reward.

Or, to vary the illustration so as to bring in the element of rent: A plot of land is let for £20 a year. That is the value of the service rendered by the lessor to the lessee. Owing to the general progress of the community the demand for land increases and the estimated value of this piece is doubled. The rent is raised by mutual agreement to £40. Is not the additional service rendered by the landlord in letting the more valuable land an equivalent for the additional rent? Where is the injustice of the transaction?

What has been said of these particular plots may be said of all the land in the country. The owners of land render services to the community by selling or letting their land—services which, like the services of all the other members of the community, are variously appreciated, and rewarded according to the demand for them. And yet we read: "The landlords reap where they have not sown, and gather where they have not strawed. Little of the value of the land which they lend or sell at prices which are often so fabulous has been created by them, yet they appropriate it all" (Dawson, p. 108). Is it not obvious that the sowing consists in service, and that the fact that fabulous prices are sometimes paid for it is a proof that the service is estimated at a fabulous rate? It is the demand for land that determines the value of the land, and it is because the demand in certain places is so enormously in excess of the supply that the price

of land is sometimes so fabulous. The community simply pays the owners of land for the use of an instrument of profit or of pleasure, or, as we prefer to put it, for a service by which the members of the community are enabled to make a living or a fortune, as the case may be; and the reason why landlords are able to raise their rents or to sell their land at a profit is that certain members of the community are prospering by the use of their land, and that there are so many others who would be only too glad of the opportunity of prospering on the same conditions and in the same way. As the Duke of Argyll found it necessary to remind even so eminent a publicist as Sir Thomas Farrer in the famous "Battle on the Betterments" in the *Times* last year: "It is the market which determines all values. If it is the enormous demand of the London community which gives to houses their value, it is the same demand which gives its value to every other kind of property within its influence. It is that demand which gives its value to every shop, and to every trade, and to every enterprise, and to every salary, and to every kind of labour, and to every instrument of production which is concerned in ministering to that vast aggregate of demand." All this, we should have thought, is obvious and almost trite.

And now let us proceed to ask what services society renders to the owners of property, entitling it to appropriate the increase in the value of that property. By property we mean not merely land, but labour, skill, and capital—every kind of commodity—everything that can meet the needs of man. Sometimes a distinction is made between land and other kinds of property on the ground that land is a monopoly. But all private property is monopoly. The two ideas are inseparable. My money cannot belong to me and to somebody else at the same time. Any little skill I may have in writing, or painting, or shoemaking, is mine exclusively, just as much as my horse, or my house, or my land. Every specially strong and industrious labourer, every specially ingenious artisan, every successful novelist, artist, teacher, organiser of labour, enjoys a monopoly, and, in the higher price his services command, receives a rent on his special faculties and natural advantages,

just as really as a rural landlord receives rent on land which is above the average in fertility, or an urban landlord on that portion of his land which enjoys a natural advantage of situation. At other times it is said that landed property should be exceptionally treated because land is limited, and is a necessity of human life. But so is everything else with which we are here concerned. Relatively to the needs of the race, land is not limited; there is enough and to spare. But relatively to the wants of any particular community, there may not be enough; and so with every other commodity. There may be enough of it in the world to meet the needs of mankind, but not enough in a given community to meet the needs of that community. And, as to land being a necessary of human existence, some land may be, but not this particular piece of land, just as bread is necessary, but not this particular loaf. On none of these grounds can any valid distinction be made between land and any other kind of exchangeable commodity.

What services, then, does society render to the owners of property which would make it just for the State, acting in its name, to appropriate the increment in the value of their property? Will it be said that society causes the increment? But how? By increasing the demand for the property.

Very well now, let us see how this theory would work out in practice. The theory is, that those who impart value to what a man possesses by creating a demand for it may claim that value. That this is no imaginary theory may be seen on p. 110 of Mr. Dawson's book:

"And here I would make it clear that I do not deny the right of every landlord, of every capitalist, to due reward for his expenditure, whether of labour or of money. For the capital invested in land, for the skill and exertion employed in its improvement, it is right to expect proper recompense. But when allowance has been made for a fair return upon these, there is still in the increment constantly [?] accruing to the value of land a *social* element which is often found far to exceed the just deserts of the owner's investment, industry, and ability. It is with this *social* value we have to do, and to whom should it go—to the landlord who did not produce it, or to society, which did? Surely justice, equity, expediency, common sense unite," &c.

Very well. Let us bring to bear upon this theory as much of justice and of common sense as we are able to com-

mand. The verdict of expediency may more conveniently be taken later on. If the theory is sound it will not fail to bear this three-fold test in ordinary life. If it means anything, it means that if I increase a tradesman's income by buying his goods, I ought to pocket that increase; that is to say, that he ought to let me have his goods at cost price; that is to say, that his services in supplying me with the goods are of no value. The justice and the common sense appear to us to be with those who teach that the services I receive are all that I am entitled to, and that the proper place for the increase in the tradesman's income is the tradesman's till. Suppose I go to the seaside at a busy season and help to raise the price of lodgings by increasing the demand for them, am I entitled to a share in the increase of my landlord's income? If this article, by the rule of contraries, should double the demand for Mr. Dawson's book, will he be bound to hand us a proportionate share in his profits? A number of agricultural labourers migrate from the villages to the towns of a country, thereby raising the wages of the labourers they leave behind and diminishing the earnings of those amongst whom they come to reside: ought they to receive a reward from the one and to give compensation to the others? An English Premier plunges this country into war. By this means he vastly increases the demand for the services of the artisans of Woolwich, Sheffield, Newcastle, and indirectly for most of the commodities of the country: is he entitled to the increment in all the earnings he has caused? A Royal personage appears in public decked in English lace and ribbons. She may not need these "sweet accessories" for "beauty's heightening," and may not think at all of the effect of this indulgence in what Shakespeare stigmatises as both "wasteful and ridiculous excess"; yet none the less certainly does she set the fashions in the direction of English lace and ribbon. The effects are felt at once in Nottingham and Coventry. The demand for land and labour and most other things increases in those towns. Ought she to have the increment? Two nations trade together: may they justly send in a bill to each other for the amount of the increased prosperity?

A fruitful fallacy, we may be sure, lies hidden in a theory

which brings forth such absurdities. Nor is the fallacy difficult to detect. In the examples by which we have tested the theory the fallacy stares us in the face. It consists in losing sight of the fact that after the demand for a thing has been created it has to be paid for before it can be ours, and paid for in proportion to the demand. An individual or society at large creates a demand for a commodity, and thus causes or increases its value in exchange. In this way the individual or society renders a service to the owner of the commodity, but the owner of the commodity renders an equivalent service by supplying the demand. It is a simple exchange of services, and if the value which has arisen in exchange is to be appropriated by society, we fail to see either sense or justice in the transaction. In any court in England, and, as we should hope, in any company of English workingmen, a similar transaction between man and man would be pronounced to be an instance of both fraud and folly. Would the fact that the transaction took place, not between man and man, but between the community and the individual, make it right and wise?

In the discussion of a matter so intricate, and so momentous to civilisation, it is neither possible nor desirable to avoid repetition. For the sake of clearness, if for no other reason, we need not scruple to repeat the argument in slightly different form. Our hope is that the repetition may be neither wearisome nor vain.

So far as individual owners of property are concerned, then, we contend that there is no such thing as *unearned* increment, if we are to take the word to mean that the owners of commodities whose value in exchange has increased have done nothing to entitle them to that increase. They *have* done something; they have lent or sold their commodity to the community, and for this service they receive their reward in the increased price that the community pays for it. The fact that the increased price is paid shows that the community appreciates the service more highly than before, and is able and willing to pay more highly for it. The owners have earned this increment by the more valuable services they have rendered to the community. On the other hand, it cannot be

said that the community has earned the increment in the value of these commodities. So far as the community is concerned, the increment is unearned. Not so, says Mr. Dawson:—

"The increment is by no means unearned; what is meant by the phrase is, that the landowner has not earned it. Society, however, has, and earned it honestly—by heavy toil, by exertion of body and brain, by plodding industry, by bold enterprise, by culture and enlightenment; by progress in numbers, in wealth, and in morality. There is not a yard of land in the country whose value has not been enhanced by these social causes." (P. 107.)

But there is a world of difference between saying that the value of the land has been enhanced by social causes, and that that value has been earned by society. By heavy toil, &c., society has created a larger demand for land and for all other commodities, and in this way has enhanced their value to society. It has more need of them, and therefore estimates them more highly. It is prepared to give more for them. Moreover, society may be said to have earned the means of paying the higher price for the commodities it needs in order to gratify its enlarged and multiplied desires. But that is not the same as saying that it has earned the increment in the value due to the increased demand. That increase has been already earned by the services rendered by the owners of these more valuable commodities in transferring them to the community. What services does society render in return? The increased price. But if the price is not paid, or, if after it is paid, it is taken back again by special taxation, the services are not rendered. Society defrauds the owners of the increment. Society could only earn the increment by paying the full increased price. With one hand to give a man the market price for a thing, and with the other hand to take it away from him, is equivalent to not giving him anything for it. To give a man £100 as an equivalent for the increased value of his land, and then to take it away by special taxation, is surely a strange way of doing him a service in return for the service he has rendered. It is simply a roundabout and rather clumsy way of robbing him.

Yet this is "Christian Communism"! It is neither Christian nor Communism. Communism says bluntly, *Propriété c'est*

*vol.* It denies all right to private property. It is therefore perfectly logical in denying all rights to the fruits of property. It abolishes rent, interest, wages—profit in every form. Communism is a consistent, and, in this respect, a respectable system. But this new-fangled notion that property is legitimate, but that the fruits of property are not legitimate—what must be said of it? It may be "Root and Branch" philosophy, but it is not based on justice, and it does not much commend itself to common sense. The propounders of this new philosophy are no doubt honourable men, and their endeavours to promote the public good are worthy of all praise, but their version of the doctrine of the unearned increment does not bear close examination. It is found to be as erroneous in theory as it would prove to be pernicious in practical life.

Indeed, a theory more injurious to society as at present constituted it would be hard to conceive. Once let the State begin to appropriate these increments, and they will soon be at an end. Men will not labour long to enrich a great abstraction called Society, and if they did, they would not long be able to enrich it. These increments would be consumed as fast as they were disbursed. So long as they continued to be distributed they would stimulate the increase in the population, and the demand would constantly encroach on the supply. The capital which pays for labour would gradually be absorbed in providing for a larger and larger population; the rich would become fewer and fewer, and the poor would become more numerous and more poor. It is too often forgotten that, in a growing population, it is these accumulations of wealth which render progress in civilisation possible. But if you dry up the fountain, what will become of the stream? Whence would come the funds with which industries and manufactures, and all the amenities of life, are created and fostered, if all the surplus wealth of the community were dispersed as fast as it was made? These accumulations of wealth in private hands act as a check on population, and regulate the demand for commodities in relation to the supply. Remove this check, and unless by some other means you limit the population, the demand will inevitably exceed the supply, and nothing then is possible but progress in poverty until starvation point is reached.

For a growing community to go on consuming its capital is the surest way for it to progress backwards towards barbarism and beggary. The policy of the unearned incrementalists is as unwise and inexpedient as it is unjust. To adopt any such policy, as Sir Louis Mallet shows with such convincing logic, would be

"to condemn the human race to hopeless sterility in all that can be called civilisation. Societies of men would be nothing more than aggregations of semi-savages living always up to the extreme margin of subsistence, and periodically kept within necessary limits by famine and starvation. (P. 304.)

Of course, as Sir Louis also shows, it would be possible for the State to prevent this deterioration; but only by means which would not commend themselves to those we have in view:

"If the State makes itself the economic unit instead of the individual, it could perform the imperative task of adjusting supply and demand as well as the individual; but at what a cost? Only by the substitution of the most intolerable, the most inquisitorial, the most impossible despotism for human freedom and personal responsibility." (P. 318.)

From the political, not less than from the ethical and economic point of view, the advocates of State manipulation of the "unearned increment" are, to our thinking, quite astray. The mode suggested for the distribution of these increments is as objectionable as the distribution itself. The State is to appropriate the rent of land, both urban and rural —the proposal for the present is limited to land—in lieu of the rates and taxes levied on the whole community. In this way it is hoped, and evidently believed, that all would equitably share the spoil. Would they? Ought they? They neither ought nor would. That they ought not equally to share is clear. Even if we grant that the increment in question is due to social causes, it does not follow that all the members of the community have contributed, much less that they have contributed equally, to the supposed result. Some have contributed much, some little, some nothing; some have detracted from rather than contributed to the total result. Where would be the justice of treating all alike? If the State is equitably to determine each man's share in promoting the prosperity of the nation, it will need to find some means

of estimating the nature and amount of the indirect effect of each man's actions, for assuredly we do not act alike. Nor would all the members of the community share equally in the increment under the method of distribution proposed. The increment is to be taken from the landlords by taxation and spread over the whole community by the remission of rates and taxes. The remission will be total and universal. There will be no need of rates and taxes at all; for the increment in question is said to exceed the total amount of the taxation, both local and general, of the United Kingdom. But the effect of this remission would be to divide this increment, "not in equal shares between the members of the community, but in shares proportional to their present contributions to the taxes—an arrangement which would benefit the richer at the expense of the poorer members." In a word, as Sir Louis Mallet in another place remarks: "The unearned increment cannot be appropriated by its division among the community without disaster, or applied in relief of taxation without injustice."

Think also of the political mischief sure to arise if the State were to act on such a proposal. If the whole, or even a considerable part, of its revenues were to be derived from sources independent of taxation, one of the strongest motives to prudent and economical administration would be removed The door would be opened to every form of wasteful expenditure in local and general, in home and foreign affairs, while the means and temptations to jobbery and corruption would be multiplied on every hand. Who does not know that men are prone to be less scrupulous in the transaction of public business than in the conduct of their private affairs? Is it not notorious that men of all classes and all parties are constantly doing in public what they would be quite ashamed to do in private life? This truth stands forth from the history of all societies under every form of government, and not least glaringly from the history of that form of government which practically prevails in most parts of Europe and America to-day. To speak of impartiality in the administration of affairs under a system of party government is a contradiction in terms; and to expect a party to act impartially is to expect a contradiction

in conduct, as unlikely as it is, and has been, rare. The interests of a party in power are not the interests of the community, but of a majority of the electors; and men, such as we know them, may be trusted to look after their own interests. Imagine, then, the effect, in local and national affairs, of substituting for the keen and interested vigilance of rate and tax payers, the comparative indifference of men the vast majority of whom have been exempted from all fiscal burdens, and whose interest in public business would only be aroused by the periodical scramble for the "ransom" levied on a kind of property so few of them possess. To quote once more from Sir Louis Mallet—than whom on such a subject few men of our time have been so much entitled to be heard—and with the weighty words we close: "Under such a system the country would soon become the prey of contending factions, struggling to get possession of enormous prizes and opportunities of unlimited plunder; the flood-gates of corruption would be unloosed, and after a period of progressive disorder society would seek a deliverer in the first strong man who was prepared to play the part of a modern Cæsar, from whom political liberty would have again to be gradually extorted by returning to the only method by which it can be secured, by once more placing it on the only sound foundation, that of private property and free exchange." (P. 329.)

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## Art. III.—JENNY LIND.

*Jenny Lind, the Artist. Memoir of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, her Early Life and Dramatic Career*, 1820–51. By Henry Scott Holland, M.A., and W. S. Rockstro. Two vols. London: John Murray. 1891.

THE record of the late Madame Goldschmidt's artistic career, very recently given to the world, may quite justly be considered unique among professional biographies. Of set purpose, its writers have restricted themselves to that portion

of their subject's life over which alone "the world has a positive and undeniable claim"; they have declined to deal with the household sanctities of one of the noblest of women, who happened also to be a successful dramatic performer, and have actually cut their story short, like an old-fashioned novel, at the moment when the heroine passes through a happy marriage into the blissful asylum of home, where her woman's nature is to attain its grandest and highest development.

And yet in this history, which is so severely limited in its scope, which aims only at revealing "the peculiar growth and training, the advantages and the perplexities, the hindrances and the helps, through which that gift, which was at last so triumphant, won its slow way through darkness into light"; what is it that charms and fascinates, that makes it valuable and interesting even to those who would turn wearily from an ordinary theatrical biography, and whose position with regard to vocal music is that of "the unlearned and the ignorant"? It is the rare beauty of the character, the purity, the unworldliness, the unselfishness, the lofty conception of duty, which characterised "Jenny Lind, the artist"; it is the noble Christian womanhood maintaining itself "unspotted from the world" amid all the fierce temptations of a dramatic existence, all the bewitching snares of an immense success, and finally saving itself from spiritual loss and degeneracy by a "great renunciation"; it is the whole harmonious personality that stirs our wondering delight; and we recognise gladly the impossibility of separating even in thought the greatly gifted artist from the gentle and lofty human creature who, with full purpose of heart, used her God-given powers for the glory of the Giver and the good of man, for whose service she knew them given. Not for such as her is the sad apology needed, that the people to whom she gave her best, should in gratitude turn their eyes from the errors of a private life out of harmony with her public greatness. The life was whole and consistent; and, as in the Temple of Solomon, the walls of its veiled and secret inner sanctuary were as perfectly overlaid with fine gold as those of the outer courts, open to the people's gaze.

It is, therefore, no mean boon that is conferred on the read-

ing public by this biography; it is no profitless task to consider its revelations and its teachings.

"The hindrances and the helps" that surrounded Jenny Lind in her earliest years were alike of such a character that her strong belief in her own vocation as God-given is perfectly intelligible. No very propitious star seemed to shine when, on October 6, 1820, she first saw the light in Stockholm. A baby was hardly wanted in the Lind household, whose mistress just kept the wolf from the door by taking day-scholars; and the moral atmosphere of the home was not favourable. Jenny's father, kindly, easy-going, troubled with a musical faculty that was a source of loss instead of profit, was something of an irritating spouse for the resolute, energetic wife whom his slender earnings as an accountant could not maintain, who rebelled and murmured at the ill-luck that pursued her through two successive marriages, and who was not gently disposed towards the outer world that had done little to help her.

From her father Jenny may have derived the musical gift which in her became genius, from her mother her strong will and tireless energy; but she did not inherit from the one her lofty ideal of duty, nor from the other her large-hearted, ungrudging generosity. Sweet and wholesome influences were about her infancy, however, for its first three years were spent perforce in the heart of the country, with rustic foster-parents; and the natural poetry and simple, kindly, honesty of Swedish peasant life blended with her very soul, and lent to her character the free wild charm of the folk-songs she always loved to sing. Returning home at three years old, she came at once under the power of religion embodied in her maternal grandmother, whose deep spirituality seems to have reproduced itself beautifully in Jenny's own life, and whose merit it is also to have discerned the latent powers of the shy rustic nurseling. She is the heroine of that pretty story, so often quoted already, of the fanfare strummed out on the piano by the baby fingers of Jenny, who had caught the strain from the bugles of a passing band, and who hid herself, trembling, under the instrument, when the grandmother came to see who was playing. Vividly did the great vocalist recall the whole incident, and

the prophetic words of the delighted grandmother to Fru Lind, "That child will bring you help."

Help was sorely needed in the straitened home; but it came in a shape from which Fru Lind shrank at first with just apprehension. It seemed a duty to secure singing-lessons for the little being who sang with bird-like sweetness, "at every step she took and every jump she made," and whose musical genius was hardly more evident than her dramatic faculty. But to take advantage of the free Government education to be obtained at the Royal Theatre School was to train Jenny for the stage; and of such a profession Fru Lind had an instinctive horror, only equalled by that which long experience developed in her daughter. She took the step at last of presenting herself with her child before Herr Croelius, Court Secretary and Singing Master at the Royal Theatre—her lingering indecision at the very door, mastered by the urgency with which little nine-year-old Jenny pulled her forward; and when the good Croelius had heard the child sing, the die was cast; his enthusiasm and the magically sweet voice of the candidate removed all difficulties; and Jenny, for all her mother's doubts and fears, was received as an "actress-pupil," to be maintained and educated at the Government expense.

Her education, neither learned nor profound, was very thorough on the professional side, and the remarkable grace of bearing she gained in it served her royally in later life, doing much to neutralise the personal plainness of which she was keenly but not morbidly conscious; and as her home life was little interfered with, she seems to have grown up into natural joyous girlhood like any other child. But it is hardly possible to read without pain of her early appearance on the stage as a child-actress, and of the "almost incomprehensible, the really unnatural cleverness," with which, in her twelfth year, she sustained her child's part in "La Fausse Agnès," a play stigmatised by the Swedish critic whom we have quoted as being altogether immoral, portraying a deeply corrupt society. With her biographers, one has to "shudder at the terrible perils swarming round the child," whose surprising dramatic genius was so ill-employed, "her very innocency

allowing her to revel in the fun and audacity of such a character, without any of the checks which a knowledge of the villany in it would have suggested to a pure mind."

Such are the dangers to which the drama exposes its children, even when, as at Stockholm, the religious and moral element is by no means lost sight of in their training. Graver are the risks that these servants of the public pleasure run in the days of their maturity. Without dwelling on the gross temptations besetting an actress of weak moral stamina, we must see that a profession that stimulates both personal vanity and emulation in a special manner has no elevating tendency; and that there is too much probability in the picture given us by a modern master of fiction,* of a hapless woman whose stage-life ends by unwomanising her; who, curiously studying for professional purposes the outward shows of intense emotion, becomes slowly incapable of feeling it, and who so starves her human sympathies, and feeds fat her craving for admiration, that at last it seems as if she had no soul left to lose, and was nothing but the hollow simulacrum of a love-worthy human being. The picture may be exaggerated; but that it has no foundation in fact, let those say, if they can, who have acquainted themselves with dramatic biography and autobiography, and who have noted, even in the case of a spotlessly moral and upright Macready, how the finer lines of character become overlaid by the petty vanities, jealousies, and suspicions of the actor, and how the hundred meannesses of the "*entourage* of the theatre," irritating and fretting the sensitive artist-soul, exasperate and humiliate the self-respecting man, who too often has to despise himself.

"You don't know that life; but the glare and the faces, and my having to go on and act and sing what I hated, and then see people who came to stare at me behind the scenes—it was all so much worse than when I was a little girl . . . . it was no better than a fiery furnace."

Those words, which George Eliot has assigned to the pure-hearted, forlorn girl-actress *Mirah*, sum up an experience that might conceivably have been that of our pure and noble Jenny

* William Black, *Macleod of Dare*.

Lind, but for one thing—the sovereignty of the great power of song on which she entered, on a certain memorable date, the 7th of March, 1838; the day when, with fear and trembling, she made her *début* on the operatic stage as *Agathe* in *Der Freischütz*—to find, with her first note, all her agony of nervousness disappear. "She had discovered herself."

"'I got up, that morning, one creature,' she herself often said; 'I went to bed, another creature. I had found my power.' And all through her life she kept the 7th of March with a religious solemnity; she would ask to have herself remembered on it with prayers; she treated it as a second birthday. . . . . To her religious mind the discovery of a gift was the discovery of a mission. She saw the responsibility with which she was charged, through the mere possession of such a power over men. The singer, with the gift from God—that is what she became on that night."

Her *début* was a triumphant success, and it was followed up by other successes, striking enough to warrant her passing over wholly to Opera, and abandoning melodrama, comedy, and burlesque, in which she had previously figured. Among the parts she sustained on the lyric stage in 1838-9 may be found characters which became afterwards some of her most powerful impersonations, *because* she could "carry herself into them," informing them with her own feeling in all its fervour. The impression she produced in such congenial parts was as elevating as even she could have wished; "her very acting," it is said, "was religious," and perhaps never more so than in "her traditional part of *Alice* in *Roberto il Diavolo*—a part which drew on her own vivid personality, with its intensity of faith, with its horror of sin, with its passionate and chivalrous purity. Voice, action, gesture, and living character were all combined into a single jet of dramatic individuality."

Already, then, in those early Swedish days, the peculiar enthusiasm she had the secret of arousing manifested itself; "it was the mastery wielded by this *white soul* that worked the magic." Her rare gift soon secured for her the power of choosing what characters she would play; and it became her fixed principle "never to represent such passions as could

awaken bad feelings," her generous hope and aim being "to elevate the whole tone and character of her profession." And if any one person could attain that aim, surely it was this high-souled and loyally-gifted being. But the enfranchisement of the operatic stage from its baseness is unaccomplished yet; not even Jenny Lind sufficed for such a deliverance, though she herself came forth unscathed from the fiery furnace, "nor had the smell of fire passed on her."

Amid her first successes, however—touching and inspiring as they were—she herself was ill-content with herself as a singer. "The idol of the national drama" did not bow down in self-worship. She had learned all that Stockholm could teach her, but her unsatisfied artistic conscience was ever whispering that there was much more to know. So we see the young girl bending all her efforts to one end—not that end her mother would fain have had her aim at, of the greatest immediate money profit out of her present acquirements and popularity—but the deserving that popularity more truly by perfecting the gift she held in trust from Heaven. She knew her technique faulty, her method of singing wrong; therefore, by incessant exertions, which greatly imperilled the delicious voice, her soul's instrument of expression, she struggled to earn money enough for a course of study under Garcia, the one perfect Maestro di Canto of the day. She succeeded, almost too late.

In Paris, then, we find her, from July 1841, to July 1842, a solitary Swedish maiden, comporting herself with such quiet dignity in her new life *en pension* as to earn the high respect of her entertainers; while the iron fibre of her character revealed itself in the indomitable courage and patience with which she bore Garcia's first terrible utterance: "It is of no use to teach you; you have no longer a voice." Having passed through the long period of inaction he enjoined, she began to re-learn, with incredible toil, the very alphabet of her art—a task all the harder because she had first everything to unlearn. Her humility and determination had their fit reward. At the twelve months' end she could return home to take a new engagement at "her beloved Stockholm," where her first appearance made manifest a

development of her powers nothing short of marvellous; the weak, veiled voice she could ill control, the voice overstrained by premature exertion, was now "a brilliant, powerful soprano, with a clear range of two octaves and one-sixth," a voice remarkable for uniting the "volume and sonority of the true *soprano drammatico*" with the "lightness and flexibility of the *soprano sfogato*," while her technical command over it might be regarded as unique, unprecedented.

Honour to the artist whose self-knowledge and self-control had sufficed for so unusual an achievement! But this Paris epoch, significant and noteworthy from every point of view, brings out yet more vividly the sovereign quality of self-reverence in her character.

A recent critic has ascribed to Mdlle. Lind's "innate Puritanism" that deep inner repulsion for the stage which grew on the great vocalist amid all her dramatic triumphs, and led her at last to forswear those triumphs for ever, just when they were most dazzling. Her letters from Paris show that, not her Puritanism, but her purity, revolted from certain methods in vogue there to secure success for actress and singer, when they appeared before what she candidly called "the first audience in the world." Her delight in the consummate perfection of Parisian artists was real and keen: and not only did she enjoy the exquisite singing of Grisi and of Persiani, but the weird grandeur of Rachel, whose *forte* lay in the perfect expression of those stormy evil passions which Jenny Lind herself refused to impersonate. Would we measure the distance between the Swedish "Child of the Drama" and the genuine Puritan, let us set beside her calm criticism the impassioned words, instinct with a strange horror, in which Charlotte Brontë has given us her impression of Rachel and her acting, and we shall find the contrast sufficiently suggestive.

It was no preconceived Puritanic aversion for the theatre which made Jenny Lind, an actress from childhood, recoil from the system prevalent in the dramatic world of Paris—which bred in her the fixed resolve never to appear on that stage—which made her decline, in 1845, a tempting invitation from the Director of the Théâtre Italien, with the memor-

able words, "I am persuaded that I am not suited for Paris, nor Paris for me"—a refusal by no means due, as a fantastic legend asserts, to resentment for an unfavourable *début* at the Grand Opéra, where she never made a *début* at all. Nor was it any mere prejudice of an inbred Puritanism, but only her own uprightness, simplicity, and spirituality, which revolted against the envyings, jealousies, and backbitings inseparable from a theatric existence—crawling basenesses which the sun of her prosperity quickened into reptile life about her, till the very splendour of her great success in London helped to intensify and render immutable her resolve to have done with these things, once and for ever.

And none can now say she did not well. Her greatness as an artist really gained when she left opera and devoted herself to oratorio. England, that had adored her in *Amina* and in *Alice*, learned to love her yet more when her angel voice rang forth in the angel music of the *Elijah*, or lent a new inconceivable charm to the grandeur, the passion, the pathos of the wonderful soprano airs of the *Messiah*. The delight she gave was not less, the power for beneficent utility was not inferior, the pure joy of the artist in her lovely art and its elevating influence was far greater, than when she had worked amid the detestable *tracasseries* of the theatre. Never once did she repent, or look back, longing, to the actress-parts of which she had once felt the full fascination, and which she always sustained with admirable finish and mastery, but at the expense of such a strain on her excitable artist-nature, her too sensitive nerves, as was an anguish to remember.

It is well to take note that though Jenny Lind, with her poetic spirituality, affords the most striking instance of a very successful actress becoming imbued with a deep abhorrence of the stage, she does not stand alone in it. We have referred to the witness borne by Macready's *Reminiscences* to the demoralising power of the actor's life; but that remarkable book testifies as strongly to the writer's aversion for his own profession, and the almost morbid dread he felt lest any of his own children should be drawn to embrace it—a dread which made him deprecate for them such shadows of acting as charades and *tableaux vivants*. This curious loathing for an

occupation that brought both fame and profit and social success, is even more vividly expressed in Fanny Kemble's delightful *Record of a Girlhood*, where that brilliant popular favourite, whose dramatic genius was a direct heritage from player-parents of stainless character, and who herself was sedulously guarded from the common perils of actress-life, bears, notwithstanding, her strong testimony against the calling in which she and her family had earned only distinction and esteem.

"A *business*," says she, "which is incessant excitement and factitious emotion seems to be unworthy of a man; a business whichis public exhibition, unworthy of a woman;" and despite the "intense delight" with which she threw herself into the parts of Shakespeare's heroines, she could say, "I have never presented myself before an audience without a shrinking feeling of reluctance, or withdrawn from their presence without thinking the excitement unhealthy, and the personal exhibition odious. . . . . Every detail of the vocation was more or less repugnant to me."

No one will attribute to "innate Puritanism" these instinctive feelings of the child of the Kembles, or ascribe to inherited prejudice the apprehensions which made her add to her daily prayers an earnest entreaty for protection against the "subtle evils" of her profession. What injury it might work to its most blameless members the girl had early perceived, in the "vapid vacuity" of Mrs. Siddon's latest years, in the "deadness and indifference" of a soul whose higher powers had shrivelled and perished in the stifling artificial atmosphere of the stage. That melancholy wreck of a fine intelligence and a noble womanhood was itself the most convincing argument against the life that, under the most favourable conditions, could produce such results.

The vital difference between Jenny Lind and the two distinguished artists just cited is, that her testimony assumed the shape of a resolute act, and is therefore far more impressive than theirs, limited to eloquent words; her heaven-born wings of song enabling her to soar out of the prison in which they still had to drag their chains for years.

A history full of interest and charm is interposed between

the two events we have considered together—Mdlle. Lind's return to Stockholm, a finished artist, in 1842, and her final withdrawal from the stage in 1849. It is a record of growing fame and maturing character; of triumphs always more and more brilliant, won before cultivated, fastidious audiences, in Berlin, in Copenhagen, in Weimar, in Leipzig, in Vienna, in London; of royal homage and royal friendships, innumerable distinctions and honours heaped on the modest songstress who had caught the ear and charmed the heart of Europe. But it tells of many things far exceeding these.

Beautiful it is to see how the goodness and the genius incarnated in her drew to her the heart-love of the gifted and the good, and how faithfully she clung to the dear friends of early days amid all the new claims on her affection, quickly responsive as she proved herself to these. She could say—what so few can—"I have never lost a friend," and the long list of her friendships, by extreme catholicity—including as it does the poetic names of Oehlenschläger and Andersen, and that of the energetic utilitarian, Mrs. Grote, with others that symbolise almost every shade of opinion, every type of excellence—is a strong witness to the unique charm of her lofty, gentle, original character. "The manners of a princess, the simplicity of a child, the goodness of an angel," says Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, in his eloquent tribute to the impression made on him by the singer, whose voice was her least charm for him, to whom nature had denied all musical perception. "A poetess whom song has misled and hindered," says the American Willis, giving language to the feeling Jenny always inspired in her friends, of something resident in her soul to which even her exquisite singing gave inadequate expression. Of all these varied and memorable friendships, none can have been more ideally beautiful than that existing between Mdlle. Lind and Mendelssohn, who rejoiced to hail in her a noble member of "the Invisible Church" to which he himself belonged—artists for whom their art was a religion, a beautiful way of glorifying God and helping the upward growth of man. And as fellow-members of one church should be fellow-helpers also, we find him making it his business, by every delicate thoughtful device, by word and deed, to smoothe her

upward path and cheer her as she climbed it. With her high, pure notes in his ear, he wrote the beautiful soprano music of the *Elijah*, which it was hers to sing in the England they both loved so intensely, when *he* was gone to join the harmonies of heaven; and it was in memory of him that she devoted a considerable sum from her English winnings to founding a musical scholarship for gifted young students of the divine art; Sir Arthur Sullivan being the first of these "Mendelssohn scholars." This, the most touching, is far indeed from being the only instance in which Madame Lind-Goldschmidt set apart a large portion of her gains for the future benefit of the art by which she won them; and her graceful, generous aid to her fellow-workers, begun early and continued late, was such as they could accept and she bestow with equal honour and equal pleasure.

All this is admirable and delightful; but her sympathies had a wider range, her liberality a higher motive, than is apparent even in the story of her friendships and her friendly deeds. "I have always put God first," she could say with truth. Never did she try to "serve God and Mammon"; the world's mean idol could not command a moment's worship from her, who felt that to "dedicate her gift to the cause of the poor and the unhappy was . . . . a joyful duty, a holy privilege, which it would be a sin to neglect"; to give away what she gained was to her no work of merit, but a "plain law of right." Hence her "superb generosity," which could give away ten thousand pounds, earned by six months' singing in England, to various well-chosen charities, to hospitals and similar institutions, with as little thought of self-sacrifice as if she had given a worn-out garment to a beggar; hence the instant resolve, when in America, to devote a much larger sum than she had designed to charity, because the tickets for her concerts had realised far more than she expected. Her giving must be proportioned to her gains—that was a fixed principle. To wealth, in itself, she was more than indifferent; she could say to a blissful wife and mother, "I am so sorry for you—you have so much wealth!" but she could say, too, "Is it not beautiful that I can sing so, and earn so much money for people?"

Upheld by this imperious sense of duty, she could be firm as rock. An affectionate dutiful child, rejoicing to provide a peaceful haven for her parents, she could be as flint to any maternal hints that money profit was the chief good; she could wrench herself away from mother and from betrothed alike, when either claimed to restrict the free outflow of her charities. "Nothing is like Love," she could say from her heart; but it must be pure, it must be unselfish, or it was not Love.

And truly she had her reward. From other sources beside the present Life of "Jenny Lind, the Artist," we have learned how full of blessedness was her life until the end—how it was like "the sunsets at Havannah—the half of the sky golden long after the sun was set!—so much is golden if we only see it, and the sufferings turn into gold too." . . . . "What is the whole miserable earthly life worth in comparison to one single glance at the sinless, Holy Saviour! . . . . He alone—and surely nothing else—is the goal of all our intense longing, whether we know it or not. I feel almost inclined to say, 'Welcome, death, my ugly friend! . . . . Can I only become the last chorister in the choir of heaven, I shall rejoice with holiest joy!'"

Such echoes from her converse with her friends come to us like fragments of the singing of one already passed into the Better Land.

She entered into the rest and joy appointed to the good and faithful servant on the 2nd of November, 1887, after thirty-five years of that blissful domestic happiness for which, amid all the brilliant loneliness of her artistic career, her heart had ached and yearned. In this life, and in that other so far transcending it, God has given to her who served Him her heart's desire.

## Art. IV.—DR. LUTHARDT'S RECOLLECTIONS.

*Erinnerungen aus vergangenen Tagen.* Von Chr. Ernst Luthardt, D.D. Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke. 1891.

LUTHARDT belongs to the band of continental scholars whose writings have influenced theological thought in the English-speaking world almost as deeply as in their own country, a band including such names as Hengstenberg, Dorner, Martensen, Delitzsch, Godet, Oosterzee. His proper field is that of systematic theology, although his commentary on St. John's Gospel, and his defence of the Johannine authorship, have won him a favourable hearing as an expositor. His best-known work in English is his Apologetic work on the *Fundamental, Saving, and Moral Truths of Christianity* (in three vols.), a sort of popular course of theology, which has had a large sale in English and a still larger one in German. The first volume of his valuable *History of Christian Ethics* has also appeared in translation. His greatest work in theology is still to come. Whenever it may appear we shall expect to find in it, not a rival of Dorner and Martensen in originality and massive strength, but a clear, learned survey of theology from the Lutheran standpoint; for Luthardt is everywhere the sturdy champion of Lutheran dogmatics, which he regards as the golden mean between the two extremes of Romanism and the "Reformed" confession. His has been a busy life. He edits two German theological magazines, and is a notable preacher, his published sermons filling ten thin volumes.

His recently published *Recollections* are disappointing in one respect: they give us little insight into the movement and progress of thought during his long life, or even into the growth of his own mind, dealing chiefly with matters of outside interest. Still, as a graphic picture of German life in religious and theological circles, the autobiography is not without instruction, furnishing us with bright sketches of teachers and writers who before were mere names. The thankful, cheerful tone with which the old man reviews the past is inevitably chastened by a strain of sadness. Fellow-

students of early youth, colleagues of active years, have all passed away. "The path I tread leads past graves."

For thirty-five years Luthardt has been professor of theology at Leipzig. That period has witnessed a wonderful revival of evangelical and Lutheran religious life. The bald, cold, scoffing Rationalism of fifty years ago is unknown. The "critical" school of our day is immeasurably better in tone and spirit. Evangelical faith is strong in learning as well as in numbers. In this revival Luthardt, though he does not say so, has along with others borne no mean part. The last chapter of his *Recollections* photographs for us his principal Leipzig colleagues and friends—Winer, Tischendorf, Delitzsch, Tuch, Anger, Zezschwitz, Ahlfeld, Besser, Kahnis—all now passed away: Winer, "the founder of New Testament grammar and exegesis according to the laws of exact philology," a great classical scholar; Tischendorf, "our glory in the field of New Testament textual criticism"; Ahlfeld, a German Spurgeon; Besser, a New Testament expositor on the plan of our "Expositor's Bible"; Zezschwitz, a master of Practical Theology, a finely-strung, poetical spirit. It was with Kahnis and Delitzsch, however, that Luthardt had the closest sympathy. The three friends stood firmly by the best Lutheran traditions. Kahnis is little known outside Germany, as none of his theological works, which are marked by distinguished ability, have been translated. These works fully bear out Luthardt's loving praise of his friend as a strong, rich, profound personality, little adapted for practical life, living in a world of contemplation and prayer, yet exerting a deep, penetrative influence on those near him. "In a high degree he was what we call an unpractical man. In things of the outer life he was little better than a child. His world was the inner one of spirit, feeling, mood, intuition, thought; fancy and feeling were his home. The outer world and life he felt as a burden. He loved solitude, quiet spots, was at home by graves and in prayer." In the streets and squares of Leipzig he often went along absorbed in himself or in communion with God; he would stand still, and, if accosted by a friend, seemed like one recalled from another world. With this depth of feeling he combined rare activity of intellect and restless diligence in

study. "In severe inner conflicts of his early years the forgiveness of sins found at Christ's cross, and justification by faith alone, became the firm anchor-ground of his soul, by which he held fast in all the storms of his inner life. In hours of quiet, friendly talk he has told me of those conflicts, and of the dark night when in anguish of soul he grasped Christ's cross, never to let it go again." His forte was Church history. In a few strokes he could make hearers or readers see great characters, or periods and movements of thought, with their own eyes. His style is clear and graphic in the extreme.

Delitzsch was the last to depart. All who knew him testify that he was as pre-eminent in goodness as in knowledge. An opponent compared him to Nathanael. Luthardt speaks of him as "the glory of our Faculty, an ornament to our university."

Luthardt is Bavarian by birth. He was born in 1823. His home-land—the north-eastern corner of Bavaria—is watered by the Main and has a rich soil. His family, after several removals, settled finally in the quaint Bavarian city of Nuremberg. The story of the father's self-denying efforts to educate his sons has a pathos of its own; and the entire picture of the early home brings before us a simplicity of life and manners which is now a thing of the past. Piety, if somewhat cold and stiff, was sincere and strong. Not every one can say of a numerous family connection, "Nowhere a child gone astray, nowhere special suffering or misfortune; all joyous, cheery, God-fearing, bound together in mutual sympathy and love." His maternal grandmother represents the hard tone of the race and the age. "Nerves were never mentioned, and the word 'ailing' I never so much as heard from her, or in the whole circle." It is interesting to notice even in those days of Rationalism the father's careful observance of Sunday. "All needful preparations were made on Saturday, so as to leave as little as possible for Sunday. He marked the day also by a special dress. He could not understand how many came so late to church; to him it seemed a lack of reverence." The mother—sweeping, sewing, story-telling, hearing lessons, early and late—is similarly sketched.

Study began in earnest at the Gymnasium, or Grammar School, of Nuremberg, where Luthardt was a pupil from 1834 to 1841. The town is steeped in mediævalism. Its famous churches, antique houses, narrow streets, with buildings almost meeting above, are of inexhaustible interest. "If not the loveliest, it is the most characteristic and interesting of cities. One walks amidst the signs of the history and life of our nation in the past. Everywhere past races speak to the present. Recent times have been unable to efface all this. The Luthardts' own house was once the home of the Bishops of Bamberg on their visits to Nuremberg. The city was also the birthplace of Germany's greatest artist, Albert Dürer, the Protestant Michael Angelo, the friend of Luther and Melancthon." * Luthardt tells how he stood for hours before Dürer's statue, until he could reproduce it in detail from memory. Melancthon often visited Dürer at Nuremberg, and founded the Grammar-school there. The Reformers did almost as much for Germany by their care for education as by their religious teaching. John Knox and the Scotch Reformers took a similar course in Scotland.

Luthardt was fortunate in his teachers—Roth, a model Rector, Nägelsbach, the classical teacher, and Thomasius, the religious teacher. The two latter afterwards became Professors at the Bavarian University of Erlangen. Nägelsbach, who afterwards wrote an able work on Homeric theology, was an inspiring teacher, able to make the men of Greece and Rome live before his pupils. He dwelt much on the moral and religious state of the ancient world, making it in some way a preparation for the Gospel. "When the fulness of time was come" was his favourite text. He seems to have had great faith in young Luthardt, who, however, sometimes failed him. "Once, after seeking an answer in vain from the rest of the class, he turned to me. I remained silent. He looked at me sadly, and said, '*Et tu mi Brute.*'" Thomasius is a better known name. His work on *Systematic Theology*, written during his Erlangen professorship, is one of the fullest and noblest in the German language. With ample learning and independent

* See an article on Dürer in the *Church Quarterly*, January 1891.

judgment it combines fidelity to Reformation doctrine, and warm Evangelical feeling. His *History of Christian Dogma* is even finer still, more compact and finished. The picture he gives of the development of thought in early, mediæval, and modern days could scarcely be surpassed. Luthardt speaks with grateful affection of the good he received at the Gymnasium from Thomasius's teaching in Biblical history and exposition, and in Christian doctrine. The teacher's mild, gentle spirit added impressiveness to the excellent matter. His preaching was also very attractive. "He was third preacher of St. Lawrence church. I was a diligent hearer of his sermons, and was always glad to meet my teacher Nägelsbach under the portico of that glorious church. We had our regular standing-place. Some of his sermons still linger in my memory." Luthardt sat at the feet of the same teacher again at Erlangen, where he took the course of Dogmatic History.

The next four or five years were divided between the Universities of Erlangen and Berlin. Here, again, the interest centres in the personality of the teachers, and in Luthardt's attitude, sympathetic or the opposite, to them. The names are Harless, von Schaden, Schelling, von Hofmann, Neander, Ranke, von Raumer. Harless is known to us by his *Christian Ethics*, which has had great influence in Germany, though, as Luthardt laments, its day seems now to be past. Luthardt says truly enough that Christianity does not supply the material of our life. This is given in the world and our natural relations to it. What Christian ethics has to do is to give to this material a religious form, or fill it with a religious spirit. Harless's teaching is thoroughly sound and Scriptural. His fame in Germany rests more on his work as a church leader. He fought a hard battle against Bavarian Ultramontanism. Though he did not always win, this did not lessen his courage and fidelity to conviction. "I never saw any one whose whole appearance and manner gave me the impression of a Prince of the Church so much as that of Harless." Von Schaden, the Erlangen Professor of Philosophy, is otherwise unknown to us, but he was a favourite with our student. Perhaps his early death from a mysterious internal disease

prevented him from becoming famous. He is described as noble alike in mind and person, full of youthful fire, simple and unspoiled as a child, overflowing with wit and humour, yet always true to and aspiring after the highest in thought and expression. His originality was extreme. His aim was to construct a philosophy of religion which should harmonise Nature and Christianity. But he seems to have puzzled himself and his hearers with theosophical speculations in the strain of Jacob Behmen.

Luthardt gives a lively picture of the scene in Schelling's lecture-room at Berlin. It was the time when Schelling was leading a revolt against Hegel's absolute idealism. "When now and again Schelling said a sharp thing about Hegel's method, which made the idea evolve the world from itself, as the absolute loses itself in passing from idea to reality, a storm of protests and counter-protests arose in the audience. Schelling meanwhile, with his lion-head, remained calmly standing till the storm subsided, when he resumed as if nothing had happened. That we young folk enjoyed it, goes without saying. How much philosophy we really learned is another question." The young student enjoyed the first lecture on the end of philosophy and the mystery of being; but Schelling's doctrine of "potencies" staggered him, as it has many others. The net result was a certain amount of mental stimulus.

Neander's lectures on Church History seem to have impressed the student less favourably. His thorough goodness secured general respect, though his oddities of bearing provoked amusement. Luthardt finds two faults with him—first, that his doctrinal creed was too vague, as we can easily suppose it would be to so strict a Lutheran; and secondly, that his teaching dealt too much with the mere facts of history and too little with the development of ideas and purpose in the facts. Ranke, dealing with secular history in a broad, philosophical way, was much more to the student's taste.

A more influential teacher in his case was von Hofmann, who is little known outside Germany, but who has done a great work within it. Luthardt calls him "far the greatest of the biblical theologians of the present century." Hofmann was trained in Ranke's historical school at Berlin, and applied

his methods to the construing and interpreting of Scripture revelation. His governing principle was that of the organic, divinely-purposed unity of Scripture. Scripture to him was as much a perfect unity as the outward cosmos, combining unity with diversity, development with completeness. It is on this basis that he treats Scripture in his two great works, his *Scripture Proof* and his *Prophecy and Fulfilment.* The first is nothing less than a system of theology built up throughout of Scripture materials. The conception is a grand one, and it is grandly worked out with immense labour and ability. The *Prophecy and Fulfilment* is as comprehensive in scope, traversing the whole ground of revelation in another direction or from another starting-point. It is difficult to conceive of a more original and stimulating writer than Hofmann. In his commentaries the originality often borders on the eccentric. His smaller works are of the same character. It is strange that none of these works have been translated.

Luthardt took two courses of study with Hofmann at Erlangen, one on Old Testament Introduction, the other on the Psalms. One lesson he learned in the former subject was that critical questions are to be settled, not merely by points of detail, but above all by a collective view of the whole. He speaks highly of the course on the Psalms. Two features marked the lecturer's expository method. First, he made the study the common work of teacher and student, in contrast with Hengstenberg and Harless, who took the old way of communicating only finished results. And, again, Hofmann was full of the historical spirit. He brought no ready-made conclusions to the text. While as conservative in belief as Hengstenberg, his methods of exposition and defence were altogether different. Although a strict Lutheran, he stood on the ground of grammatical and historical exposition, and let tradition take care of itself. "His theological thought was ruled through and through by Scripture, although his understanding of Scripture was not uninfluenced by more philosophic views." Luthardt traces in him the influence of Spinoza. "He was always in heart a scholar of Scripture; there was never a more absolute one." There is always, too, in his writings a glow of holy feeling. It may interest us

also to know that Hofmann was an admiring lover and student of Shakespeare. We need not enter on the controversy which arose about Hofmann's way of stating the doctrine of the Atonement. We prefer to think that his fondness for originality, perhaps, led him into error of form rather than of substance. His manner in teaching was remarkably slow and impassive, and yet it was evidently not without force, impressive by weight of matter rather than by grace of form.

While in Berlin, Luthardt gave considerable time privately to the study of Schleiermacher's works. There was much, of course, to offend Lutheran susceptibilities in the great master's vagueness and diffuseness. And yet the student was fascinated against his will, as others have been, by the refinement of thought and expression, the transparent logic, the lofty platonic spirit and mystic glow of feeling breathing through all he writes. "This thought forced itself on me, that all dogmatic material must needs become a part of our own inner life, and not remain merely a thing of outward formulas and ecclesiastical authority." In literature Luthardt was at the same time mastering the "romantic" school of writers, the school of Tieck and Novalis.

The university course was followed by two years at a Preachers' Seminary at Münich. Here his time should have been given to the study of practical theology, including homiletics and pastoral work. But the students seem to have been left almost entirely to themselves. Luthardt employed his time in various private studies, in profiting by the masterpieces of art for which the Bavarian capital is famous, in social intercourse, and in attending classes in the Gymnasium. In one house he met with Strauss, the author of the *Life of Jesus* and *The Old Faith and the New*. Strangely enough, the sceptic was occupying himself with Augustine. On Luthardt's saying that Augustine was most worthy of study, as the entire world of the Middle Ages fed on his writings, Strauss replied, "Yes, he was a man before he became a Christian." What sort of a man Augustine was before he became a Christian we know well.

It is not many who have found the study of Lessing helpful to faith in revelation, but Luthardt did. About the time of

his final examination he was greatly troubled by the question, How the historical element in revelation is related to the moral? What have historical facts to do with man's inner life? How can they be essential to faith? It is just the same difficulty that has been raised by Matthew Arnold and Dr. Abbott. The historical side of revelation is the husk, the spiritual truth is the kernel. The reading of Lessing and of John von Müller, the historian, showed him how the historical factor is an essential element in all human life. "Does not all our life, even our inward life, rest on historical ground? We cannot break loose from this connection and dependence. Even the moral truths of the inner life are interwoven with historical relations. And when in religion we have to do with the relation between God and mankind, must not this relation have its history, on which the inner religious life of the individual is in this case dependent? So Lessing became for me an apologist of Christianity." It is needless to say that Von Hofmann's teaching deepened this conviction. "But the final solution lies deeper. For if the centre of the sacred history is the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ, while these very facts, in which God Himself in His Son has entered into history and descended to our lowest depths, seem incredible, must we not ourselves first become more humble, in order to understand God's humility, and in it discern the divinest glory?" "The foolishness of God is wiser than men; and the weakness of God is stronger than men."

His appreciation of historical Christianity was heightened during the Münich period by reading, in the early history of the Church, the *Apostolic Fathers* in the two folios of Cotelerius, Möhler's *Patrology*, and Mosheim's History in Latin of the pre-Constantine period. Modern philosophy also occupied him. Theosophy, from Tauler to Baader and Oetinger, attracted, but could not hold him. It is too unsubstantial for any one with a strong sense of historical reality. Luthardt has come more and more to see in Christianity, as expounded in the epistles to the Romans and Ephesians, the true philosophy of history.

His studies were greatly helped by the instruction he gave in religion and history to the Protestant scholars in the Münich

Gymnasium. His former teacher, Nägelsbach, was his pattern. Once, in an interval between the religious and historical lessons, a scholar, Felix Dahn, known afterwards as a poet, put to him the straight question: "Why, Professor, are you really a Christian?" At first somewhat startled by the question, he presently replied: "Because without Christianity everything is an unsolved riddle and utter contradiction—my own existence and everything else. Christianity alone solves the riddle." The scholar who asked the question afterwards strayed into Pantheism.

On a visit to Würtemberg in 1844 Luthardt witnessed some remarkable phenomena in connection with a religious awakening which continued some months. Violent convulsions, strange noises at night in the houses, were among the incidents. Blumhardt, the pastor at Möttlingen, the centre of the movement, had no hesitation in ascribing them to diabolical influence stirred up by the religious revival. Something perhaps is due to the warm, emotional temperament of the people of Würtemberg. However the strange phenomena are to be explained, the religious movement was a fact. No special means were used. The pastor was a man of superior ability and education. The services were quiet and orderly. The people hung in crowds on the word preached. Confession to the pastor and absolution are retained in the Lutheran Church, and the pastor was often engaged from morning to night in this work. The visitor says: "I heard three of the pastor's sermons, which were calm and simple. But every word told, because every word came from the depths of the soul, and was adapted to the congregation and its circumstances. It was interesting to watch the universal attention. They drank in every word. No peasant thought of sleeping. I heard one and another tell their Christian experience, and it was a joy to listen to them."

Another imposing figure of the Bavarian Church brought before us is that of Wilhelm Löhe of Neuendettelsau, the leader of High Church Lutheranism. Luthardt visited him in 1845, and visited his grave and the scene of his labour and success at a later period. His chief interest to us is his great work in organising missions to the German emigrants

in America and in founding charitable institutions of all kinds. His deaconess institute is the parent of many similar institutions. In this way an obscure Bavarian village has become the centre of a work whose effects are felt to the end of the world. Löhe himself was a commanding form in person, character, and force of will. Neuendettelsau, as it is, is his creation. Luthardt dwells at length on the impulse which he gave to liturgical development in the Lutheran Church, which he evidently thinks has done great good. With much that he says we may agree. "We boast, as against the Roman Church, that with us the congregation takes a greater share in worship than there. But the boast is to a great extent vain. On the contrary, it is often more passive than in that Church, where the congregation is active in various ways. And how often with us the hope of moving the Church to activity is given up before an earnest effort has been made. Even earnest ministers sometimes leave the Liturgy to the choir, while the congregation is silent, or sits half asleep when it should rise, or they endure the most tasteless interludes from the organist, and much else of the same sort." Luthardt thinks that in Germany too much importance is given to the sermon. His remarks are worth quoting: "Laying the chief stress on preaching leads only too easily to forced climaxes or artificial and formal habits, which are the death of naturalness and fatal to success, or to rhetorical refinements and degrading man-worship with all its doubtful consequences. The preaching I heard in Neuendettelsau was able and good, but it did not stand out by itself, but fitted excellently into the order of worship. Of course, God's Word must always be the Alpha and Omega; but need it always shape itself in peculiar forms of speech? May it not take different forms?" Luthardt evidently does not think that there is any danger yet of improvement in the externals of worship going too far. The same remark applies to the associations for labours of Christian charity. The deaconess institute has spread rapidly in German Protestantism. The Neuendettelsau establishments for dealing with suffering in various shapes have found many imitators. "From all this

one gets the impression, This is cloister-life transferred to Protestant soil, based on spontaneous devotion and toil."

No fewer than eight chapters are filled with accounts of intercourse at various times with Roman Catholic professors and priests. From the fact that the majority of the Bavarian people are Catholic, Protestants there are brought into close contact with the Roman Church. On holiday excursions into the Tyrol mountains Luthardt and his companions had much pleasant converse with professors from the Innsbruck University, with mutual profit. The ignorance of Protestantism shown by educated Catholics was strange. To them Protestantism and Rationalism were identical. Luthardt and his friends were struck with the utter want of independence on the other side. The Catholics could not understand the certainty and confidence of evangelical piety. On the other hand, the Roman piety of obedience spread over the whole manner a certain air of gentleness and resignation. "I once asked Schenach, professor of philosophy, whether taking the Sacrament every day in private mass was not wearisome. He said, he hoped always to be found in the right frame of mind, which probably consisted in the absence of any special sin." Another Catholic professor, Flix, once asked whether Luthardt did not see in him a resemblance to Luther, and was quite pleased on being answered in the affirmative. Professor Flix was afterwards promoted to an important post in Rome. His letters, published after his death in 1859 with many omissions, give far from a flattering account of the state of Rome under the Pope's sway. Nothing flourished but intrigue, craft, ignorance, and pretence. He was too loyal to write all he knew.

On another journey in Bavaria Luthardt met with a village priest in the inn. Entering into conversation, the priest proposed a discussion on a text of Scripture. Rom. iii. 27 was chosen. The conversation was to be in Latin, *ne alii intelligant*. So with a Greek, Latin, and German Testament the talk went on several hours, often straying far enough from the text. The doctrine of the Church inevitably came up. The priest's position was, *Ubi Papa ibi ecclesia, nam Papa est vicarius Jesu Christi*. Luthardt instanced Tertullian as

calling the Holy Spirit *vicarius Christi*. The priest at once asked about Tertullian's orthodoxy, which was not perfect. If Luthardt was surprised at the argumentative aptness of a priest in a remote village, the priest was surprised that a Protestant believed so much. "'You are not far from being a Catholic Christian,' he said. '*Sum Catholicus Christianus*,' I replied; 'only not a Roman, but evangelical Catholic.' 'I will receive you into the Church to-day,' he said. 'I must first know on what confession,' I replied. He hastened home to fetch the Tridentine confession. We began to go through it. 'Seven sacraments instituted by Christ,' it said. 'The sacrament of marriage instituted by Christ?' I asked. 'Go on,' he answered. He became somewhat doubtful." The conversation well illustrates the difference between the Roman and Protestant methods of training for the ministry. The former exercises the memory chiefly. The priest had all his arguments ready at the moment. The latter trusts more to individual skill and judgment. Luthardt thinks a combination of the two methods best. The village inn seems to have been a frequent resort of the priest, which suggests to the traveller some reflections on the advantage of the pastor's family life.

Luthardt gives an interesting account of a conversation he had with Dr. Döllinger in August 1871. The following is a summary of what was said. L.—"Protestant theologians follow the old Catholic movement with the liveliest interest and sympathy. But, if I may be allowed to say so, its purely religious character is not sufficiently prominent to give it success. It may be that this is a limitation of view; but a Protestant theologian is bound to apply the standard of the Reformation to such movements." D.—"This is not a purely religious movement, but just as much a question of civilisation, bound up with the entire progress of civilisation and of far-reaching significance. I shall not see the end of it, but the opposition to the Roman schemes, as declared in the Syllabus, is certain to triumph. For the Syllabus is a declaration of war against the whole of modern society." L.—"I think this must lead to alliances of a rather mixed sort, which will perhaps be rather a weakness than a strength." D.—"That is un-

avoidable. How can it be prevented?" L.—"To me it seems not so difficult. A thoroughly Christian confession, such as would repel all who did not care for saving truth but only for opposition, would perhaps be sufficient to sift parties." Döllinger then fell back on the numerous adhesions he was constantly receiving. But as Luthardt justly remarked, these belonged only to the educated classes. The movement was too select. There was no popular and therefore no permanent element about it. What did artisans and peasants care about the heresy of Pope Honorius? "When finally he referred to his favourite idea of an alliance of the episcopal churches, and spoke of sympathetic expressions from the English and Russian churches, I thought it time to end the conversation. For how so learned and able a man as Döllinger could found his hopes on such an illusion, I could never understand." Time has shown the correctness of this judgment. Döllinger was no leader of men. His life was indeed tragical in its issues. Our author truly says that he had far too much of Erasmus in him, nothing of Luther. The doctrine of Papal Infallibility is the necessary outcome of the Papal system, as Protestants have always held. The wonder is that the definition was delayed so long. The old Lutheran, John Gerhard, long ago declared the infallibility of the Pope, when speaking as the Church's guide, to be the principle of the entire Roman system. "Whoever gives his finger must give his hand, and then himself. This is the logical conclusion of Rome, or, shall we say, its penalty?" As is well known, the most learned Catholic bishops and professors protested as strongly against the proposed new dogma as Döllinger, but when it passed they submitted, and even turned against their fellow-protesters.

Luthardt relates another instructive incident. On a visit to Rome in 1874 he was looking with his wife at Raphael's pictures in the Vatican, when a priest, who evidently took them for picture connoisseurs, came up and offered to show them other pictures in his private rooms in the Vatican. On going to the apartments of the Monsignor, for such he proved to be, they found the walls covered with fine paintings of every style and school. Their attention was specially drawn to a

portrait of Raphael by himself. On their expressing surprise at the wealth of the collection, the Monsignor remarked that they belonged to a society; he only had charge of them. He then asked Luthardt to write an article about them so as to make them known. He overflowed with courtesy, and offered to secure an audience of the Pope. In declining the latter offer by letter, the visitors made themselves known. It turned out, according to information which Luthardt received, that these pictures had belonged to monasteries, and had disappeared when the monasteries were suppressed by the Italian Government. Raphael's portrait had belonged to the Modena collection, and had vanished in this way. In the Vatican they were safe in Papal custody. The object evidently was to sell them.

We need not linger on the account of Irvingism in Germany. Its chief conquest there was Thiersch, a learned theologian and humble Christian. Luthardt's visits to the "Reformed," Churches of Switzerland and France are of more general interest. "Reformed" denotes on the Continent the Calvinistic as distinguished from the Lutheran Reformation. The division was one of the chief misfortunes of the Reformation, and the cause of serious loss and disaster. While the two Churches are equally faithful to the central doctrines of the Reformation, they differ widely on other questions, especially on the sacraments. It is easy to understand how uneasy a strong Lutheran like our author would feel in a "Reformed" atmosphere, and such was the case. He was present at a Sunday service in Lanterbrunn. There were three baptisms. "The prayers were good and Christian. But there was no reference to any divine gift to the children in baptism; baptism is merely a covenant-sign imposing obligations. Not what is done by God, but only what is to be done by us, was dwelt on. It is evident there was no idea of means of grace in the proper sense." The criticism of the sermon is in the same Lutheran strain: "The sermon was brief and good, positive in teaching. But everything pointing, however remotely, to a priestly office was avoided with an anxiety which seemed almost laughable to a Lutheran. The preacher spoke of the assurance of salvation; but he referred not to the

divine promise in word and sacrament, but to the work of the Holy Spirit in the life. The sermon was followed by confession of sin. But there was no absolution or declaration of the divine forgiveness. It was left to every one to get forgiveness for himself from God. The difference between our Church and theirs seemed to me to be in everything, not merely in this or that doctrine. The entire mode of thought and its expression in Church practice and in dealing with rules is different." This opinion is true enough. Some will admire Reformed ways more than Lutheran. Luthardt adds, "Our Church alone is the Church of joyous saving assurance in word and sacrament. The Roman would guarantee salvation by the outward Church and its priestly acts; to these its members are bound; there is no personal assurance through God's promise. The Reformed Church refers its members directly to God in Heaven, and His hidden counsel, of which they can only be assured by means of the Holy Spirit in their Christian walk. A serious and majestic Christianity it is unquestionably, for it places the Christian directly before the divine Majesty. Despite its sobriety the service made a deep impression on me." At another time Luthardt was present at a Reformed Communion-service. The criticism runs on similar lines. The service seemed short to the visitor. "The whole was not without a certain dignity and awe, but nothing of mystery. It was an action of the Church; there was no hint or feeling that there is a mystery here, and that Christ is present with His gift."

It is pleasant to hear Luthardt bear emphatic testimony to the ability and devoted labours of the Swiss pastors. But the differences of opinion crop up everywhere. His friend asked him for his portrait to put in an album, which contained Garibaldi's portrait. "I said, 'my portrait would not go with his.' 'Why not?' 'Garibaldi is a revolutionist.' 'What then?' 'Revolution is sin.' 'But he opened the way for the gospel by liberating the Bibles which the Austrians had put under lock and key.' 'Even the devil, Luther says, must perforce be the servant of our Lord God. Revolution is sin.' An unheard of idea to him." The theme was resumed in the evening family circle. All fell foul of Luthardt and his antediluvian views, the ladies most of all. The stout German con-

servative held by his doctrine of passive obedience with a tenacity worthy of English non-jurors. One asked where French Protestantism would have been on that theory. Nothing daunted, he replied, "Where Protestantism would have been I know not; that is known to God only; probably it would have been no worse off."

Before entering on his life-work as Professor at Leipzig, Luthardt spent three years at Erlangen as assistant to his old teachers, Hofmann and Thomasius, and two years at Marburg in Hesse, as Extraordinary Professor. In the former place he was actively engaged in labours of Christian charity of various kinds. The vicar of the place, Schunck, an old fellow-student of his, was fired with the spirit of the Inner Mission, which has done so much to call forth the energy of modern Lutheranism. Luthardt had, with others, his visiting district, and this, with classes and services, filled up his time well. The glimpse he got into the mass of wretchedness was a surprise to him. "The poverty was the least evil; the moral conditions were the worst. Among others, self-righteousness was the bar to real improvement." Soon afterwards, his friend Schunck fell ill and died, after years of dreadful suffering. "It is incomprehensible how one with a passion for work, and eminently gifted for practical usefulness, should be so early condemned to inaction, and should pass through such a furnace of tribulation to the rest of God's people." Before writing these words the author had again looked over the letters of his early friend with mingled feelings of grief for his early death, and wonder at his work and his resignation. At Erlangen also he met Ebrard, professor and pastor of a reformed Church, known to us by his able replies to the critical school in his *Gospel History*, *Commentary on St. John's Epistles*, and *Christian Apologetics* in three volumes. The latter work especially confirms all that Luthardt says about his acquirements in philology and science, as well as theology, and also about the strong language he often used. "That I did not agree with him in theology on many points is matter of course; but that he truly loved the Lord Jesus Christ and sought his glory, I know." At this period we also get pleasant peeps into private reading-circles meeting in the evening in quiet

houses. The intercourse was exhilarating, as the hospitality dispensed and enjoyed was simple. "To this circle Schunck also belonged, with his joyous spirit, until suffering intruded and cast its sad shadow on the happy party."

The Marburg residence was marked by the same union of study, toil, and practical activity in Church-work. According to Luthardt's picture, Marburg must be one of the most romantic spots in Germany, a wonderful blending of hill and wood and valley. It is the scene of St. Elizabeth's life, or legend, probably both. It was also the scene, in 1529, of the conference between Luther and Melancthon on the one side, and Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other, a conference which sealed the rupture between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. Our author naturally remarks that this result, while it defeated the hopes of Church union, preserved the purity of the Lutheran confession. Most students look back on this as the chief mistake of the Reformation. The Papacy profited enormously by it. Luthardt's colleagues in the University belonged to different confessions—Henke and Heppe to the Reformed, Vilmar to the Lutheran, the latter to the highest or most extreme school. Vilmar was a typical example of the genuine Hessian—strong, blunt, inflexible for what he held to be right. He would cut off friends who yielded an inch to save a city. "He was like a knotty, gnarled trunk, yet full of budding life behind the rough bark. For gnarled and blunt, repellent and harsh, prone to extremes in judging as he seemed, within he was full of sympathy for popular life and poetry, and full of warm, even womanly, feeling." His Church views were too extreme even for our author.

Before concluding this notice of the *Recollections* of a living German divine we may fitly refer to the services rendered to British and American theology by the Clark series of translations which has just come to an end. The first volume of Luthardt's *History of Ethics* was one of its last issues. The British Churches owe no slight debt to Messrs. Clark for the enterprise with which, for forty-five years, they have carried on the publication with such remarkable regularity. Four volumes yearly have appeared without fail. Nor should we forget the *Biblical Cabinet*, which preceded the *Foreign Theo-*

*logical Library.* We can well understand the difficulty of continuing the series with growing competition—competition which is itself the best proof of the success of the old series. Few will doubt that the result of the translations has been good. The stream of theological science has been broadened and deepened. The school of Scriptural study, especially in Old Testament research and criticism, has been greatly helped, if not created, by the stimulus of German learning. If English Deism generations ago gave birth to German Rationalism, Germany is now repaying evil with good. There are of course tares in the wheat, but these are comparatively harmless. The truth will work itself clear of encompassing error. It is surprising what a high level the series has maintained. A library which in its new issue comprises such works as Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Delitzsch's and Godet's and Orelli's *Commentaries*, Martensen's *Ethics*, Dorner's *Theology*, Weiss's treatises, may well claim to have deserved well of British students and preachers.

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## Art. V.—THE "FIELD NATURALIST": THE REV. J. G. WOOD.

*The Rev. J. G. Wood: His Life and Work.* By the Rev. Theodore Wood, F.E.S. Cassell & Company, Limited. 1890.

"MY father's great distinction," says the Rev. Theodore Wood, "was that of being the pioneer in the work of popularising natural history, and presenting it to the general public in the form of an alluring and deeply interesting study. He had many subsequent imitators, but he himself imitated no one. He found Zoology a dull and dry study, open to none but the favoured few; . . . . he left it an open book of world-wide interest, needing no scholar to read or interpret it . . . . . His was the pen that led other pens to write upon the subject. His was the enthusiasm that fired

the enthusiasm of others; which made observers out of mechanics, and naturalists out of artisans. And together with ability and enthusiasm he united a dogged perseverance which enabled him to accomplish a work which, even so far as its mere extent is concerned, very few men have excelled.

"Is it unbecoming in me, as his son, to say all this? I trust not."

Not many readers of the late Mr. Wood's works, not many who follow the story of his life as told in the pages before us, will think this eulogy errs by excess. The modest claim here made is well sustained by the record of many years of patient, zealous, fruitful labour; and the biography gives us in addition the picture of a rarely winning personality; a character in which high intelligence and poetic originality of thought, accurate observation and unfailing practical ability, were the obedient servants of a transparent purity of purpose and a sweetness of soul worthy of the loyal Christian whose scientific attainments strengthened his faith instead of crippling it. Such a character, such a life, are well worth studying.

The determining influence in Mr. Wood's life was undoubtedly that of his father, John Freeman Wood, a surgeon sufficiently distinguished to be acting as chemical lecturer at the Middlesex Hospital, when in 1827 the son was born to him whom he named John George, and who is known to so many lovers of natural history as "J. G. Wood," its ablest populariser. It was the father's keen discernment and practical wisdom which decided that the frail precocious child, with his infant passion for books, should not grow up in London "a playless day-dreamer," like poor young Coleridge, nor find an early grave in the monstrous city, but should be braced and strengthened for life's warfare by the liberal health-giving education of the fields and woods; should be a hardy swimmer, an agile runner, a bold climber and explorer, and should study the glorious open book of Nature more than the printed pages, which the boy nevertheless continued to delight in. The removal of the family to Oxford when "Johnny Wood" was in his fourth year, gave full scope for this plan, which succeeded to admiration.

Not only was the slight sickly frame endowed by athletic exercise with a surprising power of physical endurance, but the eyes of the mind were opened to the beauty and glory of the myriad life to be found in woodland and field and stream, and the lifelong craving for reading in "Nature's infinite book of secresy" was awakened. His father's microscope, his father's instructions, the treasures of the Ashmolean Museum early laid open to him, fed the growing flame; and the bent of his mind was quite fixed when, at eleven years old, he was deemed fit to bear the strict discipline of school.

At Ashbourne Grammar School in Derbyshire, at Merton College in Oxford, the natural history studies went on hand in hand with the literary requirement, needful for one who was fully bent on entering the Church. He acquitted himself very honourably in these latter, and succeeded in paying his own expenses throughout his University career, supplementing by tutor's work the Jackson scholarship which he gained very soon after entering college. When not quite twenty he had already taken his B.A. degree, and therefore had to wait some years before he was eligible for ordination. The time was well filled up by tutorship, and by two years of most profitable study in the Anatomical Museum at Christ Church under the Regius Professor of Anatomy, Dr.—now Sir Henry—Acland. Those two years enriched him with the knowledge of anatomy and classification, taught him to look behind the beautiful shows of animated nature for the principles governing those phenomena, and enabled him to seize that "great and all important law—that structure depends on habit—which afterwards formed the key-note to so much of his writings." His early experience had taught him what and how to observe; he now knew how to interpret; and his equipment for his particular service was complete.

It is significant of the course his life was to assume that his first book—a small natural history for "the general reader," was written and published already, when in 1852 he received ordination from Samuel Wilberforce, and entered, full of enthusiasm, on the duties of his first curacy. There were many gaps and chasms in his regular work as a clergy-

man, and in 1873 it practically terminated; but his zealous toil as a naturalist, intermitted only through physical disablement, was carried on under the very shadow of death, and perhaps hastened death itself by the heroic perseverance with which he pursued it. There is much of attraction in the story of that part of Mr. Wood's distinctly clerical career which is covered by the eleven years in which he acted as a sort of "honorary curate" to the Vicar of Erith, the Venerable C. J. Smith, and the seven years during which he held the Precentorship of the Canterbury Diocesan Choral Union. At Erith he succeeded in raising the services of the parish church from the very nadir of slovenly irreverence to a high pitch of attractiveness and efficiency; and his success in calling a highly-trained choir into existence out of what seemed hopeless chaos procured for him the difficult post of Precentor, entailing the conducting and arranging of the annual festivals of the choirs in the majestic cathedral of Canterbury. The pressure of other duties compelled his resignation in 1875 of this work, in which he had greatly delighted. In this connection there is a pleasant story of the origin of the fine processional hymn, "Forward be our watchword," first sung with "almost overwhelming effect" at Canterbury in the Festival of 1869. Dean Alford, at Mr. Wood's request, had written both the words and the air, after the exacting Precentor had returned an "admirable hymn" to its excellent author, as "not adapted to be sung on the march." The good Dean, taking the audacious advice to compose his processional while slowly walking along the course marked out for the procession, shortly forwarded the manuscript of his grand hymn to the adviser, "with a humorous little note to the effect that the Dean had written the hymn and put it into its hat and boots, and that Mr. Wood might add the coat and trousers for himself," a request Mr. Wood had to seek professional aid to meet; for the "hat and boots" were the bass and treble parts only, and the Precentor dared not rely on his own imperfect knowledge of harmony to supply the parts omitted.

There is no little beauty in this record of congenial work cheerfully accomplished; but we may not linger on it, for it is not on this account that the memory of J. G. Wood is most

precious. Little as he may once have anticipated it, his best service to God and man was to be rendered not as a clergyman of the Establishment, but as a teacher and expounder of the Creator's beautiful working in the visible world; and to this office, by a kind of providential compulsion, he was finally shut up. He had been obliged to resign his first curacy, because it united an utterly inadequate salary to work so heavy as to debar him from supplementing the poor pay by any extra effort of his own; he had been forced to renounce his chaplaincy at St. Bartholomew's Hospital by the pernicious effect of residence in London on his own health and his wife's; his clerical services at Erith, rendered gratuitously during nine years and more, came to an end in 1873, when Archdeacon Smith died, and a successor of alien views was appointed. The radical differences of opinion between this gentleman and Mr. Wood put on end to the connection of the latter with the parish church at Erith; but he did not therefore cease to exercise his ministerial functions, and to the end of his life did much in the way of taking Sunday duty, or preaching, that he might lighten the labour of brother clerics.

Of his pulpit utterances, original, impressive, sometimes startling, little written record remains; for unlike many Anglican preachers he did not *read* his sermons, carefully and anxiously as he prepared them, but trusted to very brief notes, intelligible to himself alone. Some idea of the individuality and the lovely suggestiveness of these discourses is supplied by a "fairly accurate" abstract of one of the "Flower" sermons, in which he excelled, and for which he generally chose a verse from Isaiah xl., bringing out forcibly the really beneficent purpose of that "change and decay" in the visible world, over which less healthy thinkers love to mourn. The "telling force" of such a sermon did, however, undoubtedly depend on the personal magnetism, the intense earnestness, of the speaker, as is the case with all genuine oratory—a power of the moment and the hour, like music and song. This preacher also understood well how to rivet attention by surprising it; and it is in every way a characteristic story which shows him to us on one occasion "treating of the various phases of modern infidelity, especially as shown in

the atheistic writings of a certain well-known platform orator. . . . . "If," said he, "that man were to confront me, and to ask me whether or not I thought that I possessed a soul, I think that I should astonish him not a little by my answer. For if that question were put to me, I should say, No." Of course, there was absolute silence in all parts of the Church. Every eye was fixed on the preacher who could give vent to such an appalling doctrine; every ear was eagerly waiting for the next words; the clergy in the chancel stalls were obviously most uncomfortable, and wondering whether such a statement ought to be permitted to pass unchallenged. Then he went on with his sentence. "Man has no soul. Man *has* a body; man *is* a soul."

In this anecdote there is a glimmer of the very keen sense of humour abundantly evinced in other parts of the biography, but there is something much more important. There is implied that spirituality of thought which informed all his scientific teaching, leading him to use the word "phenomena" in its strictest and only rational sense—the sense of passing shows, revealing the working of an eternal Power. He had seized the deep inner meaning of the divine saying that "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal"; and his lifelong pursuit of science, with this clue to guide him, did but fix more immovably his conviction that among these eternal things must be classed the spirit of man, itself an emanation from the Deity, "Who is life itself, essential, eternal, and universal." Therefore he ranked the body only as one among the possessions of man, who *is* "a living soul"; and therefore he looked fearlessly, looked even with reverent admiration on the working of the "destructive principle" in the material universe.

"Death, so-called," says he in a memorable passage, after dwelling on its "beneficent influence" in Nature, "is the best guardian of the human race, and its preserver from the most terrible selfishness and the direst immorality. If men were unable to form any conception of a future state, and were forced to continue in the present phase of existence to all eternity, they would naturally turn their endeavours to collecting as much as possible of the things which afford

sensual pleasure; and each would lead an individual and selfish life, with no future for which to hope, and no aim at which to aspire."

These words occur in no sermon, but in the second *Natural History* produced by Mr. Wood for popular use, an important work, prepared with lavish care, and published in three bulky octavo volumes, into which the writer "put perhaps his best work." We may not follow him further into the vein of thought opened up here, rich as it is in suggestion, and not entirely free from difficulty and risk; but we may note that, appearing where it does, the passage aptly illustrates one of the leading principles actuating Mr. Wood as an author, "namely, that in writing books of such a character as his own, religious instruction, while it should never be brought obtrusively forward, could and should always be afforded by implication."

Such teaching, pervasive and unobtrusive as the air we breathe, was not difficult to one who saw the Divine in every work of God, and who was deeply convinced that "God can make no one thing that is not universal in its teachings, if we would only be so taught; if not, the fault is with the pupils, not with the Teacher. He writes His ever-living words in all the works of His hand; He spreads this ample book before us, always ready to teach, if we will only learn. We walk in the midst of miracles with closed eyes and stopped ears, dazzled and bewildered with the light, fearful and distrustful of the Word."

To open shut eyes to these daily unrecognised miracles, to break down the needless screen interposed by pompous, often half-barbarous scientific terminology, and thus reveal the vital facts concealed behind it, this writer gladly accepted as his appointed task. The long catalogue of his efforts to that end really arouses admiring astonishment, when we take note of the many physical disadvantages he had to contend with—the numerous accidents that befell him, a man who hardly could fall without breaking a bone; the permanent injury inflicted thereby on his hard-working right hand; the short sight that interfered with the service of his eyes; the husky voice and the tendency to stammer that threatened his usefulness as a preacher and lecturer: all these hindrances

were valiantly overcome; when the pen became impossible he made himself expert with the type-writer, which he used skilfully even when travelling by rail; the stammer was mastered early, and the husky voice did not prevent him from becoming a singularly distinct and effective speaker, whose clear and careful enunciation was perfectly heard in the largest buildings; and nothing but absolute disablement could make the heavily-taxed worker intermit his work. His whole story is an inspiring record of victory over circumstances, won by a good and faithful servant whose service ceased only with life.

The little *Natural History*, published in 1851, was the precursor of many other books on kindred themes. Some of these were chiefly designed for the young, some were of loftier scope and deeper teaching; the last was written so lately as 1887. All were animated by the sunny, hopeful, loving spirit of their author. *Common Objects of the Country*, which appeared in 1858, achieved perhaps the greatest popularity; next to it must be placed *Homes without Hands*, a book more intimately associated with J. G. Wood's name and fame than any other of those in which he expatiated so attractively on the "common" wonders that lurk unsuspected beside our daily path. He did not rest content, however, with this sort of hand-book work. In *My Feathered Friends* we find him holding a brief for the ill-used birds of the air, for blackbird and thrush, finch and rook and sparrow, owl and kestrel, who compensate for their plundering of field and garden and game-preserve by services incalculably great, both against the insect pests of the farmer and the gardener, and against mouse and rat and rabbit, whose fast multiplying life would be noxious by excess. Here as elsewhere he adduced proof that Destruction is Conservation, when the exquisitely adjusted machinery of Nature is allowed to work, when ignorant man does not mar it by his interference. *Horse and Man*, a much later production, excited a storm of controversy, not yet lulled, by its bold attack on "the utter absurdity of the treatment almost invariably received by the horse;" man, in Mr. Wood's opinion, greatly injuring this inestimable servant, and not

benefiting himself, by the injudicious usage, the senseless practices of which both draught and saddle horses, but especially the former, are too often the victims. The venerable institution of the horse-shoe, emblem of good luck and hallowed by hoary superstition, was vigorously attacked in this book, as a piece of mere barbarism. It is at least a curious incident that when the author, in 1883–84, went on a lecturing tour to the United States, he found the "cult of the horse-shoe" devoutly observed by atheistic Americans; the very artisan who is a blasphemous scoffer at the Bible, who greets the name of God with ribald jeers, disclaims the possession of a soul, and denies a future state, is a happy man if he can *accidentally* find a cast horse-shoe. He will polish it lovingly, will nail it over his door, will deny himself food in order to gild it, and will speak of it with a pious reverence, which he insolently refuses to the holiest mysteries of religion. "This is not second-hand," says Mr. Wood, who spoke with personal knowledge of the grotesque freak, which, strange as it seems, is not stranger than other vagaries into which the wretched human soul has been betrayed through renouncing allegiance to the only rightful objects of our religious trust and love.

In *Man and Beast, Here and Hereafter*, a subject was handled over which the author had long been brooding. He brought forward what he held to be "an overwhelming mass of evidence, both Scriptural and other," in favour of the "absolute immortality" of animals; not claiming for them, however, in the life to come that equality with man which they do not possess in this life, not attempting in any sense to bridge the "impassable gulf" which he, who was no thorough-going Evolutionist, ever recognised between the highest brute and the lowest human being, but yet claiming for animals a higher status in creation than human pride has been willing to allow them. "I do so chiefly," he says, "because I am quite sure that most of the cruelties which are perpetrated on the animals are due to the habit of considering them as mere machines, without susceptibilities, without reason, and without the capacity of a future."

A modern Francis of Assisi, he gladly recognised brother-

hood and worthiness in inferior creatures; not unawares, like the Ancient Mariner, but with full knowledge, he blessed the "happy living things" about him, and resented their wrongs with the fiery indignation of a loving heart. Naturalists, so-called, who have no love for Nature, whose only desire when they see an animal is to kill and to dissect it, were odious to him, whose joy was to observe Life in all its wondrous manifestations, not merely to anatomise the dead organisms by which it had ceased to work. And whether we agree with him or not as to the spiritual powers of animals and their "capacity of a future," we must do homage to the feeling which inspired his views—to the gentle nature and the kindly sympathy which enabled him at once to "make friends" with any animal, to play unharmed with the most savage-tempered dog, to walk scatheless among the lions and tigers of menageries, handling them freely without annoying them, and to look far into the secret of the lives of his countless "pets," whose history, as recounted by himself in various books, forms a very fascinating chapter of his writings.

Among the more serious literary efforts on which he spent much time, toil, and curious research, we must rank the *Natural History of Man*, *Man and his Handiwork*, and the *Dominion of Man*, books practically on one subject, and forming a trilogy of great interest, though published at considerable intervals. For the first of these, which supplies an exhaustive history of the savage races of mankind, he had brought together an all but unrivalled collection of savage implements and ornaments and articles of dress; and these must have greatly aided him in preparing the second, which traced out "the gradual development of human tools, weapons, utensils, clothing, and ornament," from the pre-historic relics unearthed by geologists downwards. Somewhat similar ground was covered by a previous work, published in 1876, called *Nature's Teaching*; in both was shown the analogy between man's inventions of tools, instruments, weapons, and the tools, instruments, and weapons supplied by great Nature to man's inferiors in the animal world, for *their* varied needs—"striking anticipations of human invention" being found to have existed countless ages before man, the inventor, hit upon

them for himself. The wonder-working human hand, the manifold power of the human mind, so immeasurably differing from mind or limb of any lower animal, meet with ample recognition in these works, which irresistibly suggest some measure of the Divine Creator's special inspiration as belonging to the being who thinks out for himself methods so closely approaching that Divine Creator's own methods.

*The Dominion of Man*, published quite recently by Bentley, with its motto from Gen. ix. 2, bears out the promise of title and motto by dealing with the whole matter of man's sovereignty over the animal world; and, as in the *Natural History of Man*, modern discovery and science, shedding light on man's sovereignty in pre-historic times, were made to bear their witness on the author's side. This book, written in 1887, was the last which Mr. Wood lived to complete. His contributions to periodical literature extended over very many years, and appeared in a great variety of magazines; they were marked by all the freshness, the easy grace, and the originality of their writer's other work; and continuing, as they did, even after the author's death, to appear in some popular periodicals, they are too recent in the public memory to call for extended notice here. It is indeed not within our competence now to do full justice to the varied achievements of so indefatigable a worker; we may only indicate the manner and the spirit of his work. And it may be truly said that a reverent delight in God and in God's work pervaded all his achievements, not being more present when, by bringing out the real facts about *Bible Animals*, he was aiding in the right understanding of Scripture, than when he was dwelling on the ways and doings of *Insects At Home*, *Insects Abroad*, or on the minute marvels of *Ant Life*.

Perhaps no part of the biography is more characteristic or more racy than the considerable section devoted to Mr. Wood's doings as a lecturer on Natural History. He was still engaged in this career at his death in 1889, having first resolved to take it up as "a kind of secondary profession" in 1879; though so early as 1856 he had begun to give occasional lectures, with very good success. Some trouble that was connected with the necessary diagrams had the fortunate

result of leading him to begin the "Sketch Lectures," in which he was *facile princeps*. He not only discovered in himself an unsuspected talent for "descriptive freehand drawing," but soon learned that audiences were more interested in even roughly extemporised sketches than in the most carefully prepared diagrams. Therefore he cultivated and perfected his peculiar gift with a patient skill that speedily made him one of the most attractive lecturers that ever discoursed upon science. Beginning with mere outlines in white chalk on a colossal blackboard, he soon passed on to the use of coloured pastels, with which, by an art akin to that of the scene-painter, he succeeded in rapidly improvising on a very large scale drawings which at the proper distance had all the effect of "highly-finished pictures, in colours of great beauty," an achievement surely very remarkable in a short-sighted man who had received no artistic education at all. Faultlessly correct, even to anatomical correctness, exact in proportion, these drawings were made with a swift certainty that does not cease to be surprising when we know it to be the result of very careful previous preparation.

"I looked as well as listened," says Oliver Wendell Holmes, speaking of the charming lecture on "Pond and Stream," "and saw the stickleback and his little aquatic neighbours grow up on the black canvas from a mere outline to perfect creatures, resplendent in their many-coloured uniforms. The lecture had much that was agreeable, but the coloured chalk improvisation was fascinating."

There is charm and interest in the story of all connected with these lectures, even to the skill which overcame by repeated experiment all the difficulties attending the construction of a large, light, strong drawing-screen, easily portable, and of a suitable packing-case—which last article, when brought into use, earned for itself the nickname of "Lord Crawford," about the time when that nobleman's body so mysteriously disappeared; the case looking "dreadfully suggestive of a corpse," and arousing dire suspicion in railway officials, who insisted on its being opened for their inspection. The lectures on "Ant Life," "Spider Life," and "Life under Water"; on "The Whale" and "The Horse"; on such

"Unappreciated Insects" as the cockroach, the earwig, the blue-bottle fly, and the gnat; and on a host of cognate subjects, were delivered in the United States, and in Ireland and Scotland as well as England; everywhere they met with cordial and delighted appreciation. The sums realised by all the untiring industry that astonishes and all the varied ability that delights us in the story of Mr. Wood's career as lecturer and author, were, however, almost insignificant when compared with the power lavished on his work and the popularity it commanded; and this was due chiefly to Mr. Wood's curious lack of the business faculty, rendering his labours far more profitable to others than to himself. "Any one who would could cheat him." Honourable himself, and far more concerned to do good work than make great profits, he did not suspect guile and avarice in others; and all his life long he remained largely ignorant of arithmetic, though he loved Euclid. "I very much question," says his son, "whether he ever mastered the multiplication table;" a deficiency not unexampled in schoolboys of the earlier generation that deemed "a sound classical education" the one great requisite for a gentleman and a scholar; yet it remains another among the curious flaws in the equipment of a very competent worker, which seem only to render him more lovable by making him appear more thoroughly human.

The "log" of Mr. Wood's first American tour, faithfully written up for the benefit of his home circle, is such very amusing reading that one sighs over the dearth of other journals from his pen. His comments on the varied "humours" of life in the United States—on the violent caprices of the weather, the vagaries of negro waiters, the guileful doings of the "heathen Chinee," bland and child-like lover and smuggler of opium; on the too-obvious causes of the prevalent dyspepsia, and on the periodical electioneering fever; have a freshness and crispness they must have lacked if originally written for publication. Not all peculiarities of Transatlantic civilisation appealed to him favourably. He preferred English "serfdom" to American "freedom," and pronounced the incessant elections "the curse of the country." "I was told yesterday," he writes, "that 'Presidential year' costs the country about as much as the whole expenses of the

late war." The horrors of the Yankee "pie," its crust resembling the sole of an india-rubber shoe; the astoundingly vulgar speech of the lovely and by no means vulgar maidens; the boorish ways of the average citizen, the nasal shrillness of the national intonation, and the total insufficiency of hotel tea-pots and tea-makers, are all dwelt on with lively emphasis, amid a host of other quaint features of American life. But in the sharpest of his criticisms there is no ill-humour. The reception given to him was evidently cordial with a cordiality that greatly delighted him, as gracious as it was warm; and the country, as a whole, so attracted him that he seriously thought of fixing his abode in it. "This last idea," says his son, "fortunately, as I think, for himself, was not carried out." And his second Transatlantic tour, unfortunately timed when the electioneering mania was at its maddest, and mismanaged by his agent, was so unsuccessful as to leave him quite content with his sphere of work at home.

He died in harness. The immediate cause of death was plainly a neglected cold, caught on the platform of a Scotch railway station one bitterly cold and windy day in 1889; but there are not wanting indications that excessive brain-work, alternating with excessive locomotion, were at last breaking down the constitution which, hardened by a thorough athletic education, had served him admirably during many years of surprising activity. Curiously enough, he had looked forward to the fatal Scottish lecturing tour with real dread, and departed for it under the shadow of unusual gloom. Something of this was due to his experience of the terrible slowness, the weary waiting, and the wretched accommodation attendant on Scotch railway travelling; yet he had passed unharmed through these on former Scottish tours, which had succeeded well in every way, earning for him many friends, who were now gladly waiting to welcome him again.

He perhaps reckoned on throwing off the cold he had caught with his wonted ease, and when it clung to him painfully, he did not take alarm. Internal inflammation set in; and still unconscious of danger, he refused to see a local doctor, and went on with his work. His last lecture was delivered after his return from Scotland, on Friday, February 28, 1889, at Burton-on-Trent, his programme not having yet

taken him home. The lecture was as interesting as ever, the drawings as rapid and exact, but the lecturer was in evident suffering, and concluded his remarks a little abruptly. He went on to Coventry, in disregard of friendly advice to rest. He had to lecture at Coventry on the Monday; but on the way his illness increased too rapidly, and at last he knew his peril. The physician summoned by Mrs. Bray, his friend and hostess at Coventry, found him suffering from acute peritonitis, with no visible chance of recovery. This could not be concealed from the patient, who required to be told the truth; but it did not disturb his composure. Apprised that he might not outlive the next day, he remained calm; his thoughts were clear, his soul at peace. "The true and brave spirit, with whom to live is toil, . . . . is conscious that even death is a new birth into life." To this effect he had written long before; now he lived out his own words. His last interval of ease was employed in carefully writing a farewell letter to the wife whose love had been with him through thirty years of the pure, glad, domestic life that is rather implied than revealed to us. Two hours were spent over this letter; nothing in it was superfluous or incoherent; nothing hinted of haste; the very handwriting was firm and clear, not like the work of a dying man. This last duty of love accomplished, he lay still for nearly two hours more "absorbed in prayer and meditation." Then the thirst of the dying came upon him, and in asking for drink, and indicating the kind of vessel from which in his mortal weakness he could take it, he showed that he still possessed his whole mind in clearness and self-mastery. Immediately after receiving the last draught he "turned his head upon one side, and calmly passed away."

Such an entry into eternal life well beseemed one whose mortal life was the finest illustration yet given of the often-quoted, much-controverted lines of Coleridge:

> "He prayeth best who loveth best
> Both man, and bird, and beast.
> He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things, both great and small;
> For the dear God who loveth us
> He made and loveth all."

## Art. VI.—THE PRESENT STATE OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDY.

*An Introduction to the Old Testament.* By Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Bampton Lecturer, Donnellan Lecturer, &c. Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

AMONGST the very last words written by the veteran Old Testament scholar, Franz Delitzsch, there occurs the following notable paragraph:—"There is a crisis in the domain of the Bible, and especially in that of the Old Testament, in which the evening of my life falls. This crisis repels me on account of the joy of its advocates in destruction, on account of their boundless negations and their unspiritual profanity; but also this crisis, as so many crises since the time of the Apostles, will become a lever for progressive knowledge, and it is therefore incumbent upon us to recognise the elements of truth which are in the chaos, and to gather them out; for as the primitive creation began with chaos, so in the realm of knowledge, and especially of spiritual life from epoch to epoch, that which is new goes forth from the chaos of the old. It is, indeed, not the business of an individual to complete this work of sifting and of refining and of re-organisation. Nevertheless, we take part in it, although with a small degree of strength." *

These words deserve attention in themselves, but are especially remarkable as coming from one who had spent a lifetime in the study of the Old Testament, and for the most part in a resolute maintenance of traditional views concerning its character and composition. That such a critical period in the study of the Old Testament is upon us can hardly be denied by those least disposed to believe in frequent "crises," or imagine there is an earthquake every time the ground is shaken by a passing train. The change which is passing over cultivated opinion with regard to the Old Testament is important and widespread. There is nothing in it that need alarm

* *Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession*, pp. 5 and 6.

the reverent and thoughtful student of the Scriptures, there is everything to make him at the same time candid and vigilant, soberly cautious and frankly bold. The next few years will be of vital importance in the history of Biblical and especially of Old Testament criticism. They will be of vital importance also in the history of the orthodox evangelical Churches of this country. Very much will depend upon the attitude taken by influential leaders in such churches towards current criticism, and it would be as great a calamity for them to exhibit a blind and prejudiced conservatism as to be carried away by rash and shallow advocates of change. The spirit manifested in the extract above quoted from Delitzsch is but too seldom exhibited by theologians of threescore-and-ten, or, for that matter, by theological or scientific dogmatists of any age. It is none the less the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of might. He is at the same time the wise and the strong man who in a time of change perceives how to separate "between the precious and the vile," δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα, both in the sense of discerning things that differ and approving things that are excellent. He only can guide wisely and well who has learned that, in the steady progress of human thought, truth does not necessarily reside either with the old or with the new. Such men can use the tide of new knowledge and speculation which is rushing in upon our generation without being carried away by it, and ride upon a somewhat headstrong current without being overwhelmed; themselves borne forward and helping to bear others forward, not to shipwreck, but to undiscovered shores of truth, to the "fresh woods and pastures new" which always await those who know how to find and reach them.

So far as religious opinion in this country is concerned, we are at the beginning, not the close, of this transition period. It is as yet by no means clear, even to those best qualified to judge, what will be the course and character of scholarly opinion upon certain important points. The times are not yet ripe for final pronouncement upon some cardinal questions, on which much has been said and written. Hence the difficulty of such a task as Dr. Wright has set himself in the volume described at the head of this article. An "Introduc-

tion" to a book is often the last thing to be written. At all events, this must be the case with what is technically known as "Introduction" in Biblical study. The term is used to sum up existing knowledge and current theories concerning the authorship, date, style, contents, and general character of the various books of the Bible, and so important has this branch of study become that the modern craze for big technical words has invented a new "Science of Introduction" under the name of *Isagogics*. It is quite clear, therefore, that almost the very last stage in the history of Old Testament study is the publication of an adequate Introduction. It presupposes the attainment on the part of scholars of a fairly united opinion upon a host of vexed questions. The work of textual criticism should have been satisfactorily accomplished, and a full investigation made into the complicated questions of the genuineness and authenticity of the several books, due weight being given to rival critical speculations and hypotheses, before it is possible to write a satisfactory Introduction to the Old Testament. It is, of course, quite possible to put forth a tentative work which shall be of temporary service; and it may be said that if we wait till all critics are agreed we may wait for ever. But there are times when critical opinion is more than ordinarily in a state of solution, and the moment for precipitation has not arrived. That is more or less the case at present, and this furnishes the explanation of the fact that for some years such a book has been desired, but has not been forthcoming. Now we have the promise of a tolerably full work from the pen of Professor S. R. Driver, and meanwhile we may be very thankful for the small but useful manual put forth by so accomplished an Old Testament scholar as Dr. Wright.

This handbook, which was briefly noticed in our last issue, is as full of information, closely packed together, as it can well be. But that information will probably prove to many by no means what they chiefly expected or wanted. Its strong point is bibliography. Here the learning and painstaking accuracy of the writer is fully displayed. To every chapter is added a supplement containing a list of all the chief works that have been published upon the several subjects dealt with,

and in most instances a brief characterisation of each, which will prove most useful to inexperienced students. The leading articles in reviews and scholarly periodicals are not forgotten. The volume would, indeed, be worth several times its present price, were it only for the help thus furnished to those who need guidance and a knowledge of the best books. Dr. Wright's early chapters on "The State of the Hebrew Text," the Massorah, Targums, and the Versions generally, contain much information carefully condensed. But both in this part of his subject and in the following chapters, which deal with the several books of the Old Testament, condensation is carried to such a pitch that disappointment is inevitable. Doubtless the limits under which Dr. Wright was compelled to work are the necessary cause of this; we must not expect free and flowing outlines, ample expatiation and illustration, within the few square inches of one of Meissonnier's canvases. A master artist can pack a wealth of detail into very small compass, and we have little complaint to make of the way in which Dr. Wright has used his scanty space, except that here and there we could have desired clearer and more definite guidance; but the very absence of this corresponds with that suspense of judgment which many feel to be an absolute necessity on some Old Testament questions just now. Our chief regret is that it was not possible for Dr. Wright to have more space allotted to him than the "Theological Educator" series admitted, for what could any writer do who was bidden to compress within 150 pages of this REVIEW a discussion of the whole series of problems which are raised by Old Testament criticism? Let it be enough to say that Dr. Wright gives an enlightened, but at the same time cautious, judgment upon the various topics passed in review, and, so far as his limits allow, he furnishes reasons for his conclusions. But the whole subject of Pentateuch criticism is dismissed in less than twenty small pages, and a reader who wishes to master that complex subject will need to use a magnifying glass of a very large size if he is to understand Professor Wright's severely compressed outlines.

It is not, however, our object to review this book in detail. Rather does it seem desirable, so far as that is possible in a

brief article, to set forth the reasons why Old Testament study is at present in such a state of transition, to indicate the main trend of sober and enlightened opinion at this time, and to show what should be the attitude of the reverent student of Scripture until fuller light and riper research shall have closed some still open questions. These questions lie within comparatively narrow limits, and the settlement of them this way or that would hardly affect in any perceptible degree the main outlines of Old Testament religion so far as the knowledge of it concerns the pious reader of the English Bible. We hope to be able to show that there is nothing in the attitude or tendencies of *sober* and *valid* criticism to disturb the mind of any reader who turns to the Old Testament for edification and spiritual enlightenment, while there is much to stimulate all to renewed and more intelligent study, much which will shed new light upon old truth and bring into view new truth which is by no means inconsistent with the old. If those who are fearful concerning new and untried theories are reassured, and the eager lovers of novelty for novelty's sake are shown the necessity of caution and care, the end of this paper will be answered.

The first element in the study of any ancient writing is the condition of its text. In what state has it come down to us, what materials are extant for the determination of difficulties, and how far have these been made use of by skilled and judicious editing? In the case of the New Testament the materials are abundant beyond all precedent or comparison, and the principles of the science of New Testament textual criticism, which a few years ago hardly existed, are now fixed with a considerable degree of definiteness. With the Old Testament the case is very different. This has been made plain for the ordinary English reader by the Preface of the Revised Version. It does not need much erudition to perceive that there is all the difference between the case of books of which we possess more than 1000 MSS., some of them copied within 300 years of the date of the original, and virtually leading back to a very much earlier period, together with versions made within a century or two of the date of the original, on the one hand; and on the other, of books, the earliest MS. copies of

which are separated by a period of more than 1000 years from the last book in the collection, and a period of nearly 3000 years since the events referred to in the earliest. One single MS. of the Prophets is extant dated 916, but the oldest MS. of the entire Old Testament is dated 1010 A.D., and the majority date from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. But this is not all. The MSS. of the New Testament present a great variety of readings, while those of the Old present practically the same text. This may be thought to be an advantage, and it has constantly been pointed to as a proof of the scrupulous care with which the Jews preserved their sacred writings. This is the case no doubt since the rise of the schools of the "Massoretes" in the seventh century A.D. But the question inevitably arises, What is the critical value of the text which the Jewish masters of tradition handed down with such jealous and minute exactitude? Was it, as some suppose, originally derived from a single MS.? It is known that in their anxiety to secure uniformity in the sacred text the Jews have for many generations been accustomed to bury MSS. which were found to be defective, or which their scribes esteemed to be faulty. Was the Massoretic text arrived at by such a summary method as this? If not, what evidence is there of the careful comparison of MSS. held in estimation at the time when the text was formed, and how far is this text free from error?

The history of the Hebrew text includes four periods. During the first the archaic character was exclusively used; during the second, from Ezra to the destruction of Jerusalem, the archaic character was superseded by that now in use; in the third period, extending to the end of the fifth century, the consonantal text was fixed; and in the last, the vowel system was invented, and the pronunciation of syllables and words, of clauses and sentences fixed with the most punctilious exactness. It is clear that during the first three of these periods there was room for considerable variation of text, and as a matter of fact it can be shown that, while the Massoretic text is indubitably ancient, faithful, and incomparably superior to any other existing authority, corruptions have here and there crept in during the long course of its formation, which must

in all fidelity be noted, and, if possible, corrected. The labours of the Massoretes were enormous, and their value can hardly be exaggerated. An article in this REVIEW, published a few years ago,* on Dr. Guisburg's edition of the Massorah, described the nature and importance of these labours. But it requires to be distinctly understood that this uniform text is not *in its present form* of early date, and, as was pointed out in the above article, a "critical revision of the *Textus Receptus* of the Old Testament is absolutely necessary." The corruptions of the text are not indeed serious or considerable. An ordinary English reader would probably wonder why scholars spend so much time on what appear trifling minutiæ, but for the construction of a scientifically accurate text these minutiæ are all-important.

It is true that there are extant authorities which lead us very much nearer to the date of the original than the MSS. we have mentioned. The Greek version, known as the LXX., was made about the second or third century before Christ. The Targums represent the traditional Aramaic paraphrase of the Hebrew, handed down from about the time of Ezra, in their present form dating from about the third century A.D. There is further a Samaritan codex of the Pentateuch, based on a different recension from the Massoretic, and a Samaritan Targum based upon this, of considerable value. The earliest Syriac version is as old as the second or third century of our era. But the history of these versions is obscure and presents many difficulties. Their critical value is not easy to determine. The LXX., which is the most important, has not been itself critically edited; the translations of the different books were made at different times and are of very unequal merit, and while in parts it agrees closely with the Hebrew, in some parts—*e.g.*, the book of Jeremiah—it appears to be based on a different recension. Some scholars, however, question the truth of the last statement, and if it were fully established, it would be exceedingly difficult to say what is the precise relation between the two varying types of text.

Those unaccustomed to critical study must not exaggerate

* See LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW for *October* 1884, p. 96.

the importance of these variations. They refer almost exclusively to details, and do not affect the substance of Holy Scripture. But a study of R.V. will show that there are some passages in which the Hebrew is more or less certainly corrupt. We may briefly refer to 1 Sam. xiii. 1, where the Massoretic text literally runs, "Saul was — years old (a year old) when he began to reign, and when he had reigned two years over Israel." The Revisers' margin shows us that while the whole verse is omitted in the unrevised LXX., in a later recension the number *thirty* is inserted, evidently a guess at Saul's approximate age. This the Revisers have adopted, as the best way out of an obvious difficulty. Another example may be found in the history of David, where the Hebrew text presents us with inconsistencies very hard indeed to remove. Omit the paragraphs 1 Sam. xvii. 12–31 and xvii. 55–xviii. 6, as the text followed by the LXX. does, and these difficulties disappear. Again, in the well-known verse, Psalm xxii. 16, the rendering, "They pierced my hands and my feet," is not found in the Hebrew, which runs, "Like a lion, my hands and my feet." The LXX., Vulgate, and Syriac have here preserved what is doubtless the correct reading. In Isaiah ix. 3 an overwhelming preponderance of Hebrew MSS. favours the almost impossible rendering, "Thou hast multiplied the nation and *not* increased the joy." Only some ten or eleven contain what is undoubtedly the right reading, "Thou hast multiplied the nation: thou hast increased their joy," the Hebrew words for "not" and "to it" being very similar.

These are simple and probably familiar examples, but they serve to show that in a number of passages, besides those noted as K'ri, or otherwise indicated in the marginal notes of the Massoretes, the question of the soundness of the text arises. Some modern editors allow themselves a large amount of licence, and propose emendations of the text by the score or the hundred, emendations which have no support in existing authorities, and which represent merely the happy (or unhappy) guess of some modern editor. This is admissible in a Greek play, of which perhaps only one corrupt MS. exists, though even here, as in the case of old buildings,

"restoration" must be most carefully effected and most jealously watched. But the conditions of the case in Old Testament textual criticism are different, and the limits of permissible conjectural emendation much narrower. It will be impossible, however, satisfactorily to curb the licence referred to, till the whole question of Old Testament textual criticism has been settled on a scientific basis. Here, therefore, is one problem awaiting solution.

Another ground for the re-consideration of some Old Testament questions is furnished by the results of recent research in Eastern countries. Discoveries have during the last few years literally poured in upon us. The revelations of only a dozen years ago are accounted ancient history, so fast are new additions being made to our knowledge. "Suddenly, as with the wand of a magician, the ancient Eastern world has been re-awakened to life by the spade of the explorer and the patient skill of the decipherer, and we now find ourselves in the presence of monuments which bear the names or recount the deeds of the heroes of Scripture. One by one these 'stones crying out' have been examined or more perfectly explained, while others of equal importance are being continually added to them."* The confirmation of Scripture narratives which has thus been afforded has been in some cases very remarkable, though the scepticism which lightly casts doubt upon the accuracy of Scripture has a convenient knack of forgetting its insinuations when ample corroboration is forthcoming. It may suffice to mention in passing the discovery of the great Hittite Empire, the very existence of which had been forgotten, which is now rising, as it were, from the dead to confirm the accuracy of the allusions to the Hittites in the Old Testament, the correctness of which had been questioned by sceptics. Not all the discoveries that have been made, however, are precisely of this kind. There are none of which we are aware that contravene the statements of Scripture upon any important point. But some questions of dates have to be re-considered, and the "fresh light from ancient monu-

* A. H. Sayce, *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*, Preface, p. 1.

ments" has placed in a new and unexpected aspect some of the historical personages who figure in Scripture history—"Cyrus the Persian," for example. The confirmations of Scripture, moreover, are not always obtained in just the way we should expect, and traditional views on many points have to be modified; the gain, however, in all cases more than counterbalancing the loss.

Very strange and profoundly interesting have been some of these revelations. It must impress the most superficial to stand face to face with the clay tablets of an old Assyrian library, the wedge-shaped characters on which have just been read for the first time for 2500 years. When those characters were first traced, Assyria was the terror of the East, and for more than twenty centuries that record has lain buried in the earth, now in these later days to be dug up and deciphered with care, and bringing us face to face with Tiglath-Pileser and Sennacherib, with kings and generals who were the contemporaries of Isaiah and Hezekiah—original documents which cause us who read them to be brought into direct contact with times of which we have read in our Bibles from childhood. The light cast by these discoveries gleams fitfully upon various parts of the Old Testament record from Genesis to Malachi. The site of Eden and the four rivers which compassed it may now be identified with comparative certainty. "The rivers of Eden can be found in the rivers and canals of Babylonia. Two of them were the Euphrates and Tigris, called by the Accadians *id Idikla*, 'the river of Idikla,' the Biblical Hiddekhel; while Pishon is a Babylonian word signifying 'canal,' and Gihon may be the Accadian Gukhan, the stream on which Babylon stood." The narrative of the Fall must be read in connection with the tradition of the Accadians concerning the "serpent of night," which brought about the fall of man. It has been known now for twenty years that the story of the Deluge formed the subject of more than one poem among the Accadians, and the Chaldean account of the Deluge, discovered by Mr. George Smith, a completely accurate translation of which has now been arrived at, sheds considerable light upon the 7th and 8th chapters of Genesis. The points of agreement between this narrative and that of the Bible are as striking as is the contrast between the

polytheism of the Babylonian and the monotheism of the Scripture narrative. The excavations at Mugheir, Ur of the Chaldees, have shed considerable light on the history of Abraham, and the date of the events recorded in Genesis xiv., with its mention of Chedorlaomer (Kudur-Lagamar, "servant of the god Lagamar"), may now be approximately fixed.

Perhaps the most interesting of all are the discoveries in Egypt which have lighted up various obscure points in Old Testament history, notably the period of the Exodus. The speculations, which in the boyhood of the present generation had to do duty for history, have now given way to ascertained fact. Children may now read the full story of Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression, and of his son and successor Menephtah, the Pharaoh who hardened his heart against Moses's request, and actually pursued the fugitives to the borders of the Red Sea. The cities that were built with strawless bricks, together with their vast store-chambers, have now been revealed in the light of day, and the early stages of the Israelites' journey, and the route adopted, about which long and sometimes angry discussion has been waged, may now be traced beyond the possibility of controversy. "The treasure-chambers occupy almost the whole area of the old city, the walls of which are about 650 feet square and 22 feet thick. Its name Pithon—in Egyptian Pa-tum—signifies the City of the Setting Sun; and since it had another name, Succoth, we can now understand how it was that the Israelites started on their march, not from Goshen, but from Succoth (Ex. xiii. 20)—that is, from the very place where they had been working. Etham, their next stage, seems to be the Egyptian fortress of Khetam, while Pi-hahiroth (Ex. xiv. 2) is probably Pi-keheret, which is mentioned in an inscription found at Tel-el-Maskhûta as somewhere in the neighbourhood of the canal that led from the Nile to the Red Sea."* The Moabite Stone has yielded an inscription which reads, *mutatis mutandis*, like a chapter from Kings or Chronicles. The inscription at the pool of Siloam brings us with an almost sensational vividness face to face with the "navvies" who excavated the conduit which supplies the pool

* Sayce, *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*, p. 72.

and Jerusalem with water. The Assyrian account of the invasion of Sennacherib confirms the Biblical account in several particulars, and the discrepancy between the number of talents paid by Hezekiah and the number Sennacherib claims to have received is shown to be only apparent. Now for the first time the striking description of the Assyrian invasion given in Isaiah x. can be understood. As formerly applied to the invasion of Sennacherib, difficulties were created by it which could only be got over by desperate expedients. The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has now made it clear that the reference is to an invasion of Sargon, who overran Palestine and the whole country to the frontier of Egypt in B.C. 711. That there is some confusion or error, however, in the narrative of the Biblical annalist concerning the date of the invasion of Sennacherib appears now to have been ascertained. It was in the 24th year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701, not in the 14th, B.C. 711, that Sennacherib's invasion took place, and reminiscences of the earlier invasion appear here and there in the account of the later. The light cast by these records upon the character and career of Cyrus also necessitates some re-casting of traditional views concerning that prince.

These are but a few specimens taken here and there from the fascinating volumes which describe the results of recent discoveries in Assyria, Egypt, and Palestine, but they are sufficient to show how the study of the Old Testament has been affected in various ways. The total result is most materially to strengthen our confidence in the accuracy and trustworthiness of the Bible narratives. The confirmation of the truthfulness of the Scripture record has been in some instances very striking. In some respects modification of traditional opinions has been found necessary, or chronology has been rectified, and the effect produced upon the Old Testament history as a whole is very considerable. A thousand and one little touches, insignificant enough, some of them, when taken alone, have made a perceptible difference in the complexion of the whole narrative, and the full bearing of what is now known concerning the early civilisation of Assyria and Egypt has by no means as yet been brought out. It is quite certain, moreover, that great results may be expected

from researches still to be made. In the valley of the Kedron, and the vale of Tyropœon at Jerusalem, now filled up with rubbish, lie the relics of the dynasty of David; and who shall say what difficulties will be solved, what thorny controversies ended, when the records which lie buried there and in Egypt, and in unexplored Assyrian mounds, leap to light? Patience! patience! they cry, alike to the rash theorists who proclaim the Bible narrative mistaken because of some trifling discrepancy, and to the hasty apologist who strains the words and tortures the meaning of one passage to make it agree with another. "He that believeth shall not make haste."

There are other reasons, however, why the views of Old Testament students have been lately undergoing some change. The "historical method" is predominant in the present generation. Like other methods, this is good in its place, hurtful out of its place. The canons which are so serviceable in determining the problems of physical science are ineffective or misleading when applied to poetry and philosophy. So the historical method is not the name of some potent organon of universal knowledge, but represents an attitude of mind and processes of investigation most appropriate where historical studies are concerned. It must be admitted that till latterly theological considerations had too largely over-ridden the historical. At first sight it might appear that here and there there was some opposition between these two, and that the interests represented by the historical student must be made to give place if the doctrines of the theologian were interfered with. But it is now becoming increasingly evident that theology gains nothing by setting aside or slighting any part of the truth, or any means of arriving at it, and the much-vaunted historical method is lending valuable help to the student of religion who knows how to use it. Take, for example, the subject of Messianic prophecy. It has been too common for interpreters to view this subject almost exclusively from the standpoint of New Testament fulfilment, so that the question asked concerning any prophecy was not, What did the words mean as spoken by the Prophet to those for whom they were in the first instance intended? but, What did God

the Holy Spirit, who spake by the Prophets, mean by this passage, in the light of the full revelation in Jesus Christ? There is no reason why these questions should be set one over against the other. Both must be considered, both are highly important, but the former of the two is that which comes first in order of time and first in order of thought, though not in the order of importance for the Christian of to-day. But in order rightly and adequately to reach the latter we must fully master the answer to the former question. We need first to understand in their entirety the historical phenomena, and the nature of the fulfilment of words which, as inspired by the Divine Spirit, were fraught with "springing and germinant accomplishments," will then be made clear. Attention has been too much confined to isolated passages and phrases of the Prophets, and so the significance and force of the whole has been impaired. So with the Psalms. Christ may, indeed, be found throughout that wonderful book, if we search for Him rightly. At first sight it may seem as if we were deserting the true lines of Christian interpretation, and losing the very pith and kernel of the meaning, when we seek to work out the historical setting and allusions of the Psalms, but in the end it will be seen that both the nearer and the more distant fulfilment of the pregnant words thus becomes for the first time fully clear. It is a mistake on the part of theologians to oppose or discourage the study of these ancient writings from the historic standpoint, the only one from which they can be completely understood. Old Testament theology is becoming greatly enriched from the growing prevalence of the historic method.

Again, the "Higher Criticism" has made enormous advances during the past twenty-five years. The science of textual criticism is now fairly established, and scholars find themselves well on the way towards the construction of a scientific method of dealing with the literature of sacred books, as Textual Criticism deals with their exact wording. Investigations into date, authorship, history of composition, and style have proceeded so far, and such is the concentration of the keenest and most powerful minds upon these topics, that this "Criticism," like the use of hydraulic or electric

power in mechanics, has effected something like a revolution in Biblical study. It is needless to say that the utmost care is here required. It would be so in the case of a fragment of Aristotle, a reputed dialogue of Plato. There is in the use of this method so much room for arbitrariness, the "subjective element" figures in it so largely, there is so little check upon mere theorising imposed from without by external evidence, that in the exercise of this criticism there is the greatest danger lest mere hypotheses should take the place of ascertained facts, lest men should darken counsel by words without knowledge, and the simple outlines of truth be lost amidst the multiplied cobwebs of fanciful speculation. But there is special danger in the case of sacred books; partly because of the inestimably important character of the interests involved, partly from the prevalence of bias, often unconscious, in the minds of those who figure as pure seekers after truth. No wonder that all such theorising concerning the books of Scripture should be viewed with extreme suspicion, and that "higher criticism" has gained for itself a bad name amongst the orthodox. But the danger is not in the criticism as such, which only means examination, but in the presuppositions that are too often tacitly assumed, in the canons of judgment which give too little weight to external evidence, and the undue preponderance attached to modern theories, together with a rashness in accepting conclusions which have not as yet stood the test of repeated cross-examination and the apparently easy, but in reality severe, test of time.

This, however, being fully borne in mind, it is quite time that reverent and simple-minded readers of the Bible should learn to distinguish between criticism and criticism, and to esteem and value a sober criticism, even when it may disturb traditional views, while they distrust a criticism that is as hasty as it is destructive. Those who have not made these subjects their study can hardly be expected to understand the weight of cumulative evidence which forces a conclusion upon the mind of a close and patient student of every detail of the sacred text, while those who read merely for spiritual edification alone are naturally not prepared to deal with critical questions. As well expect the simple admirer of a lovely

landscape to deliver a dissertation on the geology or botany of the valley or range of hills on which he gazes with delight. But such a student of nature is quite competent to understand and follow a suitable exposition of botanical or geological facts which an expert may deliver; and the unlearned but intelligent reader of Scripture can very well judge for himself on many critical questions when the grounds upon which the conclusions of critics are based are clearly set before him. The time is coming, we fully believe, when this will be more fully and widely done, when criticism as such will no longer be distrusted in the Churches, but intelligent discrimination will be exercised between conclusions fairly and carefully arrived at, and what a statesman once called, in quite a different connection, the "hare-brained chatter of irresponsible frivolity."

Some of the earlier results of such studies may for a time be somewhat disquieting. One of the earliest is the lessening of esteem for tradition on what are called critical questions. To decry tradition altogether is ridiculous. That is to destroy the one bridge which crosses the wide estuary which separates us from the far past. On all subjects tradition must be fairly and thoroughly heard; on some subjects its testimony is practically decisive. But on the more minute questions of authorship, for example, it does not follow that tradition is to be implicitly trusted. Many generations have cared little or nothing for detailed and accurate information on such questions in our modern sense of the term, and the fact that a traditional view has been handed down for centuries makes it more venerable, but not necessarily more weighty. As to the authorship of "Isaiah," for instance, the testimony of tradition on the subject must clearly be sifted, and, while all respect is paid to it, we must inquire whether the habits of the times were such that other prophecies might be embodied in the book, without inquiry being made as the generations passed. Similarly with regard to historical compositions. It may very well be the case that many hands were engaged upon a narrative which has come down to us under one name, while those who handed on the tradition of authorship never dreamed of inquiring into details of construction and composition, which in themselves

are of little importance compared with the substantial value and great lessons of the books themselves.

There can be little question that modern historical and literary criticism is approaching to the accuracy of a science. The examination of literary compositions is now so close that no detail escapes the eye of the trained critic; and though, from the very nature of the case, the conclusions arrived at are often merely tentative, and always open to revision, yet the gradual consensus of opinion, as it approaches unanimity, on the part of scholars of very various habits of mind, always ready to point out one another's mistakes, must have great weight and force. An illustration may be drawn from the study of ancient MSS. It seems almost incredible that the first, second, third, up to the tenth or twelfth hand, can be detected among the copyists who have been engaged upon some great MS. like the Sinaitic or the Vatican Codex, and the date of each approximately determined, still less that it may be almost mathematically demonstrated that a scribe engaged upon ℵ wrote a certain part of B. But so it is, and similar, though not equal, certainty is coming to be attached to investigations concerning authorship where there is reason to suspect that more than one hand has been engaged. We smile as we listen to the confident tones of the critic laying down the law, that in a certain book there were so many original writers, so many various editors, with such an ultimate redactor, that such a writer stops in the middle of a verse, and such a phrase has been altered and again altered by successive editors. We smile still more when we find these confident critics at complete issue with one another, and coming to diametrically opposite conclusions. But the extreme and over-confident dogmatism of the few must not drive us to the opposite extreme of supposing that no reliance is to be placed upon investigation at all. There can be little doubt that analysis has shown almost to demonstration the presence of two, three, or more hands at work in some parts of the Scriptures, where till lately readers have accustomed themselves to see only one. The fact that some of these books are compilations need excite no surprise. Some of them distinctly announce themselves as such, referring to the authorities which have been used, as, for example,

the books of Chronicles. The pride of authorship, as authorship, did not exist as it does now, and greater freedom was permitted to those who undertook what we should call the preparation of a document for publication. The consideration of these facts has somewhat modified the views of those whose business it is to study the Old Testament in its literary aspects.

But how far the contentions of critics in this work of analysis are to be admitted as proved is quite another matter. Here the greatest caution is requisite, as well as a consensus of opinion among experts of varied theological opinions, and length of time above all, during which an hypothesis may be thoroughly sifted and tried before it can be considered to be verified. An illustration of this may be found in the case of the Pentateuch, a topic dealt with not long ago in this REVIEW, and we may here give a specimen of Dr. Wright's method of dealing with a difficult question in brief compass. He gives impartially the evidence on both sides, and shows himself neither rash in accepting new views, nor stubbornly conservative of the old. To call the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in question is, he says, by no means necessarily to side with the anti-supernaturalists, nor does it imply any contradiction of our Lord's words and the teaching of the New Testament. He shows, on the other side, that the Pentateuch was the common possession of the nation at large, and could not easily be tampered with, as critics suggest, by a learned caste. "The unity of design traceable throughout the Pentateuch or Hexateuch is remarkable. The work is no patchwork put together without a definite object. Though its composite character may be admitted, the documents made use of are united and interwoven, so as to form a work remarkable for unity of purpose. The differences in details brought to light by critical analysis (which has too often exhibited a hypercritical tendency) are not destructive of the general harmony of the Pentateuch, any more than the variations in detail which exist in the Gospels. Such differences when duly weighed are confirmatory of the main facts of the history." * The composite character of the Pentateuch is, according to Dr. Wright, "one of the accepted results of modern criticism. The old traditional

* *Introduction*, pp. 80, 81.

view can be no longer regarded as correct." But the main outlines of the work are Mosaic. This is the position occupied in this REVIEW some time before Dr. Wright's work was published, and we are glad to find ourselves thus far supported by so able and trustworthy an authority. Very wise also, in our opinion, are his remarks as to the general attitude to be adopted by apologists:

"A bold and fearless attitude on all such questions on the part of the Biblical student is more likely to convince gainsayers and inspire confidence than a timid appeal to authority by the endeavour to put an undue strain on New Testament statements. The history of Biblical criticism in past ages ought to be a sufficient warning to theologians not to have recourse to a line of argumentation which again and again has proved disastrous to the cause of truth, and which, in place of driving away the clouds of scepticism, has tended only to foster unbelief among students. The safest course for the apologists of the Bible to adopt is boldly to argue that the foundations of faith are in reality unaffected by any conclusions which may be arrived at on purely literary questions." (P. 83.)

A full account is given of the views of various critics, such as Dillmann, Delitzsch, and others, together with an outline of the arguments for and against the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. Its judgment on the latter is as follows: "Notwithstanding the ability with which the hypothesis has been put forward, the arguments by which it has been defended (to which justice cannot be done in any bald summary of results), or the popularity it has attained among critics, it may safely be predicted that the hypothesis will not long be regarded by any number of scholars as a satisfactory solution of the composition of the Pentateuch" (p. 97).

In dealing with the question of the unity of Isaiah we find Dr. Wright giving a judgment much less clear and well-balanced. He does not indeed give the guidance for which young students would naturally look from such a handbook on such a question. But our object just now is not to criticise Dr. Wright or travel over the ground in detail which he covers in the main with so much judiciousness and success. We have been anxious rather to give our readers some kind of general account of the work that is going on in Old Testament study, and some idea of the way in which current problems are regarded by sober and candid judges, and the extent to which religious opinion is likely to be affected. The disturb-

ance of certain traditional views as to the authorship and the composition of certain books of the Old Testament has misled many to suppose the change of opinion to be greater than it really is. Even this hasty and inadequate outline of the work that is going on will show what is the nature and what are the limits of the questions raised. We may perhaps venture to sum up the conclusions to which the above remarks for the most part point as the duty of the hour, and we hope they will commend themselves to candid minds:—

1. On many points judgment may for a while be wisely held in suspense. We need not be in a hurry either to accept or reject certain theories which are now in the ascendant. This attitude of suspense, though the course most of all abhorrent to dogmatists on both sides, may nevertheless for a time be the fairest and wisest, because

2. There is nothing in the discussion of these literary questions—important as they are in their place—to disturb the foundations of faith. Those foundations ought to rest elsewhere. The points really at issue do not touch faith, if we omit the extreme views taken by critics who begin by denying the manifestation of the supernatural altogether in the history of Israel. If the *substantially* Mosaic origin of the law, for example, be granted, there is nothing in current hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch to stagger believers in the New Testament. If, on the other hand, a large part of the Pentateuch is mythical and another part fabricated history, its authority as a sacred book is gone. But that is just what the critics' arguments entirely fail to prove.

3. Attention should be concentrated on the more vital points of the relation between the Old and New Testaments —*e.g.*, Messianic prophecy, Typology, and the Quotations from the Old Testament in the New. Some of the old arguments and tenets on these subjects have ceased to be tenable, and an insistence upon untenable details does harm to the reputation of orthodox writers, causing either their good sense or their sincerity to be questioned. The attempt to maintain positions which cannot be held is a fruitful source of scepticism. On this point we may quote Dr. Wright: "No theories of inspiration can be permitted to stifle investigation. The existence of the supernatural in Scripture and

the Divine inspiration of the prophets and 'holy men of old' is by no means shaken by the fact of historical discrepancies, or even by occasional contradictions in books which have come down to us from such distant ages. Those who, in the face of modern critical investigation, affirm the necessity of a belief in the historical infallibility of every fact recorded in the Sacred Writings, verily know neither what they say nor whereof they affirm." (P. 84.)

4. And for all readers of the holiest and most sublime book the world has ever known no study will be worth much which does not set the religious teaching of the sacred volume in the foreground. The uncritical may for the present go their way, and leave many of these controversies to burn themselves out. The critical must use all the light they have, and bring it conscientiously and resolutely to bear upon the problems that await solution. But for all, critical and uncritical alike, there will come a day when the only knowledge of this Book of books which abides and remains will be that which has done its work in shaping character and moulding life. The true study of the Old Testament, that which is most potent and availing even now, and which a few years hence will be seen to furnish the only permanent and valid knowledge of it, is that which leads to the blessing of Old and New Testaments alike—eternal life: "And this is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent."

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## Art. VII.—PORT-ROYAL.

1. *Port-Royal.* C. A. St. Beuve.
2. *Jacqueline Pascal.* V. Cousin.
3. *Angélique Arnauld.* F. Martin.
4. *Pensées.* Pascal.
5. *Lettres Provinciales.* Pascal.
6. *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography.* Sir J. Stephen.
7. *Educational Reformers.* R. H. Quick.

IN a recent number of the *Temps* there appeared some interesting particulars concerning the scanty remnant which still survives of the once powerful and formidable sect

of the Jansenists. It appears that the handful of people who still preserve that name and cherish the teaching of Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, and the other doctors of their faith, are gathered, as one might expect, near that spot which no desecration can unhallow—the deep secluded valley where there may still be seen some vestiges of the Abbey of Port-Royal des Champs. The importance of the movement that was initiated there is not to be measured by the fortunes of the Jansenist party. The history of the *School of Port-Royal*, which the late Dean Church calls "the mightiest birth of the French Church," has a deeper instructiveness and a livelier interest than would arise merely from its connection with the teaching of Jansenius. Great it certainly is, from the point of view of theology; great also from an educational point of view, as witness the famous schools which carried off the palm even from the Jesuits, with their vast resources and inimitable skill. If we consider it in its literary aspect, its importance is the same. Here we are met at once by the great names of Pascal, one of the deepest thinkers of his own or any time, and as a stylist the first to show how perfect an instrument of thought the French language may be made; and of Racine, that charming poet and amiable man, in whose works, the choruses of *Esther* and *Athalie* particularly, one seems to find a reminiscence of the "sweet austere composure" that marked the surroundings of his early years. It is true that he wandered far at one time from the traditions of Port-Royal. He atoned for it later, however, to the best of his ability, and in his will he requested, as a sign of his love and reverence for the community, that his body might be laid in their graveyard, at the feet of his old master, where, in fact, it remained till the destruction of the Abbey in 1711. But it is, we think, on moral grounds, especially as a study of Christian character, of saintly heroism and devotion, that the history of the movement merits regard. Here one finds, mingled, it is true, with the usual alloy of human infirmity, a strength, a gravity, a nobility, a purity, a moral earnestness, a passion for perfection, which would scarcely enter into the imaginations of those who are content to found their notions of French life and character on the best known characteristics of French literature.

The drama of Port-Royal begins with the reform of the convent by the Abbess Angélique Arnauld in 1609. This ancient foundation, which dated from 1204, had become, like nearly all convents in France at that time, merely a comfortable retreat for well-born and well-dowered women, involving no privation and very few duties. The rules of poverty, seclusion, and obedience, were absolutely ignored, and though the lives of the inmates of Port-Royal were not at this time so flagrantly scandalous as many other convents—such, for instance, as the neighbouring Abbey of Maubuisson, which it afterwards fell to the lot of Angélique to reform—they were every whit as vain, idle, selfish, and luxurious as any of their relatives in the great world.

Angélique Arnauld was appointed Abbess at eleven years of age. She was only a girl of twenty when she set herself to restore the rule of the Order, against the strongest opposition from the Cistercian monks, who supplied the confessors of the convent; from her parents, who saw with distress that their daughter's rank in the Church was not bringing her in any wise the *otium cum dignitate* they had anticipated when they secured it for her; and from the nuns themselves, who, as they knew themselves to be more regular and orderly in their lives than those in other convents, could not be brought to see that they needed any improvement. In the end, however, the strong will and high purpose of the young Abbess triumphed. One after another the nuns yielded, laid aside their little coquetries of dress, submitted to a stricter seclusion, and threw their small items of property into the common stock. She infused into them her own spirit of charity for the poor—that genuine charity which gives, not out of its abundance, but out of its necessity. Before the reform took place, M. Arnauld had been in the habit of securing his daughter's comfort and importance by large gifts to the convent, and though he was still willing to continue this help, Angélique could not bring herself to receive it as long as he continued to disapprove of her proceedings. It was necessary, then, for them to fast in order to have something to give away; and this they did, not only willingly, but with enthusiasm, so completely had the tone of the place been changed. Another

innovation of the young Abbess was her treatment of portionless girls who requested admission as novices. At that time it was difficult to enter any convent without a *dot*, and the heads of the different religious houses vied with one another to secure well-dowered girls. Angélique, with the generosity that gained her the name of Madame de *Cœur*-Royal, set her face against this practice. She never, in receiving a novice, allowed the question of money to make any difference. The one point to be decided with her was "the vocation"; for her own early struggles had taught her how terrible a thing it was to bind oneself hastily, or from any motive but the highest, to the conventual life.

The Abbess did nothing to advertise her work, but "good deeds in a naughty world" *will* shine. Her reforms began to be talked about, and in 1618 she was requested by the Abbot of Citeaux to undertake the charge of the Convent of Maubuisson, the Abbess of which, Mdme. d'Estrées, had been guilty of conduct that imperatively demanded her removal. The Community had formed itself very much on the model of its head, and was strongly opposed to the idea of receiving Mdme. de Port-Royal.

It was a heavy charge for a young woman of twenty-six, but Angélique did not hesitate. By this time she had trained a noble band of helpers, chief among them her sister Agnes, in whose hands Port-Royal was to be left till her return. Another young sister, Marie-Claire, and two more nuns, were to accompany her. In the spirit of a general leading a forlorn hope, Angélique told these girls that they had everything to fear from the hatred of Mdme. d'Estrées and her friends, and from the nuns of Maubuisson, and that they must be prepared to sacrifice their health, their lives if need be. The warning was not needless. One of the three nuns who accompanied her died at Maubuisson. Marie-Claire lived, indeed, to come back, but with a constitution completely shattered. She never knew a day's health, she said, from the time of her return.

The little company had set out on its difficult mission amid the lamentations of those who remained. As soon as they were out of sight, Agnes entered the church, and threw her-

self at the foot of the cross in a passion of tears: "Ecce nos reliquimus omnia—omnia," she sobbed. In the midst of all this grief, Anne Arnauld, another sister of the Abbess, who had taken the veil on the previous day, remained calm and apparently unmoved. And when her companions asked her: "How is it that you do not feel the loss of our mother?" she answered: "I had too much joy yesterday to be able to weep to-day."

Angélique found her task at Maubuisson fully as difficult as she had anticipated. She was actually expelled from the convent by armed men in the employ of the ex-Abbess and her friends. The account of her return at night, in solemn silence, walking in procession at the head of her novices, and guarded by mounted horsemen holding torches, for fear of a fresh assault, forms one of the most picturesque episodes in the annals of Port-Royal.

After five years of labour in this unpromising field, cheered by the friendship of St. Francis de Sales, who met our Abbess first at Maubuisson, a successor to Mdme. d'Estrées was appointed, and she was at liberty to return to her beloved Port-Royal. But the new Abbess of Maubuisson not being at all like-minded with herself, strongly objected to the dowerless novices she had received into the house. Angélique, indignant at this spirit of greed, wrote to her own convent to know whether the nuns there would consent to share their poverty with the poor novices of Maubuisson. The whole sisterhood signed a reply stating that they would be received joyfully. In 1623 she returned with her augmented flock to her own convent.

This mission to Maubuisson was the first and most famous of many which she and her nuns were invited to undertake in the interests of convent reform, and which caused her to be called the Ste. Theresa of her Order.

We must pass over the circumstances which accompanied the foundation of the house of Port-Royal de Paris, the institution of the Order of the Holy Sacrament, and the temporary schism produced by the action of the Bishop of Langres, deeply interesting though they are, in order to trace the influences which ended in making Port-Royal a centre of

reform and innovation not only in practice but in doctrine. Those who wish for more detailed information on these points, and on the school of Port-Royal generally, would do well to consult Ste. Beuve's great work (*Port-Royal*, five volumes), which, in common with his other writings, is not by any means so well known in England as it deserves to be. Being, as it is, a "labour of love" of the greatest critic that France has yet produced on the period of history with which his acquaintance was fullest, it would merit and reward attention even if its subject were of less intrinsic interest. It occupied the best part of his life, the first volume being published in 1842, the concluding one not till 1860. It is, as some one has said, much less a connected history than a series of "causeries" on the principal actors in the movement, viewed in relation to their time; but the inconvenience which this desultory method might cause to the student is mitigated to some extent by an excellent index.

Port-Royal, thus far, is represented for us by the reforming Abbess, an energetic woman, with great gifts for action and leadership, deeply earnest and sincere in her devotion, but withal a Martha rather than a Mary. We look for the link which shall connect it with that series of endless and involved disputes on the most abstruse points of doctrine which is known as "the Jansenist controversy." We find that link in the person of Jean du Vergier, Abbé de St. Cyran, the intimate friend of Jansenius, who made the acquaintance of M. D'Andilly Arnauld in 1620, and soon became the trusted spiritual director of the Arnauld family. His friendship with Cornelius Jansen dates from 1605. They were fellow-students at Lorraine, afterwards at Paris, then, retiring to the house of St. Cyran, the two friends began that profound study of St. Augustine which led them both to the belief that the Church, and the Jesuits especially, had fallen away from the truth as he taught it. The results of this study appeared seven years later in the *Augustinus*.

But the day of the Five Propositions was not yet. In 1635 St. Cyran became the spiritual director of Port-Royal, and not long after occurs the touching incident of the conversion of Antoine Le Maître, nephew of Angélique, and the

first of the celebrated recluses. His mother (*née* Catherine Arnauld) and his grandmother, Madame Arnauld, had already taken the veil at Port-Royal de Paris. Le Maître at a very early age distinguished himself at the bar; he was a favourite with the all-powerful Richelieu, and the brightest prospects of honour and success seemed opening before him, when

"The welcome that all speech surpasses called him."

By the dying bed of his aunt, Madame d'Andilly, as St. Cyran read the commendatory prayer, he was stabbed with the sudden thought of what his condition would be when the death-summons came to him, and burst into uncontrollable tears. At that moment he determined to give himself to God, and took the first opportunity of letting St. Cyran know his decision. In order to test the reality of the change in him, St. Cyran ordered him to continue his practice in the law-courts for another month. He did so, but without his old fire. There hung on the wall of the Hall of Audience a dusty crucifix, from which he found it impossible to keep his eyes, and often, he says, he felt more inclined to weep than to continue his oration. The old spirit was not dead, however, One day, on leaving the court, he heard it remarked that M. Le Maître seemed rather to be asleep than pleading. This piqued him, and on the last day of his appearance in the courts he spoke with more than his old force. Then, says a friend, quaintly, "he sacrificed to God this rare talent, and silenced for the future that mouth which was the admiration of all France." A little hut was built for him close to the convent in the Faubourg St. Jacques, which already contained so many members of his family; and in this retreat he was soon joined by his brothers De Serincourt and De Saci (who afterwards entered the priesthood), Lancelot, the famous teacher and biographer of St. Cyran, and Singlin, the future director. This little community, like the two convents, was under the guidance of St. Cyran. But it was not to enjoy the advantage of that guidance long. It is not exactly known which of the many small grudges which Richelieu nursed against St. Cyran was the cause of his imprisonment. He had had some controversy with the Cardinal, who rather plumed himself on his

theology. "A good deal of trouble would have been saved," Richelieu wrote, "if Luther and Calvin had been shut up when they began to dogmatise." A worse fault, however, than "dogmatism," in the eyes of the all-powerful minister, was that incorruptible spirit which he could bend to his will neither by flattery nor by fear.

Before St. Cyran's imprisonment he had set on foot that movement which resulted in the celebrated schools of Port-Royal. His remarks on the education of children, as reported by the faithful Lancelot, reveal the deep, latent tenderness of his austere nature. It is difficult at first to realise how a man who not only held, but was at pains to preach, the terrible doctrine that little children dying unbaptised are doomed to an eternity of torment, could utter, and from his heart, such words as these:

"I confess to you (he was speaking to M. Le Maître) that it would be my devotion to be able to serve children. When I was at the Bois de Vincennes (his prison) I busied myself with the little nephew of M. de Chantre. I taught him his rudiments, grammar, and syntax. After having cared for him for some time, I sent him to M. Chambier at St. Cyran, to whom I recommended him as a child of God whom I loved as if he were my own. I could have kept him as a sort of plaything in my prison, bnt I preferred to deprive myself of him, in order to withdraw him from a place where he could not advance in virtue."

And after some details concerning other children whom he had befriended, he continues: "We must always pray for the souls of children, and always watch, keeping guard as if in a fortress. The Devil makes his rounds without, and he attacks early those who are baptised; if the Holy Spirit does not fill their souls, he will. The children do not resist him; we must resist him for them."

This gives us the guiding thought of the Port-Royal system of education. It is founded upon a deep distrust of human nature. "The children (says St. Cyran) are never to be left to themselves. Care must be taken to preserve them, as far as possible, from the evil influences to which they are naturally so ready to succumb. The teacher cannot tell whether his

work will be rewarded. God gives His grace to whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth. We must work, however, as if all depended upon us, knowing all the while that all we do is less than nothing without the grace of God."

In accordance with these principles, the number of pupils was kept low (according to Ste. Beuve there should never have been more than fifty in the schools at one time), and they were subjected to constant (but most affectionate) oversight and care. They were all of the nobility, or of the *haute bourgeoisie*. The scheme of culture was liberal; the methods novel. As the principles of St. Cyran did not allow of emulation being used as a motive to study, it was necessary to make the study interesting in itself—an idea which up to that time seems to have commended itself but slightly to the minds of instructors of youth. Lancelot has the credit of devising that plan for the teaching of languages as much as possible *viva voce*, and with the smallest practicable apparatus of rules, declensions, and exceptions, which went by the name of the New Method of Port-Royal. To him also is due what seemed at the time the startling innovation of teaching children to read in their native tongue, and not in Latin. The famous *Logic* of Antoine Arnauld, though not published till after the suppression of the schools in 1660, was drawn up for the use of his pupils at Port-Royal.

When the recluses, having been driven from Paris, formed their settlement round the deserted monastery of Port-Royal des Champs, they took their scholars with them. St. Cyran, from his dungeon at Vincennes, directed their proceedings as far as possible. He remained in confinement five years, and when at last he was released, it was only to die. His death was a terrible grief to the Abbess Angélique. Not only did she lose in him an invaluable friend and guide; she felt that the cause of true religion and Church reform had been deprived of its ablest champion. Outwardly calm and composed under the blow, her nuns heard her murmuring as she passed from room to room, "Dominus in caelo! Dominus in caelo!" This thought was her one stay, and it was sufficient.

Before this event, the community having outgrown the

accommodation offered by the convent at Paris, it had been decided to repair the Abbey of Port-Royal des Champs, and remove some of the nuns and novices thither. This was accordingly done. Not long afterwards broke out the war of the Froude, in which the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Retz, played so prominent a part. His friendship for Port-Royal proved in the end a very equivocal advantage to the convent; as the disgrace of its patron at Court was necessarily reflected upon it to some extent.

The period of practical reform is now closed, and controversy comes upon the field with Antoine Arnauld, the youngest child of that large family of which La Mère Angélique was the eldest. About 1638 he began to be visited with religious doubts, and sought the direction of St. Cyran, who was then in prison. The result of this was that Arnauld threw up his wordly prospects, which were brilliant, bestowed his goods on Port-Royal, reserving only a pittance for himself, and devoted his life to that "defence of the truth" for which St. Cyran declared him to be destined—the truth, be it understood, according to Jansenius.

The *Augustinus* was not published until after the death of its author in 1740. Speaking roughly, its teaching differed from that generally accepted chiefly on the two points of Grace and Predestination, on which the views of Jansenius seem to have approached those held by Calvin. But the Jansenists are fundamentally marked off from the reformed Churches by their views on the Sacraments and on the priestly office, which are entirely those of the Church of Rome. The Jesuits had been the great opponents of the Augustinian doctrine of grace. The Jansenists called them Pelagians, and they in return accused their adversaries of being tainted with the heresy of Calvin. The great duel began with Arnauld's book on *Frequent Communion*, written in opposition to a Jesuit priest who had stigmatised St. Cyran's teaching on this subject as too harsh. When the book of Jansenius appeared the Jesuits saw in it their opportunity of damaging Port-Royal. In 1656 a Bull was obtained from Pope Innocent X. condemning as heretical five propositions extracted from the *Augustinus*, and representing crudely, though not altogether dishonestly,

the gist of his teaching on Predestination and Effectual Grace. There were two lines of defence open to Arnauld and his party, One was to defend the teaching of the "Propositions" as in substance that of St. Augustine. This was the bolder course, and the one to which St. Cyran, had he lived, would probably have inclined. The other was to accept the decision on the five propositions, but to deny that they were found in the book of Jansenius. It is difficult for us nowadays to realise the interest that was taken in this discussion. Every one was talking about it, from Louis XIV. downwards. The king, it is said, commissioned the Count de Grammont to read the *Augustinus* (no light undertaking), and see if the five propositions were really there. The Count reported that if they were they must be *incognito*. The Doctors of the Sorbonne, after a long discussion, pronounced sentence of expulsion against Arnauld: his writings were declared heretical and placed in the Index.

While these proceedings were still pending there were anxious consultations among the recluses of Port-Royal. Grave misunderstandings, fomented by the slanders of the Jesuits, prevailed in the outer world concerning Arnauld and his teaching. It was felt to be very important that the public should know what were the real points at issue. Arnauld tried to write something himself; but the great logician had not the talent to charm the general public. "I see you don't like it," he said, when he had read his pamphlet to his friends. Then, turning to a young man, Blaise Pascal by name, who had just joined the little society, "Now," he said, "you, who are young, you ought to do something." This remark called forth the famous *Provincial Letters*. The first two or three completely satisfied the desire of the Port-Royalists to show how minute were the points at issue, and how much private malice and injustice entered into the proceedings of the dominant party. But, not content with this, Pascal carried the war into the enemy's country, exposed the tactics of the Jesuits, who were posing just then as the champions of pure religion, riddled them with the arrows of his inimitable wit, and held them up to the scorn of Europe.

The effect of the letters was increased by that strange event,

of which no adequate solution has yet been found, the (so-called) miracle of the Holy Thorn. Whatever modern science may think of it, it is certain that it was accepted as miraculous by persons as unimpeachable in their integrity as La Mère Angélique, Arnauld, and Pascal himself, and also that it caused the greatest confusion in the enemy's camp, and certainly retarded for some time the ruin of Port-Royal.

That ruin indeed nothing could long avert. The conscience of the king was in the hands of the Jesuits, and the friendship De Retz had shown to the community of Port-Royal was one crime more in the king's eyes. But Pascal did not live to see the misfortunes that were about to fall on the cause to which he had devoted himself. He had planned a great defence of Christianity, of which the collection of fragments known as his *Pensées* is all that his health permitted him to execute. Fragmentary though they are, they reveal the deep accord of spirit between their author and the austere school of Port-Royal. The ideas, impressed with almost overpowering force on our minds as we read, are, first, that of man, his utter weakness, his abject misery; then, the awful omnipotence and majesty of God; and last, the miracle of grace:

> "When mighty to save,
> Just one lift of His hand clears the distance,
> God's throne from man's grave."

The dominant note of Pascal's thought can hardly be better expressed than in the dialogue which St. Beuve imagines between him and his great contemporary, Molière:

"In the gardens of the Hôtel Longueville or elsewhere, Molière and Pascal meet. Molière is full of his betrayed love, of which, however, he says nothing, out of respect for him to whom he speaks; but, under the influence of this deep impression, he begins to talk of the world in general, of life, of destiny, of this great doubt, and this immense misfortune in the depths of which humanity is swallowed up—a misfortune which increases as the developing mind of man makes him more able to understand it." Strange to say, at each step of the conversation the two men are in agreement. Pascal in his turn resumes and continues: "But emerging from this immense

swamp, this universal slough of despond in which poor human nature struggles as it may, he reaches the foot of the unique hill. He ascends, in his discourse; he ascends with a kind of awe that makes itself felt in his words; he ascends under the weight of all these miseries that steep slope of Golgotha; and as he climbs he sees how everything finds its place and falls into order, so that at last, seizing and clasping with passionate love the foot of the cross which reigns on the summit, he proclaims the word *Salvation*, and forces his astonished hearers to recognise, here at least, the only aspect not contemptible or miserable in which our universe can be viewed."

This is the spirit of Port-Royal, and in it Pascal lived and died. After a long and painful illness he, whose life had been so sorrowful, resigned it in a rapture of joy. This was in 1662, and already the clouds were gathering thickly. In 1661 the convent had been forbidden to receive any more novices, and those already there were removed, together with the boarders. La Mère Angélique was at Port-Royal des Champs when the order came. She went at once to the house in Paris, where she found the inmates prostrated by grief. "What, my children," she said, "do I see you in tears? You hope in God, and yet you are afraid of anything?" Two girls (one of them the daughter of her old friend, the Duchesse de Luynes), who had been with her ever since they were infants, were removed among the others. She herself conducted them to the door, endeavouring to comfort and support them. The Duchesse de Chevreuse, who was waiting to receive them, wondered at seeing her so calm. "Madame," said the Abbess, "when there is no God, I shall lose courage; but while He remains I put my trust in Him." The brave soul was nearly at the end of her trials. A few weeks later she had her order of release. In her last illness she let fall some words which express the sound common-sense, the hatred of fanaticism, superstition, and display, which helped to make her so great. "They love me too much," she said of her nuns. "I am afraid they will make up all sorts of tales about me." "Bury me in the graveyard," she begged on another occasion, "and, pray, don't let there be any fuss about me after my death."

In 1664 those of the nuns who refused to sign a formulary condemning the book of Jansenius (and by implication the teaching of their revered St. Cyran) were removed from Port-Royal, and imprisoned in different convents. Arnauld, Nicole, and the other recluses were scattered abroad. Arnauld retired to Holland, where he carried on an ardent controversy against the Calvinists. The peace of the Church in 1668 restored him to Paris; and the exiled nuns, his sister Agnes among them, to Port-Royal. This is the last gleam of prosperity that visited the little community. Port-Royal again became the fashion, as during those times when the Duchess of Longueville had gone into "retreat" there, and the Queen of Poland had sought the friendship of La Mère Angélique. The Abbess Agnes seems to have feared the sunshine more than the persecution. She died in 1671, ten years after her sister Angélique, of whom she had always been the wise, calm adviser and faithful friend. With less energy and force of will than her elder sister, she was gentler, more gracious, and, in spite of her severe sanctity, less perhaps of a terror to evil-doers. There is a touching story, belonging to an earlier period, of an aged nun at Port-Royal, who had supported the young sisters in their first efforts at reform. She was lying on a sick bed when she heard that Agnes was ill, and not expected to live. "This will never do," she said. She rose at once, and on her knees before the altar offered her life for the life of her beloved abbess. Then she returned to her bed and died in three days. Agnes actually recovered, and tended her to the last, while the dying woman watched her with a sort of triumph, as one whom she had been permitted to ransom from the grave. This anecdote sufficiently shows the love and reverence which her sweet and radiant goodness won from all who came under her influence.

Before her death the gleam of prosperity was overcast. Louis XIV. had found food for the fidgety suspicion of a despot in the friends who gathered together at Arnauld's lodging in the Rue St. Jacques. "Do you not see," said the Archbishop of Paris, "people are always talking of these Messieurs de Port-Royal? The king does not like anything that makes a stir." Arnauld, on hearing this, thought it best to

leave France. He wrote a letter to the royal confessor, the Jesuit Le Tellier, in which he says:

"I find myself obliged to remove, as far as lies in my power, everything that may serve as an excuse to calumny; and as it is founded only on innocent intercourse, which is made to pass for criminal, I have been persuaded that it is God's will that I should reduce myself to the same state in which I have already been for so long, in order that, being like the forgotten dead, accusations of conspiracy against me may no longer be founded upon the letters that are written to me or the visits I receive. It is not that I have not foreseen that the state to which I am reducing myself for as long as God pleases may be painful to a man of my age . . . . but God supplies all the needs of those who sacrifice themselves for Him, and I believe I am doing for God what I do to remove from the king the anxiety caused him by my pretended conspiracies."

He died at Brussels in 1694, pathetically faithful to the last, both to the king who persecuted him, and to the Church which had cast him out.

And now we are at the last act of the tragedy. The plan of the enemies of Port-Royal was simply to starve it out by refusing to allow the community to admit new members in order to fill up the vacancies caused by death. To obtain this end, they first separated the convent at Paris from that at Port-Royal des Champs, where those nuns who had remained faithful to the traditions of St. Cyran were assembled. Here they were placed under espionage, despoiled of their revenues, and, worst punishment of all to devout Roman Catholics, they were deprived of the Sacraments. In 1709 there were only twenty-two nuns, aged and infirm almost without exception, left to represent the community that had once been so flourishing. One would think that the greatest king in Christendom might have left these poor old women to die in peace. But it was not to be. An Order in Council empowered the Chief of Police to go with a formidable band of soldiers to the convent and expel the nuns. This was done; and shortly afterwards followed the demolition of the abbey and the desecration of the graves.

As Louis XIV. lay on his death-bed, the thought of Port-

Royal weighed heavily on his heart. "God will punish you," he said to the Jesuits who stood about him, "if you have misled me in this." Heavy indeed was the price that not only he, but his race and his kingdom, were to pay for the persecutions of his reign. Amid all the vanity and the vice that was ripening to its terrible harvest in the century before the Revolution, there was working the leaven of a moral force that might have saved France; but it was lost with the murdered and exiled Huguenots, and with the saints of Port-Royal.

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## Art. VIII.—JOHN MURRAY.

*A Publisher and his Friends. Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray, with an Account of the Origin and Progress of the House,* 1768–1843. By Samuel Smiles, LL.D., Author of *Lives of the Engineers, Self-Help,* &c. Two vols. London: John Murray. 1891.

IT is quite possible that to some men these records of the life and companionships of a publisher will present a very unpromising bill of fare. The public journals, especially the "weeklies," of this prolific age are so amply plied with particulars as to the bookselling craft and the literary profession that some of their readers are apt to consider themselves initiated in all the secrets of "the trade" *par excellence.* In fact, they know a good deal more about it than those who are actively engaged in it. To such self-satisfied persons it may be useless to commend such volumes as these. But to the immense public, spread all over the world, that takes interest in the rise and full shining of the brilliant lights of the early part of this century—Byron and Scott, Campbell and Moore and Crabbe, Southey, Hallam, and the Disraelis, and not a few more—to those who love to see authors and publishers as they lived and wrote and bargained and gained or lost, this book will prove a treasure, a storehouse of authentic information as well as of delightful gossip.

John Murray the Second was the real maker of a name which has long stood high in the roll of English publishers. It is nearly a century since his father, the first John Murray, publisher, died at the early age of forty-eight, leaving his growing business to be carried on by his right-hand man, Highley, till his son, the second John, then only fifteen, should be old enough to take part in it. This primeval Murray was a Scotchman, a lieutenant of marines, and had borne the name of MacMurray, but on leaving the navy dropped the Mac, which had been prefixed to the family surname by his predecessors when involved in the Jacobite schemes and troubles. It was an odd transition from braving the dangers of the deep to facing the perils of bookselling and publishing. But Murray the First displayed a good deal of the resolute perseverance and business sagacity which were conspicuous in his more celebrated son and successor. Buying the stock, lease, and goodwill of Mr. Sandby, bookseller, at the sign of the "Ship" in Fleet Street, "over against St. Dunstan's Church," he soon launched out into publishing speculations with all the ardour of three-and-twenty. "Many Blockheads in the Trade," he wrote to his friend, the poet Falconer, "are making fortunes; and did we not succeed as well as they, I think it must be imputed only to ourselves."

Murray's was by no means the first of the publishing houses which have lasted with distinction and success to the present day under the same names with which they started. As far back as 1711 Charles Rivington put up the sign of the "Bible and Crown" over his shop door in Paternoster Row, and, being of a religious bent, began that course of theological publishing which has ever since been a characteristic of the house, and which included the earliest literary ventures of John Wesley. The first Longman started in business a few years later, in 1724, and made his sign of the "Ship" famous as a birthplace of books. These were the promising shoots of a different growth from the rough old bibliopoles their predecessors or contemporaries—Jacob Tonson, Dryden's not illiberal patron; Bernard Lintot, Pope's particular publisher; John Dunton, the eccentric and unlucky brother-in-law of Samuel Wesley the elder; or, later on,

Osborne, of Gray's Inn Gate, of whom Johnson, on his arrival in London, asked for employment, and on being told he had better purchase a porter's knot, knocked his "impertinent" adviser down with a folio.

Murray the First commenced his career with the issue of a new edition of Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead* and *History of Henry II.* Later on he published Langhorne's Translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, Mitford's *History of Greece*, and the first volumes of Isaac Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*—books which commanded a good sale for many years. He was an able and energetic man; but his enterprising spirit was not rewarded with any large amount of fortune; and his early death was probably due in great measure to the anxieties occasioned by the distressed state of trade. His last venture was by no means his best. The publication of *Lavater on Physiognomy* involved much outlay on engraving the plates, and left £3900 to be paid by his executors out of the estate. "Publishing books," Dr. Smiles says with truth, "is not always a money-making business."

John Murray the Second, the subject of this Memoir, was born on November 27th, 1778; was educated at Edinburgh High School and at "various English seminaries." One of these was Dr. Burney's academy at Gosport, where John was unfortunate enough to lose the sight of an eye through the awkwardness of a penknife-holding writing-master. But in after-life he made better use of his one eye than most men do of two. On his father's death the business was carried on for a short time in the name of his mother, "H. Murray," who was one of the executors; but in 1795, on marrying again, she ceased to be an executor, and took no farther part in the management of the shop. Young Murray's guardians now admitted Highley, the shopman, to a partnership with the youth, who, when he came of age, in 1799, had the prudence to continue the uncongenial arrangement over three years longer, during which he was acquiring better knowledge of business, and cultivating a literary taste, which proved of great service to him in his subsequent career. His partner seems to have been simply a plodding bookseller, who had a morbid horror of running risk by bringing out new works,

and was mainly engaged in selling books published by others. When, in March, 1803, the partnership was dissolved, they drew lots, and Murray remained at 32, Fleet Street, while Highley moved to No. 24, taking with him, by agreement, the principal part of the medical works of the firm, and establishing a respectable business in that line of literature. Murray at first found himself limited by the bad times and the difficulty of getting in money. He was much annoyed—as he writes—by his late partner's "advertising himself as 'successor to the late John Murray,' who died not less than ten years ago, with the intent to make the public believe that I, his son, have either retired from business or am dead." He also disliked Highley's anticipatory practice of a custom only too rife in these latter days—"underselling all other publishers at the regular and advertised prices." In his first year of independent enterprise Murray published the *Revolutionary Plutarch*, a biographical history of the French Revolution; and sent a copy of it to the Premier, Mr. Addington, accompanied with a brief letter, which gave fair promise of the young publisher's ability to approach the very verge where justifiable eulogy merges into flattery. That he had genuine talent in this direction is evident, a little later on, from a sentence in a letter from Southey to Richard Duppa:

"It (Duppa's *Michael Angelo*) was accompanied by a note from Mr. Murray of a complimentary kind. I like to be complimented in my authorial character, and best of all by booksellers, because their good opinion gets purchasers, and so praise leads to pudding, which I consider to be the solid end of praise."

In 1805, having settled down to the line of publishing which he preferred—voyages and travels, medical and philosophical works—he distinguished himself by printing a splendid edition of *Bruce's Travels* in seven volumes octavo. He had already formed an acquaintance with his father's friend, Isaac Disraeli, who soon became his own intimate friend and adviser. Like many another literary man, the elder Disraeli was an excellent appraiser of the works of other authors, but was not a safe judge as to his own offspring. He was now (1804) engaged on a work to which he attached great importance. Its title, coming from such a solid and

respectable *littérateur*, was worthy to be enshrined in his own *Curiosities of Literature*. Thus it ran: *Flim-Flams! or the Life and Errors of my Uncle, and the Amours of my Aunt, with Illustrations and Obscurities, by Messrs. Tag, Rag, and Bobtail.* It is surprising that the aspiring publisher was not horrified at such a title-page. On the work itself, which the industrious Isaac expected to "provoke perpetual laughter," Dr. Smiles severely pronounces that it "is rather ridiculous, and it is difficult now to discern its purpose, or even the humour on which the author would appear to have prided himself." Lord Beaconsfield makes no mention of the *Flim-Flams* in the Memoir of his father prefixed to the 1865 edition of the *Curiosities*—not, perhaps, for the reason which Dr. Smiles suggests, that he was not aware of the book, but more probably because he thought that its birth and temporary existence might just as well be forgotten.

Amongst Murray's connections at this time was another young publisher, Archibald Constable, of Edinburgh, who had already by his enterprise and liberality founded a great business, drawing the best authors around him, and contributing largely to constitute Edinburgh a centre of literary life. In 1802 his name became a power in the republic of letters by his success in the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review*, the first of the famous Quarterlies. Contributed to by Jeffrey, Brougham, Sydney Smith, Francis Horner, Dr. Thomas Brown, Walter Scott, and other rising men, the new venture could scarcely have failed to succeed. In 1805 a misunderstanding arose between Constable and Longmans, who were the London publishers, as well as half proprietors, of the *Review*; and Murray, with characteristic fairness and kindliness, endeavoured to heal the breach. But this could not be accomplished, and ultimately, in 1807, he became the London publisher of the *Edinburgh*, the circulation of which in the South increased so rapidly that out of 7000 copies printed in the North about 5000 were sent to Murray. Meantime his friendship with Constable had become intimate; each pushed the sale of the other's books in their respective capitals, and Murray paid one or two visits to Edinburgh, where the drinking customs of the period severely tried the moderate capacity of the Southron pub-

lisher, and where, in March 1807, he was married to Miss Elliot, the daughter of an Edinburgh publisher who had been one of his father's principal correspondents. Good fortune attended the first year of his married life, which also of itself brought him much contentment. In February 1808 he came into intimate connection with Walter Scott by the publication of *Marmion*. In it Murray was fortunate enough to get a quarter share, and the poem proved a mine of wealth to himself, to Miller, the holder of another fourth, and to Constable, who had offered £1000 for it when very little of it was written, and before he had seen a single line of it. It was a bold and generous offer—"a price," as Scott himself said, "that made men's hair stand on end." *Marmion* appeared in a grand quarto edition at a guinea and a half, and Murray had disposed of 1500 at his trade sale before any copies of the book arrived from Edinburgh. It was in the same year that he became the London publisher of the *Edinburgh Review*.

On the other hand, his friendship with Constable involved considerable anxieties as to financial matters, which at last broke down their alliance, and led to complete separation. Meantime Scott committed the great error of his life. He was enjoying a comfortable income of about £1000 a year, and with the money now and henceforth flowing in from his works might have achieved his grand Abbotsford plans, and lived in luxurious ease. But, like most men who are making money fast, he wanted to make it still faster. In order to share more fully in the benefit of his writings, he entered into partnership with his printer, and embarked in the concern almost all the capital he possessed; binding himself to the firm for twenty years—a period in which he produced his most successful works, the large profits of which were swallowed up in the ultimate catastrophe. It is true, his misfortunes brought into play the nobler qualities of his nature—the courage with which he met calamity, the grand energy and fortitude with which he honourably toiled for years to clear off the enormous burden of liabilities, with magnificent though not complete success, but at the cost of health and of life itself. The inevitable crisis, however, was as yet in the distant future; and long before it arrived, Murray, with a wise foresight, had

broken loose from his Edinburgh connection, in spite of the attractions which it had offered him, and so was able to help his less fortunate and less prudent brethren.

Amongst Scott's grand publishing schemes, in his earlier days, was one for a large edition of "British Poets," but this fell through, and was taken up on a smaller scale by Campbell in his *Specimens of English Poetry*. Another scheme, in which Scott desired Murray's co-operation, was a uniform edition of *British Novelists*, from De Foe to the end of the eighteenth century, which would occupy some two hundred volumes. Fortunately for Murray, he embarked in the speculation only as far as De Foe's works were concerned. Instead of such a formidable *réchauffé* of stale fiction, he turned his attention to a more humble but more palatable undertaking—the production of Mrs. Rundell's *Domestic Cookery*, which supplied an obvious want of that day, and long continued to enjoy the public favour, from 5000 to 10,000 copies being printed every year.

But his energies were now chiefly directed to the establishment of a *Quarterly Review* that should counteract the influence of the *Edinburgh*, which, with all its talent, had already made many enemies by the bitterness of its criticisms, and by its extreme views on politics. Jeffrey boasted that he had "crushed" Wordsworth's *Excursion*, to which Southey replied, "He might as well say that he could crush Skiddaw." Brougham, with the omniscience of a twenty-four-year-old *savant*, had, to his own satisfaction, exploded Dr. Thomas Young's explanation of interferences in the undulatory theory of light. No doubt, the pugnacity of the young Scotchmen, while it bore hardly on authors and their friends, was a great cause of the popularity of their Review. At all events, its lively audacity and pungent wit afforded a welcome change from the deadly dulness of its monthly predecessors. In September, 1807, Murray wrote to George Canning suggesting the importance of initiating a counter Review; but that statesman, being then in office, seems to have been cautious of committing himself to such a project, and not to have answered the appeal directly. Murray, however, had now made the acquaintance of the statesman's cousin, Stratford Canning, who introduced

Gifford to him, and many consultations took place on the project. Scott continued to be an occasional contributor to the *Edinburgh*, though its political principles were opposite to his own. He even endeavoured to enlist Southey in its service, telling him that the honorarium would be ten guineas per sheet. This was a tempting invitation to the Keswick poet, who was far from rich. But Southey was a man of loftier principle than Scott as regards literary work and service, and his reply does him honour:

"I have scarcely one opinion in common with it (the *Edinburgh Review*) upon any subject. . . . . Whatever of any merit I might insert there would aid and abet opinions hostile to my own, and thus identify me with a system which I thoroughly disapprove. The emolument to be derived from writing at ten guineas a sheet, Scotch measure, instead of seven pounds for the *Annual [Register]*, would be considerable; the pecuniary advantage resulting from the different manner in which my future works would be handled [by the *Review*] probably still more so. But my moral feelings must not be compromised. To Jeffrey, as an individual, I shall ever be ready to show every kind of individual courtesy; but of Judge Jeffrey, of the *Edinburgh Review*, I must ever think and speak as of a bad politician, a worse moralist, and a critic, in matters of taste, equally incompetent and unjust."

It was not long before Scott had a taste in his own experience of the judgment and courtesy of "Judge Jeffrey." In 1808 the *Edinburgh* contained a severe critique on *Marmion* by Jeffrey, who accused Scott of "neglecting Scottish feelings and Scottish characters"; and, worse still, of being mercenary, because he wrote for money, the reviewer ignoring the fact that he himself was then committing the very same sin. There was now also a disagreement between Scott and Hunter, Constable's hot-tempered partner, and Murray saw that Scott was deeply wounded, and that his old alliance with the *Edinburgh Review* set was much shaken. In October he paid Scott a visit at Ashestiel, and was hospitably entertained, while he laid before his host the details of his plan for starting the *Quarterly*, and pleaded for Scott's assistance. While he was with him a new number of the *Edinburgh* arrived, containing an article on Spain by Brougham, which gave great offence to Scott, who wrote to Constable:

"The *Edinburgh Review had* become such as to render it impossible for

me to become a contributor to it; *now* it is such as I can no longer continue to receive or read it."

A good deal of space is devoted by Dr. Smiles to the birth of the *Quarterly*, which was, in fact, the greatest venture and the most important event of Murray's life as a publisher. Its first editor was William Gifford, whose career has often afforded a handy example of the "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties." After much struggle and suffering he had made a reputation by his translation of *Juvenal*, and by his own satires, the *Baviad* and *Mœviad*. Canning and his friends had employed him as editor of the *Anti-Jacobin*, and it was chiefly at their instance that he was appointed editor of the *Quarterly*—an office for which he was admirably qualified, and to which he thenceforth devoted his time and energies.

The first number was published at the end of February, 1809, but scarcely realised the high expectations of its originators. "It did not burst like a thunder-clap on the reading public, nor did it give promise to its friends that a new political power had been born into the world." It certainly did not want for friendly yet searching scrutiny. Sharon Turner, the Ballantynes, Scott, and George Ellis were ready with hints and criticisms, besides the usual host of disinterested fault-finders. The first number sold well, but Gifford had not as yet realised the necessity of business punctuality, and the second number lagged behind its time, coming out at the end of May instead of the middle of April. Murray was greatly distressed at the delay, and wrote to his editor on May 11th, 1809:

"Dear Mr. Gifford,—I begin to suspect that you are not aware of the complete misery which is occasioned to me, and the certain ruin which must attend the *Review*, by our unfortunate procrastination. Long before this every line of copy for the present number ought to have been in the hands of the printer. Yet the whole of the *Review* is yet to print. I know not what to do to facilitate your labour, for the articles which you have long had lie scattered without attention, and those which I ventured to send to the printer undergo such retarding corrections that even by this mode we do not advance. I entreat the favour of your exertion."

Gifford, with some show of reason, replied that

"The delay and confusion which have arisen must be attributed to a want

of confidential communication. In a word, you have too many advisers, and I too many masters. I can easily account, and still more easily allow, for the anxiety which you feel in a cause where so much of your property is embarked, and which you will always find me most ready to benefit and advance; but for this it will be necessary to have no reserves—in a word, we must understand each other."

Gradually the staff of writers received important reinforcements. George Canning and Ellis, Barrow of the Admiralty, Reginald Heber, Robert Grant, and John Wilson Croker were invaluable contributors. In No. V. the most important article was the one on "Nelson," by Southey, an excellent piece of workmanship, for which he received a hundred guineas as an article, an additional £100 when he enlarged it into a "Life," and yet another £100 when it was published in the *Family Library*. He became a leading writer for the *Review*, to which his clear and manly style gave a certain attractiveness in nearly every number.

In this enterprise we find a fair illustration of Murray's character. He was cautious and thoughtful before entering on a large speculation; but when he had decided to commence action he was liberal in his expenditure, and spared no pains to secure the best material that could be got. Temporary want of success only spurred him to still greater and more generous efforts, and sharp criticism inspirited him to rise more nearly to his ideal of perfection. The *Quarterly*, in the course of a few years, became a power in the literary and the political world, and proved a steady source of revenue to the liberal-minded man who had devised it and carried it through all initial difficulties. Writing to his friend Bedford in 1817, Southey says:

"Murray offers me a thousand guineas for my intended poem in blank verse, and begs it may not be a line longer than *Thomson's Seasons!* I rather think the poem will be a post obit, and in that case twice that sum, at least, may be demanded for it. What his real feelings may be towards me, I cannot tell; but he is a happy fellow, living in the light of his own glory. The *Review* is the greatest of all works, and it is all his own creation. He prints 10,000, and fifty times ten thousand read its contents, in the East and in the West. Joy be with him and his journal."

In 1811, Murray, much to his own satisfaction, formed an acquaintance with Lord Byron. The poet, with that reckless

generosity which was a redeeming feature in his character, had made his friend Dallas a present of the manuscript of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*, with permission to arrange for their publication. Dallas ultimately applied to Murray, who was quick to recognise the merits of the *Childe*, and without hesitation offered a large price for the copyright. While the sheets of the poem were passing through the press, Byron, from time to time, looked in at Murray's shop in Fleet Street—

"Fresh from the fencing-rooms of Angelo and Jackson, and used to amuse himself by renewing his practice of 'carte et tierce' with his walking-cane directed against the book-shelves, while Murray was reading passages from the poem, with occasional ejaculations of admiration; on which Byron would say, 'You think that a good idea, do you, Murray?' Then he would fence and lunge with his walking-stick at some special book which he had picked out on the shelves before him. As Murray afterwards said, 'I was often very glad to get rid of him.'"

The work was published on March 1st, 1812, and at once made a deep impression on the public. The result was embodied by Byron himself in the celebrated phrase: "I awoke one morning and found myself famous." The first edition of 500 copies in quarto was disposed of within three days of its appearance; and Dallas shared the profit from it with Murray, who eventually gave him £600 for the copyright. Byron's poetic faculty was now in full play. The popular appreciation of his *Childe* gave fresh inspiration to his genius, and his wayward but highly impressionable spirit spread anew its wings. *The Giaour*, *The Bride of Abydos*, and *The Corsair* followed in rapid succession. Of the last of these, "struck off in a heat"—that is, in a fortnight—10,000 copies were sold on the day of publication—"a thing," says Murray, "perfectly unprecedented." For these poems Murray paid, either to Dallas or Byron, his usual price of 500 guineas each; and the same amount each for *Lara* and *Jacqueline*, which were published anonymously in August, 1814, and respecting which Byron wrote to Moore:

"A friend of mine was reading *Larry* and *Jacquy* in a Brighton coach. A passenger took up the book, and queried as to the author. The proprietor said there were *two*, to which the answer of the unknown was: 'Ay, ay, a joint concern, I suppose, *summat* like Sternhold and Hopkins!'"

In 1813 Miller, of 50, Albemarle Street, retired from business, and Murray purchased his stock, copyrights, lease, &c., and removed from the old shop in Fleet Street to the house which has been connected with the family name now for nearly eighty years, and from which have issued a noble array of standard works, bearing witness to the sound judgment, the fine taste, the business tact and spirit, which have animated the Murray dynasty. Among the publisher's new clients was the accomplished and genial Sir John Malcolm, whose friendship Murray retained to the end of his life. In this year Walter Scott, who was already becoming involved in a net of financial difficulties through the claims of his partnership and the expenses connected with the formation of his Abbotsford estate, applied to Murray for help in the way of bills. A few months later, searching for fishing-tackle in an old desk, he came across a fragment of *Waverley*, which he had begun years before, read over some chapters of it, and determined to finish it. The book was published anonymously in 1814, the first of a brilliant series, which staved off for many years the impending catastrophe. In Murray, Scott ever found a staunch friend, especially in time of pressure or disaster.

In September, 1814, Murray communicated to his wife, then at Edinburgh, "an extraordinary piece of news":

"I was much surprised to learn from Dallas, whom I accidentally met yesterday, that Lord Byron was expected in town every hour. I accordingly left my card at his house, with a notice that I would attend him as soon as he pleased; and it pleased him to summon my attendance about seven in the evening. He had come to town on business, and regretted that he would not be at Newstead until a fortnight, as he wished to have seen me there on my way to Scotland. Says he, 'Can you keep a secret?' 'Certainly—positively—my wife's out of town!' 'Then—I am going to be MARRIED!' 'The devil! I shall have no poem this winter, then?' 'No.' 'Who is the lady who is to do me this injury?' 'Miss Milbanke—do you know her?' 'No, my lord.'

"So here is news for you! I fancy the lady is rich, noble, and beautiful; but this shall be my day's business to inquire about. O how he did curse poor Lady C—— as the fiend who had interrupted all his projects, and who would do so now if possible! I think he hinted that she had managed to interrupt this connection two years ago."

In the following month Murray's wish to see Newstead was gratified, and he gives Mrs. Murray an interesting account of his visit to the ruined estate, which, however, we have not room to quote.

In these pre-Waterloo days Murray's drawing-room in Albemarle Street was fast becoming a centre of literary friendship and intercourse at the West End. Early in 1815 young George Ticknor here met Campbell, Moore, Disraeli the elder, Gifford, Humphry Davy, and others, and gives the following sketch of the formidable editor and the classic meeting-room in Albemarle Street:

"Among other persons, I brought letters to Gifford, the satirist, but never saw him till yesterday. Never was I so mistaken in my anticipations. Instead of a tall and handsome man, as I had supposed him from his picture—a man of severe and bitter remarks in conversation, such as I had good reason to believe him from his books, I found him a short, deformed, and ugly little man, with a large head sunk between his shoulders and one of his eyes turned outward, but withal one of the best-natured, most open, and well-bred gentlemen I have ever met. He is editor of the *Quarterly Review*, and was not a little surprised and pleased to hear that it was reprinted with us, which I told him, with an indirect allusion to the review of Inchiquen's *United States*. . . . . He carried me to a handsome room over Murray's book-store, which he has fitted up as a sort of literary lounge, where authors resort to read newspapers and talk literary gossip."

Here, on April 5, 1815, took place the first meeting of the two foremost authors of the day—Byron and Scott. Of this interview the present Mr. Murray—then John Murray, Junior—gives his recollections:

"I can recollect seeing Lord Byron in Albemarle Street. So far as I can remember, he appeared to me rather a short man, with a handsome countenance, remarkable for the fine blue veins which ran over his pale, marble temples. He wore many rings on his fingers, and a brooch in his shirt front, which was embroidered. When he called he used to be dressed in a black dress coat (as we should now call it), with grey, and sometimes nankeen, trousers, his shirt open at the neck. Lord Byron's deformity in his foot was very evident, especially as he walked downstairs. He carried a stick. After Scott and he had ended their conversation in the drawing-room, it was a curious sight to see the two greatest poets of the age—both lame—stumping downstairs side by side. They continued to meet in Albemarle Street nearly every day, and remained together for two or three hours at a time."

The issue of the Battle of Waterloo, whilst it brought much satisfaction to most Englishmen, was sadly disappointing to some. The *Quarterly* was specially fortunate in coming out *before* the great victory with an article by Southey on the "Life and Achievements of Lord Wellington," an article well adapted to cheer the hearts of his countrymen in view of the coming contest in the Low Countries. The contemporaneous number of the *Edinburgh*, on the other hand, contained an elaborate article by Sir James Mackintosh, designed to show that the war ought to have been avoided, and that the consequences to England could only be disastrous and inglorious. The number was printed, stitched, and ready for circulation in June; but it was thought better to wait a little, till the first reverse should give point to Sir James's forebodings. The tidings of the glorious 18th came like a thunderclap to the unpatriotic Scotchmen. The Mackintosh article was suppressed, and an inoffensive one, on "Gall and his Craniology," was substituted. Southey evidently did not share the *Edinburgh* admiration of the French. As Murray tells Scott, he would not, on his Continental travels, go near their gay capital. "He says that if Paris is not burnt to the ground, then the two cities that we read of in Scripture have been very ill used."

Murray's circle had now received an illustrious addition in Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who, having heard from Charles Lamb that the publisher was desirous of issuing a translation of Goethe's *Faust*, and that his own name had been mentioned by some partial friend "as the man most likely to execute the work adequately," writes a characteristic letter, from which we can only give one sentence—a truly Coleridgean one:

"But let me not be suspected of a presumption of which I am not consciously guilty, if I say that I feel two difficulties: one arising from long disuse of versification, added to what *I* know, better than the most hostile critic could inform me, of my comparative weakness; and the other, that *any* work in Poetry strikes me with more than common awe, as proposed for realisation by myself, because, from long habits of meditation on language, as the symbolic medium of the connection of Thought with Thought, and of Thought as affected and modified by Passion and Emotion, I should spend days in avoiding what I deemed faults, though with the full foreknowledge that their admission would not have offended perhaps three of all my readers, and might be deemed Beauties by 300—if so many there were; and this not out of any respect for the Public

(*i.e.*, the persons who might happen to purchase and look over the Book), but from a hobby-horsical, superstitious regard to my own feelings and sense of Duty."

Some interesting correspondence took place, but the negotiation fell through, and the uncertain opium-eating poet seems never to have done anything further towards the translation of *Faust*, which, in his hands, would doubtless have proved an exquisite rendering of the great drama. However, several transactions followed between the good-natured publisher and the erratic man of genius, who proved a prolific originator of plans, most of which were either impracticable or utterly unprofitable.

Among his correspondents of the fair sex Murray numbered the most distinguished female writer of the day, Madame de Staël. In 1813 he published a translation of her *L'Allemagne*. While it was under consideration, Gifford, who was Murray's faithful adviser in all literary matters, and had not a high opinion of the somewhat masculine Frenchwoman, wrote to him thus trenchantly:

"As to Madame de Staël, I can say nothing, and perhaps your bargain is off. At any rate, I can assure you that the hope of keeping her from the press is quite vain. The family of Œdipus were not more haunted and goaded by the Furies than the Neckers, father, mother, and daughter, have always been by the demon of publication. Madame de Staël will therefore write and print without intermission."

*L'Allemagne* not proving so profitable as had been expected, Murray did not feel encouraged to make such a large offer for her work on the French Revolution as would satisfy Madame and her son, and in the end the book was published, after her death, by another house.

Another lady on his roll of writers was Mrs. Graham, afterwards Lady Callcott, who was the authoress of several books of travel, history, and art, but whose most popular and profitable work was *Little Arthur's History of England*, of which down to the present time many hundred thousand copies have been sold.

Several pages of these Memoirs are devoted to Murray's transactions with Campbell, who had won a brilliant reputation, and gained a standing among British poets, at the

age of six-and-twenty. If, however, he was rapid and early in his lyrical achievements, he was slow and late enough in his execution of the scheme which he had originally proposed to Scott, and which, after much negotiation and many interviews, Murray had agreed to carry out. The arrangement for the *Lives of the Poets* was made towards the end of 1808; but, through Campbell's sluggishness, the work did not appear in print till the beginning of 1819—about ten years after it should have been completed. He began the work with highly virtuous resolutions. In January, 1809, he writes:

"I mean to devote a year exclusively to this effort. It is not my part to say any more than I have said (I hope it will not appear immodestly) on my own competency to the task. I shall only add that I have written a good deal on the subject matter of it, and read and thought a great deal more. Independently of my duty as a fair dealer, which I trust would always deter me from performing a task in a slovenly manner, where the capital of an employer is risked and employed, I have every motive that can stimulate to industry, and that can make me anxious without being intimidated about the public opinion."

Probably he found the labour required was much beyond what he had anticipated. Accustomed to dash off a poem at a sitting, leaving it to be pruned or polished afterwards, he no doubt felt the drudgery of a long prose composition to be very irksome. Murray, as was his custom, treated him with courtesy and liberality; and Campbell found no reason to reverse the eulogium he had passed on him at an early period of their acquaintance: "A very excellent and gentlemanlike man—albeit a bookseller." Campbell, and not Byron, was, it seems, the author of the sorry jest, "Now Barabbas was a *publisher*;" and Murray certainly was not the publisher referred to.

When, in the midst of much office-work at the Admiralty, and various literary labours, Croker found time to write his *Stories for Children from the History of England*, he made the following request to Murray, on sending more "copy":

"I think you told me that you gave the first stories to your little boy to read. Perhaps you or Mrs. Murray would be so kind as to make a mark over against such words as he may not have understood, and to favour me with any criticism the child may have made, for on this occasion I should prefer a critic of six years old to one of sixty."

And so the youthful John Murray III., now the venerable head of the house, was initiated into the art and mystery of reading for the press.

To James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, a man of poetic ability and racy story-telling power, Murray became not only publisher but devoted friend and adviser. Hogg's shining virtue was not modesty. His first letter to his new acquaintance begins in this abruptly familiar style:

"DEAR MURRAY,—What the deuce have you made of my excellent poem that you are never publishing it, while I am starving for want of money, and cannot even afford a Christmas goose to my friends? "

In his second letter he writes:

"I cannot help smiling at your London Critics. They must read it over again. I had the best advice in the three kingdoms on the poem—men whose opinions, even given in a dream, I would not exchange for all the critics in England, before I ever proposed for its publication. I will risk my fame on it to all eternity."

Subsequently he prefers this gentle request:

"I wish you or Mrs. Murray would speer me out a good wife with a few thousands. I dare say there is many a romantic girl about London who would think it a fine ploy to become a Yarrow Shepherdess! "

Into the history of Byron's dealings with Murray after his marriage we cannot enter. His lordship was happy in having so staunch a friend and so faithful an adviser. In fact, Murray's intercourse with the wayward poet brought out some of the best points of Byron's complex character. Under his cynicism and seeming heartlessness lay hid a gracious generosity that could leap up to meet that noble quality in others—a strong capacity of affection, that had been repressed and almost extinguished by his lamentable surroundings and experience. Light would undoubtedly have been thrown on his inner life, and palliating circumstances might have lightened the cloud of censure settling on the career of the greatest poetical genius of the age, had some portions of his autobiography been preserved to the public. But when his family and friends decided that it was best that these records should be destroyed, Murray, to whom the MS. had been disposed of by Moore, offered no obstacle to the painful decision, and the precious

papers were committed to the flames in the Albemarle Street drawing-room. In this matter, as in others, Murray behaved with honour and a tender regard for his dead friend's memory.

"As I myself," he writes to Wilmot Horton, "scrupulously refrained from looking into the Memoirs, I cannot, from my own knowledge, say whether such an opinion of the contents was correct or not; it was enough for me that the friends of Lord and Lady Byron united in wishing for their destruction. Why Mr. Moore should have wished to preserve them I did not nor will I inquire; but, having satisfied myself that he had no right whatever in them, I was happy in having an opportunity of making, by a pecuniary sacrifice on my part, some return for the honour, and, I must add, the profit, which I had derived from Lord Byron's patronage and friendship."

Moore, as soon as the sacrifice had been carried out, had sufficient honour to repay the large sum which he had received for the autobiographic MS.—£2000, having borrowed that amount from Messrs. Longman. Ultimately he wrote for Murray a Life of Byron, for which he received £3000.

Amongst Murray's literary clients in 1818 and onward were Thomas Mitchell, the Greek scholar, John Hookham Frere, the author of *Whistlecraft*, Sir John Malcolm, Mrs. Hemans, and a throng of smaller poets. Amongst these last was Sharon Turner, his solicitor and grave and trusty counsellor, who had written what he considered to be poems, "to idle away the evenings as well as he could." Murray was no bad judge of such ware, and declined the publication by the inoffensive way of suggestion:

"I do not think it would be creditable to your name, or advantageous to your more important works, that the present one should proceed from a different publisher. Many might fancy that Longman had declined it. Longman might suspect me of interference; and thus, in the uncertainty of acting with propriety myself, I should have little hope of giving satisfaction to you. I therefore refer the matter to your own feelings and consideration."

Turner took the hint in good part, and replied: "I have always found Longman very kind and honourable, but I will not offer him now what you think it right to decline." In 1818 Murray published Hallam's *Middle Ages* in two quarto volumes, and formed a close friendship with the learned and

philosophic author. A writer of another class was Captain Basil Hall, a charming caterer for the public in the matter of voyages and travels.

In this year Murray had a hankering to start a new magazine. It was to be called *The Monthly Register.* A specimen number was printed, and copies were sent to his friends Croker and Murdoch; but their criticisms on it were so severe that he proceeded no further with the project.

The same year the poet Crabbe called on Murray with his *Tales of the Hall;* and was much surprised when the generous-minded publisher offered him £3000 for the copyright of this and his earlier poems. Next morning, Crabbe, breakfasting with Rogers and Moore, told them of his good fortune; but Rogers thought the amount named was *under* the mark, and that he should have received £3000 for the *Tales of the Hall* alone. He also offered to try whether Longmans would not give more; but they would not give more than £1000 for the whole lot. The result proved that the more cautious publishers were right in their estimate, and that Murray was far too liberal. In another case, he made mistake in exercising a little too much caution. He declined the publication of the *Rejected Addresses* by the brother wits, Horace and James Smith, though the copyright was offered to him for £20. Thinking that it had first been offered to Cadell, and rejected by him, Murray would not even look into it. When afterwards he had read the work he spared no pains to become its publisher, but did not succeed in his ambition till after the appearance of the *sixteenth* edition, when he was allowed to purchase the copyright for £131.

Regretfully we pass over Murray's transactions with "Anastasius" Hope; the gigantic discoverer Belzoni; the Rev. H. H.—afterwards Dean—Milman; the young American, Washington Irving; and the eccentric and troublesome genius, Ugo Foscolo—transactions which pleasantly illustrate the characters of the authors and the adventurous and kindly liberality of this "Prince of Booksellers." Well might Irving, on receiving from him an unexpected present of £100, joyously respond: "I never knew any one convey so much meaning in so concise and agreeable a manner."

It is a well-known axiom that if any man wishes to disburden himself of superfluous ready money, he cannot do so more speedily and completely than by attempting to establish a daily newspaper. One would scarcely have expected so judicious a man as Mr. Murray to have been ensnared by the fascination of so fatal an enterprise. He had, however, for some years entertained a desire to set up a periodical which should appear more frequently than the *Quarterly*, and should avail itself of the large staff of practised writers who had clustered round that successful venture. So in 1820 he became partner with Mr. Croker in the *Guardian* newspaper, published by Charles Knight at Windsor. This was unsuccessful, and soon disappeared. In 1825, however, he was imbued with the idea of establishing a daily morning paper: and his chief adviser in the project was the brilliant and persuasive Benjamin Disraeli, the son of his own and his father's friend and adviser, and now a young fellow of twenty, in whose rapidly developing genius and hopeful enthusiasm Murray took great interest. Taking him into his confidence, the publisher ere long began to consult him about various schemes; and at last the youth became the prime mover and conductor of negotiations in preparation for a daily paper, which was to be called *The Representative*, and in which he took a quarter share. His letters, when he was in search of an editor, and interviewing Scott and Lockhart, form a specially attractive feature in a book which throws fresh light on many matters of literary and political interest. The first number of *The Representative* appeared on January 25, 1826. But it was a failure from the beginning. Murray's two preliminary partners in the paper, Disraeli and Powles, neglected to contribute their proportions of the necessary capital, and the whole expense of offices, plant, staff, &c., fell upon Murray himself. He had not had his usual good fortune in securing a competent editor and organiser, and in consequence all went wrong. The new enterprise was a source of annoyance and worry, such as only those can realise who have had to grapple with similar difficulties of incipient journalism. Murray's health broke down; the ordinary publishing business was neglected; letters lay unanswered,

manuscripts unread. A great commercial crisis prevailed, and his friends feared that he might be affected by the failures that were daily occurring. The list of bankrupts at the end of January included the famous firm of Archibald Constable & Co., followed shortly after by that of James Ballantyne & Co., in which Sir Walter Scott was a partner. But John Murray remained unshaken, and was able to lend a helping hand to some of his London brethren and pull them through their difficulties.

After an inglorious career of six months *The Representative* ceased to exist, having in that short time cost its proprietor not less than £26,000—a loss which he bore with courage and equanimity.

"One cause," he tells Washington Irving, "of my not writing to you during one whole year was my 'entanglement,' as Lady G—— says, with a newspaper, which absorbed my money, and distracted and oppressed my mind. But I have cut the knot of evil, which I could not untie, and am now, by the blessing of God, again returned to reason and the shop."

The circumstances leading to the younger Disraeli's withdrawal from the enterprise are still involved in some mystery. His father threatened to publish a pamphlet in his justification against his old friend, Murray; but, through good Sharon Turner's kindly offices, the misunderstanding was but short-lived; Isaac soon resumed his friendly attitude; and Benjamin, though he published his first novel, *Vivian Grey*, through Colburn, came back a few years later to Albemarle Street, and issued *Contarini Fleming* from the classic shop of his former intimate and admirer.

When Gifford, in 1824, was compelled by ill-health to resign the editorship of the *Quarterly*, to which he had devoted sixteen years of hard work, Murray found it difficult to replace him. Mr. John Taylor Coleridge filled the office for a year, when increasing legal engagements necessitated his resignation, and shortly afterwards he was appointed a Judge of the Court of King's Bench. Then, after much interesting negotiation—including a journey to Scotland on the part of young Disraeli, and a long letter from Scott to Murray in support of his son-in-law's qualifications—John Gibson Lockhart succeeded to the kingship, and proved a most capable

ruler, refined in taste and sound in judgment. Centre of a brilliant staff, he was the *beau idéal* of an accomplished editor, adding brightness and glow to the cold and solid article, and gently toning down the too warmly coloured one. He retained the chair till his death in 1854, to the great advantage of the *Quarterly*; while his decisions as to the worth of books offered to the house for publication were marked by the highest acumen. Murray, in his hopeful good nature, stood in some need of such an adviser; as might be instanced in the case of Washington Irving, who. from being grateful, became grasping on behalf of works which, as Dr. Smiles expresses it, he "was more successful in selling to the publishers than the publishers were in selling them to the public."

We must dismiss in a few lines Mr. Murray's later transactions with authors, of whom the list is long and illustrious. These volumes are rich in communications from distinguished men and women. Thus among others we have letters from young Disraeli and the Mr. Gladstone of fifty years ago, from Carlyle and Hallam, Mrs. Butler (Fanny Kemble), Mrs. Norton, and Mrs. Shelley, Sir Francis Head, Sir Alexander Burnes, and Captain Havelock. A note from Sir Robert Peel develops an amount of humour for which, hitherto, the great man has scarcely had credit:

"Your printer must be descended from him who omitted *not* from the seventh Commandment, and finding a superfluous 'not' in his possession, is anxious to find a place for it. I am sorry he has bestowed it upon me, and has made me assure my constituents that I do *not* intend to support my political principles."

Late in 1842 Mr. Murray's health began to fail rapidly, and though at times he rallied sufficiently to attend to business, he never recovered, and passed away in sleep on June 27, 1843, at the age of sixty-five. The high reputation which he attained as a publisher was gained by a rare combination of choice and noble qualifications—sound judgment, good courage, refined taste, generous appreciation, and cloudless integrity. Dr. Smiles deserves well of his country in letting the life of such a man speak for itself, by making judicious use of the abundant correspondence of the Publisher and his Friends.

# SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

## THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

*A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church.* A New Series. Translated into English, with Prolegomena and Explanatory Notes. Under the Editorial supervision of HENRY WACE, D.D., and PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D., in connection with a number of Patristic scholars of Europe and America. Vol. I. *Eusebius: Church History, Life of Constantine the Great, and Oration in Praise of Constantine.* Vol. II. *Socrates, Sozomenus: Church Histories.* Oxford: Parker & Company. 1890. 1891.

THE first series of the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Library*, which contained the principal works of St. Augustine and Chrysostom in fourteen volumes, is now followed by this second series, which is to give the chief writings of the Fathers from Eusebius to John of Damascus, and from Ambrose to Gregory the Great. The first volume is devoted to Eusebius, the Court historian of the fourth century, and the friend of Constantine the Great. Dr. Arthur C. McGiffert, of Lane Theological Seminary, and Dr. Ernest C. Richardson, of Hartford Theological Seminary, who have prepared the new translation and critical commentary, have, Dr. Schaff tells us, spent "a vast amount of labour of love on their tasks for several years past." They have produced the finest edition of Eusebius ever published Everything that could illustrate or explain the History has been diligently sought out and brought together here in prolegomena and notes. Heinichen's second edition of the Greek text has been followed in the Church History; but Dr. McGiffert has not hesitated to adopt various readings when they seemed to be well supported. He has always, however, indicated these variations from the standard text in his notes. As to the translation, "the constant endeavour has been to reproduce, as nearly as possible, both the substance and form of the original, and in view of the peculiar need of accuracy in such a work as the present, it has seemed better in doubtful cases to run the risk of erring in the direction of over-literalness rather than in that of undue licence." The critical scholar may find the copious notes on the text fuller than he

himself requires, though even a specialist in such matters may be thankful to have the entire body of critical material ready to his hand. The popular character of the series, however, made it desirable to gather together all information in regard to persons, places, and events mentioned in the text. The editor has, in fact, aimed "to make the work in some sense a general history of, or historical commentary upon, the first three centuries of the Christian Church." With this end in view, he has often given considerable space to subjects which Eusebius himself touches lightly. No difficulty has been left unexplained, whilst every statement is accompanied by a careful citation of authorities. The editor has availed himself of all the best scholarship on the subject, and enjoyed the special privilege of studying the fourth and fifth books of the History under Professor Adolf Harnack at Marburg. A prolegomena of seventy pages gives a Life of Eusebius; with a chapter on his writings in general, and another on his Church History. The mass of information on every point which is packed into this prolegomena is surprising, and it is as conspicuous for lucid statement as for fulness of information. The translation is given in parallel columns, with copious footnotes in smaller type. Every explanation which a student needs is before his eye; no time has to be lost in turning to find it in another part of the volume. Of the value of the supplementary notes a good illustration will be gained by any one who turns to that on Origen and the three pages which discuss "the causes of the Diocletian Persecution." To Dr. Richardson have been allotted Eusebius's Life of Constantine, and his Oration in Praise of the Emperor. He had not so wide a field as his collaborator, but he has given us a study of Constantine's life, which throws much light on the problems and discussions that circle round the strangely mingled character of the first Christian who wore the purple. The whole subject is discussed in the light of contemporary statements which are cited at every point. "The editor's brief judgment is that Constantine, for his time, made an astonishingly temperate, wise, and, on the whole, benevolent use of absolute power, and in morality, kindly qualities, and, at last, in real Christian character, greatly surpassed most nineteenth century politicians—standing to modern statesmen as Athanasius to modern theologians." This is certainly a high encomium for the great Emperor, though it is by no means flattering to contemporary politicians. Special praise is due to the sections on the "Sources and Literature" of the subject, which occupy twenty closely-printed pages.

Dr. Zenos, Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at Hartford, has revised and annotated the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates for the second volume of this *Library*. His Introduction gives a list of "Sources and Literature," a Life of the historian, an account of his History, and the various editions of it which have appeared. Dr. Zenos calls attention to the fact that Socrates everywhere strives to reach primary sources. "A great portion of his work is drawn from oral tradition, the accounts given by friends and countrymen, the common, but not wild, rumours of the capital, and the transient literature of the day. Whenever he depends on such information, Socrates attempts to reach as far as possible the accounts of eye-

witnesses, and appends any doubts he may have as to the statements they make." The evident endeavour to secure precision gives special value to his History, though it is somewhat strange to find him so credulous as to stories of miracles and portents. In this respect the historian was a true representative of his times. The translation in Bagster's series of "The Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the first six centuries" has been used, but it was found to be unnecessarily free, and has been made more exact in the present edition. Mr. Hartranft, also of Hartford, has translated and edited Sozomen, whose History occupies the latter half of the second volume. The Introduction, which includes biography and a copious section on "Sozomen as author," is exceedingly valuable. The *Bibliography* is a capital piece of work. The chronological tables will also be found very useful, and there are full indexes to both Histories. The neatness of the binding and the general get-up of the books deserve a word of praise. The volumes are easy to handle, and will be an ornament to any library in which they find a place. Messrs. Parker have laid all students of Ecclesiastical History under obligation by their *Nicene and Post-Nicene Library*. There is a character and individuality in the method used by each editor which gives both freshness and interest to their treatment of the three great ecclesiastical historians.

*Principles of Natural and Supernatural Morals.* By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A., formerly Junior Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and sometime one of H.M.'s Inspectors of Schools. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.

English theology is so poor in works on ethics that any independent contribution to the subject is welcome. The present work is conspicuously independent. The author has thought out his system for himself, and writes in a fresh and interesting style. His line of treatment is so little dependent on others that it is not easy to locate his teaching in relation to current theories. The title indicates clearly enough that he is not to be classed with Mill, Sidgwick, and Spencer, whose views are discussed along with others in separate chapters.

The first volume deals with Natural Morals, whose elements are found in the principles of Happiness, Order, Subordinated Life, Conformity to Nature, Law, Harmony, the Ideal. It is not quite clear whether these are regarded as so many co-ordinate principles, or whether the last four are subdivisions of the third one. The latter is probably the right view, as we can scarcely conceive the author to hold that there are so many ultimate principles of morality. It should be noted that law is used simply in the sense of uniformity, not obligation. The omission of all reference to Conscience in the account of Natural Morals is also remarkable. In the interesting chapter devoted to

Butler's ethical doctrine the author remarks, "Butler does not make it clear whence comes the sense of obligation to obey conscience." Quite so. Butler does not profess to do this. He assumes it as self-evident. Right carries with it its own authority. The author's criticism of Butler applies equally to his own teaching. He speaks constantly of the "constraint" of Happiness, Order, &c., but nowhere indicates the source or ground of this "constraint." He assumes it as natural, and is obliged to do so. On page 39 we read, "The conduct which is prescribed by the constraints of happiness and order respectively, if both should be present to the consciousness at the same time, is in all cases the same conduct; there is no conflict between the two constraints." How this recalls the coincidence, which Butler everywhere assumes, between virtue on one side and reasonable self-interest on the other! We may also ask "prescribed" by what? For the rest, all the chapters of this volume, if occasionally tending to become diffuse, supply abundant matter for reflection, especially those devoted to Aristotle, Butler, Kant, Mill, Sidgwick, Spencer, Martineau.

The second volume discusses Supernatural Morals in two stages, Jewish and Christian. The exposition here is less adequate and satisfactory. Still the division is suggestive, and invites further inquiry and study. The two new principles emerging in the first stage are those of Reverence and Right. Other points dealt with are the relation of Right to the Divine Will, Sin, Remission of Sin.

While there is much in the exposition of the second stage from which we dissent, with two positions we are in hearty agreement—the authority ascribed to Christ's example and the prominence given to the "new commandment of love." In addition to the latter, other three distinctive rules of Christian morals are purity of heart, constant prayer, and partaking of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, the last surely a singular collocation. Humility and forgiveness are treated as parts of Christian love.

A peculiar mannerism of style detracts somewhat from the pleasure of reading the volume. The words, "seem, appear, apparently, have the appearance," recur constantly. In one chapter of the second volume we have counted more than fifty instances.

*Physical Religion: The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in* 1890. By F. MAX MÜLLER. London: Longmans. 1891.

In the former series of Gifford Lectures Professor Max Müller divided Natural Religion into three sub-divisions, Physical, Anthropological, and Psychological Religion, according as its object—the Infinite or Divine—is discovered in nature, man, or the self. In the present course he undertakes to deal with the first of these. No one will be surprised that the author turns

to the Vedas for his main or single illustration of his subject. And if, in dealing with an old theme, a good deal of repetition of himself on the part of the veteran writer is found to be necessary, that is not to be wondered at, nor perhaps to be regretted. A new generation has sprung up since Professor Max Müller began to teach the lessons to be learned from a study of the earliest Aryan religious books, and the subject is not yet exhausted.

We do not intend, however, to dwell upon that portion of the present volume which is merely a fresh presentation of old matter. The development of the conception of God amongst the early Aryans is traced out chiefly in the case of Agni—*i.e.*, Fire as Deva or divinity, and all who are familiar with Professor Müller's writings will understand how he uses this as an illustration of physical religion. The problem presented by these early religions has been altogether altered in form by the historical method of inquiry. "Instead of endeavouring to explain how human beings could ever worship the sky as a God, we ask how did any human being come into possession of the predicate god? We then try to discover what that predicate meant when applied to the sun or sky, the dawn or the fire." Accordingly, the Gifford Lecturer sets to work with the Agni of the Vedas and the greater part of his volume is occupied with this investigation and the development of the Fire-Deity through the stages of Animism, Anthropomorphism, Personification, and Deification.

Most readers will, however, be chiefly interested to hear what this kind of study is to end in, what is the significance and use of it to-day. In Lecture xiv. Professor Max Müller seeks to answer these questions. He holds that natural religion is "the only impregnable safeguard against atheism," and that, especially in our days, it is most important to show that "unaided reason, when correctly exercised, can lead to a belief in God," that the concept of God arises of necessity in the human mind, and is not the result of one special revelation made to Jews and Christians. This is an important result of the recent comparative study of the great religions of the world, a subject on which Professor Müller is one of the first authorities. If we slightly alter the phraseology, and instead of dwelling on the powers of "unaided reason," speak rather of God as having not left Himself "without witness" among men, we find the learned Professor and the theologians at whom he often girds entirely at one in maintaining a truth which is of paramount importance in the philosophy of religion, and which never needed to be borne in mind more than to-day.

On other topics suggested in this last lecture we have not space to dwell. One of these is that the study of natural religion teaches us, on the one hand, to view as natural much that we have been accustomed to regard as supernatural, and to view as supernatural much that we have hitherto slighted as "merely natural." That again is a truth for the times. It reminds one of a chapter in Carlyle's *Sartor*—"Natural-Supernatural"—the full scope of which the crowd of hasty readers who rave about Carlyle as a prophet have

apparently failed to perceive. We must content ourselves with saying that this new volume from Professor Max Müller's pen is full of suggestion for those who will read and use it wisely, though there is much that will startle, perhaps repel, the Christian believer. The thoughts it contains will help a discriminating reader to put a few more stones into the structure of his philosophy of history and philosophy of religion.

*A Comparative View of Church Organisations, Primitive and Protestant; with a Supplementary Chapter on Methodist Secessions and Methodist Union.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. By the Rev. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D. London: C. H. Kelly. 1891.

The following Preface has been prefixed by the author to this second edition of his *Comparative View of Church Organisations*:—

"The reception given to the first edition of this book has been very gratifying. I have to thank my critics of various denominations for recognising so frankly, and reciprocating so fully and kindly, my own sincere endeavour to write throughout in a candid and catholic spirit. So far as I know, no journal representing any one of the great denominations whose principles and whose practical influence, as illustrated by their history, I undertook to review, showed any resentment at my criticism, while leading and representative journals, notwithstanding the frankness, here and there, of my strictures, gave ungrudging praise. Nor, with one exception, did the organs of the smaller Methodist bodies show anything like irritation. Their general tone of comment was generously appreciative.

"Unfortunately, in a few instances I had, in the closing pages of the volume, written under great pressure, fallen into statistical errors—not indeed of a serious character, but still to be regretted. These I have corrected in this edition. They were not such as materially to affect any point in my argument. I have also very carefully revised the book throughout.

"A new chapter, relating to American Methodism, will, I hope, make the volume as it now appears more complete and valuable than the first edition. I have also, in an Appendix, added a cardinal document, issued a few years ago by the Wesleyan Conference, which shows how closely and strictly modern Methodism adheres to the primary and central principles and provisions of early Methodism, so far as regards its spiritual character and discipline."

The "cardinal document" relates to the question of church membership in connection with the class-meeting and the leaders' meeting of Wesleyan Methodism. The chapter on American Methodism will no doubt be found useful by delegates proceeding to the Methodist Œcumenical Conference shortly to be held at Washington. It furnishes a succinct account of the character and extent, of the economy and administration, of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. In no other volume published in this country is the same information to be found.

*Franz Delitzsch: A Memorial Tribute.* By SAMUEL IVES CURTISS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

*Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession.* By FRANZ DELITZSCH. Translated by S. I. CURTISS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

Dr. Curtiss is a Professor in Chicago, who was a student under Delitzsch. The Memorial Tribute is not very well written; it might have been written by a German. We read of Delitzsch: "He never relinquished his first love. All the while more glowing, it burned with an enthusiasm and a manifold activity which mocked old age. Through it he won and warmed, by means of the *Instituta Judaica*, which have been revived since 1880, and through the Missionary Seminary, friends, and youthful pupils, and co-workers." Still it is a well-informed and authentic, though very scanty, account of Delitzsch and his work. As such, it possesses value. It contains translations of the addresses delivered at the funeral of the great teacher by Pastor Transchel, Professor Luthardt, and Count Vitzthum Von Eckstaedt.

The substance of the other volume has already appeared, both in German and English, but the present edition represents the author's most mature statement of his position, and constituted indeed his last literary work. It is needless to say that the book is invaluable to the student of Messianic prophecy. The subject needs to be treated at the present time with great care and discrimination. Delitzsch exhibits that combination of accurate scholarship with profound religious feeling which alone can enable the student to put himself in a right attitude to understand "Messianic prophecy." It will be observed that the author accepts the later date for Isaiah xl.–lxvi., and also the analysis of Zechariah into three parts, chapters i.–viii., ix.–xi., and xii.–xiv., which is advocated by the best modern scholars. He dates the book of Daniel about 168 B.C., and holds it to have been "a book of comfort for the confessors and martyrs of the times of the Seleucidæ." With all this, Dr. Delitzsch is a firm believer in prophecy as a supernatural gift, and in the inspiration which alone enabled the prophets to anticipate the future of the Kingdom of God and the coming of God's Anointed One as Deliverer and Saviour of His people. We have to thank Dr. Ives Curtiss and the publishers for putting this valuable book within reach of English readers.

*Pre-organic Evolution and the Biblical Idea of God.* By C. CHAPMAN, M.A., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

It is becoming increasingly desirable for Christians fully to understand what portions of the current doctrine of evolution they can accept, and what portions are inconsistent with a belief in Theism, Christianity, and the

authority of the Bible. Principal Chapman's volume is a step in this direction. Addressing himself to the subject, not of Darwinism or organic evolution, but of the principle of development as implied in the structure of the universe, he first distinguishes between the materialistic Monism of Häckel and others on the one hand, and the doctrine of Herbert Spencer on the other. His book deals mainly with the latter, and is an attempt to show that Mr. Spencer's own representations concerning the primordial condition of matter, and the nature of the process described by him as evolution, necessarily imply power and intelligence as characteristics of the Eternal Reality, which he says lies at the basis, and is the cause of all phenomena. Mr. Spencer, according to Dr. Chapman, errs by defect. The admission of an Eternal Reality, unknown, and indeed unknowable, may be turned against Mr. Spencer himself. The true nature of personality is shown. It implies—if rightly understood—no unworthy limitation of the being and powers of the great cause of all. Along these lines the author pursues a carefully worked-out and valuable argument. He is prepared to admit the fact of an evolution from nebulous matter to the present complex form of the solar and sidereal systems, but only as a *process* or *method;* attributing to the "Rational Will," which he substitutes for Mr. Spencer's "Unknowable Eternal Reality," the true *origin* of the universe. The book is thoughtful and suggestive, and if here and there are to be found gaps and weak places in its argument, it lays down lines of thought which may in future be more thoroughly worked out. It is constructive as well as critical, and deserves careful reading at the hands of students of philosophy and theology.

*Books which Influenced Our Lord and His Apostles: Being a Critical Review of Apocalyptic Jewish History.* By JOHN E. H. THOMPSON, B.D., Stirling.

*Pseudepigrapha: An Account of Certain Apocryphal Sacred Writings of the Jews and Early Christians.* By the Rev. W. J. DEANE, M.A., Rector of Ashen, Essex. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

Both these volumes relate to the same class of writings, to which, from various causes, attention is now being directed. Some of them, indeed, stand in very close relation to certain parts of the New Testament, as may be seen especially in Dr. Plummer's expository volume on the "General Epistles" of Peter, James and Jude. And all of them throw more or less light on the ideas which influenced the Jewish mind during the first century. Both volumes will be found useful to the student.

The English rector's is the more reverent and the less ambitious—in its review also it is less complete. The Scotch divine evidently belongs to the new Scotch school. We confess to a shrinking repugnance when we find a

Scottish theologian speaking with cool audacity of these apocryphal books, some of which are wild and weak in the extreme, as "books which influenced our Lord." Nor do we think he was in the least entitled to speak of them broadly as having influenced the Apostles. To presume to trace out—or make any attempt so to do—the intellectual influences emanating from these Pseudepigrapha, which went, as it is assumed, to influence the teaching and to mould the thoughts and language of Our Lord, seems to us to be little less than profane. Little did we imagine when, not very long ago, we pointed out the impropriety in some language used by an eminent and able living Scotch Free Church Professor, that Dr. Bruce would have found a follower who was prepared in his style of speech to advance so painfully far beyond his master's example, and yet we are bound to add that the writer means no irreverence. The book is learned and useful. If the Introduction were almost entirely omitted, and the title, which, we fear, was intended to sell the book, were altered, there would be little to object to in the volume.

*The Permanent Elements of Religion.* By W. Boyd Carpenter, D.D., Bishop of Ripon. Macmillan & Co. 1891. Second Edition.

We are very glad to announce the publication of a second edition of Bishop Carpenter's very valuable *Bampton Lectures*. The changes in this edition are not considerable. In the Preface, however, Sir M. Monier Williams' correction is given of the current estimate of the prevalence of Buddhism. The number of Buddhists throughout the world is reduced to 100 millions, the estimated number of professed Christians being from 430 to 450 millions.

*The Literature of the Second Century: Short Studies in Christian Evidences.* By F. R. Wynne, D.D., J. H. Bernard, D.D., and S. Hemphill, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

This generation owes much to the Dublin school of Christian apologetics, especially as founded on Biblical criticism. If Dr. Salmon is great at the head of this school, there are others of no mean ability who share its labours and honours. Neither High Church nor Low Church, without the slightest taint of Oxford error, either in sacramentarian superstition or in rationalistic unsoundness, the writings of the Irish churchmen and scholars to whom we refer are eminently suitable for the needs of the time. The present volume consists of lectures originally delivered at Alexandra College, Dublin, and now published at the request of the Christian Evidence Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association. The subjects of the lectures are, in succession, "The Evidence of Christianity supplied by the Literature of the Sub-Apostolic Age," "The Gradual Growth of the New Testament Canon," these

two lectures being by Canon Wynne, D.D.; "The Apocryphal Gospels," "The Miraculous in Early Christian Literature," these two by the Rev. John Henry Bernard, B.D.; "The Long Lost Harmony" [Tatian's *Diatessaron*], and "Early Vestiges of the Fourfold Gospel," by Professor Hemphill, B.D., of the University of Dublin. We strongly recommend the volume to all intelligent inquirers into the subjects dealt with. It will be found very instructive and useful, as sound and trustworthy as it is interesting in its substance and popular in style.

*The Lord's Supper: A Biblical Exposition of its Origin, Nature, and Use.* By Rev. J. P. Lilley, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

This is in every way an admirable book, such a one as we have for a long time past been hoping to see published. It is comprehensive, able, judicious, and thorough; so far as we may presume to give judgment, it leaves scarcely anything to be desired. It is neither dry nor high; it is scholarly and also evangelical; it is learned and spiritual; it covers the whole ground. As against the Romanising sacramentarianism of the Oxford High Church school it is a complete defence, although it is not liable to any just reproach on the ground of low views of the sacramental service and feast. It deals with "The Passover," "The Lord's Last Passover," "The Passover merged in the Lord's Supper," "The Ratification of the First Covenant," "The Lord's Supper in the Reception of the New Covenant," "The Lord's Supper in the Apostolic Church," "The Real Nature of the Supper," "The Specific Purposes of the Supper," "The Circle for which the Supper was intended," and "The Qualifications of those who apply for Admission to it," "The Spirit in which the Supper is to be used," "The Spirit to be maintained after Communion." There is a useful Appendix, an Index of Texts, and a serviceable Introduction. The volume is as modest as it is able, and one of its merits is that, as the author states in the first sentence of his Preface, he does not profess in its pages "to set forth anything specifically new."

*Essays in The History of Religious Thought in The West.* By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham, &c. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This volume contains essays on the Myths of Plato, on Æschylus as a prophet, Euripides as a Religious Teacher, and Dionysius the Areopagite, intended to form part of a series of writings which might illustrate the power of the Christian Revelation, in its incidence on pre-Christian ethnic thought in regard to religion and life. These essays were first published in the *Contemporary Review*. It contains, besides, some "oddments" which do not seem to have been previously published, and of which the most considerable is an essay on "The Relation of Christianity to Art." There is much

in it that is interesting and instructive, although it has the disappointing character, in certain respects, of a basket of fragments. There is a wealth of suggestion in the Christian philosophy of so thoughtful a divine as Bishop Westcott.

*Christ's Utopia. Part V., "The Army."* By FRANK BALLARD, M.A., B.Sc. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

Mr. Ballard pursues his inquiry, "What are the Churches for?" in his own way. The fifth pamphlet, now before us, deals with "Foes to be Faced"—drink, lust, greed, gambling, and the rest—then with the "Failure of the Present," and the "Possibilities of the Future." If there is, alas! nothing very new in the sad and dark picture which is here painted of the evils in our modern civilisation, there is earnestness and vigour in the sketches, and the claims of a perishing world upon the Church's zeal and devotion cannot be too strongly stated, or too urgently pressed. So long as Mr. Ballard is thus engaged, we go thoroughly with him, though the connection between these "pitiful facts" and his original thesis about amusements is not very close. But there is a bitterness, not to say savageness, in the way Mr. Ballard speaks of Christian churches which does not savour of the Christian spirit, and an exaggeration in his language which does not commend his arguments to soberly earnest men.

For example, he is dealing with the terrible evils of lust. Mr. Ballard knows, as every good man knows, the special dangers that there are in dealing with this form of sin; that to dwell upon temptations in this field is to increase them, and that while some sins may be overcome by conflict, this must be overcome by flight. Yet he pours out a tirade against the "counsels of bookworms, spinsters, prudes, and purists," saying that "society may be manifestly rottening to the core, but the preacher must not speak of it," because people "want comforting sermons," and "anything may happen so long as 'Gospel sermons,' gaudy with tinselled rhetoric, and pointless through the 'soundness' of their platitudes, are conventionally doled out to those who pay their pew-rents." Is this the way for a Christian minister to try to stir up his brethren and the Churches to a holy crusade, which must be conducted with the utmost delicacy as well as vigour, if it is to be successful? Mr. Ballard means well, we cannot but believe. Yet the fiery zeal and energy which he throws into his themes would be none the less cogent, and would be much more persuasive, if there were less gall and bitterness, and a calmer, juster, more evenly balanced statement of the world's needs and the Church's attempts to meet them. It may be said that indignation moves a man to write at white heat. But he should not, especially if he be a Christian minister inciting to Christian work, scold like an angry man whose temper hardly allows him to see clearly. We wish Mr. Ballard all success in his aims, and believe he will be more likely to secure it if he exhibits more of what the hymn calls a "calmly fervent zeal" in his tone and methods.

*The Person and Ministry of the Holy Spirit.* Edited by A. C. DIXON. London: Dickinson. 1891.

The papers gathered together in this small volume were originally read at a conference held in Baltimore in October of last year. Ministers of various denominations took part in it, the prevailing object of the gathering being to counteract the current tendency practically to ignore the Presence and Ministry of the Holy Spirit in the professing Church of Christ. There are twelve papers in all, dealing with various parts of the manifold office of the Holy Spirit of God. One deals with His work as Revealer of Christ, another with His "Threefold conviction," another with the danger of grieving, tempting, or resisting the Spirit. The addresses are short, and the writers for the most part unknown in this country, but the little volume thus compiled is full of practical instruction, and will be found very helpful to devout Christians. The theme is one on which too much can hardly be said, and the very brevity of these papers will commend them to many who would be repelled by the very appearance of a long and elaborate work on this all-important subject.

*The Blessed Dead in Paradise.* By J. E. WALKER, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

Much has been written of late on the Intermediate State. No modern writer can shed much new light upon a subject on which revelation says so little, but the interest of the subject appears to be inexhaustible, and there are times in the lives of all of us when every ray of light upon it is inestimably precious. The author desires to counteract the influence of Canon Luckock's writings on this subject, the so-called "Catholic" teaching in which points to, if it does not actually imply, the doctrine of Purgatory, while prayers for the dead are explicitly inculcated. A preface to the work is written by Canon Bell, whose repute as an Evangelical clergyman will sufficiently indicate the standpoint of the writer.

There is much in the book that is good. Its spirit is good, and its method Scriptural, though here and there the writer seems to be wise above that which is written. He certainly draws a more finished and attractive picture of the glory he supposes to be already attained by those who have died in Christ than the language of Scripture necessarily implies—many would say, more than it warrants. The style, too, is florid, and needs pruning and chastening. But the author appears to have read widely; he writes piously; many of his chapters tend decidedly to edification; and his book, if read with a sober discrimination, will doubtless prove of use and help, especially to the bereaved and mourning. For ourselves, we have no heart to criticise or controvert the writer's positions. "It doth not yet appear what we shall be," but all true Christians must wonder, and hope, and sometimes allow the

imagination to soar, even where faith does not lead the way. So long as Scripture is our guide we are safe. The writer's quotations from "the Fathers," especially when compared with Canon Luckock's, show that we can by no means say so much of them.

*Wesley: the Man, his Teaching and his Work. Being Sermons and Addresses delivered in City Road Chapel at the Centenary Commemoration of John Wesley's Death.* Revised by the AUTHORS. London: C. H. Kelly. 1891.

This volume will be an abiding memorial of the Wesley Centenary. Methodism has never been so united and so enthusiastic as in that historic celebration of her founder, and it is well that some attempt should be made to conserve the enthusiasm then evoked. No better method could have been found to attain such an end than in the publication of this volume of sermons and addresses. It not only gathers up the thoughts of the leading ministers and laymen of Wesleyan Methodism, but represents the views of other branches of the Methodist family, and of nearly all the sister Churches. Preachers and speakers seem to have brought their best gifts to the treasury. There is scarcely a phase of the great evangelist's work which is not brought clearly out in some speech or sermon, whilst the "Centenary Diary" supplies local colouring for the whole celebration. Every member of the Methodist churches ought to have a copy of this historic volume, which will reward the closest study. We trust also that it will have a wide circulation among friends outside who have become interested in Methodism, and have learned to understand its genesis and work through the Wesley Centenary.

*How to read Isaiah.* By BUCHANAN BLAKE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

A praiseworthy attempt to explain the prophecies of Isaiah without writing a commentary upon them. The text, according to an English rendering by the author himself, is re-arranged in chronological order, and subdivided into sections with distinctive headings. This occupies the first part of the book. In the second is given the historical setting of the prophecies, with explanatory notes. A useful glossary of names and technical terms is added. The author follows the prevailing critical views as to authorship, ascribing to Isaiah only the major portion of chapters i.-xxxix. The work is done in a carefully and scholarly way, and will prove very useful, if wisely handled.

*Our Sacred Commission.* By the Rev. F. R. WYNNE, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

The substance of the seventeen chapters forming this volume was delivered in lectures to classes of Divinity students in Dublin University. The entire

ground of pastoral theology is covered—ministerial character, personal dealing, dealing with beginners and doubters, visitation of the sick, preaching. The danger evident to such advice as is here given, of falling into the trite and commonplace, is generally avoided. The advice evidently springs from the lecturer's experience, and is full of life and warmth. Three chapters are devoted to "bright" services and sermons. "One safeguard against dulness is to make our sermons short." These chapters are good examples of brightness.

*The Holy of Holies:* Sermons on Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Chapters of the Gospel of John. By ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. London: Alexander & Shepheard. 1890.

We have seldom met with a series of sermons so rich as these. The chapters in St. John on which they are based have been called *The Holy of Holies* in the Evangelical History. We tread the threshold of the Upper Room with reverent steps to find our highest comfort and inspiration in the words spoken there by Jesus on the eve of his departure. Dr. Maclaren has caught the spirit of these farewell discourses, and opens them out with rare beauty and suggestiveness. There is no parade of research; but the way in which difficult passages are handled shows that the preacher is master of the minutiæ of his subject. The most approved results of critical investigation are used to open up the meaning of the Saviour's words. We heartily agree with Dr. Maclaren's rendering "believe in God, in Me also believe," and his comment "that of these three great words, the Way, the Truth, and the Life," we are to regard the second and the third as explanatory of the first. They are not co-ordinate, but the first is the more general, and the other two show how the first comes to be true. "I am the Way," because "I am the Truth and the Life." The second sermon, on "Many Mansions," is a most suggestive and beautiful discussion of this subject. The sermons are masterpieces of devout yet scholarly exposition, expressed in most felicitous language, and lighted up by illustrations which add force and charm to the preacher's words. Such a volume will carry a blessing wherever it goes.

*The Book of Psalms.* With Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. A. F. KIRKPATRICK, B.D. Book I. Psalms i.–xli. Cambridge: University Press. 1891.

This new volume of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* deserves a warm welcome from all lovers of the Book of Psalms. The introduction contains a mass of valuable information as to the divisions of the Psalter, the titles, authorship, theology and Messianic Hope of the Psalms, which will add to the interest with which the Psalter is studied as a whole.

Due weight is given to recent criticism; but Professor Kirkpatrick is not carried away by mere theories. His work is characterised by a judicious reserve on points still open to discussion, and by a general good sense which gives a student confidence in the results at which the commentator arrives. The sections on the Messianic Hope and on the Imprecatory Psalms will repay careful study. We are inclined to think that the opinion, that "nowhere in the Psalter do we find the hope of a Resurrection from the dead," needs modification, but Professor Kirkpatrick handles well what he describes as "one of the most difficult problems of the theology of the Psalter." The notes on individual Psalms are always clear and helpful. No difficulty of title, historical occasion, or exact rendering is slurred. The volume is therefore one to be prized and used.

*The World of Faith and the Everyday World, as displayed in the Footsteps of Abraham.* By OTTO FUNCKE, Pastor of the Frieden's Kirche, Berlin. Translated from the sixth German edition by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

These discourses are homely, practical talks on the story of Abraham and its manifold application to modern life. No one can have heard the sermons without profit. They are somewhat too familiar in style to win high rank in sermonic literature; but, perhaps, this would add to their weight and impressiveness when delivered from the pulpit. We gather from the Preface that Pastor Funcke adopts this style of set purpose, for he thinks that if the Church is to gain influence she must get rid of some things which have hitherto cramped and marred her work. "Away, I say, with the stiff, wearisome *pulpit diction*; away with all artificial, unnatural pathos; away with all whining twaddle! Such things disgust all healthy minds. Let us speak, whether with tongue or pen, as other men do, and say what is in our hearts." Another passage shows what a stir has been made by the Salvation Army in Berlin. "What is wanted is, not to extort artificial conversions by drums, trumpets, descriptions of hell, inflammatory speeches, sensational addresses, convulsions of penitence—according to the recipe of the Salvation Army and other spiritual machinery." The volume bears witness incidentally to the need of more aggressive Christianity in Germany. The preacher expresses his "sorrow for the dead state of our State Church, which will not continue to exist, unless another Pentecost come upon her." The confession as to young people—"how many of them have we to visit in prison, even a few years after their confirmation," and the strange sentence—"It is well known that in England going to church is still the fashion, even among men," show what need the Lutheran Church has of a great awakening. It is satisfactory to find a man like Pastor Funcke so much alive to the need, and so earnestly doing his part to meet it. His sermon on "Marriage," which deals

with various expedients for introducing young people to each other, is especially entertaining. We demur to the statement in an early sermon, "that seeking to be rich and caring to be saved are incompatible"; and to the remark that a child in a family where family prayer is neglected "must not press for its introduction." Surely no one is more likely to be successful in such a plea than an earnest and affectionate son or daughter.

*The Battle of Belief:* A Review of the Present Aspects of the Conflict. By NEVISON LORAINE, Vicar of Grove Park West, London. London: Longmans. 1891.

Mr. Loraine's book is addressed to doubters. It does not attempt to deal exhaustively with all aspects of the religious question, or with the relations between Christian faith and advanced thought, but rather to help those who cannot study "large and recondite treatises." The writer makes skilful use of the admissions of such men as Tyndall, Spencer, and Huxley to support his own contention that the world cannot do without religion, and that Christianity is a fact supported by abundant evidence. It is exceedingly helpful to have such testimonies arranged and strung together in this fashion, and the volume deserves to be widely circulated. Professor Huxley's acknowledgment of "religious feeling as the essential basis of conduct," and his confession that he does not know how it is to be maintained "without the use of the Bible," will perhaps open the eyes of some who are in doubt, and make them hold fast to Christianity. Mr. Loraine has rendered great service to the Church by this admirable contribution to present day apologetics. The book is one which will be of great service to candid men who are seeking to maintain an intelligent hold on the truths of religion as well as to all who have to deal with doubters.

*The Critical and Expository Bible Cyclopædia.* By the Rev. A. R. FAUSETT, D.D., Canon of York. Illustrated by upwards of Six Hundred Woodcuts, from Photographs, Coins, Sculptures, &c. Eighth Thousand. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

This handsome volume is certainly a marvel. It has 753 pages, with three columns on a page and 600 small woodcuts, yet its price is only seven shillings and sixpence. All the information that the student needs on every Biblical topic will be found here clearly arranged, well up to date, and concisely put. The articles on places, plants, and the biographical sketches, such as those on Paul and Peter, are excellent. Canon Fausett has endeavoured to bring the fruits of modern criticism and research within the reach of all who use this Cyclopædia, and good articles are given on such subjects as Antichrist, the

Millennium, Inspiration, and similar topics. It is a Cyclopædia for the million, and its low price puts it well within their reach.

*The Apocalypse: its Structure and its Primary Predictions.* By DAVID BROWN, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Dr. Brown has set his hand to this task of preparing an A B C of the Apocalypse with considerable diffidence. He contends strongly for a late date for the book, which he regards as the fitting close of all revealed truth. His argument on this point will repay careful study. Sir William Hamilton's attack on the Canonicity of the book is well handled in a suggestive "Addendum" to the "Introduction." Dr. Brown pays an eloquent tribute to the Revelation, which he rightly maintains "will vindicate its own claims, and continue to shine in its own lustre." The study of the *Structure* of the book and its primary predictions is singularly clear, and will serve as a valuable guide to the outline of the Apocalypse. Dr. Brown strongly dissents from the explanation of "the beast" as intended for Nero, and considers that it clearly points towards the papal power. His well-known views on the Millennium of course find a place in his exposition. The book is one which students of the Apocalypse will find suggestive and helpful in many points.

*The Companions of the Lord. Chapters on the Lives of the Apostles.* By CHARLES E. B. REED, M.A. Second Edition. Religious Tract Society. 1891.

The Religious Tract Society has been well advised to publish a new edition of this book on the Apostles by the lamented Mr. Reed. It contains all the facts about the Twelve and the Brethren of the Lord with a brief notice of the most reliable or most pleasing traditions. The chapters are brightened by many apt and beautiful poetic quotations, and are written in a style altogether befitting the subject. It is a little book which ought to be in the hands of all who wish to trace the lives of Christ's first disciples.

*Jesus Christ and the People.* By MARK GUY PEARSE. (C. H. Kelly.)

*Hospice of the Pilgrim. The Great Rest-Word of Christ.* By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D. (T. Nelson & Sons.)

Mr. Pearse's heart is in his theme—Jesus Christ and the People. His first sermon on The Feeding of the Multitude naturally leads him to speak about the words "Give ye them to eat." "Can you not fetch down a little bit of heaven beforehand?" he asks. He deals trenchantly with

objections to such Christian philanthropy, though a later sermon shows that he is fully awake to the curse of "indiscriminate charity." The volume, which is dedicated to Dr. Lunn, is marked by that felicity of style which has made Mr. Pearse one of our most popular religious writers.

Dr. Macduff's *Hospice of the Pilgrim* consists of a meditation for each day of the month on the promise "I will give you rest." The meditations are brief, so that busy people may snatch a few moments to ponder them. They contain many refreshing and elevating thoughts, and are enriched with gems of sacred song, which deepen the impression of the writer's helpful words. The book is beautifully got up.

*Talks about Holiness.* By the Rev. W. E. SELLERS. London: Partridge & Co.

Mr. Sellers' book will be much appreciated by those who are seeking to grow in grace. It is thoroughly homely, simple and practical, the fruit of careful study of the Scriptures as well as of much experience as a mission preacher. The writer's views are essentially those of John Wesley. Holiness is not set too high, so as to place it out of the reach of ordinary Christians, nor too low, as it is set by some who seem to confound conversion with entire sanctification. This booklet both instructs and stimulates. It cannot fail to do good.

*The Strangest Thing in the World: "A Gospel with the Gospel Omitted."* By CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. London: *Home Words* Office. 1891.

Mr. Bullock certainly seems unfair to Professor Drummond when he states that "there is no Gospel in [his] teaching from the beginning to the end of his books." It is perfectly right to criticise many of the eloquent professor's statements, but this pamphlet seems to forget the helpful and stimulating influence of such lay sermons as "The Greatest Thing in the World." Mr. Bullock does well, of course, to give prominence to the other side of truth, and in that respect we welcome his warmly evangelical booklet.

*The Sermon Bible—Luke* 1 *to John* 3. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

The Gospel of St. Luke and the first three chapters of St. John are a rich field for the expositor, and the present volume impartially culls the best fruits from every quarter. It will often help a tired preacher to turn to such a collection of sermons, and he will nowhere find so wide a selection of condensed and high-class discourses as in the *Sermon Bible*.

*Reasons for the Hope that is in Us.* By the Ven. ARTHUR E. MOULE, B.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Archdeacon Moule is a pious writer and a distinguished missionary. No doubt this little volume will find an appreciative circle of readers among those who know the writer and his work.

*The Relation of Messianic Prophecy to New Testament Fulfilment.* By Dr. EDWARD RICHIN. Second Edition. T. & T. Clark. 1891.

We have only to announce the second edition of this important volume, to which Professor Davidson, of the New College, Edinburgh, writes an Introduction.

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## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

*John Wesley.* By J. H. OVERTON, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

CANON OVERTON was well advised to refrain from attempting anything like a full account of the great Evangelist of last century in the two hundred pages allotted to him. He set himself "to select the salient points of John Wesley's life and character, and to draw as vivid a picture of the man and his work as space will permit." In this attempt he has certainly achieved marked success. His book is a clear, vigorous portraiture of the Founder of Methodism as seen through the eyes of a clergyman of the Church of England. His sketch is essentially a Churchman's view of Wesley, but it is that of a broad-minded, candid, friendly Churchman, who possesses a close acquaintance with Wesley's works, and with the whole literature of the Evangelical Revival. The remarkable links between the biographer and Wesley as natives of the same county, members of the same University, on the foundation of the same college, priests in the same Church, dwellers in the same house, workers in the same parish, naturally add to the interest with which we study this volume. Canon Overton points out that the clergy were the backbone of the Evangelical Revival—remove that element and "the whole thing collapses at once." He also pleads that the bulk of the clergy might well be excused if they did not welcome the new movement. There is much force in the plea, but it does not justify the measures to which so many of the clergy resorted in their endeavour to crush Methodism in all parts of the country. Canon Overton puts the case for the bishops who were brought into official relation to the Wesleys very

clearly. No doubt it was a trying time for them, but the fact still remains that they did not know how to utilise the energies of Evangelists who loved the Church of England and taught their members to attend her services and Sacraments. Canon Overton, naturally, gives prominence to Wesley's protests against Separation from the Church. He makes a great point of the fact that the treatises of Lord King and Bishop Stillingfleet, which so profoundly affected Wesley's views, were written by "mere boys"—but their age is surely somewhat beside the mark. They helped to undermine Wesley's stiff churchmanship, and prepared the way for the broader views which he held in later life. It is noticeable that there is no reference here to Dr. Rigg's standard works on this subject. Canon Overton is in fact somewhat blind to the significance of Wesley's later change of views, and fails to see that the Separation of his Societies from the Church was only a question of time. So much we have felt it necessary to say on this topic. We are glad, however, to have an opportunity of recognising the high Christian tone of this book. There is abundant evidence that it is written by a man who holds his Church principles firmly, but who is invariably courteous and catholic in spirit. The chapter on "Lincoln College" contains some facts which will be useful to future biographers, and the sketch of "Wesley as an Organiser" deserves careful perusal. The account of "The Moravian Influence" is eminently suggestive. Canon Overton has been too careful a student of Wesley's works to fall into the mistake of calling the Society to which Wesley belonged in Fetter Lane "a Moravian Society." His book is written in a singularly chaste style, with some happy phrases, such as "He carried Epworth about with him to the end of his life." We have noticed a few slight errors. Wesley was not six years old till the June after the Fire (p. 2); Miss Bosanquet did not live "near Wigan," but at Cross Hall, in Yorkshire (p. 89); City Road Chapel was opened in 1778, not 1776 (p. 147). Graciora for graviora (p. 15), Cenwick for Cennick (p. 161), are evident slips; but Captain Fry should be Foy (p. 126); Dr. Jackson, Mr. Jackson (p. 80); Varenese is Varanese (p. 183).

*London Past and Present: its History, Associations, and Traditions.* By HENRY B. WHEATLEY, F.S.A. Based upon *The Handbook of London*, by the late PETER CUNNINGHAM. In Three Volumes. London: John Murray. 1891.

Cunningham's *Handbook* was first published in 1849 in two volumes post octavo. A revised edition appeared the following year in a single volume. After the author's death in 1869, at the age of fifty-three, his brother took up the task of preparing a new edition, but though he was energetic in the search for information, he put little of his knowledge on paper. The task next passed to Mr. James Thorne, who thoroughly revised Cunningham's book, adding much fresh matter. At his death his MS. came into the hands of Mr.

Wheatley. This sketch of the history of *London Past and Present* shows what labour has been expended upon its preparation. It was no doubt a great advantage to have such a basis to build upon. London is a colossal subject, and the literature with which any one who handles it is bound to make himself familiar would fill a large library. The fact that Mr. Wheatley entered into the labours of such distinguished predecessors has enabled him to spend a large part of his energy on revising, bringing up to date, and in every way increasing the value of this work. His three stout volumes contain eighteen hundred pages, closely, though clearly, printed. The work is arranged alphabetically, so that it forms an Encyclopædia of all matters relating to the metropolis. There is also a judicious economy of words, which forms a happy contrast to the garrulity of some books on London. Nothing that is of interest seems to be passed over, whilst the results of much study are skilfully condensed into a few bright sentences. The history of London forms a suggestive introduction. Dr. Guest "affirms that the Valley of the Lea was the Western boundary of the Trinobantes, and that the district between the Lea and the Brent was merely a track of 'Catuvellauni'—a common through which ran a wide trackway, but in which was neither town, village, nor inhabited house." This Mr. Wheatley holds to be much too wide a generalisation from the facts. He says there can be no doubt that the Britons made considerable progress during the period between Julius and Claudius, and it is possible that London as a British settlement may have come into existence during that period. But the ancient British coins bear witness to a Greek influence at work among the Britons long before they had any connection with the Romans. There seems to have been considerable commercial intercourse between the Britons and the Greeks of Marseilles, so that there is a reasonable presumption that London may have been the centre of commerce in those early times. The successive stages of the city's history are clearly outlined in this introduction. The paragraph on Chaucer has special interest. The great poet was a thorough Londoner, born by the Walbrook, and dying the year after he had gained a fifty-three years' lease of a tenement in the garden of St. Mary's Chapel, Westminster. He was Clerk of the Works at the Tower and Westminster; a member of the Thames Bank Repair Commission, and a busy worker for the general improvement of the capital. It is amusing to read how Sir Matthew Philip, Mayor of London, went back to the Mansion House in high dudgeon because the Earl of Worcester had been placed before him at a feast given by the Serjeants of the Coif. "He went home again without meat or drink. When the officers of the feast found out their mistake, they tried to remedy it by sending the Mayor a present of 'meat, bread, wine, and many divers subtleties.' But when the messengers arrived they found quite as sumptuous a banquet actually laid upon the table, and the person who was to make the presentation felt ashamed of the task imposed upon him. He acquitted himself, however, gracefully, and was dismissed with thanks, 'and a great reward withall.'" Why, we should like to know, do the "Provisions for the safe-keeping of the

city" in 1282 lay down the qualification for serjeants of the gates that they should be "fluent of speech"? Curfew was to be rung at every parish church at the same time as at St. Martin's-le-Grand. It is pleasing to find that the Commissioners appointed by Parliament to settle all differences arising out of the re-building of London after the Great Fire "gave such satisfaction that their portraits were painted at the expense of the citizens for £60 apiece." It was nearly a century after the Fire before a second bridge spanned the Thames. This was Westminster Bridge, erected in 1750. Blackfriars was built in 1768, Vauxhall in 1816, Waterloo in 1817, Southwark in 1819. Wherever we open Mr. Wheatley's volumes there is something to interest every Londoner. Alderagate, on which Pepys "saw the limbs of some of our new traytors" on October 20, 1660, was sold in 1761 and taken down. John Daye printed Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster* in the room above the gate in 1570, and Tyndal's works in 1572. Foxe, the martyrologist, lived with him for some time, and Daye printed his great work. The notice of Aldersgate Street is even more interesting. Inigo Jones' fine old mansion—Shaftesbury House—which was pulled down in 1882, receives careful notice. Lauderdale House stood a little higher up on the same side. Mr. Wheatley does not forget that John Wesley's "Assurance of Salvation" was found in Aldersgate Street. One wishes that it were possible in a Second Edition to trace the room in which Robert Moffat enlisted David Livingstone in the service of Africa. It was somewhere in this street. We have noted with interest that Lucy Apsley was married to the future Colonel Hutchinson in St. Andrew's, Holborn, the church in which Samuel Wesley, of Epworth, was ordained. The account of Gibbon's life under "Bentinck Street" is a sound piece of work. The article on "Barbican" gives a graphic sketch of the flight of the Duchess of Brandon, who had married Richard Bertie and had a narrow escape from the hands of Bishop Gardiner. Little Britain and Lloyd's Subscription Rooms supply excellent notices. The Wesleyan associations are overlooked in the account of Fetter Lane and Little Britain. Nor is there any reference under "St. Giles, Cripplegate," to the fact that John Wesley's grandfather—Dr. Annesley—once held the living. Neither does the article on Westminster School refer to Charles Wesley and his elder brother Samuel among the distinguished scholars. Under "West Street" it is said Wesley preached here between 1743 and 1793. It should be 1791, in which year Wesley died. Mr. Spurgeon is styled C. J., instead of C. H., in the notice of Newington. There is a capital account of the booksellers who settled in St. Paul's Churchyard. Rivington's *Bible and Key* was No. 62, one door east of Canon Alley. The description of Stock's Market, which stood on the site of the present Mansion House, will be read with interest. "Palace Yard" and "Pall Mall" furnish material for capital paragraphs. The account of Old St. Pancras, which used to be the favourite burial-ground for Roman Catholics, will well repay perusal. Father O'Leary, who behaved so badly in an encounter with John Wesley, is buried there. Mr. Wheatley also chronicles the fact that Jonathan Wild was married to his third wife in the

church, and buried in the graveyard. "No churchyard in London possessed so much interest as that of St. Pancras, and none has been subjected to greater outrage." The notice of St. Paul's shows how much Wren's plans were overruled, and how happily he himself improved on them during the course of construction. His designs, which the King approved, were not deemed satisfactory by the members of the chapter, who thought the building "not sufficiently of a cathedral form." Instead of a Greek cross "the clergy insisted that the form should be that of a Latin cross, and that there should be both nave and aisles, and also a lofty spire. Wren therefore produced another design, in which the nave was lengthened and a curious spire placed upon the dome." He had liberty to introduce variations, but he went far beyond what this word involved, and produced "an entirely different and infinitely superior design." It is generally stated that the cathedral was begun and completed under one architect, one master mason, and one bishop. This needs modification. Dr. Hinchman was bishop when the first stone was laid, but he died the same year. Dr. Compton, who succeeded him, was alive at the completion of the work. Thomas Strong, mason, laid the foundation-stone on June 21, 1675, and died in 1681. His brother Edward continued and completed the work. The cost was borne, with the exception of £68,341, by a tax on every chaldron of coal brought into the port of London, "and the cathedral, it is said, deserves to wear, as it does, a smoky coat in consequence." Under "Tothill" some quotations are given from Wicliffe, such as in 2 Samuel v. 7: "Forsooth David toke the *tote hill* Syon"—which indicates that it was a post of observation for the erection of a beacon, or stronghold. Under "Gower Street" it would be well to add that Darwin set up housekeeping here. In Vol. ii., 413, is "par" for "part" or "paragraph" (¶) and in 57, line 6, the word "not" ought to be deleted. It is not easy to convey any adequate idea of the wealth of material found in these volumes. Open them where one will, there is a mass of curious and entertaining matter over which a lover of London lingers with constant delight.

*Forty Years in a Moorland Parish. Reminiscences and Researches in Cleveland.* By Rev. J. C. Atkinson, D.C.L. Incumbent of the Parish. With Maps. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

It is nearly forty-five years since Mr. Atkinson made his way to Cleveland. He had been told that the parish of Danby, with its income of £95 a year, offered a fine field for work, and of this all that he saw on the day of his first visit supplied manifold illustration. A nautical friend, on hearing of his errand to the Dales, burst out: "Going to see yon place! Why, Danby was not found out when they sent Bonaparte to St. Helena, or else they never would have taken the trouble to send him all the way there!" The visitor found a rickety communion table, mean, worm-eaten, covered with a piece of

faded green baize literally worn to rags. Everything about the place showed that it needed a different clergyman from the then incumbent, whose dirty shabby surplice, flung negligently over the paintless, broken altar-rail, was trailing upon the unswept floor. The schoolmaster, who was the vicar's brother, had muddled through his patrimonial land, and had been put into his post in order that he might get a bite of bread. The patron of the living wrote to Mr. Atkinson: "You will find the Wesleyans worthy of much consideration. Indeed, I think that if it had not been for them and their influence, religion would practically have died altogether out in these Dales." The "minister, or church priest," as he was often called, had the oversight of three, or sometimes four parishes, and "the slovenly, perfunctory service once a Sunday, sometimes relieved by none at all," made the new-comer understand "how the only religious life in the district should be among and due to the exertions of the Wesleyans and Primitive Methodists." Such ungrudging testimony is characteristic of the broad-minded writer of these reminiscences. The gentle tolerance shown to Quaker habits is also another illustration of Mr. Atkinson's friendly bearing towards all sections of his parishioners. The "Folklore" of his volume gathers up the fruit of forty years observation on local superstitions. Witches and witch-wood—portions of the mountain-ash cut on St. Helen's Day from certain trees as an antidote against witchcraft—wise men, and other similar subjects, are treated with a great wealth of illustration and anecdote. Mr. Atkinson's antiquarian section demolishes the British-village theory by showing that these underground works are old flint or iron mines. His pages on "Manners and Customs," will perhaps be the most popular part of his book. The weddings and burials of the Dales, especially in the earlier half of this century, supply some racy reading; as also do the quaint "bee customs and notions" of an earlier section. The book is the outcome of a long life of skilled and loving observation. Students of religious life, of old-world ways, of dialect, of ornithology, of folklore, and of antiquarian matters in general, will find Mr. Atkinson's book has much of interest on all these themes. A man who has walked more than 70,000 miles through the Dales, in the course of his work as a clergyman, and "much more than as many again for exercise, relaxation, or recreation," may well claim to know the district about which he writes, and he has certainly surrounded it with new interest for his readers.

*Men and Women of the Time. A Dictionary of Contemporaries.* Thirteenth Edition. Revised and brought down to the present time. By G. WASHINGTON MOON, Hon. F.R.S.L. London: G. Routledge & Sons. 1891.

It is significant to find that this standard work, *Men of the Time*, has widened into *Men and Women of the Time*. It now contains 2450 sketches of present-day celebrities of all nations, 744 of which are published for the

first time. The memoirs previously published have been brought up to date by autobiographical revision, and in that respect this dictionary deserves high praise. No pains have been spared to make it thoroughly reliable and complete. The editor seems, however, to have been strangely lenient both to himself and to his contributors. It is strange that any man of letters could pen such a preface as Mr. Moon gives his readers. We do not need three pages of fine writing to open our eyes to the merits of such a book as this. The size of the sheet has been much enlarged, and there are now more than a thousand pages. It is a pity that the editor has not revised the contributions more strictly. The laudation of Mrs. Louisa Parr's stories is certainly out of place, and it is scarcely necessary to be told that of Mrs. E. R. Pitman's four children, "three are in Her Majesty's Civil Service." Mrs. Reaney is described at length in what seems to be a magazine or newspaper article, its details stretching over nearly three columns. It stands in sharp contrast to the seventeen and a half lines given to Sir Charles Russell, and the nineteen and a quarter allotted to Mr. Matthews. In the last notice, it is scarcely seemly to add that Mr. Matthews' actions as Home Secretary "have not given general satisfaction." The notices of Isaac Sharp and Mrs. Ormiston Chant might also be shortened with advantage. The ladies' part of this book most loudly calls for revision. Perhaps the account of Mrs. J. B. Martin is the most glaring instance of this need of pruning. This lady, "one of the most eloquent female orators of modern times," traces her lineage, we are told, from royal blood, and married a descendant of Washington: "Thus, after the lapse of a century, the families of Washington and of his dearest friend, Alexander Hamilton, are again united! Is this merely a strange coincidence, or is there in it some mysterious lesson for psychologists to study respecting the eternity of friendship and the affinity of souls?" The last paragraph about Miss Bayly—Edna Lyall—is scarcely in place here; and it is amusing to read of Amiel's "Journal in time," instead of *Journal intime*, on p. 928. But whilst the book needs more careful editing, it is a volume which is simply indispensable to all who wish to know the "men and women of the time," and its value is greatly enhanced by the copious additions made in this new and much improved edition. There are some omissions. Surely the name of Mr. Lidderdale ought not to be absent.

*The Historic Notebook, with an Appendix of Battles.* By the Rev. E. COBHAM BREWER, LL.D., Author of "Guide to Science," &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

The "Historic Notebook" is the last of a series of three useful books of reference. The "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable" and the "Reader's Handbook," which gives an account of famous poems, plays, ballads, and romances, with a short sketch of their authors, have already been published. Dr. Brewer became an author at the early age of eighteen, and during a course of sixty years he has been a most miscellaneous reader. The world at large has enjoyed the

benefit of this reading, and has appreciated that privilege. The sale of his *Guide to Science* has been, he says, almost fabulous. The great hand-book maker reads with his pencil and a slip of paper at his side, and puts his notes in different lockers, so that authorship "consists chiefly in selecting, sorting, explaining, correcting, and bringing down to date." All this is told in Dr. Brewer's manly and modest preface. His present work he describes as "a dictionary of historic terms and phrases, jottings of odds and ends of history, which historians leave in the cold, or only incidentally mention in the course of their narratives." Turning to the book itself, we quickly discover that it is absolutely unique. Nowhere else can so much information on historic details be found packed into one volume. The list of "Abdicated Monarchs," with dates, is a good illustration of its value. Eleven out of the twenty-five names have the significant word "forced" added in brackets. The "Ten Persecutions" of the Christian Church, "Seven a Sacred Number," the useful "Founders of Religious Orders," and a cluster of entertaining articles on "Flowers" may be cited as illustrations of the mass of condensed information here put within easy reach. The list of famous thaumaturgists should also be referred to. John Stubb's "Gaping Gulf"—a protest against Queen Elizabeth's marriage to the Duc d'Anjou; Fop's Alley, a railed-off passage in front of the pit of the Italian Opera; Tavernier's diamond; the capital article on "Wonderful Boys," and a host of other paragraphs will be read with pleasure by any one who takes up this volume in a leisure moment. Dr. Brewer has set himself to pack the utmost amount of information into a small space, and he has succeeded admirably. There is no obscurity, no useless verbiage. The volume has a thousand pages with double columns, and is very neatly bound in red cloth. Its Appendix of Battles, alphabetically arranged, with dates and two or three lines of description, will be found extremely useful. If the book were placed in every school and in every family library, it would prove a mine of instruction to all who consulted it. We may add that the word at the end of the paragraph on page viii. has slipped out, and that there is no article on the "Moss-troopers" of the north.

*Heroes of the Nations.*

1. *Horatio Nelson and the Naval Supremacy of England.* By W. Clark Russell, with the collaboration of W. H. Jaques.
2. *Gustavus Adolphus and the Struggle of Protestantism for Existence.* By C. R. L. Fletcher, M.A.
3. *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens.* By Evelyn Abbott, M.A.

New York & London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890, 1891.

The aim of this series is to supply biographical studies of the life and work of representative men who are recognised "as types of the several national

ideals." The books are written by competent hands, and are issued in handsome duodecimo volumes, printed in bold type on good paper, and lavishly supplied with maps and illustrations. As to its general attractiveness, the series carries off the palm amid a multitude of competitors. The list of names to be dealt with is tempting, but why have Washington and Lincoln no place in a set of volumes issued by a great American publishing house? Washington at least seems to demand attention. The series opens with a monograph on Nelson, written by the master-hand of Mr. Clark Russell. It is a volume which every English reader will prize. The sad story of the great admiral's relations with Lady Hamilton is not obtruded—we could almost wish to have had one or two other details supplied—but Mr. Russell handles a delicate subject well, and expresses the feeling of bitter regret with which all right-minded people study this episode in the life of "the greatest sea-officer Britain had ever produced." Nelson's bull-dog tenacity is strikingly brought out. We feel indeed in reading about his engagements somewhat as we do in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. It is too terrible. It is painful to recall the neglect and disappointment from our naval authorities which almost made Nelson quit the service in disgust. His goodness of heart and his power to win the affection of all who sailed in his fleet are well brought out in this first-rate sketch. It is written in Mr. Clark Russell's best style, and rendered more valuable by some capital full-page illustrations.

Mr. Fletcher has caught the spirit of his "hero," Gustavus Adolphus. The chapter on the army with which the Swedish king won his victories gives a useful sketch of the military equipments of the time. The noble unselfishness of the great soldier is seen in his famous address to his men: "I have not enriched myself so much as by one pair of boots since my coming to Germany, though I have had forty tons of gold passing through my hands." The desperate doggedness of Duke Bernard, which enabled the Swiss to drive off Wallenstein's army from the field of Lützen, even after Gustavus himself had fallen, is also very graphically described.

Mr. Evelyn Abbott's *Pericles* is much more than a sketch of the noble Athenian statesman. He first traces the growth of the Athenian empire and the causes which alienated Athens and Sparta; then he gives a study of the government, art, literature, society, and manners of the Periclean Athens. The style in which this task is done may be seen by reference to the graphic description of Cimon—the Nelson of his time. The pages devoted to art and literature in this golden age of Athens will be enjoyed by all readers, but perhaps the last chapter, on the character, appearance, and manners of the great statesman, is the best of all. Such books as these deserve a wide sale.

*The Life of Nelson.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY. With a Preface by J. K. LAUGHTON. London: Cassell & Co. 1891.

We should dissent from Professor Laughton's statement that Southey is now "scarcely remembered except by the virulent abuse which Byron

lavished on his name and works, and by his *Life of Nelson*." What about his *Life of Wesley*, over which Coleridge grew so enthusiastic, and which certainly seems, notwithstanding its errors, to rank higher as a piece of literary work than his Life of our great sailor? Despite his want of nautical skill, Southey's *Nelson* won the hearts of a multitude of English readers, and still holds, after nearly eighty years, its place as an English classic. We do not like Professor Laughton's comment on the *liaison* with Lady Hamilton, that "there are many, more familiar than Southey was with the ways of this wicked world, to whom the fault will rather endear the memory of one who, while a hero, was still a man." Southey says nothing as to this matter which any upright man would not feel painfully compelled to endorse. His biography is characterised by warm admiration of the great admiral, and this capital edition, with good type and eight full-page illustrations, ought to have a wide circulation in this year of the Naval Exhibition.

*Nelson's Words and Deeds. A Selection from the Dispatches and Correspondence of Horatio Nelson.* Edited by W. CLARK RUSSELL. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1890.

This little book of selections from Nelson's dispatches and correspondence gives a vivid portrait of England's great sea hero. No one can read Mr. Russell's extracts without seeing what a passion for glory burned in the heart of the sailor who was a stranger to fear, and who hated France and Napoleon with a passion which is almost startling to present-day readers. His letters show what a warm heart the great sailor had, and many of his sayings are very fine. "One of my greatest boasts," he said, "is that no man can ever say I told a lie." It is pleasing to read the great sailor's acknowledgment of the courage and skill of the officers and men who served under him. From the last pages we see how Lady Hamilton stole the brave man's heart away from his poor wife. It is a sad blot on the record of this heroic life. Surgeon Beatty's touching account of the great admiral's death on board the *Victory* forms an appropriate sequel to the extracts from the letters and dispatches. The book deserves a place beside Mr. Clark Russell's biography of Nelson.

*Life of Sir John Franklin and the North-West Passage.* By Captain ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM, R.N., A.D.C. London: George Philip & Son. 1891.

Sir John Franklin well deserves his place in this admirable series of monographs on "The World's Great Explorers." Born in the little Lincolnshire town of Spilsby, he served under Nelson at Copenhagen and Trafalgar, and was initiated into the art of nautical survey under his distinguished relative Captain Flinders. He was thus prepared for those Arctic expeditions which

have won him an enduring reputation. Franklin had a passion for this work of discovery, and familiar though he had become with its hardships, he exulted in the task of commanding his last expedition. "He was wild with delight at the honour thus conferred upon him, and could hardly conceal his enthusiastic impatience to get away as speedily as possible." Certainly, life in the Arctic regions had many marvels and adventures. The description of an enormous mass detached from a glacier sliding down into the sea from a height of at least two hundred feet is thrilling. Its weight was computed at about 421,640 tons, and the heavy rollers which it caused in the sea were heard at a distance of four miles. The description of Franklin's brig in a pack of ice is also very fine. The whole course of Arctic discovery, before and after Franklin, is clearly traced, and some valuable maps greatly assist the reader to master the geography of the subject. The last voyage and death of the great explorer, the heroism of his noble wife and the brave men who finally unravelled his fate, are themes to which Captain Markham knows how to do justice. His book is one of sustained interest and full of valuable information well and clearly put. It has some good portraits of Arctic celebrities.

*Holland and its People.* By EDMONDO DE AMICIS. Translated from the Italian by CAROLINE TILTON. Vandyke Edition. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890.

Much has been written about Holland, but those who have read the best books will have a warm welcome for this delightful volume. Its charm consists in its vivid presentment of matters which are familiar to travellers, and which seem familiar even to those who have only the pleasure of seeing Holland through the eyes of others. Coming from Italy, Signor de Amicis was the more impressed by the constant war with the sea which the brave Hollanders daily wage. His description of this great sea-fight is inimitable. The tribute to the cleanliness of the people is most entertaining. Dutch servants seem to lose all the national stolidity as they throw themselves into their work. The love of cleanliness is indeed a sort of religion—a national passion. "Here," said a gentleman, "a house is soaped, and sponged, and rubbed, like a person. It is not cleaning, it is making a toilette." The desolate and bare interiors of the churches, "half-saddened and half-scandalised" the visitor, who had been accustomed to the magnificent interiors of Spain and Italy. He was struck by the voracious appetites of the people, "who care more for quantity than quality," and the love of smoking, which is as striking as the passion for cleanliness. "In the streets you see persons lighting a fresh cigar with the burning stump of the last one, without pausing in their walk, and with the busy air of people who do not wish to lose a moment of time or a mouthful of smoke. Many go to sleep with pipe in mouth, relight it if they wake in the night, and again in the morning before they step out of bed." The story of Van Klaes, or Father Great-pipe, is one of the most humorous

incidents in these pages. The book is crowded with information as to picture-galleries and everything of interest to be seen in Holland, given with a brightness and a humour which are most appetising. There are one or two little points which need a touch of revision, but the book seems to have lost none of its sparkle and charm in translation. It is beautifully bound, and profusely illustrated with capital pictures of all objects of interest.

*Portugal.* By H. MORSE STEPHENS, Balliol College, Oxford. London: T. F. Unwin. 1891.

Mr. Stephens has set himself to furnish "a short chronological history of Portugal" for English readers. Such a book was greatly needed, and in preparing it the writer has availed himself of the researches of the latest Portuguese historians. His opening pages show how the western portion of the Iberian peninsula gained separate existence as a nation. Philip II. of Spain did indeed annex the country for a time to his dominion, but the people that had produced Vasco da Gama and Albuquerque, with other great sailors and explorers, and had been made famous by the genius of Camoens, could not tamely submit to be merged in Spain. The chapters devoted to the Portuguese explorers, and to the Portuguese in India and Brazil, will be read with special interest. That was "the heroic age" of the nation, and has become part of the history of the world. The sketch is brought down to the present day, but very small space is given to the present condition of the country and its people. That seems the greatest fault in this excellent history. There is a chronological table, and the book is exceedingly well illustrated. It is a volume which cannot fail to be of service to many English readers.

*A Girl in the Karpathians.* By MÉNIE MURIEL DOWIE. London: G. Philip and Son. 1891.

It is somewhat startling to find a young Scotch lady spending her summer holiday in such an adventurous fashion in East Galicia. Miss Dowie stepped out alone between eleven and twelve one night on the railway platform at Kolomyja, with her valise in one hand, her green hunting-sack and leather bag in the other, and someone in the rear bearing her saddle in its case. Thus she pushed through the crowd of Jews and peasants, who "jostled one another on the platform and yelled in common," to a little two-horse fly which bore her to "the best hotel" in the place. Here she made herself at home in the magnificent guest-chamber which looked into the busy square. Her watch and money were put under the massive white pillow, her revolver was laid on a chair, and thus an hour was quietly spent over tea and cigarettes. After a day in the town Miss Dowie put on her tweed suit—skirt, coat, and knickerbockers—for her journey to the mountains. Her course was made easier by a young Polish painter whom she met at the first village where she stayed. He had travelled over the whole district, and was able to direct her to the best hostels. Miss

Dowie seems indeed to have fallen on her feet. The honesty and kindliness of the people whom she met made her wanderings very enjoyable. In one place the house of the absent priest was set at her service without charge, in another she was hospitably entertained by the doctor. She saw much of the people. The peasant lives on friendly terms with his Jewish neighbours, but has none of the Jew's genius for finance. "He is happy, in his melancholy mountain way, with his lot and his opportunities." The clergy of the Greek Church exercises no check on "the blind, unrepentant, wholesale immorality of the peasants." There is, in fact, "no such thing as a moral standard in any Ruthenian village" that Miss Dowie saw. It is painful to read of one of the prettiest girls in a village reeling down the street drunk at four o'clock on a Sunday afternoon, and painful also to find Miss Howie herself treating all the villagers to drink that same Sunday afternoon. We are sorry that the Scotch visitor lost an opportunity of setting a good example in this matter, but we owe her hearty thanks for an unaffected chronicle of travel which, despite its somewhat aggressive and Bohemian tone, is fresh, vivid, instructive, and full of pleasant humour.

*John Kenneth Mackenzie, Medical Missionary to China.* By Mrs. BRYSON. With Portrait. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1891.

Mrs. Bryson has had valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume from her husband, who was Dr. Mackenzie's colleague both at Hankow and Tien-tsin, as well as from Dr. Roberts, who took Mackenzie's place after his lamented death on Easter Day, 1888. The result is a biography which deserves to rank beside the story of J. G. Paton and Mackay of Uganda. There is little exciting adventure to record, though Dr. Mackenzie had to face some angry mobs during his country tours of evangelisation. Some painful cases of persecution which came under his notice show how sorely the faith and courage of native converts in China were tested. The chief interest of the book is the light it throws on medical missions. Dr. Mackenzie was an enthusiast in this work. He wrote to his brother: "I am passionately fond of surgery, and never happier than when I am about to undertake some big operation." There was ample scope for such a man in the cases of tumour and ophthalmia which he had to treat at Hankow and Tsien-tsin, and when once the prejudice of the Chinese was overcome, patients poured into the missionary hospital. No one will wonder at the eagerness of people who had so long been at the mercy of the Chinese doctors. They tried to cure a child of bronchitis by a poultice of scorpions, and a broth made of scorpion stings. A man suffering from severe dyspepsia had six needles stuck into the gastric region by the priest-doctor whom he consulted, and other patients were similarly handled. Dr. Mackenzie was able to bring unspeakable relief to a multitude of sufferers. He found in the villages which he visited with Mr. Griffith John that "eye disease is terribly prevalent, almost every sixth person having some variety of

ophthalmia." The strain upon the English missionary was very severe, for Dr. Mackenzie had not only to perform 253 operations in his three years at Hankow, and to treat 993 cases of opium smoking, but he had to master the language, and soon took an active part in the evangelising work of the mission. On his removal to Tien-tsin, where he won the special favour of the Viceroy and had the pleasure of seeing a free hospital founded, he had 589 operations to perform in the year 1886, besides teaching medical students, and other work. Mrs. Bryson has shown much skill in preparing this stimulating record of thirteen years' fruitful labour in China. It is a comfort to know that the work still prospers.

*"Fritz" of Prussia, Germany's Second Emperor.* By LUCY TAYLOR. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1891.

The touching life of "Fritz" of Prussia is well told by Miss Taylor. Her earlier chapters on "Glimpses of Prussia in the Olden Time," and "Prussia and Napoleon," give a general view of the history of the country, garnished with stories that make it pleasant reading for young and old. The happy courtship and marriage of "Fritz" to our Princess Royal supply matter for some delightful pages; then the story winds on through the days of victory on the battle-field to that long fight with cancer which all the world followed with such eager sympathy. The true heroism of Frederick William of Prussia is best seen in those terrible days of suspense and pain, during which he never lost his thoughtful care for others, nor his calm fortitude. Miss Taylor has shown great judgment in giving a subordinate place to the medical strife which raged round the sick man. She is content to describe the heroic patience of the brave-hearted emperor, and all who read her delightful book will share her enthusiasm for one of the noblest princes of this century. The volume is very neatly bound, and has portraits of the three emperors of Germany. We should have liked one of the Princess Royal also.

*The English Constitution.* By EMILE BOUTMY. Translated by ISABEL M. EADMEN. With an Introduction by Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Professor of Jurisprudence, Oxford. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This is an excellent translation of a small but truly valuable essay on the English Constitution by an able and accomplished French student of history and social economy. Sir Frederick Pollock affirms that, "as a concise view of the English Constitution on the social and economic side," it has special merits. He adds that it has a positive value even for "masters in history and political science," as "the frank and lucid record of the impression made by the peculiar course of English constitutional changes on a foreign observer of exceptionally good intelligence and information."

*Leaders in Science. Charles Darwin: his Life and Work.* By CHARLES FREDERICK HOLDER. London: Putnam's Sons. 1891.

Mr. Holder's volume gives, in compact form, the chief facts of the great scientist's life, with a somewhat extended account of his voyage in the *Beagle*, his work after his return to England, and the general bearings of his doctrine of evolution. The book has been prepared with special reference to young readers, and none will enjoy it more than they. The first three chapters, entitled "The Boy Darwin," "College Days," and "The Young Naturalist," will help them to enter at once into Darwin's aims and achievements, and they will find something to instruct and amuse on every page. It is a capital outline of Darwin's life, which will be read with pleasure from beginning to end, and it has twenty-eight full-page illustrations, which add greatly to the charm of a fascinating biography. It supplies a real want in a most satisfactory way. Few may be able to purchase the "Life and Letters" of Darwin, but this volume is well within the reach of all.

*Letters of Samuel Rutherford.* With a Sketch of his Life and Biographical Notices of his Correspondents. By the Rev. ANDREW A. BONAR, D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1891.

This is the most complete edition of Rutherford's letters that has appeared. It is also the most thoroughly equipped with all that may enable a reader to understand and enter into the spirit of those wonderful outpourings of the afflicted and persecuted saint which have become one of the chief treasures of Scotland. Dr. Bonar's admirable sketch of Rutherford gives the facts of his somewhat uneventful life in brief compass. It is somewhat strange to find this man of seraphic piety labouring long without fruit at Anwoth. "I would be glad," he says, "of one soul, to be a crown of joy and rejoicing in the day of Christ." Dr. Bonar furnishes some pleasing particulars of Rutherford's devotion to his flock. Young and old, rich and poor, they all lay near to the heart of this devoted pastor, and they returned his love. When he was banished to Aberdeen, a deputation of his parishioners accompanied him to beguile the tedium of the journey. In the "northern capital" he foiled his opponents in disputation, and was often cheered by visitors from Orkney and Caithness, but his deepest affliction was the separation from his people at Anwoth. In 1638, after eighteen months of absence, he was able to go back to his old flock. "No sound of the Word of God" had been heard in the kirk since he was banished, so that there was great joy among his people at his return. Next year, much to his regret, he was compelled to leave Anwoth to become Principal of the New College in

St. Andrews, where he laboured till 1661. With the Restoration troubles burst upon him. He was lying on his death-bed when the summons came to appear before Parliament on a charge of high treason. "Ere your day arrive," he answered; "I will be where few kings and great folks come." Dr. Bonar's notes supply all details as to the persons to whom the letters are written, and the historical allusions contained in them. There is a good Glossary, a General Index and an Index of Subjects, a list of Rutherford's works, and a valuable Appendix, which gives particulars as to the various editions of the letters, a curious sample of their old orthography, and Mrs. Cousins' well-known hymn, "Glory, glory dwelleth in Immanuel's land," which is based on Rutherford's "Last Words," and is a mosaic composed of his most remarkable utterances. The handsome volume, with its bold type, makes a worthy edition of Rutherford, which all lovers of his letters will covet.

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## BELLES LETTRES.

*The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer.* Edited by RICHARD MORRIS, LL.D. With Memoir by Sir RICHARD NICOLAS. London: George Bell & Sons. 1891.

THE reissue of the "Aldine Edition of British Poets" deserves a hearty welcome. The volumes are now published at half-a-crown instead of five shillings, but good workmanship has not been sacrificed to cheapness. They are printed by the Chiswick Press, on toned paper, in bold, clear type, and are tastefully bound in red cloth. More satisfactory work it would not be easy to turn out. Thirteen volumes, including Blake, Keats, Campbell, Gray, and Goldsmith have already been issued. There could be no more capable editor for Chaucer than Dr. Morris. His Glossary and Introduction, given in the first volume with Sir H. Nicolas's memoir, supply all the material needed for an intelligent study of the poet. The Glossary not only gives the meaning of a word, but indicates where it is to be found in the poems. Dr. Morris's "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer," the helpful hints on pronunciation, and his "Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales" are the cream of many years of special study. Sir H. Nicolas was careful to sift the evidence as to the incidents of Chaucer's life, so that there is a judicious reserve about his sketch which was absent in some of the earlier biographies. We must not forget to add that an excellent steel engraving of the poet is prefixed to the first volume. This is a worthy edition of the works of the Father of English poetry.

*Eight Days.* By R. E. Forrest. In Three Volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1891.

*Eight Days* is a tale of the Indian Mutiny, which makes its readers familiar with the terrible events which sent a thrill of horror throughout the civilised world forty years ago. The scene is laid at Khizrabad, a town near to Delhi, and much resembling it in many particulars. The sketch of the English residents with which the story opens introduces us to a charming bevy of girls bent on love and pleasure, little dreaming of the awful tragedy about to be enacted in Khizrabad. Their happy gaiety, standing as they do on the edge of the volcano, forms a striking prelude to the story. We are next introduced to their fathers, lovers, and friends, forming the best circle of Anglo-Indian society in the place. Mr. Forrest makes us familiar with Hindoo conspirators, introduces us to the Nawab's palace, and to his beautiful wife, the Begum, who is the demon of the story. All the causes of the coming mutiny are thus laid bare. When at last the storm bursts the English officers are utterly staggered. No one could believe that the people who a moment before had been abjectly submissive were now ready to plunder and slay their former masters. Those scenes of ruthless slaughter, in which brave men and gentle ladies perished, are almost too terrible. But the story is enthralling. We sometimes wish that our feelings might be considered a little more, yet a faithful portraiture of the Indian Mutiny cannot be pleasant reading, especially when it deals, as *Eight Days* deals, "with the real adventures of real people." Any one who wishes to form a vivid notion of the Mutiny will find this the book to read. Major Fane wins the reader's admiration at the beginning of the story by his cool courage in destroying a cobra; the same fearlessness is conspicuous in his conduct in the blowing up of the fort. One is glad to find him and his family emerge safely at the close of these eight days of mutiny and murder. Such a man makes one proud of his countrymen. The chapter entitled "A Hunting Morning" shows how familiar Mr. Forrest is with every phase of Indian sport. *Eight Days* is certainly one of the most powerful, best sustained, and instructive stories on India and the Mutiny that we possess.

## ART AND ÆSTHETICS IN FRANCE.

In the second May issue of *L'Art* * M. Anthony Valabrègue continues a careful and critical study, begun in March, of the little-known seventeenth century engraver, Abraham Bosse, in whose plates the life of old Touraine is reflected in all its phases. Bosse was the Adrian van Ostade of France, but he was also a satirist of no mean pretensions, and M. Valabrègue does not hesitate to describe him as Hogarth and Goya in one. The fine gentleman and lady, got up regardless of expense, with laces and ribbons and gewgaws innumerable, until the sumptuary edict of Louis Treize compels them sorrowfully to divest them-

* *Librairie de L'Art*, 29 Cité d'Aiatin, Paris.

selves of a portion of their superfluous finery; the severe Calvinistic bourgeois and bourgeoise in their stiff and sombre costumes; the hectoring "capitaine Fracasse," a Spanish type immortalised by Corneille and Théophile Gautier, all ruff, rapier, and rhodomontade, with, by way of foil, a grave and self-respecting French officer, less bellicose and more determined, waiting quietly sword in hand for the appearance of the gentleman to whom he is to give satisfaction; the various incidents, grave and gay, of married life; such are some of the subjects which engaged Bosse's fine and facile *burin*. The illustrations which accompany the letterpress afford some pleasant peeps into old French interiors. There is also a charming sketch in the second April issue of the recently deceased cattle painter, Van Marcke de Lummen, by M. Emile Michel.

*Lord Tennyson and the Bible.* By GEORGE LESTER. London: Howe & Co. 1891.

Mr. Lester's elegant little volume will certainly be useful to all who wish to cull apt illustrations from Tennyson for sermons or addresses. It is the fruit of long study of the Poet Laureate, and is arranged in the order of the Sacred Books, so that any one who uses it can see in a moment what parts of the Bible have impressed Tennyson. The four hundred and fifty allusions here traced range from Genesis to Revelation. There are very few books of Scripture which have not left some mark on the Laureate's verse. We are rather surprised, however, to find no allusion to the books of Ezra or Nehemiah, or to the Eleventh of Hebrews. Mr. Lester's essay, "Concerning Lord Tennyson's Knowledge and Use of the Bible," is both well written and suggestive. Altogether this is a painstaking piece of work.

*Weeds from a Wild Garden.* London: Elliot Stock. 1891.

"The Bell of Langton Hall," the opening poem of this volume, shows considerable skill in the working out of its theme, and no little facility in the use of a difficult metre. There is a decided charm about poor Helen, and the half monastic Edmund, who wins her heart, yet does not know how to treat the girl who has given herself to him with such perfect trust. His recluse ways wound the gentle young wife, who dies at the birth of her first child. "A Graveyard Reverie" and "A Sketch" are somewhat sombre, though not without power.

*To Muriel Beatified.* Poems by LESLIE THAIN. Brechin: T. H. Edwards.

This is announced as a third and much enlarged edition of the poem, "To Muriel Beatified." We presume, therefore, that the book has found some purchasers, and probably some admirers. We have, unfortunately, failed to find poetry in its verses, or indeed much reason in its rhyme. The spirit of some of the closing stanzas is good, but in some parts of this rhapsody the author falls short of the sublime by the one proverbially fatal step.

# MISCELLANEOUS.

*Canada and the Canadian Question.* By GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L. London: Macmillan. 1891.

In not *facile princeps*, Mr. Goldwin Smith's is easily one of the three chief books of the quarter. The other two, as will be gathered from extended articles in this number, are Canon Scott Holland's *Memoir of Jenny Lind*, and *The Oxford Movement*, by the late Dean Church. We much regret that we are not able to devote an equal space to Mr. Smith. An adequate criticism of his work would require a volume almost as large and detailed as his own. For the present, a brief and general notice must suffice.

The subject is one of permanent and growing interest, and the treatment of it by a writer so distinguished and accomplished can scarcely fail to be of permanent interest and value. The author's style—so clear, so keen, so full of life and movement, so brilliant at times, and always so perfectly adapted to the matter—his wide experience, his ample information, his shrewdness, his humour, have never been displayed to greater advantage. We wish we could have added that these splendid literary powers had never been employed to better purpose or in a worthier cause. The general effect of Mr. Smith's book will be, we fear, to aggravate many of the evils of which he complains, and to magnify rather than to diminish the difficulties he so graphically describes in the position and prospects of Canadian affairs.

Still the book is one that must be read by all who wish to know what can be said by those who think that the destiny of the Dominion is, not to continue in its present position of quasi-dependence on the British Crown, nor yet to form part of that great Confederation of British nations contemplated by the Imperial Federation League, but to be merged in the Republic to the south; and, when the book is closed, the reader will feel sure that all that can be said has now been said, and said in quite the most persuasive way on one side of the question. But—and it is only right to say that the impression will have been largely produced by the frank admissions made at every turn of the argument by Mr. Smith himself, who is one of the fairest-minded of controversialists—the student should also rise from the perusal of this powerful statement of the case for the political fusion of the whole of the North American Continent with the impression that there is another, and, as we think, likelier and more desirable, future for our Canadian fellow-subjects, who for a century and more have, on the whole, maintained a dignified and friendly, and in our opinion salutary, separation—salutary to their neighbours as well as to themselves—from the United States.

With these reserves, which have reference exclusively to the mother idea of the treatise, we can most cordially commend the book. It is full of interest

and full of charm from beginning to end. Even the chapter on the Federal Polity of the Dominion is made lively reading by the author's perfect mastery of the resources of his art. The chapters on the history, the products, the social, political, and religious characteristics of the several provinces, and on their mutual relations—or, as Mr. Smith would say, their want of mutual relations—and connections, are also packed with facts and observations which, apart from their immediate bearing on its central thesis, give both weight and value to the book. The copious list of contents is some compensation for the lack of an index, and the excellent map at the end of the volume is of constant service to the reader. As a specimen of the author's workmanship we append the substance of his opening paragraph, which contains at once a statement of his subject and the bases of his argument for union with the States:

"Whoever wishes to know what Canada is, and to understand the Canadian question, should begin by turning from the political to the natural map. The political map displays a vast and unbroken area of territory, extending from the boundary of the United States up to the North Pole, and equalling or surpassing the United States in magnitude. The physical map displays four separate projections of the cultivable and habitable part of the continent into arctic waste. The four vary greatly in size, and one of them is very large. . . . . The habitable and cultivable parts of these blocks of territory are not contiguous, but are divided from each other by great barriers of nature, wide and irreclaimable wildernesses or manifold chains of mountains. . . . . Each of the blocks, on the other hand, is closely connected by nature, physically and economically, with that portion of the habitable and cultivable continent to the south of it which it immediately adjoins, and in which are its natural markets. . . . . Between the divisions of the Dominion there is hardly any natural trade, and but little even of forced trade has been called into existence under a stringent system of protection. . . . Between the two provinces of Old Canada, though there is no physical barrier, there is an ethnological barrier of the strongest kind, one being British, the other thoroughly French, while the antagonism of race is intensified by that of religion. Such is the real Canada. Whether the four blocks of territory constituting the Dominion can for ever be kept by political agencies united among themselves and separate from their continent, of which geographically, economically, and, with the exception of Quebec, ethnologically, they are parts, is the Canadian question."

*Problems of Poverty: An Inquiry into the Industrial Condition of the Poor.* By J. A. HOBSON, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

*Trade Unionism New and Old.* By GEORGE HOWELL, M.P. London: Methuen & Co. 1890.

We give a hearty welcome to these earlier issues of the two new series of handbooks projected by Messrs Methuen. The first series, which is of wider scope than the second, is entitled "University Extension Series," and, under the able editorship of Principal Symes of Nottingham University College, will treat of art and industry, science and philosophy, language, literature, history. Competent writers have been selected, and all the subjects are treated

in a broad and philosophic spirit. If we may judge by the first volume, we should anticipate for the series a large and speedy success. Mr. Hobson has not only dealt with his subject in a broad and philosophic spirit, but has contrived to put into a small compass a mass of sifted materials for the formation of an enlightened and sober judgment on the various problems connected with the poverty of the people, which will be of the greatest service to those whose duty calls them to take part in social and in public life. His object has been not to pronounce judgment, but to direct inquiry with respect to the various topics discussed; and this perhaps is what is needed most just now. Before the problems of poverty can be solved, the study of them must be placed upon a solid scientific basis, and it is with no ordinary satisfaction that we see so many men of light and leading issuing from their academic cloisters and mingling with the "citizen-students," with whom the practical solution of these puzzling problems so largely rests. We have no space for the one criticism that was suggested by a perusal of Mr. Hobson's paragraph headed "Civilization ascends from Natural to Moral" in his valuable chapter on "The Moral Aspects of Poverty." Moreover, we are anxious that all our readers should study the book for themselves. They will thank us for so strongly recommending it, and will place it on their shelves among their books of reference for constant use. The book is extremely well written and well arranged, and its value is enhanced by a copious list of authorities.

Mr. Howell's volume belongs to the other series of which we spoke—a series entitled "Social Questions of To-day," the editorship of which has been entrusted to the capable hands of Mr. H. de B. Gibbons, M.A., and, though not so attractive from a literary point of view, is of considerable interest and value. Mr. Howell writes with the authority of long and intimate acquaintance with Trade Unionism in all its stages and phases, and writes in a straightforward, business-like style. His great temptation lies in the direction of irritability at the new Unionism, or rather at some of the new Unionists, whose ways he does not like; but in this little volume we are glad to miss the not altogether inexcusable bitterness which spoiled and weakened some of his recent philippics against them—notably in his essay on "Liberty for Labour" in "A Plea for Liberty," noticed in these pages last quarter. In commending this volume, which is chiefly, though not exclusively, historical, we may add that it is in no sense a reproduction, or even an epitome of the author's well-known and elaborate work on "The Conflicts of Capital and Labour," but that it is an original and handy volume, written with a special view to the more recent developments of Trade Unionism. The rawness and rashness of some of the more Socialistic of the leaders of the newer Unions is sufficiently exposed, but with what in Mr. Howell may be termed tenderness. As a handbook on the subject we should not know where to look for its equal in intelligence and information, and sound, sober sense.

*The Scope and Method of Political Economy.* By JOHN NEVILLE KEYNES, M.A., University Lecturer in Moral Science, and late Fellow of Pembroke College, in the University of Cambridge; late Examiner in Political Economy in the University of London. London: Macmillan & Co.; and New York. 1891.

A science is in a bad way when its professors dispute about its scope and method, and such is the result to which a century of active thinking has brought political economy. Its halcyon days were the second quarter of the present century, when Ricardo reigned supreme, and its laws were supposed to have the certainty and universality of mathematical axioms. In the sixties the tide began to turn. Thornton, Cliffe Leslie, and others attacked one of its cardinal doctrines, the "wages fund" theory, and compelled Mill to surrender it. Cliffe Leslie pushed his polemic still further, submitted to severe scrutiny most of its doctrines, or, shall we say, dogmas, and pronounced them worse than valueless. Roscher and others in Germany advanced similar views, and the science has been in imminent danger of being engulfed in the vast waste of sociological speculation. Mr. Keynes, in the little treatise before us, attempts to redefine the province and method of the science. He protests against the old deductive method being entirely abandoned—indeed he seems to hold strongly to the substantial truth of its results; but he admits the necessity of employing induction to supplement, verify, and correct them. His views on the whole appear to us extremely reasonable. We hold that all concrete science is necessarily both deductive and inductive. Merely to accumulate facts is surely as useless an exercise as merely to spin theories. Without some rough preliminary theory, commonly called an hypothesis, facts are merely blind. Doubtless the older economists were unduly neglectful of fact, but thought only goes to the opposite pole of abstraction when it discards theory altogether and sets about collecting statistics of social evolution without any clue to guide it in their selection and arrangement; and just such a clue is afforded by the abstract theory of the older school. Induction and deduction must go hand in hand in political economy as in chemistry, or geology, or biology. We heartily commend Mr. Keynes' lucid and learned little book to the attention of all who are interested in the future of this important branch of speculation.

*A Short History of Political Economy in England.* From Adam Smith to Arnold Toynbee. By L. L. PRICE, M.A. London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

This volume belongs to a "University Extension Series," which deals with historical, literary and economic subjects in a style that will make the series

of great service for University students and home-reading circles. Mr. Price divides his subject into eight chapters, on Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, J. S. Mill, Cairnes and Leslie, Bagehot, Jevons, Fawcett, and Toynbee. The special characteristics of each of these economists are clearly stated, with some details of their biography, which add considerable interest to the studies, and help a reader to understand the position of each writer. We do not know a more readable introduction to political economy than this historical survey of the work of its leading exponents. It is never dull or obscure. It is an exceedingly useful manual, which deserves a wide circulation. The style is not above criticism. We read of Toynbee on p. 184, that "he felt himself an attraction for the army," instead of "he himself felt," and other sentences are incomplete or awkwardly phrased.

1. *A History of Political Economy.* By JOHN KELLIS INGRAM, LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

2. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH, LL.D. With Life of the Author, an Introductory Discourse, Notes, and Supplemental Dissertations. By J. R. MCCULLOCH, Esq. London: A. & C. Black.

1. Mr. Ingram's *History of Political Economy* is one of those books which every student ought to master. It covers the whole field from the time of the Greeks and Romans down to the present day, and never fails to preserve a judicial impartiality in dealing with all schools of writers. It is a great convenience both to students and general readers to have Mr. Ingram's well-known article on "Political Economy" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* issued in such a form. Its account of Continental economists is exceedingly useful. We are glad to see that ample justice is done to Robert Jones of Haileybury, whose work John Stuart Mill used somewhat extensively. Mr. Ingram's criticism is both lucid and sagacious. He draws attention to "a certain want of practical sense," in J. S. Mill—"a failure to recognise and acquiesce in the necessary conditions of human life." The writings of Jevons give occasion to point out "that the application of mathematics in the higher sense to economics must necessarily fail"—a conclusion in which laborious study of Jevons certainly leads one to concur. The book is an admirable epitome of economic history.

2. McCulloch's edition of *The Wealth of Nations* still retains its popularity. The brief biography of Adam Smith is a good introduction to this "immortal work," and the notes help to bring the treatise in various points up to our own times. There is also a capital index. Adam Smith's book lies at the root of English political economy, so that every student of the science needs to master it. This is a pleasing duty, for there are few writers who surround

political economy with such charm as Adam Smith. The fact that this is a fifth edition speaks well both for this standard work and its editor.

*The Monetary Question.* By G. M. BOISSEVAIN. Translated from the French by G. TOWNSEND WARNER. London: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

This essay obtained a prize offered by Sir H. M. Meysey-Thompson at the Paris Monetary Congress of 1889. It is an able argument in favour of bimetallism, which the writer regards as the best, and indeed the only real solution of the monetary problem. He holds that this is the only means for securing monetary unity in the commercial world, that it gives the best possible guarantee of the stability of the value of money, and is the best basis for a sound and permanently efficacious monetary organisation. There is evidently a considerable set of opinion in favour of bimetallism, and this pamphlet will show that its advocates have a strong case, but M. Boissevain sees that there is not much prospect of any speedy triumph for the cause which he has espoused.

*The Book-Hunter, &c.* By JOHN HILL BURTON, D.C.L., LL.D. A New Edition, with Portrait. William Blackwood & Sons.

This tasteful edition of Burton's well-known volume ought to introduce it into many new circles. It is printed in bold type, on rough paper with good margins, and is very neatly bound. The portrait represents the author in some moment of triumph coming away from an old book-stall with well-laden pocket and a little volume in his hand, a smile of satisfaction playing on his face. This picture forms a suitable introduction to the racy talks about book-hunters, book-auctions, book-clubs, libraries, and collections of pamphlets and rare tracts. The grace of style and the pleasant humour which brighten these pages make the book a delightful companion for a leisure hour. The sketch of Archdeacon Meadow coming home "penniless, followed by a waggon containing 372 copies of rare editions of the Bible"; the humorous account of the collector's first purchase of a duplicate, the graphic pages on De Quincey, the story of the minister who took his Greek Testament to church, and in a fit of absent-mindedness passed it on to a venerable woman that she might see the text, all deserve to be mentioned. There is an amusing description of Grangerism—the mania for wholesale illustrating—and a capital sketch of the Duke of Roxburghe and the dispersion of his famous library. Richard Heber of Hodnet furnishes a theme for some pleasing pages. We have been amused by the account of old title-pages which "afforded to controversialists a means of condensing the pith of their malignity towards each other, and throwing it, as it were, right in the face of the

adversary." Some good stories are told about Robert Surtees, the historian of Durham, and Robert Wodrow, the chronicler of the sufferings of the Church of Scotland. Dip where you will in this volume there is entertainment and instruction in abundance.

*Woodland, Moor, and Stream.* Being the Notes of a Naturalist. Second Edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1890.

Some time ago we called the attention of our readers to *Woodland, Moor, and Stream* as one of those rare books which bear witness to a lifetime of loving observation of Nature in some of her most charming moods. We are glad to welcome a second edition of a volume which ought to be in the hands of all naturalists. The writer's sketches of the Kentish Marshes preserve the memory of times when no railway had come to scatter the sea-birds and other denizens of the shore region of North Kent. The chapter on "Haunts of the Otter" takes us to the banks of the Mole, in sight of Hampton Court. Foxes, birds of prey, rooks and their relatives, supply chapters full of information about natural history. The book is one which deserves to rank with Richard Jefferies' best work. The style charms by its clearness and freedom from all affectation, whilst the facts are so interesting, and so fresh, that one returns again and again to these papers with renewed pleasure.

*Handbook and Index to the Minutes of the Conference: showing the Growth and Development of the Wesleyan Methodist Constitution, from the First Conference, 1744, to 1890.* By the Rev. CHARLES E. WANSBROUGH, with an Introduction by the Rev. GEORGE OSBORN, D.D. London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room. 1890.

It is not easy to do adequate justice to the painstaking and sagacious work put into this Index. It must henceforth be the inseparable companion of the Minutes of Conference, whether in the stout octavo volumes or in the yearly crown octavo copies published since 1878. The late Dr. Osborn lays stress, in his Introduction, on the fact that these volumes are the one source of "the original and authentic materials of Methodist history. Doctrine, legislation, and statistics are all here. And no commentator, annotator, or analyst can supply the place of these 'Statutes at Large,' or supersede their authority." The great Methodist bibliograph and antiquarian, whose loss the Connexion mourns, gives a few salient facts about the publication of the Early Minutes which form a fitting introduction to Mr. Wansbrough's volume. A glance at almost any of his pages will reveal the value of this Index. The speaker or writer who wishes to dilate on Methodist loyalty need only turn to

"Addresses, patriotic," to see what interest the Connexion has taken in all royal events from the time of George III. To look up the references under "Class-meetings" would in itself furnish an epitome of the spiritual history of Methodism. "Book Affairs" gives a wonderful conspectus of the literary activities of the Church, whilst the entries under "Probationers," "Sabbath," "Schools Fund," and similar articles, group together the references to these subjects in a way that will help any one who uses this Index to find in a moment what he wants in the library of nearly thirty-five volumes of Minutes. It is not a bare index. It contains many particulars as to the constitution of a Methodist Sunday-school, and other points, which will be found very convenient for easy reference. The six Appendices include Wesley's Deed Poll, the Form of Discipline, and other important Methodist documents which a constitutionalist often needs to consult. Mr. Wansbrough has laid his Church under great obligation by this invaluable handbook.

*Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees*, 1869–1887. By IGNAZ VON DÖLLINGER. Authorised Translation. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1891.

These "Declarations and Letters" have been collected and are published by Professor Reusch, of Bonn. They are exceedingly interesting, not only because of their relation to Dr. Döllinger's personal character and history, but because of the light they throw on the tactics and the specific character of the Popery of to-day—a Popery in certain respects more stringent and far-reaching in its intolerance and contempt of human reason than at any former period, and which, as these letters show, would be as inquisitorial and unrelenting in its persecutions as ever, if its power were only correspondent to its claims and its will. This book can hardly be satisfactory or pleasant reading for Cardinal Manning, if it should come into his hands. It throws some light upon the far past, as well as on recent history. Döllinger's recent experiences tended continually to separate him more and more from Rome and its mediæval and modern development. But, alas! his historical collections and preparations seem never likely to be published in any form.

*Dictionnaire Générale de la Langue Française du Commencement du XVII. Siècle jusqu'à nos jours précédé d'un Traité de la Formation de la Langue.* Par MM. ADOLPHE HATZFELD et ARSÈNE DARMESTETER, avec le concours de M. ANTOINE THOMAS. Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, 15, Rue Soufflot.

The first four *fascicules* of this important work are now before us, comprising the letter A and the greater part of the letter B. The plan of the work is similar to that of our own Murray's Dictionary, though the scale is by no

means so large nor the treatment so elaborate. Excellent work, however, it is, and this advantage it certainly has over Murray, that it will be finished sooner, and when finished will be far more handy for reference. The size is large octavo; the page has but two columns, whereas Murray has three; the print is not less clear and good. Though no words are to be included which became obsolete before the seventeenth century, it is intended to treat fully of every word which survived the sixteenth century.

The instalments before us are an earnest that the work will be faithfully done. Each article contains first a concise statement of all that is known of the etymology of the word under consideration, no pains being spared to make this absolutely trustworthy, and then a *catalogue raisonné* of its several usages in chronological order. Thus the entire evolution of its signification, illustrated by appropriate extracts, is placed before the reader. The work is of course in large measure based on that of Littré, but it bids fair to supersede within its special province all other extant French dictionaries. It should find a place in the library of every English student of the French language and literature.

*Our Country's Flowers, and how to know them; being a complete Guide to the Flowers and Ferns of Britain.* By W. J. GORDON. With an Introduction by the Rev. GEORGE HENSLOW, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. Illustrated by John ALLEN, with over one thousand examples in colour and outline. London: Day & Son.

This is the best handy guide to English flowers, ferns, and grasses. Its first chapter gives the ordinary English names along with the botanical names, which Mr. Gordon says "are just as easy to remember, and in many cases no more difficult to pronounce than the others." Opinions may differ as to this point, but there can be no doubt as to the usefulness of such an arrangement of names, where any one may find what he wants in a moment. The account of Classification is an excellent summary of the "Orders," which compresses into a few pages all the information a beginner needs. The two chapters, entitled "Tabular Scheme" and "Natural Orders," will also be found very handy for reference. The "Examples of Identification" supply just the help a young botanist needs, whilst the Glossary and Indexes will be greatly appreciated by those who wish to push on their acquaintance with the subject. The thirty-three coloured plates, some of which contain eighteen or twenty flowers, with numbers corresponding to a descriptive list, are wonderfully exact reproductions of flowers and ferns. Old favourites are recognised at a glance. It is not easy to speak too highly of the conscientious work put into these charming plates. There is nothing which a field botanist needs so much as good plates, and he will nowhere find his wants met more exactly than here. Mr. Gordon's book will be warmly welcomed by all who love "our country's flowers."

*The Annual Index of the Review of Reviews.*
Willing's *British and Irish Press Guide.* 1891.

Mr. Stead's *Annual Index* is unquestionably a valuable guide to the periodicals of the year. The exhaustive indexes published in America are often of great value to literary men, but they are of necessity expensive, and can only be published after considerable delay. The present index, which may be had for a couple of shillings, deserves a place in every study and public library. Its list of articles for 1890 is well arranged and comprehensive. It has been prepared with much thoroughness, and is well up to date. The catalogue of the most important photographs of the world is a wonderful proof of the hold this art has taken on society. The descriptive paragraphs about various periodicals supply useful information as to the publishers, editors, and history of the various quarterlies and monthlies. This happy thought is well carried out. There are also notes on Continental and American periodicals.

Willing's *Press Guide* gives lists of newspapers and periodicals of the world, with dates of publication. The latest changes of title are noticed with great care. It is evident that the details may be thoroughly relied on. The brief notes on towns where newspapers are published, and the list of papers published in each, are often useful. It is certainly fair to describe the industries of Lewes as "agricultural and newspaper printing," for there are thirty-six papers printed in this little town of 6017 inhabitants. In this respect it outstrips Liverpool and Birmingham. Manchester publishes only two more papers than the little Sussex town. The page or two devoted to newspapers and periodicals of the seventeenth and eighteenth century may often be referred to with advantage.

*Church Bells Album of Notable London Churches.* London: *Church Bells* Office.

This fifth part of the *Church Bells Album of London Churches* opens with a description of Westminster Abbey, which traces its history down from Saxon times to the present day. It is a good outline, which will tempt its readers to further study of such books as Dean Stanley's. Three pages are allotted to the Abbey; the other churches have one page each, with a full-page engraving opposite the letterpress. The Chapel Royal, Savoy; the Old Church, Chelsea; St. Martin-in-the-Fields; St. Saviour's, Southwark; St. Clement Danes, Strand; Chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the Tower; and St. Margaret, Westminster, are described in this interesting handbook.

*Old English Sports, Pastimes, and Customs.* By P. H. Ditchfield, M.A., Rector of Barkham, Berks. London: Methuen & Co. 1890.

Mr. Ditchfield has gathered into his twelve papers on the months of the year a host of quaint and amusing sketches of life in Merry England. His

wide antiquarian knowledge has served him in good stead, but these papers are essentially popular in style and treatment. The book would be a welcome present for boys and girls who wish to know about New Year's and Christmas customs, Easter eggs, Martinmas geese, village sports, wakes, fairs, and other merry-makings. It is a well-illustrated little book, full of enjoyable reading.

*The Greenleeks Papers.* Edited by the Rev. TITUS TIPSTAFF. London: Dent & Co. 1891.

These humorous and satirical essays are full of matter, and discuss questions of present-day interest in a way that often raises a smile and sets a reader musing, though they are somewhat too Carlylean. The volume, with its rough paper and neat binding, is very presentable.

*A Chat about the Navy.* By W. J. GORDON. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1891.

Mr. Gordon's dainty little book is crowded with pictures and packed with facts about the Navy. It is the very thing to put into the hands of any one, young or old, who wishes to know about the English Jack Tar, his training, his kit, his food, his pay, his life in peace and war. Mr. Gordon has a gift for such descriptive work as this, and he has achieved a happy success in this most entertaining and instructive booklet.

*The Drama of Empire.* By W. MARSHAM ADAMS, B.A., formerly Fellow of New College, Oxford. London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1891.

Mr. Adams dissents strongly from the old dictum "which attributed to the course of Empire a perpetual tendency to the West." He holds that the whole history of mankind obeys a simple and universal law of radiation, spreading on every side along the line of least resistance. This seems to be a good statement for individual nations, but Mr. Adams forgets that the ancient civilisation was in the East, and that the course of Empire has certainly moved from its old seats to new homes in the West. The startling feature of his clever book is an attempt to locate the Garden of Eden and the primeval home of man in Africa. This theory is expounded with much learning and more ingenuity, but we cannot say that it carries conviction to our minds. The book ends with a sort of Apocalyptic terror said to be overhanging Society, in which Socialism and Nihilism bear a conspicuous part.

# SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April 1).—M. Darmester's article on "The Prophets of Israel and their New Historian" is based on Renan's *History of the People of Israel*. In his opening sentences he says, "The Bible is, in France, a book more celebrated than known, and Biblical criticism is there a new thing, although France has been its first cradle." He then gives a sketch of the physician, Jean Astruc, a professor in the College of France, who, in 1753, formulated his theory as to the Book of Genesis from the employment in it of the divine names, Jehovah and Elohim. He thinks that Renan's history is the great constructive work of the age, which will enable France and the Voltairian school in Europe to understand what there is of durable and divine in the gods of humanity. He sympathises with Renan's views, and expresses his conviction that the religion of the twentieth century will grow out of the fusion of prophetism and science. (May 15.) M. Taine has written two articles on "The Reconstruction of France in 1800," of which the first appeared on May 1. The second, in this number, is devoted to the Church. In 1801, during the negotiations of the Concordat at Rome, when Pius VII. hesitated to depose all the survivors of the ancient French Episcopate, far-seeing observers said, "Conclude the Concordat as the First Consul desires, people will see when it is ratified, all the immensity of its importance, and the power which it gives to Rome over the episcopate in all the world." Really that stroke of extraordinary authority, almost without example, and "certainly without parallel" in the history of the Church, marks an epoch. The Ultramontane theory, which up to that time had been disputed and kept in the speculative region of abstract formulas, now descended to the solid earth, in a positive and enduring custom. Whether he would or no, the Pope had to take the part of universal bishop, and ten years later Napoleon, who had urged him to do this, had good reason to regret his own success. In effect, the Pope had deposed from their episcopal seats all the leaders of a great Church—his own colleagues and co-bishops, successors of the Apostles by the same title as himself, members of the same order, and marked by the same character. Eighty-five bishops of indisputable title, and whose names were above reproach, men who were persecuted because of their obedience to the Pope, were thus banished from France because they had not been willing to forsake the Roman Church. From those of them who refused to obey his injunction, the Supreme Pontiff withdrew their Apostolic powers, and for all he appointed successors. To the new dignitaries he assigned newly-shaped dioceses, and could only plead in justification of such innovations the requirements of the civil power and the good of the Church. From that time the Gallicans themselves, to avoid creating a schism and separating themselves for ever from the Holy See, were compelled to recognise that the Pope exercised an extraordinary power, limited neither by customs nor canons, a right above all rights, in virtue of which, in cases which he himself decided, he became the supreme arbiter, the only interpreter, and the judge in the last resort. This Act of 1801 established an indestructible precedent. In 1816, under the pressure brought to bear by the re-established Bourbons, the Pope, deposed the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyons, Monseigneur Fesch, uncle of Napoleon. The motives were the same in both cases. The situation multiplied such cases of urgency for the Church, and multiplied also the cases of intervention for the sovereign pontiff. Since 1789 all things civil, constitutional, political, social, and territorial had become singularly unstable, not only in France, but in Europe; not only in the Old World, but also in the New. Everything was upset by the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Here Catholic populations fell under the rule of a prince, schismatic and Protestant; there the Catholic part of a State gained sepa-

rate existence. In Protestant America, the Catholics multiplied by millions, formed new communities, in Catholic America colonies became independent. Almost everywhere in America and in Europe, the maxims of government and of public opinion underwent change. But after every change the civil and ecclesiastical establishments had to arrange their new basis and relations to each other, and for this an initiative, a direction, an authority was needed. The Pope was there, and it was to him, in each case, that appeal was made. Thus, by an act analogous to the Concordat of 1801, he treated with the sovereigns of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Prussia, Austria, Spain, Portugal, the two Sicilies, the Low Country, Belgium, and Russia. Thus, thanks to the tolerant Liberalism or the constitutional indifference of the civil government, he determined, on his own responsibility, to divide into ecclesiastical districts, Holland, Ireland, England, Canada and the United States. New bishoprics were formed, and the means of subsistence of the clergy, their discipline, and the filling up of their ranks were all directed by his orders. He even appointed bishops, and assigned dioceses in the emancipated Spanish colonies, despite the opposition of the mother country, and without waiting to consult with the new governments. In this fashion all the great churches of the Catholic world are the work of the Pope, his recent work, of which the creation is attested by a positive act of which the date is not far distant, and the remembrance is lively. The whole article is a striking contribution to the study of a century of Papal influence.

REVUE CHRÉTIENNE (May 1).—This is a memorial number for M. Edmund de Pressensé, who had given "much of his heart and life" to this *Review* from the time it was started, and up to the last moment of his life, in all his pain, regarded it as one of his chief occupations. For thirty-eight years he was its leading spirit, and the last pages which he ever wrote were intended for it. After he had himself been director for some years, he called M. Puaux to take the editorial chair. Pressensé, says his colleague and successor, enlarged the horizon of the Christian life, and proved that the true disciple of Christ may and ought to live the life of his times whilst guarding himself from its evil. He shared the life of the people, and their hopes and their sorrows found a faithful echo in his own breast. In her darkest days no citizen took a larger part in the trouble of France. The *Review* hopes to carry on this noble patriot's work in his truly Christian spirit. A sketch is given of his last illness, which began on March 3 and closed on April 8. His last word was prayer, spoken whilst he joined his hands as usual in the attitude of devotion. The address given at the funeral service, various letters of sympathy and esteem, the words of the President of the Senate in reference to M. Pressensé, and memorial articles from the various papers, are all given in this memorial number.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May).—Arthur Milchhöfer contributes some Reminiscences of Heinrich Schliemann to this number. He points out how the great antiquarian has popularised his subject, and stamped upon all his work his own personality. Schliemann was both an enthusiast and a practical man, so that it is no wonder his work bore such marked results. The writer of this paper went to Athens in 1876, at a time of much interest, as younger stipendiat or "scholar" of the Archæological Institute. The German excavators at Olympia were just entering on a second campaign. Its officials and officers of the general staff had just been making a topographical survey of Athens and Attica; the excavations carried on by the Greeks at the declivity of the Acropolis daily brought new material to light. There was not much news of Schliemann, but it was known that since July he had been carrying on operations at the plain of Argos. In the second week after his arrival Herr Milchhöfer had the opportunity to take a little expedition in that direction with three German companions. The director of the Institute had given the writer of these reminiscences a parting message for Schliemann. A favourable breeze carried their little sailing bark over to Ægina in a few hours. There they spent most of the next day. A few notes on the journey are given. At Tiryns the party came on the first characteristic traces of Schliemann's

activity. According to his usual custom he had bored through the ground with broad incisions and shafts down to the solid rock. The pleasant meeting with the great archæologist and other matters of interest are described in this paper.

UNSERE ZEIT (May).—Herr Justi contributes a paper on "The Berlin Conference and the reform of higher education." He thinks that conference has been a step in the right direction of school reform, though all it did may not merit entire approval. The practical result depends on the steps the Minister of Culture will take and what movements towards the further development of higher instruction he will follow. Count Zedlitz may win high praise from the Emperor and the public if he makes provision for the better training of the young for future life. The Conference which he called together to consult on these matters at Berlin showed a distinct desire for reform. The decisions of the Conference were more valuable as evidence of such a temper than for their own intrinsic worth. The chief matters to which attention is drawn are these. Better provision must be made for the health and bodily strengt of the scholars; instruction must be freed from those elements and aims which do not help forward true development of mind and heart. Higher education must answer the claims which modern conditions make on citizens and on those instructed in art.

MINERVA (April).—We are glad to find that this enterprising Italian review has already gained a good circulation. It culls many excellent things from other reviews and magazines. It is also about to add to these a short analysis of the chief articles in the reviews, which will give an extraordinary mass of matter in brief space. There could scarcely be a better way of keeping its readers abreast of the current of European thought, and the fact that in four months *Minerva* has gained more subscribers than almost any other Italian review has been able to secure in its first two or three years, shows how much it does to supply a real want.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (April).—Cardinal Gibbons has a suggestive article entitled, "Wealth and its obligations"—based on Mr. Carnegie's recent utterances and the answers which they have provoked. He devotes a paragraph to the Rev. H. P. Hughes' assault on the great American millionaire, but discreetly avoids committing himself to any solution of the questions at issue. That he thinks time will decide and decide aright. His own purpose is the more modest one of stating the Catholic view of wealth and its administration. His sketch of the manner in which the Roman Catholics of the United States perform their part is the most valuable section of his paper. He is of opinion that there is not the shrinkage of private charity in America which Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning deplore as existing in England. The Catholics who give more than is required of them by any law far out-number those who give less. In the arch-diocese of Baltimore the churches are almost invariably erected by their voluntary contributions. When churches are erected those who can afford to do so pay a yearly rental of about fifty dollars. The offertory collections amount to about half that sum. Appeals for charitable work of all kinds are constantly made and heartily responded to. In the State of Maryland and the District of Columbia there are two Catholic foundling asylums, two asylums for coloured children, and ten for white orphans, housing and educating fifteen hundred little ones, together with six hospitals and a large number of reformatories. He regards with great satisfaction the personal devotion of so many men and women to the cause of charity. The cure for all evils which affect the classes is "Back to Christ, His example and His teaching." Professor Ely, of John Hopkins University, deals with the subject of "Pauperism in the United States." It will greatly surprise many to be informed that three millions of people in the States are supported wholly or partially by alms, that is about 5 per cent. of the population. Mr. Ely holds that pauperism is, for the most part, a curable disease, and points with great satisfaction to the results of the Elberfeld system of charitable relief. He quotes various analyses of the causes of poverty, and discusses the remedies which seem worth careful consideration. He has most hope from the helpful co-operation

of citizens with public authorities, particularly with those of the city. Private societies have been a failure in these efforts to improve social conditions. Every social improvement tends to diminish the number of paupers. Our almshouses, asylums, and charitable institutions are really our shame, though we boast so loudly of them. "As we progress in real Christianity, preventive measures will be more and more emphasised. They will include, among other things, improved education of every grade, better factory legislation, including Employers' Liability Acts, and means for the development of the physical man, like gymnasiums, playgrounds, and parks, increased facilities for making small savings, like postal savings-banks, and more highly developed sanitary legislation and administration." (May). The Hon. Henry Lodge's "Lynch Law and Unrestricted Immigration," discusses the burning question of New Orleans. "The mob," he says, "would have been impossible if there had not been a large body of public opinion behind, and if it had not been recognised that it was not mere riot, but rather that revenge which Lord Bacon said is a wild kind of justice. The mob was deplorable, but the public sentiment which created it was more deplorable still, and deserves to have the reasons for its existence gravely and carefully considered." The breaking down of the jury system is, of course, traced to the extremely bad condition of politics. "A city, in which political meetings concerned only with the affairs of a single party are held under the conditions which attended the caucuses at the time of the struggle between Governors Nicholls and McEnery, and where a great gambling enterprise has been sowing the seeds of corruption in every direction, is in a very bad way." The dread of the Mafia, which was held to be not only responsible for the murder of the chief of the police, but to be controlling juries by terror, was another element in the case. But, the writer maintains, that unrestricted immigration lies at the root of the mischief. In 1889 the total immigration from Naples to the United States was 15,709. In the first three months of 1890, 12,636 Italians and Sicilians landed in the States. Sicily is sending a growing host of immigrants. From Palermo in 1887, 2,201 embarked on their way to the United States; in 1888, 3,713; in 1889, 6,017. The American Consul at Palermo says these immigrants "are generally rustic, and of the lowest type of the Italians as to character and intelligence, few, if any, being able to read or write. They have not, as a rule, a cent of money after paying their fare." When the Italians have made a few dollars many of them hasten back to their own country. Sometimes as many as a thousand return to Naples in the month of December. Mr. Lodge points out that many immigrants are criminals, and he argues that "the time has come for an intelligent and effective restriction of the immigration. No one wishes to exclude a desirable immigrant who seeks in good faith to become a citizen of the United States; but it certainly is madness to permit this stream to pour in without discrimination or selection, or the exclusion of dangerous and undesirable elements." There are great States in the West and South-west eager to increase their population, but this increase "will be dearly bought if we pay for them a price which involves the lowering of the standard of American citizenship. More important to a country than wealth and popularity is the quality of its people. Far more valuable than sudden wealth is the maintenance of good wages among American working men, and the exclusion of an unlimited supply of low-class labour with which they cannot compete."

METHODIST REVIEW (May–June).—Dr. Meredith, of Stoneham, Mass., writes on "Bristol in Relation to American Methodism." He calls Bristol "the Mecca of organised Methodism," but he is wrong in stating that the first Methodist society was formed in Bristol. That honour Wesley distinctly ascribes to London in the "Rules" of his Societies, though at Bristol the Society was first divided into classes. Gamley and Sutton, on p. 397, are misprints for Gumley and Lutton. He says that Miss Lutton "speaks of owning four old Methodist hymn-books, published respectively in 1739, 1749, one about 1751, and one in 1756. All these must have been Bristol editions, as Charles Wesley did not leave Bristol until 1771." But, as Dr. Meredith himself says in a previous paragraph, Charles Wesley did not bring his bride

to Bristol till April, 1749. The facts are as follows: The *Hymns and Sacred Poems* of 1739 were published by William Strahan in London; the volumes in 1749 by Felix Farley, at Bristol; no hymns were published in 1751. In 1750 one volume was published in London, one in Bristol; the *Fast Day Hymns* were published in Bristol in 1756. The article gives some interesting particulars about the connection of Bristol with Captain Webb, whose appeal for men for America was first made in the Bristol Conference of 1768. Next year at Leeds Boardman and Pilmoor responded to this appeal, and in 1771, after the great Calvinistic controversy was dealt with at the Bristol Conference, Francis Asbury volunteered for work in America. The editor, in a paper on "The Ground of Women's Eligibility," argues that this is ample in the fact of her membership, in the spirit and nature of Church government, in the polity of Methodism, in the principle of lay delegation, and in the absence of apostolic inhibition. He further holds that, notwithstanding opposition to the movement, its success is guaranteed. "It may require years of persistent education before conservatism, honest and sincere as it may be, will yield, but the triumph is a providential inevitability, and the Church will be wise to adjust itself to the certainty." It concludes with the hope that Dr. Buckley will live to see the position of the *Review* become the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church—"*women in the General* Conference, but not in the ministry." If women are not satisfied with a place in the Conference but also claim to enter the ministry "the Church should teach (them) the New Testament." Dr. Buckley makes a crushing rejoinder to this article in the *Christian Advocate* for May 9.

THE MONIST (April).—Professor Lombroso is writing a series of papers for this Chicago quarterly, on "The Physiognomy of the Anarchists: Illustrative Studies in Criminal Anthropology." He regards it as "a thoroughly established fact," and one of which he has given the proofs in a publication of his own, "that true revolutionists, that is to say, the initiators of great scientific and political revolutions, who excite and bring about a true progress in humanity, are almost always geniuses or saints, and have all a marvellously harmonious physiology." "Generally we see in them a very large forehead, a very bushy beard, and very large and soft eyes; sometimes we meet with the jaw much developed." He proceeds to give details about revolutionists. The Chicago Anarchists it seems all had ears without lobes, and the ears more developed than in ordinary persons.

CENTURY MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—The *Century* for June has some articles of special interest. Miss Field's "Women at an English University" gives a capital account of Newnham College, with portraits of Miss Clough and Miss Gladstone, as well as some good views of the halls. Mr. Gillespie's "Miners' Sunday in Coloma," is a record of personal experiences in California in 1849-50. Passing up the crowded street he witnessed "a scene that no other country could ever imitate. Antipodes of colour, race, religion, language, government, condition, size, capacity, strength and morals were there, within that small village in the mountains of California, all impressed with but one purpose, impelled with but one desire." There was one continuous din, with thimble-riggers and tricksters in full cry at every corner. A large unfurnished frame-house stood in the midst of the street, with sashless windows and doorway crowded with a motley crew listening to a preacher as ragged and hairy as his hearers. He spoke well and to the purpose, and warmed every one with his fire and impassioned delivery. He closed with a benediction, but prefaced it by saying: "There will be Divine Service in this house next Sabbath, if, in the mean time, I hear of no new diggin's!" One of the "Topics of the Time," headed "Law or Lynching," is an inquiry into recent events at New Orleans. "The State has a reckless naturalisation law which allows immigrants to vote in State elections as soon as they have declared their intention to become citizens. Here we put a finger upon the root of the evil of defective justice in every city in the land, for we find in this haste to get votes the corrupting and demoralising touch of 'politics.'" Even the Italian Consul admitted that there were about a hundred criminals in New Orleans escaped

from Italian prisons, yet caressed and protected by politicians, through whose support several had received important political places Some plain questions are put in this outspoken and timely article. "Is there any large city," it asks, "in which the contact between the political bosses and the criminal and semi-criminal classes is not so close as to compel, to a greater or less degree, the protection of the latter from the vigorous and fearless administration of the laws? . . . . Shall we sit quietly by and allow our boasted civilisation to become a failure, and then try to set it right by hanging to the lamp-posts or shooting like dogs the miserable creatures whom our own negligence or indifference has permitted to get control over us?"

HARPER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—Thomas Hardy's "Wessex Folks," of which the fourth and last part appears in the June number, has some inimitable sketches of village life done in his best style. The stories are told in the carrier's cart for the benefit of an old native who has returned to the home of his youth after many years of absence. The sketches of the choir, and of the girl who was shut up with her lover in church because the parson went off hunting and forgot all about his clients, are irresistibly comic. Mr. Crouch's two papers on "The Warwickshire Avon," lead the reader through some famous scenes from Naseby to Evesham. They are well illustrated by Mr. Parsons. "The Royal Châteaux of the Loire" is another illustrated paper which deals with Blois, Chambord, and Amboise.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE (April, May, June).—The series on "Ocean Steamships" and that on "Great Streets of the World" are special features of *Scribner* at the present time. Both will be eagerly read. Mr. Gould, in the April number gives some interesting details of the historic race across the Atlantic in 1838 between the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*. The increase of the number of passengers, the wonderful advance in comfort, and other topics are discussed in this entertaining paper. Lieutenant Kelley (in May) deals with the "Ship's Company"; and in June Mr. Rideing discusses the subject of "Safety on the Atlantic." These are some vivid descriptions of the dangers due to fog and icebergs, but the fact that two hundred thousand cabin passengers were carried last year between New York and Europe without a single serious accident, shows what vigilance is used to secure the safety of the travellers. Mr. Davis's paper on the "Broadway" is such a sketch of New York life as one does not easily get elsewhere. Many references to Madison Square in the daily newspaper will be better understood by those who read this paper. Mr. Sarcey, who writes on "The Boulevards of Paris," is described in an editorial note as "one of the most brilliant of contemporary French journalists, and a man thoroughly possessed of the spirit and colour of all that is characteristic in Paris." His paper, however, is too sketchy, though it gives some graphic details of the daily life of Paris, and is well illustrated.

ST. NICHOLAS (April, May, June).—John Burroughs has a graceful little paper on "Wild Flowers" in *St. Nicholas* for June, which will help young readers to take an interest in field botany. A railway train, in which the writer was travelling, was delayed by an accident, so that Mr. Burroughs had a little time to wander by the side of a neighbouring river. A young English girl, who also left the train to pick a few flowers, had the treat of a lesson in botany from the great American naturalist. There are many entertaining papers and stories.

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