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JULY,

1893.

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REVIEW.

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JULY, 1893.

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ART. I.—CALVIN AND CALVINISM.

*History of the Christian Church.* By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D. "Modern Christianity." "The Swiss Reformation." In two vols. T. & T. Clark. 1893.

CARLYLE'S saying that "Universal history is at bottom the history of the great men who have lived and worked here" has passed almost into a commonplace. It may be illustrated in the annals of every nation, but it is true in a special sense of the history of the Christian Church. It has pleased God to carry on His designs and advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ by an apostolic succession, not of men whose heads have been touched by the fingers of duly ordained diocesan bishops, but of men whose lips have been touched as with fire from the Divine altar, and their minds and hearts informed and moulded by the Divine Spirit. A great work implies for the most part, not a great apparatus, but a great personality. And in the Church of Christ, wherever we discern a great work, we need not look far to find a great man.

Hence it is natural enough that the two new volumes of Dr. Schaff's Church history should be largely biographical in character. We heartily congratulate the veteran and venerable author on their completion. At more than fourscore years of age, having passed the fiftieth anniversary of his academic

teaching, which was begun in Berlin in 1842, and having been quite recently visited with a stroke of paralysis, from which we are glad to know he is now recovering, Dr. Schaff may well be congratulated upon the publication of the twelfth volume of his *magnum opus*. It is forty years since it was commenced, and there remain yet for the accomplishment of the full design two volumes to be published on the latter portion of the mediæval period, and one intended to deal with the French Reformation. The latest volumes form a complete little history in themselves, and it is not unlikely that they have been to the author in a special sense a labour of love. Dr. Schaff is Swiss by birth, a native of Chur (Coire), the picturesque little capital of Canton Graubünden (Grisons), and he tells the story of the Swiss Reformation with even more than his usual animation and graphic power. He is at home amongst the Reformers, and the great Swiss Reformers, Zwingli and Calvin, are doubly his ancestors; both nationally and ecclesiastically he is of their kindred. The result is that the volumes before us give one of the clearest and best pictures of the Swiss Reformation which has ever been drawn.

We are not about to review these volumes. A short notice of them appeared in the last number of this REVIEW, and the general characteristics of Dr. Schaff's work are tolerably well known. He is not strikingly original, nor distinguished by special theological insight, or by any power of brilliant generalisation. But his knowledge of authorities is remarkably full: he commands a wide outlook, and has, at the same time, a keen eye to observe, and a ready pen to note the salient points of doctrinal or ecclesiastical significance; and—*mirabile dictu*—he appears to be a Church historian almost free from bias or prejudice! Dr. Schaff naturally has his own opinions and sympathies; if he had none, he would not be fit to write the history of a great community in which sympathies and convictions are equally important and powerful. But he never obtrudes his own views, nor does he suffer them to warp his judgment in forming an estimate of the character either of persons or ecclesiastical institutions. To be perfectly fair, alike in writing of men whom one admires and loves, and of men who rouse antagonism and perhaps antipathy, is a rare

excellence. Dr. Schaff, however, may claim to have exhibited it, as his latest pages conclusively show. In delineating Zwingli and Calvin he "nought extenuates, nor aught sets down in malice," and his handling of the case of Servetus is both judicious and judicial. For its clear, impartial, well-balanced narrative, and for its ample bibliographical material, as well as in some other important respects, Dr. Schaff's Church history stands in deserved pre-eminence.

Having said so much of the claims of the author, we do not propose to follow him very closely as a guide in our present survey. There is less need for this, as Dr. Schaff cannot, from the nature of the case, furnish any new material. His sketch of *Calvin's Life and Work*, covering more than six hundred pages, is indeed an admirable piece of historical portraiture, perhaps the best which the author has drawn in the long ecclesiastical gallery filled with his handiwork. We are thankful to him for the presentation, and hope it may lead to a renewed study of perhaps the least popular and the most widely influential of the reformers of the sixteenth century. But there is nothing so new or so striking in Dr. Schaff's survey as to make it necessary for us to keep very closely to his treatment of the subject. He has freely used the standard authorities, Henry and Dyer, and has carefully searched afresh the treasure-house of Calvin's voluminous correspondence and works. Our object at present, however, is not so much to review a book as to study a man. A man as remarkable in himself as in the work he did in his lifetime, and the still unspent legacy of potent influence which he left behind him; a great expositor, a great theologian, a great ecclesiastical statesman; a man by no means all admirable, but one who is most admired by those who know him best, and are the best judges of what deserves admiration; a man who while living held spiritual and intellectual sway over a considerable part of Europe, and whose mark is deeply impressed to-day upon millions in the New World as well as upon some of the most energetic Christian communities of the Old; such a man deserves study, and not least at the hands of those who have little sympathy with his temperament, character, and doctrines. The short sketch of Calvin and his work, which is all that is

practicable here, shall be conducted with a constant eye to present-day questions of importance, especially in relation to those great Protestant Nonconformist Churches on which so much of the welfare and progress of modern Christianity depends.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century had not advanced very far, before its deficiencies, as well as its excellences, began to appear. Luther, who had all the generosity as well as the courage of a Greatheart, was not in all respects fitted to lead a great national movement, or to carry into thorough execution a revolt against the Church of Rome. On the great subject of justification by faith he was clear; he knew where he stood, he "could no other," and neither Pope nor devil should interfere with his hardly-won liberty. But in doctrine generally—witness that of the Presence in the Lord's Supper—and even in discipline, he was very cautious and conservative, and the very geniality of his magnanimous temper prevented him from carrying out with vigour and rigour the work he had begun. Then came the difficulties caused by extreme men like Karlstadt and Münger, the leader of the Zuïckau fanatics, with the Peasants' war looming in the distance. In Switzerland, Zwingli and Ecolampadius represented a growing tendency to reject the Lutheran compromise with Roman doctrine as to the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and there were moments when it appeared as if the whole of the Reformation was endangered, and as if a single incautious step might cause the goodly and far-spreading flame of pure religion which had been kindled to expire in a shower of sparks or die away into a few dull embers.

Consolidation was needed. It could only be attained by the provision of a clear and definite rallying-point round which the scattered and divided energies of Reformers of very various type and temperament might gather and form into close rank and order. Rome was at least one; beautifully or terribly, according to the point of view of the spectator. But in the third decade of the sixteenth century, the Reformers of Germany, Switzerland, and France hardly knew what manner of spirit they were of. They were feeling their way, they scarcely knew whither. The right of private judgment, and

"the Protestantism of the Protestant religion," might serve as a standard of revolt from ecclesiastical tyranny, but did not furnish a watchword likely to weld a number of markedly individual warriors into a solid and impenetrable phalanx. The number of those—in Germany and England especially—who were for half-measures and inclined to temporise with Rome, was very large. The most determined spirits were often the men of least judgment and balance. Critics, like Erasmus, invaluable in their place, did little or nothing towards the work of reconstruction. Another kind of artificer, another mind, another hand, was needed, if this newly-begun temple was not to be destroyed in its earliest stages by some fox going up and shaking its loose stones. Such a man must have a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other, and a wise head and strong arms, to make use of both to the best purpose. Such a man appeared, sent by Providence, and his name was John Calvin.

Calvin's biographers, one after another, complain that his life is "deficient in romance," that it "presents but few dramatic aspects," and that it "is not rich in biographic interest." So says Mr. Dyer, the author of the best "Life" in English; so also Principal Tulloch in his *Leaders of the Reformation*; and so, in his turn, Dr. Schaff. Compared with the warm human interest always aroused by the rich and glowing personality of Luther, the story of Calvin's life must always appear thin, meagre, and cold. But the character of the picture depends upon the character of the chief central figure, and Calvin was neither so attractive in himself as his "big brother" Luther, nor has he been so fortunate in his biographers. Dr. Willis, in his *Calvin and Servetus*, had reproduced etched portraits of the two men, that of Servetus being exceptionally fine, and that of Calvin exceptionally ugly. The engraving at the beginning of Dyer's life, taken from the same portrait, represents the same features, but their refined and spiritual expression seems to belong to quite another man. Calvin has lacked a sympathetic painter of genius to represent him in the gallery of literature: and he has left no miscellany of genial table-talk to win the hearts of subsequent generations. It is difficult, therefore, to present his life with the dramatic colouring which would make it permanently attractive.



Yet the story is worth telling, though we are not going to attempt the task. Born in Picardy in 1509, educated successively at Orleans, Bourges, and Paris in the first schools and universities of the time, and with a mind of exceptional natural vigour and aptitude, trained successively in the disciplines of the humanities, law, philosophy, and theology, John Calvin showed himself from very early days to be no ordinary man. Here was a blade of rare temper and finish, a polished shaft for the quiver, in whatever service, against whatever foes it might afterwards be employed. It was through the direct operation of the Word itself that Calvin was aroused to think and pray and seek something better than the formalism of the Church in which he had been brought up. But we know little of the circumstances. In the Introduction to his *Commentary on the Psalms* he himself tells us: "Since I was too obstinately devoted to the superstitions of Popery to be easily extricated from so profound an abyss of mire, God by a sudden conversion subdued and brought my mind to a teachable frame, which was more hardened in such matters than might have been expected from one at my early period of life."\* But the reserve of the man does not allow him to tell more, or we might be able to put the picture of Calvin's conversion side by side with that of Luther climbing the steps of the Vatican, and of Wesley when his heart was filled with "strange warmth" in the room in Aldersgate-street. From other sources we learn that it was through a translation of the Scriptures, on which a relative of his own, Pierre Robert Olivetan, was engaged, that Calvin's mind was aroused to thought, but his convictions seem to have matured slowly, and, characteristically enough, he did not pass over into the ranks of Protestantism under the constraint of any sudden or overpowering impulse.

Already, however, when he was little over twenty years of age he was a leader of men. "Before a year had elapsed," he says, in the *Introduction to the Psalms* already referred to, "I was quite surprised to find all who had any desire after purer doctrine were continually coming to me to learn, although I myself was as yet but a mere novice and tyro.

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\* *Commentary on the Psalms*, vol. i. p. xl. Works, edn. of Calv. Transl. Society.

Being of a disposition somewhat unpolished and bashful, which led me always to love the shade and retirement, I then began to seek some secluded corner where I might be withdrawn from the public view ; but so far from being able to accomplish the object of my desire, all my retreats were like public schools.\* Suspicion of the new learning was easily aroused at the Sorbonne, and Calvin, with others, was compelled to fly from Paris. Whether let down from a window "in a basket," or "by means of sheets, and in the garb of a vine-dresser with a hoe upon his shoulder," this new workman in the Lord's vineyard early began his experience of persecution. His flight, his wanderings in the south of France, under the protection of Queen Marguerite of Navarre—the remarkable woman who wrote the *Mirror of a Sinful Soul* and the *Heptameron* with the same pen—his stay in Basel, marked by the publication of the first edition of his *Institutes* at the age of twenty-seven ; his visit to the Court of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, a brilliant woman of the world who made the stern Reformer the guide of her conscience as long as she lived—here are surely the elements of a not altogether unromantic story, would some one but re-touch the faded colours of the old picture.

But that is not our business. Nor must we follow the Reformer through his first visit to Geneva, and the great work to which he there laid his hand at the friendly instigation, almost compulsion, of Farel, who was wise enough not only to know what he himself could not do, but also that Calvin, a young stranger with what we might call his "undergraduate days" only just left behind him, was the man of all others to do. Still considerably short of thirty years of age, this youth, who had already laid, firm and clear, the lines of doctrinal reconstruction in his *Institutio*, now prepared to lay down as clearly the lines of social, political and ecclesiastical reconstruction, such as was to influence the lives of generations yet unborn, in some of the foremost nations of Europe and in regions of a New World, then only just beginning to loom dimly upon the horizon of the Old.

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\* *Ibid.* p. xli.

Driven out of Geneva for the time by the party of reaction against his undeniably severe *régime*, Calvin retired to Strassburg, where he spent three of the happiest years of his life, 1538-1541. Here he married. The seeker after romance in Calvin's life will certainly fail to find it at this stage. In the most cold-blooded fashion Calvin discusses, in his letter to Farel, the maidens who had been mentioned to him; he disclaims all idea of falling in love, and desires only that a wife should be "chaste, economical, patient," and "likely to be interested about my health." But if space permitted, it would not be difficult entirely to remove the unpleasant impression made by this apparent selfishness and coldness, by drawing a picture of the simple, happy domestic life, enjoyed during nine years only, which Calvin and his wife spent together in unbroken harmony. He calls her "a woman of rare qualities," "the excellent companion of my life and the ever faithful assistant of my ministry," and on his side he showed her a tenderly assiduous care. His letters on the death of their only child, and again on the death of his wife, show that a fountain of pure and true, though undemonstrative, sympathy, flowed from the heart of a man who has often been described as a monster devoid of the feelings of common humanity.

In 1541 he was urged and prevailed upon, in spite of himself, to return to Geneva to resume the work of social and ecclesiastical reform which had been rudely broken off three years before. The struggle with the opposing party, known as the "Libertines," was not, indeed, ended till 1555, but Calvin's influence soon became paramount in the city, where he lived as a little pope for the rest of his life. The events of the remaining years were few, and they consisted chiefly of more or less notable incidents in his controversies with Perrin and the Libertines of Geneva and the greater controversies with Castellio, Bolsec, and above all, Michael Servetus. The tragedy which ended with the burning of Servetus took place in 1553. For a few years longer Calvin "toiled terribly" as the autocrat of the Genevan Republic and spiritual director of half Europe. In 1561 the physical energies of this man of frail frame but giant intellect began to fail under an accumu-

lation of disorders, and he died on May 27, 1564, before he had completed his fifty-fifth year. Surely he, if any man, "in a short time fulfilled a long time," and in him we see the picture of

"A fiery soul that, working out its way,  
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
And o'er-informed its tenement of clay."

In this, as in other respects shortly to be indicated, the life-work of the great Apostle of the Gentiles finds some parallel in that of the great constructive Reformer, John Calvin.

What, however, was the man himself, and what the nature of the work he effected? "He was of middle stature, dark complexion, thin, pale, emaciated and in feeble health: but he had a finely-chiselled face, a well-formed mouth, pointed beard, black hair, a prominent nose, a lofty forehead, and flaming eyes which kept their lustre to the last. He seemed to be all bone and nerve." \* But "he had an amazing power for work notwithstanding his feeble health. When interrupted in dictation he could at once resume work at the point where he left off. He indulged in no recreation except a quarter or half an hour's walk in his room or garden after meals, and an occasional game of quoits or *la clef* with intimate friends. He allowed himself very little sleep, and for at least ten years he took but one meal a day, alleging his bad digestion." † No wonder that from early life he suffered from headache and dyspepsia and that in later years he was a martyr to sufferings caused by a complication of diseases, including asthma, fever, gravel and gout. He never complained, but often poured out his soul in the Psalmist's cry *Quousque Domine*, How long, O Lord? His intellectual endowments were of the highest order. Friends and enemies agree in acknowledging this. Dr. Schaff speaks of his "retentive memory, quick perception, acute understanding, penetrating reason, sound judgment and complete command of language." His mastery of Latin and French—both of them languages specially adapted to express Calvin's clear, precise and forcible thoughts—was remarkable. "He never wrote a dull line. His judgment was always clear

\* Schaff, vol. ii. p. 835.

† Ibid. p. 444.

and solid, and so exact that it often appeared like prophecy. His eloquence was logic set on fire." Calvin, like Luther, rendered great service to his native tongue by the mastery with which he handled it, and the admirable style of his writings is but the appropriate expression of weighty and well-marshalled thought.

It was the character of the man, however, which gave him his supremacy and almost unique influence. *Dieu lui avait imprimé un caractère d'une si grande majesté* is justly written of him in the records of the Council of Geneva. It is not too much to say that he overawed his contemporaries; and as the impress of his own character was sharp and deep, so he was enabled to leave a correspondingly marked stamp upon the Church and society of his time. It was a character cast in no earthly mould. It took its shape and derived its strength from the simplicity, directness, and energy with which the man conceived and endeavoured to carry out the Sovereign Will of God. If something of the fiery heat and the bare majesty of the desert is discernible in the character of Mohammed, and the singled-eyed fanaticism with which he went forth to proclaim "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," in Calvin we may trace the temper of a man brought up amidst the solitudes of a spiritual wilderness, alone with the rocks and the mountains and—God. It was Donne, if we remember aright, who called St. Paul a "fusile Apostle." Calvin deserves the name; molten by a flash of lightning, and poured instantly into a mould with sharply defined outlines, this cast-iron servant of God retained and communicated the Divine stamp as it has been given to few to conceive or impress it. The grandeur and intensity of the man are indubitable; the adequacy and justice of his conceptions of God are another matter.

Such intensity is likely to lack admiration in a lax, easy, intellectually molluscos generation whose chief boast is to be "broad" and tolerant. Calvin knew his own vehemence, sometimes deplores it, and once at least does what is better—explains it. In writing to Melancthon he says: "You know why I am so vehement. I had rather die with you a hundred times than see you survive the doctrines surrendered by you."

A fierce fire needs a strong draught and a narrow aperture. Sometimes the pure flame is marred by mere passion, impatience, pride, even violence of temper. The rude epithets, however, which are found in some of Calvin's controversial writings belong to the habits of the day, not the personal character of the man, and his reply to Sadolet shows the natural courtesy of a gentleman and the dignity of a Christian defending the truth. His courage was notable in one of so frail a physique. More than once, at the risk of his life, he succeeded in calming the violence of an armed crowd and gaining the victory of mind and character over passion and brute force, which was characteristic of his whole career.

Calvin will not suffer us to love him. "No pilgrimages will ever be made to his grave," says Dr. Schaff. Neither his virtues nor his failings are attractive, while Luther draws us nearer to him by means of both alike. No one now defends the burning of Servetus. It was a crime—and a blunder. But it was not esteemed to be either in the sixteenth century, and Calvin can only be charged with having committed a mistake which he could not perceive, and a crime which he thought to be a stern and imperative duty. We cannot agree with Dr. Willis's estimate,\* who assigns the bitterness of Calvin's utterances and the severity of Servetus's punishment to unworthy personal feeling cherished by the Reformer, though some animosity not improbably mingled with the ardour of the doctrinal zealot. But the cruel sentence pronounced upon the heretic won the approval of less uncompromising Reformers than Calvin. The gentle Melancthon could subscribe to the words: "Whosoever shall now contend that it is unjust to put heretics and blasphemers to death will knowingly and willingly incur their very guilt. This is not laid down on human authority; it is God who speaks and prescribes a perpetual rule for His Church. It is not in vain that he banishes all those human affections which soften our hearts; that he commands paternal love and all the benevolent feelings between brothers, relations, and friends to cease; in a word, that he almost deprives men of their nature in order that nothing

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\* *Servetus and Calvin.* By R. S. Willis, M.D. Lond. 1877.

may hinder their holy zeal." \* Calvin had the courage of his convictions, and must bear the odium of having been consistent enough to act up to them. But he no more deserves to be esteemed personally a cruel and vindictive man than the writer of the thirty-fifth or the sixty-ninth psalm. The same spirit actuated the Hebrew poet and the Swiss Reformer, and both are disallowed by the "new commandment" of Christ. Yet this is not inconsistent with our accepting the testimony of Beza, who wrote, "I have been a witness of Calvin's life for sixteen years, and I think I am fully entitled to say that in this man there was exhibited to all a most beautiful example of the life and death of the Christian, which it will be as easy to calumniate as it will be difficult to emulate." †

Calvin was great, perhaps equally great, as an expositor, a theologian and an ecclesiastical statesman. As an exegete, he combined almost every qualification needful for the apparently easy, but really difficult work of producing a sound and permanently valuable interpretation of Scripture. Few expositors are read, or are worth reading, after the lapse of a century. Calvin commented on the greater part of the Bible, and every well-instructed student to-day, after the lapse of 300 years, knows the value of his clear, forcible, weighty commentaries on the New Testament and the Psalms. Archdeacon Farrar, who, by no means loves either the man, or his teaching, or his ways, says: "He is one of the greatest interpreters of Scripture who ever lived. He owes that position to a combination of merits. He had a vigorous intellect, a dauntless spirit, a logical mind, a quick insight, a thorough knowledge of the human heart, quickened by rich and strange experience; above all, a manly and glowing sense of the grandeur of the divine. The neatness, precision and lucidity of his style, his classic training and wide knowledge, his methodical accuracy of procedure, his manly independence, his avoidance of needless and commonplace homiletics, his deep religious feeling, his careful attention to the entire scope and context of every passage, and the fact that he has commented on almost the whole of the Bible, make him tower above the great majority

\* Calvin's *Refutatio Errorum M. Serveti*, quoted by Schaff, p. 791.

† *Vita Calvini*, near the close. See Schaff, vol. I. p. 272.

of those who have written on Holy Scripture." \* Like Theodore of Mopsuestia, Calvin incurred some blame and odium for adopting principles of interpretation which were in advance of his time, in their simple, severe and scientific character. He anticipated modern exegesis in some of its most admirable features. He refused to allow *à priori* views of inspiration, or prophecy, or dogmatism of any kind to foist upon the words of the sacred text a meaning which was not really in them. "It is the first business of an interpreter," he tells us in his preface to the *Romans*, "to let his author say what he does say, instead of attributing to him what we think he ought to say." If all the interpreters of *Romans* had but observed that simple canon! The Reformers did not find it so easy to obey it as to lay it down, but it is to Calvin's abiding honour that he, more perhaps than any other exegete, has made himself a transparent window, through which the pure light of the Divine Word may shine.

It is not of the expositor, however, but of the theologian that most people think, when Calvin's name is mentioned. "Two things of principal moment there are," says Hooker, in his well known Preface,† "which have deservedly procured him [Calvin] honour throughout the world: the one, his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of the Christian religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture according unto the same institutions." So great was his authority in his own lifetime that—still in the words of Hooker—"of what account the Master of Sentences was in the Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed Churches Calvin had purchased, so that the perfectest divines were judged they which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books were almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by. French Churches, both under others abroad and at home in their own country, were all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the selfsame pattern. Till at length mere discipline, which was at the first so weak, that without the

\* Bampton Lectures on the *History of Interpretation*, p. 343.

† *Ecclesiastical Polity*; Preface, ch. ii. 8; Works, vol. i. p. 98.



staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it." This is the testimony of a contemporary and an opponent. Let us inquire for a moment after the secret of this marvellous coherence in doctrine and in discipline, wrought in so short a time, by the efforts of one man, among Churches which but a few years before were falling to pieces like a rope of sand.

Two things gave to the Reformed Churches as shaped by Calvin a compactness which had hitherto been lacking. First, a new system of religion, logical and complete, and capable of being opposed to the ancient system of ecclesiastical doctrine; secondly, a correspondingly logical theory of Church order and authority, to be set over against the venerable and well-compact hierarchy of the Church of Rome. It was not merely in sport that Calvin was called the "Pope" of Geneva. The principles which had welded the Catholic Church into such a mighty unity, both from the point of view of doctrine and of discipline, were found in the system of Calvin. With a difference, of course; such a difference that his system forms the very opposite pole to that of Rome, but the points of similarity are no less real and vital than the points of difference and the unity and compactness of the system are due to the former, not to the latter. On this point we cannot do better than quote Dr. Fairbairn, as one intimately acquainted with the subject and able to express his knowledge in forcible and epigrammatic form:

"Calvinism was thus, in a sense, quite unknown to Lutheranism, the conscious and consistent antithesis to Rome. For one thing, a rigorous and authoritative system was met by a system no less rigorous and authoritative. The Roman infallibility was confronted by the infallibility of the *Verbum Dei*; the authority of tradition by the authority of reasoned yet Scriptural doctrine; salvation through the Church by salvation through Christ; the efficacy of the Sacraments by the efficacy of the Spirit; the power of the priesthood by the power of the ever-present Christ. . . . Calvinism was the very genius of system in theology and of order in polity. These two stood together, the one was a logical corollary from the other, yet appeared also as a copy of the ancient Scriptural model. But while

order was as necessary to Geneva as to Rome, it was for reasons so different that the order did not remain the same. The order Rome maintained was autocratic, personalised in the Pope, incorporated in the Church, realised by its authority; the order Geneva created was democratic,\* personalised in God, incorporated in the Apostolic society, realised by the authority of conscience. Roman order was external, imposed from without; Genevan order internal, evoked from within."†

The Reformed Church was moulded by the reformed doctrine. Yet, in substance, that doctrine could hardly be termed new. Some essential characteristics of Calvinistic theology are due not to Calvin, but to Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. Augustine and Calvin are alike in the fact that both are penetrated with the spirit of the sublime prophecy of Isaiah ii.: "Enter into the rock, and hide thee in the dust, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of His majesty. . . . The Lord alone shall be exalted in that day. . . . Cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of?" The difference between them is found in the fact that Augustine's doctrine of God is merged and lost in his doctrine of the Church. Consequently, it is a true instinct which has given the name of the Swiss reformer and not that of the Catholic bishop to the majestic and terrible system of Christian doctrine, the main pillar of which is the Sovereign Will of the Most High God.

The nature of this system of theology is generally familiar, but it may be well briefly to recount its leading features. We avail ourselves of the summary of Dr. Schaff: "Their views are chiefly derived from the Epistle to the Romans as they understood it, and may be summed up in the following propositions. God has from eternity foreordained all things that should come to pass, with a view to the manifestation of His own glory; He created man pure and holy, and with freedom of choice; Adam was tried, disobeyed, lost his freedom, and became a slave of sin; the whole human race fell with him, and is justly condemned in Adam to everlasting death; but God in His sovereign mercy elects a part of this mass of

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\* The word *democratic*, however, must be understood in a very modified and, indeed, one-sided sense, as will presently appear.

† *Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 149, 150.

corruption to everlasting life, without any regard to moral merit, converts the elect by irresistible grace, justifies, sanctifies, and perfects them, and thus displays in them the riches of His grace; while, in his inscrutable, yet just and adorable counsel, he leaves the rest of mankind in their inherited state of condemnation, and reveals in the everlasting punishment of the wicked the glory of His awful justice" (p. 541). It is not always remembered how large a part of this creed was held by other Reformers and the leading Catholic theologians of the West. Its anthropology, including the utter, as well as the universal, depravity of the race, the servitude of the will, and the general system of predestinarianism, was the creed both of Augustine and of Luther. Calvin's contribution consisted in the more complete formulation of it as a whole, in his logical inclusion of the decree of reprobation unto death, as well as of election unto life, and especially in the emphasis which he laid upon the Sovereign Will of the All-Holy God as the one sure groundwork of all theology. Here was the true strength of his system, the one religious element which preserved it, like a saving salt, from utter corruption. So far as Calvin brought men to bow in submission before the awfulness of God's sovereign will, he was emphasising a truth which man is always the stronger and nobler for remembering and obeying. Calvin further lent the weight of his name to what afterwards came to be called *Supra-lapsarianism* in opposition to *Infra-lapsarianism*—making the eternal decree of God to precede the creation and the fall of man, rather than allowing the Eternal Counsel to be accommodated to a contingency or an incident—while he sacrificed (for once) his logic to his morality in refusing to admit that God is hereby the author of sin. He mitigated somewhat the severity of Catholic doctrine which relegated all unbaptised infants to hell (*limbus infantum*), through his denial of the necessity of baptism for salvation; but he himself taught that there were reprobate as well as elect infants. In this he was followed by the Westminster and other Confessions.

It is not easy in these days to estimate the exact relation of such a creed as this to the character of him who framed it. We have outgrown it. The work of Arminianism, still more

of Methodism, has not been in vain. It requires a distinct effort to think oneself back into the time when the framing and promulgation of this creed was hailed as a gospel. But comparatively few of those who write of the *horrible decretum* know that the phrase is Calvin's own. It occurs\* in reference to the doctrine of reprobation in connection with children, and must be translated, of course, not "horrible," but "awful" or "dreadful" decree. Dr. Schaff says: "Calvin, by using this expression, virtually condemned his own doctrine." But that by no means follows. Calvin's words are: "The decree, I admit, is dreadful; and yet it is impossible to deny that God foreknew what the end of man was to be before he made him, and foreknew because he had so ordained by his decree." In other words, granted the premisses, the conclusion follows, and whatever awe or dread the thought inspires it must be humbly and submissively accepted as a part of the righteous judgment of Him who cannot err. The epithet proves that Calvin's personal character was not what his enemies have tried to make it out to be, but it indicates also that fear of God and blind submission to His will which it was an essential part of Calvin's creed to inculcate as the first and chief duty of man in relation to the Most High. We are not justifying Calvin's logic, but none can afford to cast stones at him who believe that the will of God, once clearly and authoritatively revealed, must be accepted by man at whatever cost to the natural reason and the natural affections. Such persons may point out what seems to them his fundamental error, they may not challenge his fundamental principle.

The features which distinguished the theologian mark also the ecclesiastical statesman. An idealistic passion for truth, both in the regions of thought and life, dominated Calvin's architectonic mind. "The idea of a Divine commonwealth, a *civitas Dei*, possessed him," says Dr. Tulloch. "Luther's aim was to teach a true soteriology, Calvin's to build a system and a State in the image of the truth of God," says Principal Fairbairn. "His theology is the basis of his polity, his polity is the application of his theology to society and the State. His

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\* *Institutes*, book iii. ch. xxiii., § 7. Calv. Transl. Soc. Edn. vol. ii. p. 568.

church was an attempt to organise society through his theistic idea, to build it into a sort of articulated will of God." A lofty dream, if dream it were; one that has moved men so various as an Augustin, a Dante, a Savonarola, a Calvin, and a Saint Simon, but history has shown that this great City is to be built not after man's fashion but God's, a city built to celestial music, "never built at all, and therefore built for ever." None the less, it is the duty of every faithful member of the household of God to do his best towards the building of this city, and among the many attempts made through the generations one of the most notable and significant is that of Calvin in the little republic of Geneva.

Calvin's ideal of the Christian Church was a lofty one. Cyprian could hardly use stronger language in enforcing its unity, its dignity, and its claims. He held also that civil government is of divine origin, and he was a strong upholder of authority both in Church and State. But both must realise the Divine idea, and the attempt which Calvin made to pass from the abstract to the concrete and change the lawless, licentious, pleasure-loving inhabitants of Geneva into a veritable Church-nation after the mind of God and the teaching of Christ and the pattern of the New Testament, is one of the most interesting and instructive in history. We may not stay to describe it in detail. The key-stone of the whole structure is the autonomy of the Church under the sole headship of Christ. The equality of the clergy as Christ's ministers and the participation of the laity in Church government followed. The Church is not identical with the State, but the two together are "distinct but co-operative arms for the upbuilding of Christ's kingdom." The sovereignty of the Christian people and the general priesthood of believers were taught side by side, and explain the principles on which this composite government, at the same time a democracy, an ecclesiocracy, and a theocracy, was constructed. The "venerable company" was a purely clerical body, and to it alone pastoral affairs were entirely committed. The Consistory was a mixed ecclesiastical court, consisting of clergymen and laymen, and it met weekly to exercise a discipline which was anything but nominal in character. The chief objections to it were grounded upon its

very thoroughness and severity. Ecclesiastical Consistory and civil Council vied with each other in zeal for the punishment of immorality and the establishment of righteousness. "Dancing, gambling, drunkenness, the frequentation of taverns, profanity, luxury, excesses at public entertainments, extravagance and immodesty in dress, licentious or irreligious songs were forbidden, and punished by censure or fine or imprisonment. Even the number of dishes at meals was regulated, Drunkards were fined three *sols* for each offence. Habitual gamblers were exposed in the pillory with cords around their necks. . . . Attendance on public worship was commanded on penalty of three *sols*. Watchmen were appointed to see that people went to church. The members of the Consistory visited every house once a year to examine into the faith and morals of the family. No respect was paid to person, rank, or sex. The strictest impartiality was maintained, and members of the oldest and most distinguished families, ladies as well as gentlemen, were treated with the same severity as poor and obscure people." \*

To understand what the word "severity" means, let it be added that certain men who laughed during a sermon were imprisoned for three days; another person had to do public penance for neglecting communion on Whit-Sunday; a girl was beheaded for striking her parents; several women were imprisoned for dancing; and a lady was expelled from the city for expressing sympathy with the "libertines," and abusing Calvin and the Consistory. Doubtless this extreme austerity brought its own Nemesis, and tended in the long run to defeat the very end in view. But Geneva was regenerated, and the most thorough-going enemy of Puritanism will not hesitate in choosing between it and the "holy" city of Rome, as described by Roman Catholic writers of the sixteenth century, where the foulest and most abominable crimes reared unblushing heads in the very city and palace of the Vicar of Christ! Education received a new meaning and entered on a new history, from the time when Calvin and his Consistory took it in hand. Cleanliness, industry, material prosperity followed naturally and

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\* Schaff, p. 491.

quickly in the wake of moral reformation. "Altogether," says Dr. Schaff, "Geneva owes her moral and temporal prosperity, her intellectual and literary activity, her social refinement and her world-wide fame, very largely to the reformation and discipline of Calvin." Knox wrote from Geneva, shortly before Calvin's death: "In my heart I could have wished, yea, I cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide yourself to this place, where I neither fear nor am ashamed to say, is *the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles*. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached, but manners and religion to be so seriously reformed I have not yet seen in any other place besides."\* So confessedly difficult is the work of cleansing the Augean stable of this world's uncleanness and wrong-doing, that we may well yield our meed of admiration to the fidelity, conscientiousness, and indomitable moral earnestness which made one little corner of it so pure through more than a century of troubled and strenuous life.

But both creed and discipline have passed away. It is impossible to revive either. True, both are *indirectly* exercising a mighty and well-nigh world-wide influence to-day, but Calvinism, which is the name of the creed, and Puritanism, which is the name of the discipline, are amongst the forces which have almost spent themselves, and which, "decaying and waxing old, are ready to vanish away." What are we to say of the work that was done, and how, according to the law of the conservation of moral energy, are these mighty and beneficial forces to be best used, transformed into powers with other names, and operating through other channels to the same great ends which Calvin had in view more than three hundred years ago? Let it be granted that Calvinism is but a "baptised stoicism," the Pagan element in it being by no means always concealed by the thin coating of Christianity. Granted that "it has come to be regarded by liberal thinkers as a system of belief incredible in itself, dishonouring to its object, and as intolerable as it has been itself intolerant." It remains beyond the possibility of question that this creed and disci-

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\* M'Crie, *Life of John Knox*, p. 129. Quoted by Dr. Schaff, p. 518.

pline has fashioned some of the noblest, wisest, and strongest men that ever lived. It has moulded more than one nation of heroes, and like iron in their blood, is at this day the strength of some of the most masculine and enterprising leaders of thought and action, present with them, when they least think of it, to nerve them to fidelity, courage, and self-denial in behalf of righteousness and purity. If Calvin was a tyrant, he helped to make free men; if Calvinism implies intellectual bondage, it has been the creed of those who have won at great cost spiritual, moral, intellectual, and political liberty.

Mr. Froude will not be suspected of being partial to Calvin, either as regards his doctrine or his polity. This is what he says of the practical fruit borne by what he admits to be a crabbed tree:

“When all else has failed—when patriotism has covered its face and human courage has broken down—when intellect has yielded, as Gibbon says, ‘with a smile or a sigh,’ content to philosophise in the closet, and abroad worship with the vulgar—when emotion and sentiment, and tender imaginative piety have become the handmaids of superstition, and have dreamt themselves into forgetfulness that there is any difference between lies and truth—the slavish form of belief called Calvinism, in one or other of its many forms, has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and mendacity, and has preferred rather to be ground to powder like flint, than to bend before violence, or melt under enervating temptation.”\*

These are eloquent words, but they are no less just than eloquent, and they only set forth a part of the truth as to the power of Calvinism embodied in Puritanism to produce men of every type of lofty character and heroic mould. What is the secret by which it has through many centuries and in many climes been effectual in overcoming the world? And wherein lies its weakness, that now it should be an expiring, if not altogether extinct, spiritual force?

(1) The main secret of its strength, as has already been shown, lay in its exaltation of God—His sovereign, righteous, all-dominating will, and the duty of absolute, complete, unreasoning submission on the part of man. “Let God be true, and every man a liar.” A man who is truly possessed with

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\* *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, vol. ii. p. 7.



belief in a living God, and prepared to trust and obey Him in everything, realises the promise—"He that humbleth himself shall be exalted." It is these men who are beaten down into the very dust before God, and who plead, "Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" that are the mightiest to the pulling down of strongholds and all that exalts itself against the knowledge of God. Early Mohammedanism in its purity exhibited a similar zeal (derived indeed from Judaism), and history teems with examples of the invincible power of the "God-intoxicated man."

On the other hand, Calvin and his followers failed, according to the logical and intellectual conceptions of their theology, to find the true God. It was rather the imperfectly apprehended God of traditional Judaism they worshipped than the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Some of His attributes they understood well and expounded with matchless power; to the significance of others they were blind, and on these they were dumb. That which has sapped the strength of Calvinism has been not the ecclesiastical controversies of Dort or of New England, but the steadily growing apprehension of the true nature of the God whom the Only-begotten Son has declared unto us. A part of His glory the Calvinist has always failed to see, being fatally blinded by the sublime but misleading logic which was wholly inadequate to the great theme to which it was applied. We none the less believe in a Father-God, because we believe in a Sovereign God. The two are mutually necessary and supplementary; the sovereignty is only intelligible in the light of the fatherhood, and the fatherhood in the light of the sovereignty.

(2) Another secret of the strength of the Reformed Churches was the doctrine of the supremacy of Scripture. In the sixteenth century many were sick of the supremacy of the Church and the multitude of evils it brought in its train; but they needed a supreme authority, a living guide, and Calvin pointed them to Christ as the only Head of the Church, and the Scriptures as the abiding revelation of His will. Here was a clear fountain-head from which might flow forth streams pure enough to cleanse the whole Church for evermore; and

the men were mighty who went forth under the authority of Christ, their Unseen and Ever-present Saviour, and of the Scriptures as the one supreme and sufficient rule of faith and practice.

On the other hand, these Scriptures were grasped in too crude and mechanical a manner. The whole volume, from Genesis to the Apocalypse, was held—not, indeed, by Calvin, but by most of his followers—to be so “inspired” that words almost from any part might be appealed to as equally “the word of God,” and such appeal was accordingly made, often without discrimination, to Old Testament and to New alike. The men fashioned by this doctrine were men mighty in the Scriptures, and many of their descendants would be greatly the better for more of their intimate acquaintance with the whole Bible. But the ruling principle of interpretation, which makes Christ the Light and Centre of all its teaching, which assumes the progressiveness of revelation and shows how to subordinate “It was said to them of old time” to “But I say unto you” was imperfectly apprehended. Hence not only the prevailing conceptions of God, but the recognised code of ethics for man, were drawn rather from the Old Testament than the New, and in their personal and family life, as well as in their social and political aims, the Puritans failed adequately to discern that “that which was made glorious had no glory in this respect by reason of the glory that excelleth.” The Boers of the interior of South Africa, with many excellent qualities, are in some respects a “survival” of a now fast disappearing type. Yet so faithful were Calvin and his followers to the principles they professed that the majority of them remain to this day spiritual giants in comparison with men of later generations who have enjoyed fuller light, but exhibited less fidelity.

(3) The intensely practical ideal of righteousness in actual life which marked Calvin and his associates has been a mighty force wherever it has been displayed. The methods used may have been, indeed often were, harsh, unspiritual and violent. The kingdom of God will not be established in the earth by means of a system of fines for those who do not attend public worship. Though even as to this it is to be said that if force be no remedy, there are times when it almost seems to be necessary

as a temporary expedient, till something better can take its place—force till right is ready. But these men were in earnest about righteousness for themselves and others, and that is half the battle. They “meant business,” and unfortunately so many professors of religion in the sixteenth century meant nothing of the kind, that the spectacle of men denying themselves and enduring the most determined opposition and persecution to establish righteousness in the earth was a strangely moving spectacle. These men laboured and suffered in order that purity might take the place of licentiousness, that justice might displace oppression and cruelty, that temperance might restore to their rank as men those whom drunkenness had sunk to the level of the beast, and that a worthy view of life as a high calling and a great trust might banish for ever the prevailing view of it as a cup out of which the greatest amount of pleasure might be drained by men who said, Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Where men devote themselves in self-sacrificing earnestness to such work, they will never lack opponents, but their opponents will ere long be ashamed of their opposition. Such men are not only the salt of the earth which preserves it from corruption; they are the moving forces through which alone the world can be regenerated, and the way prepared for that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. There are not wanting signs in our own day of the revival of the spirit by which Calvin renewed the city of Geneva; those who ardently desire to reach his goal may well seek to be animated by the invincible faith and indomitable zeal which brought him so much success, while avoiding the errors which made that success transient and imperfect. The lessons of history are not yet exhausted, and some of the noble but not always perfectly wise social reformers of our own day might do worse than study Dr. Schaff’s two volumes on the Swiss Reformation.

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## ART. II.—AN EGYPTIAN PRINCESS.

*Recollections of an Egyptian Princess.* By Miss CHENNELS.  
Two vols. W. Blackwood & Sons.

"VERY soon after my arrival in Egypt," writes Miss Chennels, in her introduction to these volumes, "I had occasion to observe that the opinion prevalent among Mohammedans was that it was a disgrace to any woman for her face to be seen, or her name to be heard beyond the walls of the harem." It was in deference to this prejudice that the publication of her *Recollections* was delayed till not only her royal pupil, but the children who shared her studies and pleasures, were in their graves. Not that they contain the faintest touch of scandal, the slightest hint of indiscreet revelation. The social life of the Khedive Ismail and his family is painted in the fairest colours, and the impression one gains of him from these pages is that of an amiable, somewhat over-indulgent *paterfamilias*, scarcely to be recognised as the "oriental despot with a Parisian veneer,"\* "whose strength of will and perverse fertility of resource enabled him to maintain a powerful despotism in spite of general discredit and impending bankruptcy, and to baffle all the efforts of European diplomacy to make him govern on rational principles."

Miss Chennels, in her notes and comments on what she saw, restricts herself carefully to her rôle of governess; and though her narrative affords now and then a side-light, "significant of much," on the character of Ismail and the nature of his administration, yet its principal value consists in the almost photographic clearness and accuracy of the picture it gives of the private life of Mohammedan ladies of high rank just beginning to experience the disturbing influence of Western ideas. It is a drama of the clash of two civilisations; and the protagonist is the little princess, whose sweet wistful face, with the soft oriental features, looks out of the photograph facing

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\* *England in Egypt*, by Alfred Milner.

the title-page, in striking contrast with her Paris-made costume, in the height of the hideous fashion of 1870, or thereabouts.

The story of this poor child's short life reminds one often of the proverbial disadvantages of sewing new cloth on old garments. The instincts of freedom, energy, and self-improvement imparted by an English education were inevitably and hopelessly at strife with the harem-life of seclusion, idleness, mental and moral stagnation, to which the customs of the East condemned her as soon as her childhood was over.

The pathetic human interest which thus attaches to the subject of Miss Chennels's *Recollections* is accentuated by the fact that the narrator is obviously not writing for effect. She sets down everything as it comes—picnics to the Pyramids and the hnmours of *Bairam*, visits to the royal ladies, impertinences of the Arab servants, reflections on the slavery question, and notes on the Cairo bazaars, with small care for any order beyond the chronological. But this only increases the impression of exactitude and good faith that grows on one as one reads. The author's view of things is open to the reproach of being a little "set" and conventional; the minor discomforts of Eastern life take up a somewhat disproportionate place in her narrative; but she is throughout clear-sighted, sensible, not without perception of the humorous; and the very profusion of detail in which she indulges on the subject of her privations, helps one to realise how difficult it must be to educate a set of people so undisciplined, so idle, so ignorant of the value of time or the force of a promise, as those with whom she had to do, into any adequate conception of order, rectitude, and public duty.

Miss Chennels entered upon her duties in October 1871. The educational staff of the Khedive Ismail's household then consisted of a Mr. Freeland, who acted as the tutor of Ismail's fourth son, Ibrahim Pasha, Mr. Michell the assistant-tutor, and the Princess Zeyneb's governess. Mr. Freeland had his wife and children with him. They all resided together in a large house in a fashionable suburb of Cairo, and their pupils were brought to them every day. The description of the Princess's arrival on the morning of her introduction to Miss Chennels affords an instance of the way in which the old and the new

jostle each other in this strangest of all lands. "She came in an English carriage, driven by an English coachman, with an English footman on the box;" while before the carriage two "syces," or running footmen, in long white robes with staff in hand, like those who cried "Bow the knee" before the chariot of Joseph, cleared the way for the distinguished occupant.

"The Princess was accompanied by Zohrab Bey, an American physician, and a pretty little Circassian girl, named Kopses, the sharer of her studies and amusements, of about the same age as the Princess, or perhaps a little older. The latter came shyly to me and Zohrab Bey stayed some time, that she might become familiarised with me. She was rather short in stature, but her face was very pretty, regular features, soft brown eyes (which she had a trick of screwing up), and long eyelashes, well-shaped head, and very good hair. . . . On account of ill-health, she was rather backward in her studies, and was painfully aware of her deficiencies. Gentle and timid to a fault, she was of a character that developed late and required great encouragement. Her admiration for her little companion was unbounded, without a shade of jealousy. The latter was indeed a remarkable child, and well worthy the love of her little mistress. She was also small in stature, but slim and agile as a young fawn. She excelled in everything that she attempted, and learned all that she was taught with ease and exactness: but it would have been a false kindness to cultivate her powers according to their capability, at the risk of exciting ill feeling on the part of the Princess, on whom she was wholly dependent. She was very lively, but wonderfully reticent in all concerning the inner life of the harem. She had the greatest influence over her little mistress, but it was always exerted for good."

At the time of Miss Chennels's arrival in Egypt the *official* household of the Khedive consisted of his three wives, called by Europeans the first, second, and third Princess, and their children. These ladies had each her separate suite of apartments, and lived together, we are told, in perfect amity. Ibrahim Pasha and the Princess Zeyneb were the children of the second Princess. They spent the greater part of their time at Mr. Freeland's house, associating with his children and with each other in lessons and play, exactly like European children of the same age. But the yoke of Mohammedan custom was only lifted in private. The brother and sister always came and went separately, as public opinion would have been outraged had they been seen together out of doors.

Ismail Pasha, thoroughly Oriental as was the groundwork of his character, seems to have done his best to Europeanise his Court. Indeed, his fancy for foreigners of every description, and the readiness with which he yielded to the most preposterous claim, if presented by a European, formed a heavy indictment against his administration. In his time, says the author of *England in Egypt*, his province was "the happy hunting-ground" of financiers and promoters of the shadiest description. Foreign diplomatic agents used their influence to obtain from poor, weak Egypt the payment of the most preposterous demands. "Please shut that window," Ismail Pasha said once, during an interview with some European *concessionaire*, "for if this gentleman catches cold it will cost me £10,000."

His susceptibility to foreign influence was not wholly to be deplored, since it prompted him to make some provision for the education of girls. The curriculum in the schools which he established included, not merely instruction in the ordinary branches of knowledge, but training in all the arts of household management. Unfortunately, these institutions were planned on so extravagant a scale that it was impossible to increase their number to an extent at all commensurate with the needs of the population. Miss Chennels credits him with a real desire to raise the position of women. With regard to his own household, she says :

"The Khedive's harem is differently conducted from that of other princes. He has four wives, it is true, but these ladies are not outraged by the *presence* of other favourites ; nor are the children of other mothers brought up under the same roof with them. . . . He endeavoured to promote education in his own harem, and gave much greater liberty both of recreation and instruction to its members than any sovereign had done before him."

Miss Chennels gives a lively account of her journey to Constantinople in the suite of the Khedive, and lays special stress on the indignation she felt at being deprived of the world-famous view of Stamboul and the Golden Horn. As the vessel entered the harbour the shutters of the ladies' saloon were jealously closed, lest any member of the inferior sex should offend the proprieties by allowing herself to be

visible at the windows. Miss Chennells protested in vain. Though her status and nationality gave her many privileges, she had on this occasion to share the disabilities of her Mohammedan sisters. She seems to have been somewhat troubled occasionally as to the unsettling influence which familiarity with English manners might exert upon their moral standard and tone of thought. "They must either," she says, "consider us most abandoned creatures, or they must think that what is right in us cannot be so very wrong in them."

The author here indicates one of the greatest practical difficulties in the way of the emancipation of women not only in Egypt, but throughout the East. The destructive part of a reform is always infinitely easier to accomplish than the construction that should follow: it is a much simpler thing to discredit a faith or to destroy an institution than to put a higher faith or a more perfect institution in its place. And it is of little use to break the yoke which the custom of ages has laid on the inmates of the harem and the zenana, unless they are made capable, when the outer law is abolished, of becoming a law unto themselves.

Miss Chennells's pages abound in illustrations of the difficulties that all reformers in Egypt have had to contend with—the *vis inertiae* of custom, the unprincipled greed that too often manifests itself in high places, the apathy, prejudice, and jealousy of foreign interference which mark the mass of the population. Her account of the following piece of sharp practice on the part of the Ottoman Government, which came under her notice in Constantinople, has its distinctively humorous side:

"The Turkish Government, as is well known, has always been in difficulties through profuse expenditure, and it was suggested to them that a monopoly in tobacco would be a profitable speculation. Several merchants bid for it, and it was finally made over to a Greek for a term of five years; the Greek agreeing to pay the Government £20,000 (Turkish pounds) monthly. The Greek then formed a company, and the shares were promptly taken up. All the tobacco brought into Constantinople and its suburbs was to pass through the hands of this company, and they sold at treble the price, and adulterated the quality. I have been told that about 40,000 people in Constantinople, Pera, Galata, and Scutari live by the sale of tobacco,



which is to the Oriental what beer is to the Briton. This monopoly therefore occasioned the greatest dissatisfaction; smuggling to a large extent prevailed, and many were the conflicts that arose between the people and the excise officers. . . . About the fifth day the monopolist found placards posted up at his house, informing him that he would shortly be hanged at his own door, and he betook himself in great trepidation to the Vizier for protection.

"'If they hang you,' said the Vizier, 'I'll have them all hanged.'

"'But that will not bring me to life again,' said the Greek; 'can't you protect me now?'

"'No,' said the Vizier, 'we can only punish after the crime has been committed.'

"In this he exaggerated a little, but he felt that the Government was in an untenable position, and if the Greek could be worked upon by his fears to break the contract, it would be less undignified than for the Government to recede from the position it had taken. . . . Time passed on, smuggled tobacco was met with everywhere . . . and the company, with ruin staring them in the face, were glad to compromise the matter by forfeiting to the Government £T130,000 to be released from their contract. Nobody pitied them, and the tobacco shops resumed their old trade amid universal satisfaction."

It is evident from these volumes that the privilege of instructing an Egyptian princess was not without its drawbacks. On several occasions, owing to some hitch in the unwieldy domestic arrangements of the Khedive's household, Miss Chennels was left without proper attendance, and once or twice actually without food. During her stay at Constantinople the Khedive returned to Egypt, taking his son, Ibrahim Pasha, with him. His suite, including Mr. Michell and the Freeland family, followed as a matter of course, and Miss Chennels was left alone in the house they had occupied. She succeeded in inducing one of the servants attached to the harem to bring her a little bread and coffee, and on the next day luncheon was sent up to her from the palace, but dinner was not to be had. The day after, her pupils, the Princess and Kopsès, came up from the harem, expecting to breakfast with her—an expectation that was doomed to disappointment.

"I told the Princess," says Miss Chennels, "how I had been situated for the last two days, begging her to go back and speak to her mother on the subject, adding that she had better have breakfast in the harem, as there was no prospect of any in the house. The Princess and Kopsès heard me quietly and then went away without

making any comment. I was amazed at their reticence ; for, knowing nothing then of harem habits except what could be gleaned from occasional visits, I was not at all aware that my pupil, though the Khedive's daughter, had not the power to give any orders, except to her own immediate attendants. I had told her to go and breakfast in the harem, not knowing there was no such meal there. She had been accustomed for some years to an English breakfast, and therefore missed it as much as I did. . . . Twice a day regular meals were brought into the harem equivalent to our luncheon and dinner, the first about half-past eleven and the second at about six or seven. If any one was hungry between these meals, she might, perhaps, get a little fruit, sweets, or a tiny cup of coffee. His Highness, of course, lived in the European style, and when he was there, his three wives and their children all breakfasted, lunched, and dined with him. But His Highness was away, and the regular harem habits went on. The ladies had never been taught that it was unwholesome to eat sweets or fruit all day long, and having very little to employ them, they generally did so."

There is a touch of sincere pathos in Miss Chennels's picture of the Princess Zeyneb at this time. The gay bright girl, who appreciated so thoroughly the rational freedom of her English training was rapidly approaching the period when that freedom was to be withdrawn from her. The prospect of life-long seclusion within the high walls of the harem was infinitely more painful to her than it could have been to one who had known nothing of a wider sphere. For herself alone it would doubtless have been happier if the experiment of a Western training had never been tried. But every step in social progress demands its victims, and the poor child had to suffer and submit, that the next generation of her countrywomen might enjoy the advantages which only her example could secure to them. She was not unaware of the responsibility that rested upon her.

"The Princess would ask me all sorts of questions about England, and whether I thought society would ever be the same in Egypt as it was with us. I told her I thought much would depend upon herself: she was in a high position and would be looked up to as an example. If she, by her conduct, could show that liberty was not incompatible with modesty and innocence, there was no doubt but a few years would bring about an entire revolution in the present system with regard to women. Their seclusion was not a Mohammedan doctrine ; it had existed in the East long before Mohammed ; but in all countries, the more civilised a State became, the higher did women rise in the social scale. She used to moralise upon all

this, and speak of her past life of liberty much as an elderly lady might do of her youth; but one thing was very certain, that she dreaded the life of retirement that lay before her."

She might well dread it. It is difficult to imagine anything more depressing, more monotonous, more stultifying to all the higher activities of mind and spirit, than harem life as it appears in the studiously exact, but by no means unfriendly, record of this English lady. On the marriage of the Princess Zeyneb to her cousin Ibrahim Pasha, Miss Chennels, at her pupil's request, took up her abode with her in the harem—a large block of buildings entirely separate from the *selamlık* or residence of the Pasha and his suite. With its grated windows, and the high walls that cut off all communication with the outer world, it had very much the aspect of a prison. The gates were guarded by eunuchs who allowed no one to pass in or out without a proper authorisation.

One's notions of Oriental palace life are apt to be tinged with reminiscences of *Lalla Rookh* and the *Arabian Nights*, and all the glamour of

"the golden prime  
Of good Haroun Al Raschid."

There is little enough of charm or poetry in the real thing as Miss Chennels saw it. Occupation was scouted, privacy was impossible, the inmates, who were all slaves with the exception of the Princess and her governess, passed "the impracticable hours" in sleeping, eating sweetmeats, and playing practical jokes on one another for the amusement of their mistress; while at night our author assures us that the noise in the "hushed seraglio"—as Tennyson calls it with a poetic licence far removed from fact—was so great that she found it impossible to sleep. The following anecdote does something to help one to conceive the hopeless monotony of the life to which Eastern women are doomed by the habits of their class and the prejudices of their country:

"One day, as I was going out of the harem door to drive into Cairo, one of the upper slaves, whom I had often noticed for her gentle manners, called out to me, 'Oh, Madam! take me with you!' I turned back directly, and went up to the couch on which she was sitting. 'Are you then so anxious to go out?' said I. 'Oh, yes,'

she replied, 'it is so very sad here; nothing to live for, day after day, nothing to live for!' I was moved, for I saw how much she felt it. 'Sleep,' said she, making the gesture of laying her head on her hand. 'Nothing else to look forward to.' She was not very young, and I believe for some years past they had talked of marrying her: but I doubt whether she looked forward to that even, she seemed so thoroughly impressed by her melancholy lot, and she was by no means the only one who produced that effect upon me."

The enormous number of slaves attached to opulent households is one of the most curious features in Eastern life. The conditions of their lot are entirely different from those which prevailed in America before the Civil War; and indeed, if the life were not more than meat and the body than raiment, many a poor freeman of Europe, toiling for a mere pittance, might envy the fate of a Circassian slave, well fed, sumptuously clothed, with the run of a palace, and practically nothing to do.

To this class belonged Kopsè Hanem, whose name occurs so often in Miss Chennels's recollections, and whose rare beauty and intelligence had obtained for her the advantage of being educated almost on a footing of equality with the young Princess, whose legal property she was. She seems to have been singularly exempt from the faults of her class, and Miss Chennels speaks in the highest terms of her truth, conscientiousness, and self-respect. The term of slave, so cruel a stigma with us, does not, of course, convey the same reproach in the ear of an Oriental, who is a stranger to those highly-wrought sentiments of personal independence which are only to be developed by a long experience of freedom.

"She had," says Miss Chennels, "great vivacity and wonderful tact for so young a person. She never obtruded her opinions, but when required she expressed them with a free and independent bearing, which, to our preconceived ideas, was totally inconsistent with slavery. Her manner to us was quite different from her behaviour in the harem. With us she was the free outspoken member of a free community—outspoken, that is to say, in what concerned exclusively English manners and habits; in the harem she was the quiet dignified Oriental, receiving notice from her superiors with profound respect, but without a tinge of servility."

The slaves belonging to the viceregal household may consider themselves as provided for throughout life. They are

never sold again, and are frequently sought in marriage by men of high official position; but in any event, whether married or single, they receive the same monthly allowance until their death. It is easy to see how heavy a tax on the community must be involved in the maintenance in idleness and luxury of this crowd of useless beings.

The menial work of the palace was done, we are told, almost entirely by black slaves under the orders of the privileged Georgians and Circassians. The head slaves of the household, such as the *calfa* or housekeeper, and the *dada* or princess' nurse, had slaves under them, who attended to all their requirements. Miss Chennels was not so fortunate. The Princess did indeed depute a maid to attend upon her; but the girl considered it derogatory to wait upon a Giaour, and Miss Chennels found that she should best consult her own comfort and the peace of the household by doing the necessary work of her apartments herself. A worse affliction than scanty attendance was the ubiquitous presence of a mob of idle women, even in the private apartments of the Princess.

"I had often heard people talk of the mystery in the harem, and the difficulty there was in knowing what went on within the walls. This was true enough; but I soon observed there was no mystery amongst each other. What one knew (as a rule) everybody knew. The mistress was never alone; there was no place, however private, where her attendants could not penetrate. When visitors came, the chief slaves waited in the room, forming a semicircle at a slight distance, but within earshot. The only way to speak in private appeared to me to be under cover of the band playing, when the noise was deafening and the voice could only be heard by the next neighbour. When a foreign language was spoken privacy was always ensured, and my dear little Princess was not a little pleased at being able to talk to her husband, to Kopsès, and to me in French, which no one else understood; and to Kopsès and me also in English, which the Prince did not understand."

A European lady once, when on a visit to another married daughter of the Khedive, ventured, as respectfully as possible, to express her surprise that an Egyptian princess should "submit to such slavery as never to hear or speak anything without the same being carried through the whole household." The remonstrance produced a certain effect, for the Princess

gave orders that in future when she received any European visitor the slaves should remain in the anteroom.

Miss Chennels's efforts to induce her pupil to continue the habits of useful activity in which she had been trained were viewed with great disfavour by the officials of the household. When any visitor was announced, the *calfa* would hasten to remove all traces of needlework or other occupation, that the Princess might be discovered, with her hands folded before her in the helpless attitude supposed to be appropriate to her rank. This woman and the other head slaves seem to have done their utmost to win the Princess to their side : and it is not surprising that a mere child (she was only fifteen at the time of her marriage), surrounded by an atmosphere of servile adulation, and having no other prospect than that of passing her life in the seclusion of the harem, should have yielded at first to the enervating influences with which she was encompassed. For some time she seemed to be entirely under the sway of her principal domestics, and the extent to which she conformed to the slothful and self-indulgent habits of those about her caused a good deal of anxiety to her English friend. Fortunately, soon after her marriage, she went to visit her sister-in-law, the wife of Hussein Pasha. She found her active-minded, cultured, full of intellectual and social interests, and capable of entering intelligently into her husband's pursuits. She heard her brother express his great satisfaction that his father had bestowed upon him an educated wife, and not a mere doll. Her ambition was aroused : she resumed her reading and habits of occupation, much to her own benefit and the satisfaction of her instructress.

Miss Chennels draws a very winning picture of the girl-wife gradually awakening to her responsibilities and duties :

" Her character was becoming more formed ; there was more decision, and she was beginning to assert herself as mistress, but no further than was just and right. She had at first been so much under the influence of her head slaves and eunuchs that her orders were not obeyed, unless entirely in accordance with their wishes. Gradually, however, this began to change. I remember one day the wife of the English Consul-General told me that she had been to call on the Princess, that at the outer gate the eunuchs had rudely told her servant to get down from the box, without coming in them-

selves to announce her and assist her out of the carriage ; that she had got out and gone into the harem alone ; and had then been told that the Princess was out. I repeated this to the Princess, and at the same time mentioned two or three instances of disrespect to myself, which I said, in the position in which I then was, reflected on her. We were walking about in the garden then, and she immediately sent for all the eunuchs, and repeated to them what I had told her. The head eunuch was about to interrupt, but she held up her hand, and, with great dignity, proceeded to tell them that every visitor who came to her was to be treated with respect ; that she was mistress, and the sole judge of who was to be admitted, and that they were there to receive orders, and not to give them."

We are informed that this assertion of rightful prerogative was attended with the best effects.

She had the charm of an unselfishness, rare at all times, but almost phenomenal in her circumstances. " Her anxiety to do right was very marked," her friend tells us. One Thursday evening the Princess said, referring to the stipulation which had been made that Miss Chennels should have her Fridays to herself, " O, je m'ennuie, je m'ennuie, mais je ne m'ennuie pas autant quand vous êtes avec moi." This outcry of the poor girl, in which one hears the voice of nature itself protesting against the tyranny which compelled her to a hopeless imprisonment, touched Miss Chennels so much that she at once offered to sacrifice her holiday in order to keep the Princess company. The offer was gratefully accepted, and on the following Thursday Miss Chennels renewed her proposal. This time, however, the Princess decidedly refused. " No," she said ; " you are accustomed to liberty, and have no recreation but what you meet with among friends on Fridays and Sundays. It would not do for you to miss that."

It was not long after this incident that the harem gates opened to let her pass upon that journey from which there is no returning. Miss Chennels fell ill with the fever incident to the climate, and had left the harem a few days for change of air, when she heard that the Princess was attacked with an affection of the throat to which she was subject. She went to see her and found her suffering much, but not as she imagined dangerously ill. The disease, however, developed into typhoid fever and in a terribly short time all was over.

The Princess was only sixteen when she died. Her young

husband, who idolised her, was travelling in Europe at the time. The news was kept from him till his return, and when he heard it at last the shock to him was so great that his attendants feared for his reason. Kopsès, her life-long companion and friend, remained in close attendance on the bereaved mother, who retired after the Princess's death into the strictest seclusion. Ismail Pasha, who, whatever may be thought of him in other respects, seems to have been a fond and careful father, was deeply affected by her loss. "He was often seen in the intervals of business with his eyes full of tears and fixed on the ground." He said once to a friend: "She was the light of my eyes; she had a better influence over me than any one else, and that I ascribe entirely to the excellent English training she had for so many years."

What would have been the result, so far as the status of Egyptian women is concerned, if the Princess had lived to recommend by her influence and example greater freedom, wider interests, a more liberal culture? There is nothing more fascinating than such speculations, and nothing more useless. Her death, untimely and lamentable though it was, could not greatly retard that movement in favour of the emancipation of women which has now been fairly set on foot, and which the spread of enlightenment in Egypt under the influence of Western manners and ideas cannot fail to accelerate.

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### ART. III.—A LITERARY CHRONICLE.

*John Francis, Publisher of the Athenæum: a Literary Chronicle of Half a Century.* Compiled by JOHN C. FRANCIS. With an Introductory Note by H. R. FOX BOURNE. In two volumes. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1888.

**A**LTHOUGH the time is not yet come to tabulate the literary results of this prolific century, it may not be amiss to look back over fifty years of it, and mark some of its monumental milestones. For such a survey Mr. J. C. Francis's volumes



afford ample material. Though they have no pretensions to be exhaustive, they contain a large amount of information well arranged, and made handily available by means of indices and side-notes.

The author's father, John Francis, was the publisher of the *Athenæum* from October 1831 to April 1882; and between those dates the paper owed to him much of its commercial prosperity. Indeed, he was so thoroughly identified with its arrangements that during the thirty years in which it was published on Saturday morning at four o'clock he was absent only once from the office at that early hour. Not only may Mr. Francis fairly be ranked among the founders of the journal, but he did gallant service to the cause of literature and the spread of knowledge by his vigorous and successful efforts to secure the repeal of the heavy taxes which, fifty years ago, hampered all literary undertakings. It is difficult for us nowadays to realise the fiscal restrictions with which our forefathers had to contend. Francis's attention was drawn more closely to the matter by the brief but telling way in which the *Examiner*, in the year 1830, put the matter. It printed its price in this form :

" Paper and Print . . . .	3d.	} 7d."
Taxes on Knowledge . . . .	4d.	

The stamp on each sheet of a newspaper cost 4d.; the duty on each advertisement was 3s. 6d.! The duty was double on literary journals which desired postal facilities. In addition to these discouraging and almost prohibitive charges, there was a duty of 3d. per pound on the paper used in printing. Thus a ream of demy, weighing 24 lbs., would have to pay the excise six shillings before it could be allowed to leave the mill where it was manufactured. We may, in pessimistic mood, lament over the flood of twaddle which finds its way into print by reason of our freedom from these antique imposts, but none of us can seriously wish for the re-imposition of tolls and taxes which were ruinous to the projects of many a good man who was desirous to provide wholesome reading and educational training for the people at large. To those honoured pioneers of cheap, useful, and entertaining literature, Charles Knight,

William and Robert Chambers, and John Cassell, the non-existence of these burdens would have saved much anxious struggle and many a sigh.

It was in 1831 that Mr. Francis, then only twenty years of age, seeing an advertisement for a junior clerk at the office of the *Athenæum*, applied for the situation, and was at once engaged by Mr. Dilke and Mr. Holmes. Within a few months the whole commercial department was placed in the young man's hands, and for fifty years he conducted it with great ability. Fervent in spirit and not slothful in business on week-days, he did not allow the Sabbath to be for himself an idle day, but was diligent in the Sunday-school and in other good work amongst the poor of St. Giles and subsequently of Spitalfields, being for many years an active member of the churches presided over by Dr. Rippon, the Rev. William Brock, Dr. Allon, and other such eminent men. In commemorating the long and consistent life of such a capable worker in the interests of religion and literature his son may well feel pleasure and pride.

We now turn from the model publisher to the birth of the paper itself. In January 1828, that restless, roving genius, James Silk Buckingham, a man blessed with an affluence of projects for the enlightenment of the world, started a "New Weekly Review, to be called *The Athenæum*, and to be devoted exclusively to Literature, Science, and the Arts, in all their various departments." He was assisted by Dr. Stobbing as the working editor, and Sterling and Maurice were amongst the earliest and most frequent contributors. The last-named wrote a series of "Sketches of Contemporary Authors," in which he deals rather severely with Jeffrey; while on Cobbett he bestows the high praise that his "personal consciousness of all which is concealed from our eyes by grey jackets and clouted shoes has kept alive his sympathy with the majority of mankind." "It is a merit," adds Maurice, "which belongs to no one we remember but himself and Burns, among all the persons that have raised themselves from the lowest condition of life into eminence." Of Wordsworth he tells his readers; "Like those angels who are made a flame of fire, he burns with a calm and holy light; and the radiance which shows so strange

amid the contrasted glare and blackness of the present, will blend with the dawning of a better time as with its native substance." And of Shelley he affirms, what would almost satisfy even the exaggerated admiration of his present-day worshippers, that his "is, in truth, a voice that might sing among the morning stars, and swell the shout of the sons of God, rejoicing over new worlds."

In a few months, the versatile Buckingham, having a new iron in the fire, this time a daily paper, the *Argus*, found it necessary to part with the *Athenæum*, and his share in it was purchased by half a dozen friends, among whom was John Sterling. With it was incorporated the *London Literary Chronicle*, which had been edited by Maurice, who now undertook the editorship of the united journals. "Under the highly uncommercial management it had now got into," to use Carlyle's phrase, the sale of the paper rapidly declined. After ten months of office, Maurice, depressed in spirit and sadly out of health, resigned his post, and was succeeded by his friend Sterling, who was assisted by John Hamilton Reynolds, Allan Cunningham, Cooley, Dance, and others. In July 1829, under Sterling's editorship, the young journal gave a taste of its quality in an appreciative notice of Tennyson's *Timbuctoo*, of which it says:

"We have never before seen a prize poem which indicated really poetical genius, and which would have done honour to any man that ever wrote. Such, we do not hesitate to affirm, is the little work before us."—*Francis*, i. 32.

It was not till June 1830 that the journal settled down to its unbroken career of commercial prosperity. That was the date at which Mr. Charles Wentworth Dilke became editor, and took upon himself the entire control of the paper, establishing it as an independent organ of literary and scientific criticism and intelligence. In October of the next year, as we have seen, Dilke was fortunate enough to engage the services of Mr. John Francis, who soon relieved him of all business anxiety, being "thoroughly conversant with newspaper management, and full of intelligence and enthusiasm." Under such management and editorship the *Athenæum* went rapidly ahead. In 1832 it reckoned on its staff such notable

writers as Carlyle, Hogg the Ettrick Shepherd, Hood, Hervey, William and Mary Howitt, Leigh Hunt, Mrs. Fletcher (*née* Jewsbury), Charles Lamb, Leitch Ritchie, William and Thomas Roscoe; and its arrangements included, as a rival potentate, Jordan, of the *Literary Gazette*, declared: "the most diligent adoption of all business resources so essential to successful publishing." Its story is steadily pursued through these interesting volumes. But it is not simply the story of the *Athenæum* and its publisher: it is the story of the progress of literature and of scientific research and discovery. Mr. John C. Francis, with great tact and judgment, gives the salient points of the principal critical notices and miscellaneous information of each year, down to 1882, under the successive editorships of C. W. Dilke, T. K. Hervey, Hepworth Dixon, and Norman Maccoll.

Amongst the curiosities of the earlier years is a short poem by Carlyle, "Faust's Curse," translated from Goethe, which appeared in the number for January 7, 1832. It is principally remarkable for its amplitude of malediction, and was probably congenial enough to the dyspeptic Carlyle in his misanthropic moods. The energetic Francis, as in duty bound, announced this lurid-tinted gem on the bill of contents for the week, quite unaware that Carlyle would be offended at a publicity in which all authors, and poets especially, are supposed to rejoice. But the great man's diary shows that he *did* take highly virtuous offence. Here is the entry:

"Jan. 13, 1832.—Last Friday saw my name in large letters at the *Athenæum* office in Catherine Street; hurried on with downcast eyes as if I had seen myself in the pillory. . . . Why yield even half a hair's-breadth to puffing? Abhor it, utterly divorce it, and kick it to the devil."—*Francis*, i. 51.

A glance over these records recalls many items of literary and historic interest. In September 1832, Sir Walter Scott, the great novelist of the century, died; his brave spirit crushed in the struggle to meet the colossal debt, £120,000, for which he held himself responsible. In six years, by hard, killing work, he had earned and paid off the half, £60,000. It was a gigantic effort. Nothing but his indomitable spirit, his unbroken determination to sacrifice health and life itself to the full and honourable discharge of his debts, could have

braced him for this unequal contest of mind against matter ; and soul and body gave way and parted just when the fight against disaster was quite half won.

In July 1837, Elizabeth Barrett, afterwards Mrs. Browning, contributed to the paper two poems on the Princess Victoria's accession to the throne, entitled "The Young Queen" and "Victoria's Tears." Of the latter the first and the last verses are as follow :

"O maiden, heir of kings,  
A king has left his place ;  
The majesty of death has swept  
All other from his face.  
And thou, upon thy mother's breast,  
No longer lean adown—  
But take the glory for the rest,  
And rule the land that loves thee best.  
The maiden wept ;  
She wept, to wear a crown. . . .

"God bless thee, weeping queen,  
With blessing more divine ;  
And fill with better love than earth's  
That tender heart of thine ;  
That when the thrones of earth shall be  
As low as graves brought down,  
A piercèd Hand may give to thee  
The crown which angels shout to see.  
Thou wilt not *weep*,  
To wear that heavenly crown."

In these early years much space was devoted to the advocacy of several needful reforms. Besides the repeal of the burdensome taxes on the press, attention was drawn to the necessity of postal reform, the better housing of the poor of London, the improvement of prisons and of the criminal laws, ragged schools, mechanics' institutions, public parks, &c. In 1839 the photographic discoveries of M. Daguerre and Mr. Fox Talbot were described at some length. Faraday's discoveries with regard to light, heat, and electricity, are recorded in November 1845. In August of the next year, Professor Schönbein's invention of gun-cotton is announced ; and in 1847 Professor (afterwards Sir J. Y.) Simpson's more valuable discovery, of the properties of chloroform as an anæsthetic, is

introduced. And so on, from time to time, the record is made of scientific advance, and trustworthy material is furnished for the future historian and specialist.

Useful service was rendered in April 1848 by the publication of a table of Government salaries, showing that messengers, housekeepers, and porters, especially those of the House of Commons, received higher salaries than persons employed in a literary or scientific capacity. The doorkeeper of the House of Commons, for instance, got £874 a year, while the Astronomer-Royal and the principal Librarian at the British Museum were allotted only £800 each. Though the salaries of these two gentlemen have been raised a little in the course of the last forty-five years, still much that was said of "the claims of literature" retains its force. At the beginning of 1849 note is made of an "innovation in bookselling"—the farming of the bookstalls of the North-Western Railway by Mr. W. H. Smith, of the Strand. Great fears were at that time entertained that this arrangement would result in a huge monopoly; but this expectation has not been realised, and whilst Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son have prospered amazingly, the legion of retail booksellers has increased considerably. The latter, indeed, have found their worst enemy in the competitive custom of allowing unreasonably large discounts—a suicidal system from which the railway bookstalls have steadily kept aloof.

The mid-century year came in with loud notes of preparation for the first, emphatically the Great, Exhibition of the Works of all Nations, to be held in 1851; and the literary and pictorial papers found abundant material in chronicling and sketching the preliminary movements. The end of the half-century presents a fitting opportunity to glance back at some of the losses which the republic of letters had suffered in the years 1832–1850. Sir Walter Scott's death, in 1832, we have already mentioned. In December 1834 the decease is recorded of that great but disappointing genius, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whose glorious powers of poetry and eloquence were in great measure wasted through his want of energy and of self-respect, and by his baneful habit of resorting to strong narcotic stimulants. He left behind him enough exquisite poetry and thought-laden prose to make a lasting name; and

his semi-theological utterances largely contributed to lay the foundation of the Neology of Maurice and his school. He was followed, in December of the same year, by a lesser, but also less uncertain, luminary, the gentle, humorous Charles Lamb, whose *Essays of Elia*, and other writings in the same happy vein, will always retain a warm place in the hearts of English readers. A graceful tribute to his memory was paid by his friend, Mr. Procter ("Barry Cornwall"):

"It is with difficulty that we can bring ourselves to believe that he is dead. He was lately so full of life—apparently so full of health also. His mind was as fresh as ever, his wit as bright, his smile as sweet and as full of kindness. . . . His prejudices, which were rather humours than grave opinions; his weaknesses, which never hurt one human being except himself, may sometimes have been talked of—by strangers. But it was the pride of his friends that they had the opportunities of seeing deeper into his heart, and could feel and avouch for his many virtues."—*Francis*, i. 510.

In 1835 the popular poetess, Mrs. Hemans, left a world of anxiety and suffering for "the better land"—"a happy exchange," wrote her old friend, Mr. Chorley. She was one of the most charming personages of the first half of this century, as bright as she was beautiful. Although now decried as "gushing" and "out of date" by a certain school of critics, who apparently want more room for their own invaluable verse, much of her poetry will hold its place in the regard and admiration of the best judges long after later and more pretensions bards have gone down into the limbo which surely awaits them. A different individuality was that of James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, who died in the same year as Mrs. Hemans. Seldom has a true poet been wedded to a more poetical occupation: we are taken back to the *Tityre, tu patulæ recubans* of Virgil's first Eclogue. As Hogg delighted to tell the world, he was born a shepherd, the son of many generations of shepherds. At six years of age he was obliged to earn his own living by herding the cows of a neighbouring farmer—an occupation of low esteem in Scotland, yet not without its share of romantic food for the future poet and story-teller. Independently of his purely original poetry and racy tales, his fame was partly won by his strong powers of humorous and eloquent conversation, which, if he was the father of a tithe of the good things

set down to him in Professor Wilson's *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, were distinctly remarkable. At the London Burns' dinner in January 1832 he stood on a table, and related his own varied fortunes in a dialect and tone redolent of the muse-haunted lowlands of Scotland, but quite unintelligible to the bulk of his English hearers. On that occasion Lockhart told how his father-in-law, Scott, had found Hogg, thirty-five years before, watching his sheep on the banks of Ettrick, "with more old ballads on his memory than any traditionary dame of the district, and with more true poetry in his heart than is usual to the lot of poets." Hogg is now little read on this side of the Tweed. His imaginative faculty was a diamond of the first water; but, in order to gain the gaze and hold the admiration of a later generation, his work wanted liberal cutting and artistic setting, without which its richness of imagination and beauty of illustration are robbed of their genuine lustre.

From this humorous but rather ponderous son of the soil we pass to the light and elegant "L. E. L."—Letitia Elizabeth Landon, afterwards Mrs. Maclean, who died at Cape Coast Castle in October 1838. She was a lady of undoubted talent—"a talent facile as it was fanciful," which, through the early loss of her father, had to be brought into public view while she was yet a girl. The annuals and other periodicals of that time bear witness that she was an able as well as indefatigable literary labourer; and it is recorded to her honour that "the fruits of her incessant exertion were neither selfishly hoarded nor foolishly trifled away, but applied to the maintenance and advancement of her family." In connection with her sudden death a beautiful poem by Elizabeth Barrett (Browning) appeared in the *Athenæum* of January 26, 1839, entitled "L. E. L.'s Last Question," from which we quote these verses:

" 'Do you think of me as I think of you,  
My friends, my friends?' She said it from the sea.  
The English minstrel in her minstrelsy,  
While, under brighter skies than erst she knew,  
Her heart grew dark, and groped there as the blind  
To reach across the waves friends left behind—  
'Do you think of me as I think of you?' . . .



“ ‘ Do you think of me as I think of you ? ’ —  
 O friends, O kindred, O dear brotherhood  
 Of all the world ! what are we that we should  
 For covenants of long affection sue ?  
 Why press so near each other when the touch  
 Is barred by graves ? Not much, and yet too much  
 Is this ‘ Think of me as I think of you.’

“ But while on mortal lips I shape anew  
 A sigh to mortal issues, verily,  
 Above the unshaken stars that see us die,  
 A vocal pathos rolls ; and HE Who drew  
 All life from dust, and for all tasted death,  
 By death and life and love, appealing saith,  
*Do you think of Me as I think of you ?* ”

To this period belonged also the versatile joker, Theodore. Hook, who died in August 1841. The life of this precocious and volatile writer, judged by the standard of the present day, was throughout a sadly wasted one. His ability as an *improvisatore* was unparalleled in our cold English clime ; and he hurried out a continuous stream of novels, comedies, farces, full of startling situations, and palpably deficient in pictures of actual life. With rare intellectual endowments, he never did himself justice, and, while especially remembered by his friends for his “ brilliant wit, humour, and unrivalled social qualities,” he was known mainly as a reckless, hoax-loving man of the town—the most conspicuous of a set that has long died out.

In 1846 the death of Dr. Chalmers is recorded—“ the most distinguished of modern Scotch divines, the father and leader of the Free Church of Scotland, and one whose works and character have given him a European reputation.” In 1848 society lost the witty Horace Smith, principally known to this generation as the joint author of the admirable parodies contained in the *Rejected Addresses* ; but by his contemporaries missed more as a companion than as a writer, being “ singularly kindly and cheerful—devoted to the cause of truth and freedom.” Another man of mark, of a totally different build, died in December of the same year—Ebenezer Elliott, whose *Corn Law Rhymes*, with their fierce and fervent eloquence, were a potent instrument in the demolition of the grievance

against which they were directed. His was a genuine and in some respects the strongest form of poetry, that which flames forth from the heart in burning words, and not the mere musical phrasing of flat commonplaces or dainty conceits. Something of the sincere nature of the man in his political advocacy is shown in the concluding sentences of his brief autobiography :

"Newspaper-taught as I am, and having no ideas of my own, I can only seize those of others as they occur, earnestly applying them to current occasions. If I have been mistaken in my objects, I am sorry for it ; but I have never advocated any cause without first trying to know the principles on which it was based. . . . And when I shall go to my account, and the Great Questioner, Whose judgments err not, shall say to me, 'What didst thou with the lent talent?' I can truly answer, 'Lord, it is here ; and with it all that I could add to it, doing my best to make little much.'"—*Francis*, i. 206.

Lord Jeffrey died on January 26, 1850, and the literary performances of the great reviewer were left to the judgment and mercy of surviving critics. We are told—and few readers of our day will contradict the assertion—that his *Essays* were "not very remarkable productions." But this "faint praise" is balanced by an affirmation equally indisputable, that they "will more than repay perusal"; and his papers on Swift and on Penn and the Quakers met with the high commendation they deserved. In July the sympathetic appreciation of literary men was claimed for Sir Robert Peel, just deceased, in return for the good feeling which he had always shown towards their interests. When, in 1832, Mr. Hume, in the House of Commons, had proposed that some ribbon of honour should be given to men distinguished in literature and science, Sir Robert opposed the suggestion, observing with truth that mere symbols of distinction were not what was necessary for the wants of literary men. Goldsmith had put the matter plainly : "Honours to a man in my situation are like ruffles to a man in want of a shirt." When, two years later, Peel was in power, he illustrated his sentiments by conferring pensions on some of the leading *littérateurs* of the day. Southey and Wordsworth were each allotted a pension of £300 a year, and James Montgomery £150. In his second administration,

£200 a year was bestowed on Patrick Fraser Tytler, £200 on Alfred Tennyson, £200 on J. R. McCulloch, and £100 on the widow of Thomas Hood. For the sons of Mrs. Hemans he found places under the Crown, and by his friendly offices pensions were conferred also on Faraday and Mrs. Somerville.

The last ten years of the half-century played havoc with the famous poets and prose writers of the olden school, four of whom—Southey, Campbell, Hood, and Wordsworth—now disappeared from the scene. Southey's fame as a poet rests chiefly on his shorter pieces. As a prose writer he has seldom been surpassed. Witness his *Life of Nelson*, which still runs through edition after edition, and has long been accepted as an English classic. In his earlier criticisms Maurice seems to have been considerably prejudiced against Southey on political grounds. In the *Athenæum* for January 29, 1828, however, after severely describing him as "the fiercest and most unrelenting follower of a public faction," he does him more discriminating justice in the following sentence :

"We regret that his poetry is not of a more condensed and concentrated character ; for there is a delicacy and sweetness of feeling, and a splendour of descriptive diction, which, if less diluted and impoverished by verbiage, so as to outlast the fluctuations of the hour, would give as much delight to all future ages as they have already conferred on the instructed and gentle of our own day."—*Francis*, i. 523.

"In other men we faults can spy," and Maurice evidently was unaware that his own prose was not destined to shine conspicuously with the admirable qualities of condensation and concentration of which he laments the absence in Southey's poetry. The death of the latter, in March 1843, was followed by that of Thomas Campbell, in June 1844. Campbell's memory will long live in his spirited lyrics, but his principal work, *The Pleasures of Hope*, has almost dropped into oblivion, although it retains that best proof of vitality which consists in the incorporation of some of its phrases into the common speech, the "household words" of his countrymen.

Hood's struggle for life came to an end on May 3, 1845, just when his fine powers as a *serious* poet were finding fuller play and better recognition. He had already given to the

world a treasury of witty and humorous compositions and illustrations, which, half a century afterward, still serves as a *répertoire*, from which to revive and refit the weary brains of "used up" contributors to comic papers. Hood's unique petition to the House of Commons on the subject of copyright appeared in the *Athenæum* for June 29, 1839, to this effect :

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Thomas Hood sheweth—That your Petitioner is the proprietor of certain copyrights, which the law treats as copyhold, and which in justice and equity should be his freeholds. He cannot conceive how Hood's Own, without a change in the title-deeds, as well as the title, can become Everybody's Own hereafter. . . . That as a man's hairs belong to his head, so his head should belong to his heirs; whereas, on the contrary, your Petitioner hath ascertained, by a nice calculation, that one of his principal copyrights will expire on the same day that his only son should come of age. The very law of nature protests against an unnatural law which compels an author to write for everybody's posterity—except his own."—*Francis*, i. 530.

Wordsworth, the illustrious predecessor of Tennyson as Poet Laureate, died "among his native lakes and hills" on April 23, 1850; and with his great name we will close this meagre selection from the many famous writers whose bodily presence disappeared in the second quarter of the century, but who left behind them a brilliant array of men qualified to keep up the bright succession.

The opening and the successful career of the Great Exhibition gave ample employment to the descriptive talent of the periodical press in 1851; but otherwise the literary products of the year do not seem to have been of striking importance. Sight-seeing largely diverted public attention from book-reading. The obituary includes the name of Dr. Lingard, whose *History of England* has now pretty nearly dropped out of sight, except in Roman Catholic circles. Yet it had its use for the student, in showing how "Catholic" narrowness of view could bias the hand of an able and painstaking historian—a man of great research, who sometimes was able to convict Protestant historians of bias on their side. Amongst many forgotten worthies we come to the name of Dr. Gutzlaff, a man of rare acquirements and sterling character, who died in 1851 in his forty-eighth year. By birth a Pomeranian, he became

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a distinguished missionary and explorer in China, and at the time of his death was acting as Chinese secretary to the British plenipotentiary. In England his spirited temperament, cosmopolitan experience, and remarkable devotion to China and its interests, made him always an acceptable visitor in missionary and literary circles.

In the following year, amongst the more conspicuous books of the season—such as Thackeray's *Esmond* and Dickens's *Bleak House*, *The Grenville Papers*, and Lord John Russell's *Life of Thomas Moore*—Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's thrilling story, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, took a prominent place, and had here, as in the United States, an enormous sale. Of its grand results in reviving flagging interest, here as well as there, in the cause of the cruelly misused slave, and in leading the North to assert its manhood and throw off the degrading yoke of Southern slaveholding ascendancy, we leave the future historian to treat. The upholders of slavery sought to counteract the alarming influence of the book by affirming that it was simply the outcome of the fervid imagination of a strongly prejudiced partisan, and had no foundation in fact. But in 1853 Mrs. Stowe published her *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which she denied that her book was a work of imagination, and produced "the originals of her story in their well-known costumes, and talking really the characteristic language apparently put by her into their mouths." The circumstance, however, that the tale was founded on facts, by no means detracts from our estimate of the genius which wove the details and fitted the characters into such a fascinating dramatic whole.

Rapid disappearance of notabilities of all sorts now characterises the literary record. The poet Moore died on February 26, 1852, and was followed by another illustrious Irishman, the Duke of Wellington, on September 14. The great master of strategy had made his mark also in literature, by his well-known *Despatches*, "pithy, clear, and precise . . . matchless examples of that clear expression which is the natural utterance of a clear meaning and a resolute will." In 1854 three poets, of various rank and power, ceased to charm the world: Thomas Noon Talfourd, poet and judge; Professor Wilson ("Christopher North"), whose *Noctes Ambrosianæ* are

full of wit, eloquence, and poetry; James Montgomery, the gentle Moravian poet, whose longer pieces may not have fire and strength enough to hold their place in the crowded poetical ranks of our day, but whose exquisite hymns, essential as they are to the completeness of every hymnal and psalm-book, will of themselves suffice to keep his memory green. The same year was fatal to Scott's son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, for many years the accomplished editor of the *Quarterly*; and to Miss Ferrier, author of three Scottish novels which acquired some fame. Much of the literature of the period was taken up with one absorbing theme—the Crimean War.

Among the names of the literary labourers who ceased work in the years 1855-6 are those of Miss Mitford, author of the collection of charming sketches of country life and character which are entitled *Our Village*; Charlotte Brontë (Mrs. Nicholls), author of *Jane Eyre*; Sir Henry De la Beche, founder of the Museum of Practical Geology; Samuel Rogers, banker, poet (well illustrated),\* conversationalist, and breakfast-giver; Sir William Hamilton, the distinguished metaphysician; Dr. Buckland, geologist, great on organic remains, and father of the well-beloved Frank; William Yarrell, the naturalist; and Hugh Miller, stonemason, geologist, author, and newspaper editor, whose book, *My Schools and Schoolmasters*, is one of the most delightful autobiographies ever published.

The year 1857 was darkened by the outbreak of the Mutiny of the Sepoys in the Bengal army, and by the terrible calamities which followed in its track. The literary results of the Mutiny made a great feature in the following year, and excited much interest and sympathy. The next year—1859—may be characterised as the "Invasion" year. The uncertainty of French political movements, and the restlessness of the Third Napoleon, led to the formation of volunteer corps, for "defence, not defiance," and to the production of much literature enforcing our comparative helplessness against an invading enemy. The obituary of the four years, 1857-1860,

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\* A contemporary epigram ran thus:

"Of Rogers's *Italy* Luttrell relates

That it would have been *dish'd*, were it not for the *plates*."

includes the name of Douglas Jerrold, most natural and spontaneous of great wits, and one of the founders and makers of *Punch*. Of him we are told by his friend Hepworth Dixon :

"His fault as a man—if it be a fault—was a too great tenderness of heart. He never could say No. His purse—when he had a purse—was at every man's service, as were also his time, his pen, and his influence in the world. If he possessed a shilling, somebody would get sixpence of it from him. He had a lending look, of which many took advantage. The first time he ever saw Tom Dibdin, that worthy gentleman and song-writer said to him : 'Youngster, have you sufficient confidence in me to lend me a guinea?' 'O yes,' said the author of *Black-eyed Susan*, 'I have all the confidence, but I haven't the guinea.'"—*Francis*, ii. 29.

Amongst other notabilities are John Wilson Croker, whom Macaulay, in a stinging review of Croker's edition of *Boswell's Johnson*, endeavoured to demolish, with but indifferent success;\* Henry Hallam, the great scholar and conscientiously dry historian, who "loved truth better than fame"; and Thomas De Quincey, the "English Opium-Eater," who had many points of resemblance to Coleridge, but "lacked the philosophic breadth and genuine Christian goodness of the poet."

Lord Macaulay did not long survive his antagonist, Croker. He died on December 28, 1859, and has had no adequate successor. His *History of England*, though but a splendid fragment, is nearly perfect in arrangement and truth of detail, while possessing the charm of a romance. He had his marked defects, and his writings are not free from prejudice and mistake; but, taking him as a whole, he stands forth as a noble and sturdy figure amongst the contemporary crowd of writers—a less ponderous, more polished, but equally positive Dr. Johnson of the nineteenth century.

From a cluster of minor lights of this period we take the well-known name of G. P. R. James, the novelist, who died in

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\* Of the thoroughness of Macaulay's corrective intentions with regard to Croker, a portion of the first paragraph of this famous review gives amusing proof : "We are sorry to be obliged to say that the merits of Mr. Croker's performance are on a par with those of a certain leg of mutton on which Dr. Johnson dined, while travelling from London to Oxford, and which he, with characteristic energy, pronounced to be 'as bad as bad could be ; ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, and ill-dressed.' This edition is ill-compiled, ill-arranged, ill-written, and ill-printed."

June 1860, and had been as remarkably prolific as the elder Dumas. Though he had ceased his course of literary production ten years before his death, he had then already given to the world upwards of a hundred novels and romances, some of which survive in popular estimation to the present day. In the summer of the next year the greatest of English poetesses, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, died in the bosom of the Italy on which she had bestowed such love and help. The crowning loss of the year was the death, all too early, of the Prince Consort, which took the country by surprise, and threw over its Christmas an unwonted cloud of gloom. His fine qualities of mind and heart were just gaining fuller acknowledgment, when the great leveller, Death, swept him away in the midst of his years of earnest work and still brighter promise. In May 1862 the death is recorded of Henry Thomas Buckle, author of a noticeable book, *The History of Civilization*. Aged only thirty-nine, he was one of the many early martyrs to literary overwork. Journeying in search of health, he arrived at Damascus, but the fatigue of travelling through Palestine brought on severe illness; and during the quarter of an hour's delirium produced by opiates given medicinally, it was touching to hear him exclaim at intervals: "O my book, my book! I shall never finish my book!"—the utterance of a thought which has often troubled the overwrought author and artist.

October 1863 was fatal to three writers of very different powers. Mrs. Frances Trollope, mother of the more famous Anthony, and authoress of many popular tales and books of travel, won her way to rest in her eighty-fifth year. Whatever may be the value of her works, her example of cheerful industry and conquest of adverse circumstances is worthy of remembrance. She did not commence her literary career till she was fifty years of age, and then was urged to it by that potent factor, necessity, which in her case proved its right to the title, "the mother of invention." A few days previously Richard Whately, the shrewd, witty, hard-headed, generous-hearted Archbishop of Dublin, died at the age of seventy-six; and his death was followed by that of John Bowyer Nichols, the laborious author, printer, and editor, whose name was for many years connected with the *Gentleman's Magazine*, at the age of



eighty-four. These three hard workers may be taken as notable proofs that literary labour, in its various forms and degrees, is not incompatible with moderately long life. But the close of the same year brought an unwelcome instance which seemed to favour an opposite conclusion. On December 24, 1863, the evening papers made an announcement which saddened the Christmas of thousands of readers. Thackeray, the great satirist, novelist, and poet, had that morning been found dead in his bed. "The weary wheels of life stood still" at the early age of fifty-two; and his latest story, *Denis Duval*, was left unfinished by the skilled hand of the master.

The next year brought a severe loss to the *Athenæum* staff in the death of Mr. Dilke, who, as we have seen, may be regarded as the real founder of the paper, inasmuch as his judicious and spirited editorship, in conjunction with Mr. Francis's able management, first brought it to success and power. In October of the same year died Walter Savage Landor, on the verge of ninety, a veritable "old man eloquent," possessed of great talent and much learning as well as of several objectionable personal characteristics. A far pleasanter figure disappeared in the following month in the person of the inimitable John Leech, who was not only unrivalled in his special branch of art, but was also "a man so generous, genial, affectionate and tender-hearted, one so full of self-sacrifice that his existence presents the ideal of a gentleman put into practice."

In February 1865 the death is recorded of Cardinal Wiseman, the ostentatiously aggressive priest, whose "genuine Englishness of look and manner" is said to have been "an immense advantage to him in fighting the battles of his creed." Then came the sad fate of Admiral Robert FitzRoy, who had been at the head of the Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade from its first establishment, and whose death by his own hand was doubtless more or less the consequence of his unceasing attention to his official duties, and the constant worry occasioned by the receipt of the daily telegrams from which he had to calculate the probable weather of the morrow—a perilous and thankless office in our uncertain clime.

Among the illustrious writers who died during the next thirteen years, 1866–78, we find such eminent authors as

Keble, Milman, Maurice, Alford, and Kingsley; Faraday, Brewster, Brougham, and De Morgan; Dickens, Lever, Lord Lytton, and Bryan Procter; Robert Chambers, Charles Knight, John Stuart Mill, Arthur Helps, John Forster, George Smith the Assyriologist, Lane the Arabic scholar, Harriet Martineau, Philip Carpenter and his sister Mary, and David Livingstone, the great traveller of the mid-century. The mere mention of their names must suffice. What memories they revive of brilliance of imagination, depth of thought, ardour of discovery, and persevering philanthropy!

With the year 1878 the *Athenæum* entered upon its Jubilee, having then been in existence fifty years. The event was commemorated in its "Literary Gossip" of January 5th by "its old friend and contributor, Dr. Doran." Only a fortnight later, the genial and accomplished doctor was seized with illness, and he died on the 25th, in his seventy-first year. The account of him given in Mr. Francis's second volume appears rather meagre, when we consider that Dr. Doran was not only an "old contributor" to the pages of the journal, but had also several times—especially during Mr. Hepworth Dixon's long absences on his travels in America, the Holy Land, and Russia—been its acting editor. To this REVIEW he was for several years a highly valued contributor. A bright and sympathetic narrative of his interesting career appeared in *Temple Bar* for April 1878, from the pen of "J. C. J."; and all who knew the witty doctor will join Mr. Jeaffreson in his concluding tribute to his worth:

"When we had seen all that is dead of him laid in the cold tomb, we went our several ways, thinking of all of him that lives in the hearts of those who honoured and loved him; his naive humour and simple goodness, his fidelity to old comrades and high principles, his passion for helping young men onwards to success, his forbearance and conscientious justice to those who wronged him, his chivalrous fervour and placability, his tenderness and his truth."—*Temple Bar*, vol. lii. p. 494.

In a rapid glance along the death-roll from 1878 to 1882, Mr. Francis's readers will find the names of George Cruikshank, G. H. Lewes, Whyte Melville, Princess Alice of Hesse, Earl Russell, Hepworth Dixon, Tom Taylor, "George Eliot," Harrison Ainsworth, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Thomas Carlyle, and Lord Beaconsfield. They form

an illustrious group of remarkable men and women ; but, as they come within the near ken of the present generation, their distinctive merits may safely be left untouched in our narrow limits. We must also for want of space refrain from drawing attention to many points of interest contained in these valuable volumes—such as the contributions to the history of the leading publishing houses ; \* the demise of the original “Zadkiel,” the key to Lord Beaconsfield’s *Endymion*, the Hawarden estate, &c.

We now come to the conclusion of these fifty years in which John Francis was publisher of the *Athenæum*. When his honourable career began, England, as we have seen, was fettered with many odious taxes and oppressive duties, which not only raised the price of bread, the staff of life, but also disastrously affected the supply of mental food for the million. But in 1882 all that was changed. The “taxes on knowledge” had been clean swept away, and the law of libel in political matters had lapsed into the laxity of almost invisible existence. And though the familiar forms of many mighty men of letters were missed from the arena, and they survived only in their imperishable works, there was still no dearth of writers of the highest order to keep up the reputation of English bookmen, and to give tone to the literature of the future. Tennyson and Browning were still alive ; and a host of established and rising *literati* gave glorious reason to anticipate a golden harvest in the closing years of the century. But, as we have said, the time is not yet come to make a full comparison of the products of this with those of preceding centuries, and to consider the results, not merely in the matter of numbers, but also from a much more important point of view—the influence exerted upon the moral and intellectual health of the nation. When the proper hour arrives to attempt such an estimate, Mr. Francis’s work will afford most valuable aid in the accomplishment of the difficult and delicate task.

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\* In a note to his account of the late Mr. Richard Bentley, Mr. Francis quotes the following statement by Mr. Townshend Mayer, in *Notes and Queries*: “The imprint of Richard Bentley is found on a large number of books published during the reign of Charles II. About 1682, he issued a series of *Bentley’s Modern Novels*, reminding us of Bentley’s *Standard* and *Favourite* novels of later times.”

## ART. IV.—THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*. Von THEOD. ZAHN, Prof. der Theologie in Erlangen. B. iii. Leipzig. 1892.
2. *The Canon of the New Testament*. By Dr. B. F. WESTCOTT, Bishop of Durham. London. 1881.
3. *Canonicity*. By Dr. A. H. CHARTERIS. Edinburgh. 1881.
4. *Kanon des Neuen Testaments*. By W. SCHMIDT. (*Real-Encyclopädie*, B. vii.) 1880.
5. *Texts and Studies: A Study of Codex Beza*. By J. R. HARRIS, M.A. Cambridge University Press. 1891.
6. *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*. By Dr. C. TAYLOR. London. 1892.

NO questions are more keenly debated in England to-day than those which relate to the literary genesis and historical transmission of the Books of the Old Testament. The scientific determination of the controversies that have arisen will require the combined and most strenuous efforts of perhaps generations of scholars. The accumulating volume of monumental testimony to the history of Egypt, Assyria, and Palestine, has only been partially deciphered; the multiplied studies of the philologist must be extended in order to be simplified; and various enlargements of the critical apparatus which seem to have no end can only delay the final result. At the present moment the historical character and substantial truth of the sacred records are not in danger. Suspense respecting details, however important, may have some inconveniences; but even they will be lightened by the persuasion that the things most surely to be believed will eventually have the support, not only of tradition, but of historical and verifiable evidence.

The Canon of the New Testament, on the other hand, has

not excited so much controversy, nor scarcely so much interest. The theories of Tübingen never appealed successfully to English common-sense; and, except in the case of some already disposed to sceptical theories, have gained no welcome. Objections to the Epistle of James and the Second Epistle of Peter, such as were freely advanced among the first Reformers, have found few recent echoes. Doubts about the Pastoral Epistles, which orthodox writers of Germany have expressed, have not been encouraged here. The labours of critical scholars in England—as Westcott, Lightfoot, and Sanday—have largely aided the defence of the later Epistles of Paul and of the Fourth Gospel. So complete has been the vindication of the latter that the more advanced German critics allow that its date cannot be brought down below the end of the first Christian century.

The great work of Professor Theod. Zahn of Erlangen, which we place at the head of our list, belongs to the conservative school, which has by no means died out in Germany, but, indeed, shows many signs of rejuvenescence. The destructive tendency has expended itself, and the process of re-edification is making good progress. The modern builder can select his site and materials: he can avoid the false positions which have betrayed his predecessors; while critical explorations have revealed original foundations which can still be used, and have furnished a wealth of material almost too vast to be manipulated.

Dr. Zahn, as a wise master-builder, has already measured the length and breadth of the situation, and has made an estimate of every document and patristic statement relating to it. His first volume surveys the general question of the Canon. Almost all admit that the principal parts of the New Testament were received as inspired and authoritative at the close of the second century. Dr. Zahn then proceeds to search for the traces of their use in the earliest periods. Here the lack of information suggests caution at every step. The first Christians were in general a poor and persecuted people. They had no public institutions; neither churches, nor schools, nor libraries. Yet it can be shown from such records as remain that the conception of a collection of Christian Scriptures did not originate at the end of the second century, when it becomes a clear,

historical, undeniable fact, but goes back to the post-apostolic age. That the Gospels and Epistles were read at the Agape in the time of Ignatius and Justin is as certain as that they are read now at the Communion Service. They were read then, as now, because they were the compositions of the messengers of Christ. When the Apostles died it was inevitable that their writings should become the fountain of doctrine for the whole Church. The doctrine of the "Apostolical Succession" represented this fact alone: it was not a question of "orders," but of doctrine. That the written testimony should receive this elevation in the Church was not accomplished by a "council," or by any official decree: it was the result of the instinct of faith common to the Church.

It may be allowed that the Canon of this early period differed in detail from that of a later time, and that books honoured in one section of the Church were not received elsewhere. This, we think, may be explained by the conditions of the case; and these very differences will exhibit the reality of the history with which we have to do. Of course we remember that these are the points in relation to our subject about which there may be debate. In dealing with them we might follow Dr. Zahn's method. He begins with that period in the history of the Church when the principal books of the New Testament were undoubtedly established as the sources of Christian doctrine, and then proceeds to inquire into the earlier practice. But, for the sake of the general reader, we will not commence with the times of Irenæus and Tertullian, but with the latest edition of the New Testament known to us—*i.e.*, the "Revised Version."

The Revised Version has made no change in the number or order of books of the New Testament. Changes in words or sentences, and the omission of some passages, are all that make the version of 1881 differ from that of 1611. These are, however, so extensive as to give this version a very distinctive character, and have been sufficient to prevent, so far, its recognition and use as the highest authority. Yet the Revisers can undoubtedly claim that they had documentary or grammatical reasons for every change they introduced. If they have erred, it has been in a passion for precision, which in a

document of this kind is a quality than which, one thinks, none ought to be of higher value. They have also left out some verses which appeared in the older version—*e.g.*, 1 John v. 7 (in this case without any reference in the margin to ancient authorities), John v. 4, and Acts viii. 37. Larger portions, as John vii. 53—viii. 11, and Mark xvi. 9—20, have been separated from the remaining text because of some questions of their genuineness. In this way the fullest recognition of recent criticism has been given, though the Revisers have not constituted a “continuous and complete Greek text.”

It will assist some to understand the growth of New Testament criticism if we refer to an episode in our denominational history in regard to the famous passage 1 John v. 7, 8: “There are three that bear record in heaven,” &c. When Mr. Wesley was in Ireland in May 1775 he was requested to preach from this text. He consented, and published the sermon. In a note, dated at Cork, he states that he has “not here any books to consult, nor indeed any time to consult them.” The sermon was intended to meet objections to the doctrine of the Trinity, but the preacher also considered the genuineness of the text. On this point he appealed to Bengel, whose commentary he used so extensively in his “Notes.” A better authority he could not have found in that day. Wesley had higher work to do than the collation of manuscripts and the toil of criticism, yet he was the last person to ignore the value of such work. His recognition of Bengel, the pioneer of modern textual criticism—whose “various readings” were regarded by many with suspicion—showed what an honest and open mind he kept for new knowledge.

Bengel had doubted the genuineness of the passage, but at length accepted it. Wesley gives as Bengel’s reasons for inserting the passage—(1) That though wanting in many copies, it is found in more; (2) it is cited by a whole train of writers, from St. John down to Constantine; (3) we can easily account for its omission from many copies because the successors of Constantine were Arians. He also follows Bengel in inverting the order of verses 7 and 8.

But Wesley, away from his books, did not correctly represent Bengel’s findings. Bengel did not say that the passage,

“though wanting in many copies, is found in more,” or that writers from St. John to Constantine had used it. He says, on the contrary, that it is found in no Greek manuscript before the fifteenth century. His reasons for accepting it were that there seems to be some trace of it in Tertullian and Cyprian (A.D. 250), and that Latin writers from the fourth and fifth centuries show signs of it. When the Greek MSS. did not agree, Bengel placed great importance upon the testimony of the Fathers and upon versions, in which rule he anticipated more recent critical methods. But in this case, though the Greek authorities were unanimous in rejecting the passage, he gave to it the full benefit of the other evidence.

To this discrepancy between Wesley and Bengel there is no doubt that we owe one of the most extensive and valuable notes in Dr. A. Clarke's commentary. He searched into all the evidence available in his day. He obtained facsimiles of the passage as it appears in the Codex Montfortianus, the fifteenth-century manuscript which contained the passage in Greek, and in the Complutensian Testament. These facsimiles, as Dr. Scrivener notices in his “Introduction,” have done service since in other publications. In Clarke's day, the testimony was more complete than in the days of Wesley and Bengel. Clarke could appeal to one hundred and twelve manuscripts which contained the Catholic Epistles; there are now at least eighty more; but there has been no addition to the three late authorities which contain the passage. The Syriac and Egyptian versions do not recognise it, nor the best editions of the Vulgate. The Greek Fathers, and even the great Latin Fathers—Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine—show no signs of it. If the latter had used it, its omission from Greek copies might have justified the interpretation which Wesley and others put upon it. The great codices A and D were known to Bengel; and, in our day, though their text is not unblemished by any means, they are placed among that smaller group of authorities to which recent editors teach us to look for the oldest and purest readings. The Codex B was not then well enough known to be of any authority, and the Codex Aleph had not been discovered. Clarke, in reviewing the evidence, does not mention Wesley's name, but characterises his state-



ment as "incautious," though made by "a great and good man." We only refer to the circumstance as an illustration of the changes which the century has wrought in the conditions of New Testament study.

However, the omission of a verse here, or the segregation of a passage there, does not affect the canonical question. The Revisers were not asked to give their opinion about the canonical authority of the several books, and have given none. Their business was to revise the version of 1611.

If it is asked, Where did the translators in 1611 obtain their text? it must be replied: in the English Bibles that had already been published. The "articles" accept "all the canonical books of the New Testament as commonly received, and account them to be canonical." In Cranmer's Bible (1539) the Epistle to the Hebrews, which had previously been placed after the Catholic Epistles, was placed after Philemon—a position it has since retained. But, so far as the books are concerned, the English New Testament, from William Tyndal (A.D. 1529) downwards, had the same contents.

The text from which Tyndal translated was undoubtedly the Greek Testament of Erasmus (A.D. 1522). The great Roman Catholic Testament, published about the same time as that of Erasmus, contained the same books. It, however, arranged the Pauline Epistles after the Acts and Catholic Epistles. This was an old historical order (in the Codex Sinaiticus and some cursives), as was that adopted by Westcott and Hort, who place the Acts and Catholic Epistles before the Pauline. The latter say ("Introduction," p. 320): "We have followed recent editors in abandoning the Hieronymic order, familiar in modern Europe through the influence of the Latin Vulgate, in favour of the order most highly commended by various Greek authority of the fourth century, the earliest time when we have distinct evidence of the completed canon as it now stands." The Testament published by Erasmus, like the Complutensian, presented the Greek text of the books contained in the Latin version given to the Church by Jerome, A.D. 390. Before Jerome's time there was no single volume containing exactly those books which we now find in the New Testament. No one will be startled by such a statement who knows anything

of the previous history of the Church. He will know that circumstances did not allow an authoritative compilation before that time. We have but to glance at the conditions of the early Church to see how naturally this fact is explained. We have already referred to the poverty and subjection to persecution of the primitive Christian societies. But there are other conditions which must be more fully recognised than perhaps they have been. The early Christian communities had their separate history, and each cherished its own traditions. There was no supreme authority to coerce Alexandria into the ways of Antioch, nor any which could compel Asia Minor to conform to the custom at Rome.

“The means of intercourse,” as Dr. Westcott says (*Canon*, p. 4), “were slow and precarious. The multiplication of manuscripts in remote provinces was tedious and costly. The common meeting-point of Christians was destroyed by the fall of Jerusalem, and from that time national churches grew up around their several centres, enjoying in a great measure the freedom of individual development, and exhibiting, often in exaggerated forms, peculiar tendencies of doctrine or ritual.”

Dr. Westcott then goes on to remark that “as a natural consequence, the circulation of some books of the New Testament for a while depended more or less on their supposed connection with specific forms of Christianity,” and that “this fact has been frequently neglected in Church histories.” We wish that Dr. Westcott had pursued this subject a little further; it might possibly have led to the elucidation of some difficulties. It is impossible to overlook this fact, that the Church which formed the first Canon was the Gentile section. The Gospels and Epistles of Paul were the first parts of the New Testament to be elevated to a level with the Old Testament in Church reading. Another fact is, that the Epistles that were most disputed were chiefly those belonging to the Judaic section of the Apostles. These and the Apocalypse were only slowly admitted by some respectable Churches. The Epistle to the Hebrews, because its Pauline origin was questioned by some, was long held in suspense.

What was, then, the Canon used by the Jewish Christians? We wish that any answer could be given to this question; but

unfortunately information fails. All that Dr. Westcott can tell us is that (p. 59), "One Church alone is silent. The Christians of Jerusalem contribute nothing to this written portraiture of their age. The peculiarities of their belief were borrowed from a conventional system destined to pass away, and did not embody the permanent characteristics of any particular type of apostolic doctrine." This is a noteworthy observation to make upon the Church of Jerusalem—the relic of Pentecost! But, at any rate, we have reason to believe—indeed it seems impossible to doubt—that the Jewish Christians accepted one written Gospel, that of Matthew, which all the Fathers tell us they used in their own language. But did they know anything of the Epistles of James, of Peter, and of John, their own Apostles? That they should not have used the writings of Paul is not surprising, but that there should be no trace of the use of the Catholic Epistles among them only shows how completely they were separated from their Gentile brethren.

Dr. Zahn's treatment of this part of the subject is the least satisfactory part of his work. He follows the traditional opinion that the colonising of Jerusalem by Hadrian, A.D. 132, was of greater effect for the Christians of the city than its destruction in A.D. 70. Until Hadrian's time the Palestine Churches, he says, were mixed communities, but the Jewish element maintained a precedence, and the bishops were chosen from the circumcised. Now, however, Jews were forbidden the city, and the old order passed away: the Churches of Palestine became Gentile-Christian. The Jewish Christians were separated now from the rest of Christendom, and Church Fathers say but little of a sect they despised, and which became continually more insignificant. "As a consequence," says Dr. Zahn (i. 776), "we have but poor information about them." He remarks, further, that to give the full result of his studies on the subject would lead him into great detail, and would not assist the general history. We cannot but think that he is wrong in the supposition that the Churches of Jerusalem and the surrounding region were ever mixed communities, or that the practical separateness of the Jewish Christians needs to be postponed beyond the siege of Titus. If Dr. Zahn has any

fresh light to throw upon the subject, the sooner he can let it be seen the better for all parties.

But, leaving this vexed question, we return to the history of the Canon as it was evolved in the Catholic Churches. We have seen that in the time of Jerome it was what it is now. But Jerome followed the historical order of the Canon, and placed the Gospels first, then the Pauline Epistles, followed by the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. Augustine followed the same order, but the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 363, had given the modern order, and it seems to have been gradually established. In the oldest surviving MSS., however, the order is that which Westcott and Hort have adopted. The only exception is that of the Sinaiticus, in which the Pauline Epistles precede the Acts, and Hebrews is placed after Thessalonians. In the Beza MS., Matthew and John are placed before Mark and Luke. This order is found in other MSS. of the Western class, and may have been due to the desire to do honour to the Apostles.

We further notice that in the oldest MSS. known the books of the New Testament do not stand alone. In the Codex Sinaiticus there are the Epistle of Barnabas and fragments of Hermas. The end of the Vaticanus is wanting, so that we do not know what was associated with it. Codex Alexandrinus has the Epistles of Clement, and places them on its list. But it may be noticed that the doubtful books are placed at the end of the collection of sacred books. That they came to have any place at all was due to the reverence which was attached to everything that was supposed to have had an apostolical origin. Behind these compilations lies the history upon which recent criticism has expended so much labour. We may now inquire what were the earlier forms of the New Testament, and by what steps the final position was reached?

II. There is no doubt that at first the Gospels and Epistles were written separately on papyrus. St. John says (2 Ep. 12): "Having many things to write unto you, I would not write them with paper (χάρτης, papyrus) and ink." St. Paul (2 Tim. iv. 14) directs his disciple to bring "the cloke . . . and the books (τὰ βιβλία), especially the parchments." No one knows precisely what these were: perhaps the former

were some form of the written Gospels, and the latter were parts of the Old Testament. The papyrus was usually written over in one continuous column, and the leaves were fastened at the ends, so as to make a roll. Each book of the New Testament would be at first a roll of papyrus. The perishable nature of the material will account for the early disappearance of every apostolic autograph. Tradition—usually so well-informed, or at least so garrulous—has nothing to say about them. It was not until the Church had increased in worldly store that it was able to build up great codices like Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

Dr. Zahn argues from the usual capacity of a papyrus roll that it would be impossible for one roll to contain more than one Gospel, but that the Pauline Epistles might be contained in three rolls, and that this was the first attempt at codification. It is probable that in the Gentile Churches St. Paul's writings were the first Christian documents to be publicly read along with the Old Testament. Col. iv. 16 directs that the Epistle to the Colossians shall be read in the Laodicean Church, and that the Colossians should read the letter to Laodicea (Ephesians). St. Peter (2 Ep. iii. 16) intimates that some collection of St. Paul's Epistles ("all his Epistles") was known to the Church, and that they were placed on a level with "the other Scriptures."

It is generally allowed that the three first Gospels were written before the overthrow of Jerusalem, and that the fourth was written not many years later. From these dates, and from references to the Gospels and Epistles made by Clement, Ignatius, Justin, and Tatian, it is possible to fix the *termini a quo et ad quem*. Dr. Zahn (i. 797) decides, accordingly, that the four Gospels must have been placed in one collection before A.D. 120, and also the Pauline Epistles. The separate use of most of the documents is easily proved for an earlier date. The Epistle of Clement (A.D. 95) quotes (c. 46) the Gospel as "the words of the Lord Jesus Christ," which the Corinthians should "remember." He bids them "take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul which he wrote under the inspiration of the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos." In the first collections of the Pauline Epistles it is

believed that the letter to the Corinthians stood in the first place; and some allusion to its supposed date may be contained in the statement that Paul wrote it "when the Gospel first began to be preached." The use of the "Hebrews" in Clement's letter is very marked. The letters of Ignatius and Polycarp may not belong to so early a date as that which Bishop Lightfoot has claimed for them (A.D. 107; 115), yet they must belong to the first half of the second century; and both contain much that is derived from the Gospels and St. Paul. Ignatius (*ad. Phil.* 5) says: "I flee to the Gospel as to the flesh of Jesus Christ, and to the Apostles as to the eldership of the Church. And let us also love the Prophets, because they too have proclaimed the Gospel." Such language irresistibly suggests that some collection of the Gospels and Epistles was read with the selections from the Old Testament. In these Epistles are also quoted the First Epistle of Peter and the First Epistle of John.

Dr. Zahn devotes many pages to the use of the Gospels by Justin Martyr (A.D. 140). Justin does not mention the authors of the Gospels by name, for he wrote his *Apology* to a Roman Emperor who knew nothing about "Matthew" or "Mark." He frequently speaks of the "Gospel" and "Gospels," and the *Memoirs of the Apostles* as the authority for the knowledge of what Christ said and did. The "Gospels," he says, were read at the Sunday services. He does not mention the "Apostles" in the same connection, but his use of their language shows he had the Epistles.

It is true that Justin makes use of other sources of evangelical tradition besides the canonical four; but, as Dr. Zahn shows with much minute learning, "many undried streams of primitive tradition yet flowed" throughout the second century. Clement, Irenæus, and Tertullian knew them. Justin lived at Ephesus, while Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, was still living. Papias trafficked in this not undefiled current of oral tradition. Justin had heard that the birth of Jesus occurred in a cave, and that a fire was kindled in the Jordan when he was baptised. The latter circumstance was found in Tatian's harmony, and even in the old Latin. The credit given to such particulars only shows how eagerly all information about the

origin of the Gospel was received. Dr. Harnack thinks that Justin used the "Gospel of Peter"—a part of which has been recently discovered—but it is not likely that the opponent of Marcion would give credit to a production so strongly marked by his peculiar docetism.

We may then conclude with Dr. Zahn that Justin used the same Gospels which were accepted in a later day by Irenæus and Tertullian, and reckoned no others to be of equal authority. Because he does not expressly mention Paul it has been inferred by Baur and others that Justin was anti-Pauline. But in writing to a heathen in defence of the Gospels he could appeal to none but the original witnesses. He was entirely in accord with the Pauline doctrine that the Jewish law was not necessary to believers. Moreover, in his *Syntagma* (now lost) he exposed the errors of his contemporary Marcion, who included in his canon ten of St. Paul's Epistles. He uses the language of St. Luke and St. John, but never refers to them, except to the latter once as the author of the Apocalypse. He uses the language of James without mentioning him, and he only mentions Peter twice. To the same limitations of his composition it may be imputed that he does not mention Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles, and other parts of the New Testament.

Marcion (A.D. 140) also becomes an important witness to a collection of authoritative Christian writings in his day. The very fact that he compiled a Gospel—a mutilated Luke—and called it "The Gospel of Christ," and that he collected ten Epistles of Paul as the only genuine ones, discloses the honour put upon the "Gospel" and the "Apostle" in the Church. His antithesis between the religion of the older dispensations and that of the new suggests that the latter as well as the former depended on "Scriptures." He protested against the reading of the Old Testament, and for the New he brought in his reformed Canon. All Gospels, except that of the Pauline Luke, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, he rejected for their Judaizing tendency. He placed Galatians first in the Epistles, because it gave prominence to the opposition of Paul to Peter. From Col. iv. 16 he ventured to speak of the Epistle to the Ephesians as that to the Laodiceans. A careful examination of the passages quoted by Marcion indi-

cates that he followed a Western text. Dr. Zahn thinks that he did not falsify beyond what his purpose required, and that his text deserves more consideration from critics.\* Some have thought that he did not know St. John's Gospel, or he would have used it for its reflections on the Jews (Eichhorn). But he objected to St. John as a Jewish Apostle; and the witness to Moses and the Prophets given in that Gospel would be sure to incur his condemnation. Besides, his connection with Asia Minor would make his acquaintance with that Gospel fairly certain.

Every one knows the value of circumstantial evidence of this kind in cases where some elements of controversy might place the testimony of personal witnesses under some disadvantage. Dr. Zahn makes good use of another instance, that of Montanism. The Montanists asserted that the revealing spirit was still in the Church, and that their prophets were continually announcing the mind and will of God. Prof. Harnack has urged that Montanism could not have operated so powerfully as it did if an authoritative and fixed Canon had existed. But much depends on what is meant by "authoritative." The Montanists did not say that the Gospels had *no* authority, but that their own revelations were equal to, if not superior to, that given by Jesus and the Apostles. They declared that the Holy Spirit was not confined to the writings of Apostles and their exposition by appointed officers: their protest was in favour of the early custom of free exposition and exhortation. But this very protest only establishes the fact that the written authority had gained its place before the middle of the second century. The scattered and struggling Churches had not the means of determining at once what was apostolical—for that was the great question—but the principle of a Canon was clearly established.

Very important evidence of a similar kind is furnished by the accounts of several teachers of heretical doctrine. Though we know little of them beyond what is told by their adversaries

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\* Mr. R. Harris says (p. 231) that "the primitive Western bilingual is earlier than the days of Marcion, and shows traces of having passed through a process of Marcionisation." He thinks that the opinions both of Marcion and of Montanus were more influential in Western Churches than has been sometimes supposed.



—Irenæus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius—yet their account of these systems proves that the heretical authors were acquainted with the principal parts of the New Testament; and not only so, but that their doctrines were illegitimate extensions of ideas derived from John and Paul. Valentinus, one of the most influential of these doctrinaires, who had a large following and whose disciples developed his teaching to great lengths, did not, like Marcion, seek to found a new Church or to institute a separate cause. His object was to seek out the elect, to enlighten the pneumatical, and to reveal to them the deeper sense of things. In him “Gnosis” attained its maximum. He found a boundless significance in such terms as the “Logos,” the “Only-Begotten,” the “Truth,” the “Life,” of St. John; and in the “Æons,” the “Pleroma,” of St. Paul. He did not reject the Old Testament, with Marcion, but gave it typical significance, with Philo. The parables of our Lord were held to justify allegorical interpretation to any extent. Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus, held that “the lost sheep” was *Sophia* wandering from the *Pleroma*. The Valentinians largely quote St. Matthew, but it is probable that they had other traditions of our Lord’s sayings, and perhaps a “Harmony.” The disciples of Ptolemæus said that Jesus lived eighteen months after His resurrection, in order to instruct His disciples. This idea was not without effect on Church tradition, and helped to support the notion of a *disciplina arcani*. They appealed constantly to apostolical authority. Valentinus claimed to have been instructed by Theodas, a disciple of Paul. He used the Gospels so freely that Tertullian said that he seemed to have used the “entire instrument.” He showed so much familiarity with Ephesians and Colossians that it is impossible to doubt that he knew all St. Paul’s Epistles.

Basilides (A.D. 120–125) had his training in Egypt. He professed to have been instructed in apostolic ideas, for his teacher was Glaucas, who had been an interpreter of Peter. His son, Isodorus, wrote twenty-four books on the Gospel. It is sometimes doubtful whether the things said of these writers by Hippolytus and others apply strictly to them or to their disciples. Basilides is said to have quoted the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and also the question of the disciples

respecting the origin of sin (John ix. 1-3). From the latter he inferred that the souls of men live and wander in a previous life. Origen and Jerome say that Basilides himself compiled a Gospel—perhaps a Harmony, or the “Gospel of Matthias” (?). Basilides was a docetic, and his notion that Simon the Cyrenian was crucified instead of Jesus was evidently a perversion of the evangelical account. The very existence of such a system before 130 A.D. implies that Christian doctrine was well established then, and that there were written sources for its authority.

One of the great literary discoveries which have recently given light upon the earliest history of the Church and of the New Testament is that which has resulted in the substantial restoration of the *Diatessaron* of Tatian. This was compiled about 160 A.D., and was a harmony of the four Gospels in the Syriac language. The primitive Syriac has not been preserved; but there are certain Arabic versions of a later date which present a text more or less corrupted. The doctrine of Addai, which issued from the Syrian churches, says: “Moreover, much people assembled day by day for prayer, and for the reading of the Old Testament and of the New in the *Diatessaron*.” This statement is referred to by Eusebius, who says: “The former leader of the Encratites, Tatian, composed a collection and amalgamation of the Gospels, calling it the *Diatessaron*, which is still circulated by some persons.” Epiphanius reports that some called it “The Gospel according to the Hebrews,” but that may have arisen from some peculiarity of its readings. Theodoret (A.D. 453) complains that Tatian had omitted the genealogy of our Lord, and in other ways had corrupted the Gospel, so that he, Theodoret, Bishop of the Euphrates region, had removed the *Diatessaron* from some two hundred churches, and had replaced it by the four Gospels. As the number of copies of the *Diatessaron* must have been very large, it is not improbable that a specimen of it in the original may yet be found.

Large portions of the Gospel in this version are supplied in the commentaries of the Persian Aphraates. Ephraim, the Syriac saint and author (A.D. 373), used the same text. The works of Ephraim have received a large accession in an

Armenian translation published at Venice in 1836. This publication was not much noticed at the time; but its merits were observed by Lagarde in 1862, and it was republished by Möisinger in 1876.

"It was the work of Möisinger that prepared the way for the valuable researches of Zahn, who, by a careful combination of this work of Ephraim with the earliest Syriac writers, succeeded in restoring approximately large portions of the Tatian harmony in their proper order and context, so that we can very nearly judge without the Arabic harmony what sequence Tatian followed, what passages he omitted, and what additions his text shows when compared with later texts."\*

This transfer of the Gospels into another language beyond Aramaic and Greek marks a fresh stage in the history. It is doubtful whether any part of the New Testament had been translated into Latin so early in the second century. The churches throughout the Roman Empire had the New Testament books in Greek. The worship of the Church in Rome was conducted in the same language for two centuries, and all its known literature of that period is Greek. According to the oldest account, the first Gospel was provided for Hebrew Christians in their own language; but when the Gospel was preached to Celts, or Phœnicians, or Copts, the interpreter used a Greek original and expounded in the vernacular. Irenæus, preaching among the Gauls, did not think of giving them the Gospel in their own tongue. All who could read at all could read Greek, and the rest were dependent on the interpreter. The same conditions would attach to those who spoke Latin or Punic at Carthage. A similar state of things is no doubt referred to by Papias, who says that "Matthew composed his history in the Hebrew dialect, and every one translated as he was able." This does not mean, as it has been sometimes supposed, that there were many translations from the Hebrew Matthew produced in writing, but that the evangelist or interpreter translated extempore into the speech of those whom he was addressing.

Tatian was a Greek, but knew Syriac, and had been a disciple of the Palestinian Justin Martyr. He rendered to the

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\* *The Diatessaron of Tatian.* By J. R. Harris. P. 23.

Syrian Churches the great service of providing for them a version of the Gospels in their own tongue. His heretical tendencies were not prominent at first, and among lately formed churches the critical faculty would not be severe. As he had sojourned at Rome, it is not surprising that his text should bear a Western impress. Ephraim in his commentaries on the Gospels uses Tatian's text, though the Peshitto, the Syriac Vulgate, was in existence. Dr. Zahn was once of the opinion that the Curetonian Syriac represented a text that lay at the foundation of the *Diatessaron*; but more recently he has become convinced that the correct relation was the opposite of this. The Curetonian Syriac is marked by amalgamated texts, and could only have originated late in the second century; but still it was earlier than the Peshitto.

About 150 A.D., then, the Syrian churches were in possession of the Gospels in their own language. Hitherto interpreters had translated orally from the Aramaic or the Greek. Moreover, the new Gospel was a harmony of the Four. No stronger testimony to the supreme authority which the "Four" had now attained could be supplied. Afterwards Tatian seemed to have given to the Churches the Epistles of Paul. Eusebius charges him with falsifying some of Paul's sayings, and other Greek writers attribute to him familiarity with the Pauline writings. The "Harmony" began with the prologue to St. John's Gospel, and it contained the concluding verses of St. Mark, about which so much controversy has arisen. The original Syriac New Testament shows the usual uncertainty respecting the canonical authority of some books. It contained the Gospels, thirteen of the Epistles of Paul, and the Acts; at a later time were added Hebrews and the Apocalypse.

Mr. Rendal Harris holds that "the influence of the Western bilingual is perceptible in the Tatian text." According to this the New Testament must have been already translated into Latin for the use of Christians in Gaul and Africa at least. Mr. H. observes that: "The Western text which Tatian used was not merely a Greek text into which transcriptural errors had crept, but a text which had stood in a bilingual copy," and which had been affected by the Latin, as in Codex D. His study of this ancient bilingual leads him to the conclusion that

"its interpolations in Luke and the Acts show it to be a Montanistic text, probably known to the martyrs of Carthage;" and that "this primitive bilingual is earlier than the days of Marcion" (A.D. 140).

Dr. Zahn, on the contrary (p. 49), argues that there was no Latin New Testament in Carthage or Rome in the second century. He holds that the Greek, which was the language not only of the New Testament, but of the Old, was regarded almost as a sacred tongue; that the Latin-speaking people had the Scriptures interpreted orally; and that there are abounding evidences of the prevalent influence of Greek in the Latin Churches. Tertullian, when he wrote against Marcion, used only the Greek version either of the Old or New Testament, or of the heretic's compositions. Zahn thinks that the Latin Bible originated in the oral translation which became stereotyped, as the Targums arose from the popular interpretation of the Hebrew.

This difference of opinion between learned men on such a point shows how much has yet to be done by the critical investigator, and how much obscurity still rests on important matters in early Church history. The work of Mr. R. Harris is a splendid contribution to the elucidation of the problem. We may not be prepared to accept his main conclusions, but he has clearly shown that some relation exists between the Syriac and Codex D on the one hand, and the Latin versions on the other. *A priori*, it seems scarcely likely that the Syriac Churches should have a vernacular New Testament in the course of the second century, and that the great Latin-speaking Churches of Africa, Gaul, and Rome should be without. Whether Tertullian had a Latin Bible may be a moot point, but there is no doubt that Cyprian had one forty years later. How vigorously the work of translation went on in the third century is proved by Jerome's remark, that in his day there were as many Latin texts as there were manuscripts—*quot codices tot exemplaria*.

We have not yet referred to the testimony of Papias to the existence of New Testament Scriptures in his time. The few fragments of his writings preserved by Eusebius have been voluminously debated. His statement that he did not value

written testimony so much as oral is difficult to understand. He called his book *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord*. He also says that Matthew wrote the "Oracles" in Hebrew. It is natural to infer that by "Oracles" he meant "Gospels," of which he was an interpreter. He mentions Matthew and Mark, but not Luke or John; but as he was acquainted with the first Epistle of John, it is morally certain that he knew his Gospel also. The date of Papias was 130 A.D., and he is the earliest witness to the names of the authors of our Gospels.

The *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, was written at so early a period that we cannot expect much light on our subject from it. It does not speak of the "Gospel" as orally communicated, but in one passage, at least, refers to it as written: "Do your prayers . . . as ye have it in the Gospel of our Lord." The quotations agree, generally, with St. Matthew, but there are some evidently taken from St. Luke, and others which unmistakably point to St. John. It would bring down the date of the "Teaching" to suppose that it used a harmony of the Gospels. It does not use any Gospel but those with which we are acquainted, and some statements suggest acquaintance with the Acts and Epistles. Of course, there is always the question whether we have the original form of the *Didache*, and until that is settled it can only be used with caution.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* was a very popular writing in the Church in the second and third centuries, and was read in some places as Scripture. It owed its influence partly to its allegorical style, and partly to its reputation as the writing of a friend of St. Paul. Without direct citation, it uses freely the language of the four Gospels and of the Apostolical Epistles. Dr. Taylor in a recent publication endeavours to prove that Hermas is the original of the famous illustration used by Irenæus to show that there must be four Gospels, and only four. The latter said that, as there were four winds, and four corners of the earth, and four faces of the cherubim, so there must be four forms of the evangelic teaching. Hermas represents the Church as seated on a bench which had four feet—"for the world likewise is compacted of four elements." "The chair was her seat of teaching and authority," says Dr. Taylor (p. 9); "what can her new seat, the bench which

stands on four feet, signify but the fourfold Gospel?" If the date of the *Shepherd* is fixed for a point advanced in the second century, it would not be surprising that there should be a distinct reference to the fourfold Gospel. If, as some think, the composition belongs to a much earlier period, the reference can only be received with some reserve.

The results to which our inquiry leads us are the following:

1. The Churches were in possession of all the canonical books before the time of Jerome, but circumstances had not permitted a full agreement upon all the items of the Canon. In the time of Jerome, the great Latin translator and editor (A.D. 380-420), the New Testament consisted of the same books which we now find in our English Bibles.

2. The idea of canonical Scriptures is a primitive fact in the history of the Church. After the departure of the Apostles their writings were read in the churches: those writings which claimed to be apostolical were alone admitted to this position.

3. The first Bible of the Church was, as in the synagogue, the Old Testament. The Gospel was first received orally, though no doubt this spoken testimony would soon attain a fixed form. Apostolical Epistles were read to the faithful, and since the Apostles were regarded as men filled with the Holy Spirit, their communications were received as inspired.

4. It is probable that the Epistles of Paul were the first to be collected in the Gentile churches. When the Apostles had passed away the four Gospels written by them, or under their patronage, were formed into a Canon. The Gospels and thirteen of the Epistles of Paul first attained the full position of authoritative Scriptures. But the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Hebrews, and the Apocalypse were known and were gradually received by recognition in particular churches. Other writings, as the Epistle of Clement the Shepherd and the Epistle of Banabas, because of their quasi-apostolic origin, were included in the sacred collection by some churches.

5. It can therefore be shown historically that since the apostolic age the Church has not been without its standard of sacred writings as the ground of its authority.

Between the earlier period when the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles were first associated and that of the more perfect collection of Jerome lies the period of development. From the causes indicated already some portions of that period are yet in much obscurity, notwithstanding all that recent discovery has done. We must defer for the present any review of the Canon as it stood in the days of Eusebius, Origen, Tertullian, and Irenæus, or in the days before them. That period is too important and interesting to be treated summarily.

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#### ART. V.—A SINGER FROM OVER SEAS.

*Swallow Flights.* New Edition, with Ten additional Poems.

*In a Garden of Dreams.* New Edition (Second). By LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON. London : Macmillan & Co.

**T**HE saddest of all sad fates is, surely, that of the man or woman who, when the tide of life has passed its flood, and is slowly ebbing out to sea, is forced to admit that he or she has no firmer faith to which to cling than is summed up in Tennyson's line :

“ Behold we know not anything ” !

To find oneself in this world after having arrived at the conclusion that one knows nothing of whence one came, and less of where one goes ; to live and to love infinitely with the knowledge that, sooner or later, loved ones must part, and that Death, like the slowly-contracting walls of the torture-dungeons of the Inquisition, is, day by day, closing in on every side—seems so infinitely tragic that it is matter for wonder that any one, professing agnosticism, should, for a moment, forget that the scene-shifter, Death, waits at the wings of the stage of life to let down, upon actor and audience alike, the black and heavy curtain of a funeral pall.

It is because she has no firm hold upon the cross of Christ, and has no assurance of individual immortality ; because she



is ever conscious of the tragedy of life and death, and feels that the brightest existence is but a white line traced upon a black background, that the poems of Louise Chandler Moulton are so frequently sad—although it must be borne in mind that hers is a sadness which is sincere and earnest and in no way related to the Byronic melancholy which is affected so often by the *poseur* and the sentimentalist. If any proof of her sincerity were needed it is to be found, we cannot but think, in the following verses from a lyric entitled “In Extremis”—a poem which is so grim and terrible in its earnestness and strenuousness of feeling, as positively to make one shudder as one reads it :

“ You have made this world so dear,  
 How can I go forth alone,  
 In the barque that phantoms steer,  
 To a port afar and unknown ?  
 The desperate Mob of the Dead—  
 Will they hustle me to and fro,  
 Or leave me alone to tread  
 The path of my desolate woe ?  
 Shall I shriek with terror and pain  
 For the death that I cannot die ?  
 And pray with a longing vain  
 To the gods that mock my cry ?  
 Oh, hold me closer, my dear !  
 Strong is your clasp—aye, strong ;  
 But stronger the touch that I fear,  
 And the darkness to come is long ! ”

Mrs. Moulton, herself, will not admit that her poems are more melancholy than those of her sister singers, and we remember that on one occasion when the subject was being discussed she instanced as evidence to the contrary a *rondeau*, “ The Old Beau,” which we print below :

“ He was a gay deceiver when  
 The century was young, they say,  
 And triumphed over other men,  
 And wooed the girls, and had his way.  
 No maiden ever said him nay,  
 No rival ever crossed him then,  
 And painters vied to paint him, when  
 The century was young, they say.

Now the new dogs must have their day,  
And the old beau has found that when  
He pleads, things go another way,  
And lonely 'mong the younger men,  
He hears their heartless laughter when  
He boasts about that other day."

That this has a certain lightness of touch, and, as an experiment in an old French form, is entirely successful, none will deny, but even in these sprightly verses there is, to our thinking, some suggestion of pathos in the vain and unvenerated age of the lonely old beau, who has outlived his own generation, and, like a spectral moon when the sun is high, lingers on, the living ghost of a vanished past.

Mrs. Moulton voices in her musical verse the spirit of religious agnosticism as it is found in England and America to-day. "Possessing a profoundly religious nature, yet imbued with the scientific spirit of the age, we find in Mrs. Moulton," writes Mr. B. O. Flower, the brilliant editor of the *Arena*, "a woman in perfect touch with the most spiritual element of the new thought," adding finely, that "the interrogative point is often *felt* in her poems, if not seen."

That Mrs. Moulton's inability to accept Christianity unreservedly—she *does* accept it as the highest and sublimest conception which this world has known—is born, not of disinclination to believe, but of intellectual inability, the two following sonnets, "Help Thou my Unbelief," and "Come unto Me," sufficiently show—sonnets which strike us as among the most beautiful devotional sonnets which any one not professing Christianity has written :

#### HELP THOU MY UNBELIEF.

"Because I seek Thee not, oh seek Thou me!  
Because my lips are dumb, oh hear the cry  
I do not utter as Thou passest by,  
And from my life-long bondage set me free!  
Because content I perish, far from Thee,  
O seize me, snatch me from my fate, and try  
My soul in Thy consuming fire! Draw nigh  
And let me, blinded, Thy salvation see.  
If I were pouring at Thy feet my tears,  
If I were clamouring to see Thy face,  
I should not need Thee, Lord, as now I need,

Whose dumb, dead soul knows neither hopes nor fears,  
 Nor dreads the outer darkness of this place—  
*Because I seek not, pray not, give Thou heed."*

### COME UNTO ME.

"I hear the low voice call that bids me come—  
 Me, even me, with all my grief oppressed,  
 With sins that burden my unquiet breast,  
 And in my heart the longing that is dumb,  
 Yet beats for ever like a muffled drum,  
 For all delights whereof I, dispossessed,  
 Pine and repine, and find nor peace nor rest  
 This side the haven where He bids me come.

"He bids me come, and lay my sorrows down  
 And have my sins washed white by His dear grace;  
 He smiles—what matter then though all men frown?  
 Naught can assail me, held in His embrace;  
 And if His welcome home the end may crown,  
 Shall I not hasten to that heavenly place?"

Mrs. Moulton's moodiness and too frequent note of melancholy has tended to give a certain monotony to much of her verse, and to limit her intellectual range. Gladness should have its place in poetry no less than grief. The lark's song is not unmusical because of its lightheartedness, the laughter of children is more melodious than their sobbing, and the secret of even the nightingale's singing is not sorrow but joy.

Of course some reader will be reminding us of that singularly beautiful and much be-quoted line of Shelley's about "sweetest song" and "saddest thought," but is it not nearly time we gave that weary line a rest? Byron and certain poets of his school caught the mental "mumps" in their early youth ("mumps" is not a pretty word nor poetic, but it is the word which carries our meaning most clearly), and did their best, or worst, to communicate the disease, which is contagious, to English poetry. To what extent they failed or succeeded we need not here discuss, but the fact that they went about with their faces wrapped in flannel is no sufficient reason why subsequent poets should do the same. Goethe—that infinitely wise man—speaks of the poets who write "as if they were all ill, and the whole world a lazaretto, each discontented bard drawing the other into a still greater state of

discontent," and goes on to describe this as "a real abuse of poetry, which was given us to hide the little discords of life, and to make man contented with the world and his condition."

If "sweetness" be the aim of such poets, and sweetness be only attained by sickliness, then let sweetness go, that thereby we may gain in strength. There is a sweetness which palls and cloyes, and which recalls the story of the lady who, after she had been living for some days in an orangery, said that she grew at last too long for the pungent smell of the stables. The sweetness of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Milton—all sane men and sound—was not of this heavy-odoured, hothouse, and enervating description. Their harps were strung with iron chords, and theirs was the bracing sweetness of the sea-breeze.

And of Mrs. Moulton, too, it may be said that the sweetness of her songs—even of the songs which seem most to tremble betwixt a sigh and a tear—is like the sweetness of spring flowers, which are all the more fragrant for the dew. If her poems are sometimes sad, it must, on the other hand, be admitted by all who glance even casually through her two volumes, *Swallow Flights* and *In the Garden of Dreams*, of which Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have recently issued new editions, that they are often very beautiful. Here, for instance, is a poem, "The House of Death," which seems to us worthy of comparison with the work of Miss Rossetti and Mrs. Browning at their best, and after reading which no one can wonder that America has selected the author as her representative woman-poet :

"Not a hand has lifted the latchet  
 Since she went out of the door—  
 No footstep shall cross the threshold  
 Since she can come in no more.

There is rust upon locks and hinges,  
 And mould and blight on the walls,  
 And silence faints in the chambers,  
 And darkness waits in the halls—

Waits as all things have waited  
 Since she went, that day of spring,  
 Borne in her pallid splendour  
 To dwell in the Court of the King :

With lilies on brow and bosom,  
 With robes of silken sheen,  
 And her wonderful, frozen beauty  
 The lilies and silk between.

Red roses she left behind her,  
 But they died long, long ago—  
 'Twas the odorous ghost of a blossom  
 That seemed through the dusk to glow.

The garments she left mock the shadows  
 With hints of womanly grace,  
 And her image swims in the mirror  
 That was so used to her face.

The birds make insolent music  
 Where the sunshine riots outside,  
 And the winds are merry and wanton  
 With the summer's pomp and pride.

But into this desolate mansion,  
 Where Love has closed the door,  
 Nor sunshine nor summer shall enter,  
 Since she can come in no more."

This exquisite lyric is from *Swallow Flights*, Mrs. Moulton's first volume, from which, too, we copy another fine poem, entitled, "Question":

"Dear and blessed dead ones, can you look and listen  
 To the sighing and the moaning down here below?  
 Does it make a discord in the hymns of heaven—  
 The discord that jangles in the life you used to know?

When we pray our prayers to the great God above you,  
 Does the echo of our praying ever glance aside your way?  
 Do you know the thing we ask for, and wish that you could  
 give it—

You, whose hearts ached with wishing in your own little day?

Are your ears deaf with praises, you blessed dead of heaven,  
 And your eyes blind with glory that you cannot see our pain?  
 If you saw, if you heard, you would weep among the angels,  
 And the praises, and the glory, would be for you in vain.

Yet He listens to our praying, the great God of pity,  
 As He fills with pain the measure of our life's little day;  
 Could He bear to sit and shine there on His white throne in  
 heaven,

*But that He sees the end, while we only see the way?"*

No one who reads this poem will wonder that Mrs. Moulton is often called "the Mrs. Browning of the States," though one finds it difficult to reconcile the pessimism and hopelessness of "In Extremis," already quoted, with the fine concluding line of "Question," a line which sums up the whole question of the problem of evil, and gives the one and only answer to our doubts. But such hymns of trust are, notwithstanding her more prevalent note of uncertainty in regard to individual immortality, by no means rare in Mrs. Moulton's work; and in one poem, "Lover and Friend hast Thou put far from me," there is a verse which in its imagery vividly recalls the poet's friend, John Greenleaf Whittier :

"Nor would I vex my heart with grief or strife,  
Though Friend and Lover Thou hast put afar,  
If I could see, through my worn tent of life  
The steadfast shining of Thy morning star."

Mrs. Moulton's sonnets are generally admitted to be the finest which America has produced; and indeed she ranks with Miss Rossetti, Mrs. Graham R. Tomson (much of whose work is exquisitely lovely), and Mrs. Meynell, among the four finest sonnet writers of her sex now living. The late Professor Minto, in reviewing *Swallow Flights* in the now defunct *Examiner*, said of the sonnet, "One Dread," which we quote below, that "apart from a slight difference in the scheme of the rhyme, it might be passed off as one of the sonnets addressed by 'Astrophel' to 'Stella';" and John Greenleaf Whittier wrote of her work that it seemed to him "the sonnet was never set to such music, and never weighted with more deep and tender thought."

#### ONE DREAD.

"No depth, dear Love, for thee is too profound,  
There is no farthest height thou may'st not dare,  
Nor shall thy wings fail in the upper air :  
In funeral robe and wreath my past lies bound :  
No ancient strain assails me with its sound  
Hearing thy voice; no former joy seems fair,  
Since now one only thing could bring despair,  
One grief, like compassing seas, my life surround.

One only terror in my way be met,  
 One great eclipse change my glad day to night,  
 One phantom only turn from red to white  
 The lips whereon thy lips have once been set :  
 Thou knowest well, dear Love, what that must be—  
 The dread of some dark day unshared by thee."

It is *In the Garden of Dreams* that Mrs. Moulton's best and most finished work is to be found. Those who remember the quatrain which appeared on the fly-leaf of *Swallow Flights*—

"Dear eyes that read these lines of mine,  
 As you have read my heart,  
 Forgive, since you the one divine,  
 The other's lack of art"—

will be interested to see the following dainty introductory lyric which she wrote in a copy of *In the Garden of Dreams* that she was sending to a friend, but which now appears in the fly-leaf of the new edition :

"From a brier-grown garden that nobody knows,  
 Save one lone bird with a vagrant tune,  
 A dreamer gathers its last sad rose,  
 The ghost of a season that once was June.

Pale are the blossoms I gather here,  
 And lonesome the song of the mateless bird,  
 Yet, listen and linger, oh ! sweet and dear !  
 You shall catch of my soul the secret word."

One of the finest lyrics one comes upon on opening the volume is entitled "*Laus Veneris*," and was penned after seeing Mr. Burne Jones's famous picture. Though written in the old-fashioned and familiar four-line stanzas, it strikes us as especially stately and beautiful :

"Pallid with too much longing,  
 White with passion and prayer,  
 Goddess of love and beauty,  
 She sits in the picture there,—

Sits, with her dark eyes seeking  
 Something more subtle still  
 Than the old delights of loving  
 Her measureless days to fill.

She has loved and been loved so often,  
In her long, immortal years,  
That she tires of the worn-out rapture—  
Sickens of hopes and fears.

No joys or sorrows move her,  
Done with her ancient pride;  
For her head she found too heavy  
The crown she has cast aside.

Clothed in her scarlet splendour,  
Bright with her glory of hair,  
Sad that she is not mortal—  
Eternally sad and fair,

Longing for joys she knows not,  
Athirst with a vain desire,  
There she sits in the picture,  
Daughter of foam and fire."

It seems ungracious to find fault after reading such exquisite lyrics as those we have quoted; but one cannot help wishing at times that Mrs. Moulton had a keener sense of humour, or, we should say—for humour she undoubtedly has—a keener sense of the humorous associations which become connected with certain words. Here is part of a really fine poem which wants the alteration of a word to make it faultless. It has the distinction of being in all probability the one and only lyric in the language in which the name "Jones" is used seriously; and to say that she has succeeded in dignifying that unimpressive cognomen is to pay no small compliment to her skill. She tells us that when sitting at her window she heard a passer-by inform another that an old man (quite unknown to her) had just died, and in her deliberate choice of the name "Jones" for the dead man, upon whose fate she is speculating, she lends the poem a certain human everyday pathos which is very impressive. But we wish she could have avoided asking if "Jones" (mentioning him by name) were "one with the stars in the watching sky."

" But I sat and pondered what it might mean,  
Thus to be dead while the world went by:  
Did Jones see farther than we have seen?  
Was he one with the stars in the watching sky?  
Or down there under the growing grass  
Does he hear the feet of the daylight pass?

\* \* \* \*



Does he brood in the long night under the sod,  
 On the joys and sorrows he used to know;  
 Or far in some wonderful world of God,  
 Where the shining seraphs stand row on row,  
 Does he wake like a child at the daylight's gleam,  
 And know that the past was a night's short dream?  
 Is he dead, and a clod there, down below;  
 Or dead and wiser than any alive;  
 Which? Ah, who of us all may know,  
 Or who can say how the dead folk thrive?  
 But the summer morning is cool and sweet,  
 And I hear the live folk laugh in the street."

The second of these verses is very fine, and the way in which the poet's thoughts turn, in the last, from the dead man to the laughter of the "live folk" in the street, and to the sweetness of the summer morning, is in its very triviality strangely impressive.

Mrs. Moulton's poems are characterised, as such lyrics as these sufficiently prove, not only by mastery of form and beauty of thought and imagery, but by intensity and directness of feeling which in these days of artificiality are rare. She has what George Eliot, to whom as a poet Dr. Minto once, not very aptly, compared her, never had—the true bird-note. Her singing is simple and spontaneous, and her lines make music for themselves. She is not a woman with a "mission," has no message for the age, but seeks only to be an artist and interpreter of the beautiful, whose true intent is all for our delight. And she is, moreover, as we have already said, what many modern poets are not—sincere. She sings no simulated passion, but writes always from her heart, and herein is perhaps the secret of the personal hold she has upon so many readers in England and America. She has her own individual note—a note which is distinct from that of any other poet, living or dead; and, indeed, her poems are so alive with her personality that any one at all familiar with them could identify her work at sight. Here, for instance, is a lyric—and it must be the last of our quotations—which is markedly characteristic and Moultonesque in its melodious melancholy. It is entitled "The Strength of the Hills," and is copied from *In the Garden of Dreams*:

" My thoughts go back to that old brown house,  
With its low roof sloping down to the east,  
And its garden fragrant with roses and thyme,  
That blossom no longer except in rhyme,  
Where the honey-bees used to feast.  
Afar in the west the great hills rose,  
Silent and steadfast, and gloomy and grey :  
I thought they were giants, and doomed to keep  
Their watch while the world should wake or sleep,  
Till the trumpet should sound on the Judgment Day.  
I used to wonder of what they dreamed  
As they brooded there in their silent might,  
While March winds smote them, or June rains fell,  
Or snows of winter their ghostly spell  
Wrought in the long and lonesome night.  
They remembered a younger world than ours,  
Before the trees on their top were born,  
When the old brown house was itself a tree,  
And waste were the fields where now you see  
The winds astir in the tasselled corn.  
And I was as young as the hills were old,  
And the world was warm with the breath of spring,  
And the roses red, and the lilies white,  
Budded and bloomed for my heart's delight,  
And the birds in my heart began to sing.  
But calm in the distance the great hills rose,  
Deaf unto rapture and dumb unto pain,  
Since they knew that Joy is the mother of Grief,  
And remembered a butterfly's life is brief,  
And the sun sets only to rise again.  
They will brood and dream and be silent as now,  
When the youngest children alive to-day  
Have grown to be women and men—grown old,  
And gone from the world like a tale that is told,  
And even whose echo forgets to stay."

The calm beauty and dignity of this lyric—especially of the last two verses—need no pointing out, and those of our readers who have not yet made themselves acquainted with Mrs. Moulton's work will need no word of ours to urge them to do so. Hers is the sweetest woman-voice which has come to us across the wide Atlantic; and if any there be to whom her poems can give no pleasure, then are they not of the favoured and fortunate few to whom "poetry has its own incommunicable magic which is foolishness to the multitude."

## ART. VI.—THE NEW VOLUME OF STATE TRIALS.

*Reports of State Trials.* New Series. Vol. IV., 1839-43.

Published under the direction of the State Trials Committee. Edited by JOHN E. P. WALLIS, M.A. London : Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1892.

IT is said that, on one occasion, when Barré brought forward a motion on the British Navy, Lord North said to a friend who was sitting next to him in the House, "We shall have a tedious speech from him to-night. I daresay he will give us our naval history from the beginning, including Drake and the Armada. All this is nothing to me, so let me sleep on, and wake me when we come near our own times." At length his friend awaked him, when Lord North exclaimed, "Where are we?" "At the battle of La Hogue, my lord." "Alas, my friend," was the reply, "you've woke me a century too soon." No one whose attention is called to this last volume of the State Trials will make the same complaint. In no part of it do we feel as if we were a century away. It deals with matters, for the most part, that are still alive, and some reports in it would read quite freshly in to-morrow's *Times*.

And, as the volumes of this series "come near our own times," and bring before us subjects of living interest, they appeal to a much wider circle of readers. Whilst losing none of their value for the student, they are becoming more and more attractive to the public. The four-and-twenty volumes of the older series are not to be despised. They are a perfect mine of information and of argument: they form a permanent and priceless addition to our stores of knowledge of the events and of the principles of judgment and of action current in the periods which they cover of our national history; but none of them come home to us like this.

A cumbersome volume 1400 pages long, and weighing far too many pounds, even though it be printed in double columns and in well-spaced type, is not, perhaps, the likeliest means by which to lure one's friends into "the pleasures of reading";

but if they could be induced to open it they might be tempted to linger and wander and perchance to stray with us in many an unfamiliar but not unpleasant or unfruitful spot. The very fact that the book, though carefully edited, has no particular author, is an advantage. It enables us to indulge more freely in the delightful art of skipping and skimming—an art which, happily, on some accounts, has come to be a necessity in this too busy age. We need have no fear of hurting the author's feelings. The most squeamish reader need have hardly any qualms at all in following us in our desultory walk; unless indeed he have the misfortune to belong to that misguided class whose object in reading a book, as Mr. Balfour picturesquely puts it, "is, apparently, to get to the end of it, and who reach the word *Finis* with the same sensation of triumph as the Indian feels who strings a fresh scalp to his girdle." Nor, in the nineteen trials fully reported in the body of the book, to say nothing of the extracts from a score of others in the appendices, should it be difficult to find material suited to the most various tastes. The difficulty is in making a selection. Could we be sure of even one companion of sufficient nerve and courage, we might plunge with him into the swamps and jungles of litigation arising out of the alleged irregularities of the Vice-Admiralty Court on the West Coast of Africa, or of the Judge in a District criminal court in Bengal. Could we count on many readers to whom nothing human is alien, we might be tempted to believe that they would find delight in exploring the intricacies of "*Dunglas against the Officers of State for Scotland re rents and revenues of the lands and lordship of Ettrick Forest*," or even go into raptures over "*The Queen against Brown*" for refusing to interfere in a prize-fight in 1841. Nor does this exhaust the list of our embarrassments. Other difficulties arise from other sources. The chief of these is the method imposed upon us by our subject. The trials for blasphemy, *e.g.*, and the ecclesiastical trials, of which there are several, do not readily lend themselves to the slight and fragmentary treatment to which we are limited.

This being the jubilee year of the great and powerful Free Church of Scotland, it might be thought imperative that we

should deal at length with the trials here reported which formed part of "The Ten Years' Conflict," ended by the great Disruption fifty years ago. But these cases are so full of knotty points, and the matters immediately in question were so quickly swallowed up and so largely obliterated by the trials and commotions which ensued, that, on the whole, like the Scotch divine, we deem it wisest to "look them straight in the face and pass on." To do any sort of justice to them would require at least an entire article. Nor do they, like those to which we shall refer at the greatest length, suggest striking parallels to questions of to-day with important suggestions of lessons for the passing hour.

We may first touch upon the curious case of the Earl of Cardigan's trial before the House of Lords in 1840 for wounding a man in a duel on Wimbledon Common. Fourteen years afterwards the gallant Earl led the charge at Balaclava. The rigid discipline by which he had welded his brigade into a wedge of steel that clave the Russian line and filled the world with wonder was a cardinal feature in his generalship, but, in the times of peace it had often brought him into trouble. As early as 1832, while commanding in the 15th Hussars, he had rendered himself unpopular by his excessive rigour and severity. Within two years he had held no less than 105 courts-martial, and made more than 700 arrests, although his regiment consisted of only 350 men. In 1834 he was appointed to the command of the 11th Hussars, and the discipline and equipment of his regiment, in which he took great pride, were highly commended by the Duke of Wellington. His relations with the sub-officers, however, were not of the most cordial kind. Among other things, he was accused of fastening an epithet on some of them, whom, more picturesquely than politely, he had described as "black-bottle gentlemen," because they drank hock from its native flask. In consequence of the disturbances which ensued, a certain Captain Tuckett sent a letter to the *Morning Chronicle* reflecting on the general conduct and demeanour of the Earl—a letter which was followed by the duel in question. At the trial, which was conducted with curious and pictorial ceremony on the initiation of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and under the presidency of

Lord Denman, who had been appointed Lord High Steward for the occasion, it was proved, and, indeed, it was not seriously denied, that the noble prisoner sitting on his stool of state in presence of his peers had fired the pistol that had wounded his adversary. Nor was there any doubt as to the law. The act was clearly a felony, for which his lordship, like any other man, might be transported. But, as afterwards at Balaclava, "some one had blundered." In spite of all their efforts, the prosecution failed to prove that Captain Tuckett was identical with the Captain Harvey Phipps Tuckett mentioned in the indictment, and the trial ended in a *fiasco*. For the good of his country, as it happened, and for the imperishable glory of her arms, the Earl was unanimously acquitted. With one exception, every peer in turn "stood up in his place 'uncovered,' and, laying his right hand upon his breast, answered: 'Not guilty, upon my honour.'" The exception was the Duke of Cleveland, whose answer has become historical—"Not guilty *legally*, upon my honour." The verdict was as unexpected as it was unanimous. Lord Cardigan himself, before the trial, and in order to prevent a forfeiture, is said to have executed a deed of gift assigning his estates to Viscount Curzon, at a cost of about £10,000 for fines on copyholds, &c.—a cost which would have to be incurred again to effect a re-transfer. To the delight of his lordship, however, if not to the credit of English law, the verdict went in his favour. The Duke of Cambridge rounded off the chorus of acquittal.

"Then the Lord High Steward, standing up uncovered at the chair, as he did when he put the question to the other lords, declared his opinion to the same effect and in the same manner. . . . Proclamation was made for dissolving the Commission, and the white staff being delivered to the Lord High Steward by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, his Grace stood up uncovered, and holding the staff in both hands, broke it in two, and declared the Commission to be dissolved."

At one of the Belgian Universities there is a society of students which annually indulges in the luxury of a "Referendum." This year the question referred to the various representatives of "the civilised world" is this: "Is society on a volcano?" Had the question been put in England fifty years ago the answer would have been, "No; society is not on

a volcano—society is a volcano; and just now it is in a state of eruption." After, as well as before, the first Reform Bill, the volcano was in a very lively state. Almost every important town in England was the scene of riot and of outrage. But for the promptness and firmness of the Government, the wariness and cowardice of the ringleaders, and the good sense and self-control of the people—a self-control, the outcome manifestly and admittedly of the religious revival of the preceding century—the whole country would have been plunged into civil war. Part of the turbulence was political. For a few years before and after, as well as during the period to which the trials before us refer, the agitation was chiefly for the "Charter," which was to extend and complete the political rights of the people, and several of the cases here reported are what would be called "Chartist trials" John Frost, Thomas Cooper, and Feargus O'Connor are well-known Chartist names, and the charges brought against them were mainly those of treason and seditious conspiracy. But it is clear that the mainspring of the movement was economic and social rather than political. The fact is, the people were bitterly disappointed with the results of the first, as the people of our own time have been disappointed with the results of the much larger subsequent measures of reform. They expected from them far more in the way of social and material improvement than can possibly be brought about by any merely political arrangements. And their disappointment was as bitter as at first their hopes were bright. In the famous "National Petition," started in Birmingham in 1838, it is expressly stated that the ultimate aim of the reforms demanded was the improvement of the condition of the people.

"It was the fond expectation of the friends of the people [so the Petition states] that a remedy for the greater part, if not the whole, of their grievances would be found in the Reform Act of 1832. . . . They have been bitterly and basely deceived. The fruit which looked so fair to the eye has turned to dust and ashes when gathered. The Reform Act has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before."

"After stating that capital must no longer be deprived of its due profit, or labour of its due reward, &c. [we are quoting now from the editor's note, p. 1427], the petition went on to demand 'as a

preliminary essential to these and other requisite changes' that the interests of the people should be entrusted to the keeping of the people, and that this should be effected by means of a law granting universal suffrage, voting by ballot, annual parliaments, no property qualification, and payment of members. Equal electoral districts, the sixth point in the People's Charter, was not expressly included in the National Petition."

The same fact stands out from all the Chartist trials in this volume. In opening the Special Commission at Liverpool in October 1842, for the trial of offenders in the outbreaks in Cheshire and Lancashire, Lord Abinger, referring to "the conspiracy to prevent the working-classes performing their labour—in other words, to turn out workmen from the different mills, and by force of terror and intimidation to compel not only the workmen in mills, but every class of labourers, navigators, workmen in canals, hatters, &c., to quit their employment in order that they might assist in the grand scheme of obtaining the Charter," observes that, "in defiance of the promises and, no doubt, of the sincere hopes of those eminent persons who introduced and carried the late reform of Parliament, that it was to be a final, efficacious, and satisfactory measure of reform, these infatuated persons, for they must be infatuated, have formed an opinion, grounded on what foundation I know not, that a representation created by universal suffrage, &c., would be a panacea for all evils," &c. Speaking in defence of the Chartist prisoners at Lancaster in 1843, Mr. Dundas said :

"You will find that at all those meetings . . . the working-men, whether they turned out of their own accord or joined others who forced them out, invariably held those meetings for the purpose of discussing the question of wages, though very often Chartists were present; and the question was frequently put, whether it was a wage or a Chartist meeting. But does any one doubt that the original object of those meetings was to effect a better remuneration of labour? Does any one maintain that the persons then assembled might not consider whether they could be better paid for their labour, or whether they would not have better pay for their work if the Charter were granted?"

The leaders of the Chartist movement proper were acute enough to perceive that the masses of the people cared very little about an extension of the franchise and payment of



members of Parliament, but that they cared a great deal for higher wages and better material conditions. In the speeches and writings produced in evidence against them, therefore, we are not surprised to find a considerable infusion of the crude and nascent Socialism of the time. The doctrine that "everything is everybody's, and that nothing is nobody's," was evidently struggling for existence in their minds. At Rochdale, in 1839, Feargus O'Connor, arguing against the opportuneness of the "sacred holiday," that even then had been proposed, said :

"If you demand this now, you will demand what the masters desire. Trade is slack. They can do without the people during the sacred month very well. Wait till your labour becomes valuable, and then let the whole country strike on a given day, and never return to their calling till they have worked out their political and social salvation. . . . I have alluded to a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. The land belongs to the people. Those who by their labour and capital cultivate it have a right to its produce, but no man has a right to more than his share of the soil itself, which, upon every principle of justice belongs equally to all the inhabitants of the country."

Bronterre O'Brien, speaking at Stockport about the same time, is still more pointed and poetical : "Let not a needle or a spade be used unless to dig some tyrant's grave ; let not a shuttle move unless to weave the winding-sheet of some monster robber, some profit-monger, who dares attack the people's Parliament. All will soon be even." Thomas Cooper, in his appeal to the Court of Queen's Bench in 1843, maintained that "it was because Christianity had gone out of the land that things had ceased to be in common." When Christianity returned, then "the true brotherhood, or what the people called Socialism, would again exist." The Corn Law agitation was of no use.

"The League contend that the abolition of the Corn Laws would relieve the poor from their sufferings : I have always urged the contrary. As soon as those laws are altered, the manufacturers will reduce the poor man's wages, and he will be in a worse condition than he is. . . . The people feel that it is a wrong to be compelled to drag on an existence and work as they do to pamper those who do not work, and tyrannise over them."

But the clearest evidence that the cause of the commotion

was economic rather than political is to be found in the "Executive Address," on which so much forensic eloquence was spent. This celebrated "Address of the Executive Committee of the National Chartist Association to the People" was considered by a delegate meeting at Manchester in August 1842, and was posted as a placard all over the land. We give the first and mildest paragraph :

"Brother Chartists,—The great political truths which have been agitated during the last half-century have, at length, aroused the degraded and insulted white slaves of England to a sense of duty to themselves, their children, and their country. Tens of thousands have flung down their implements of labour. Your task-masters tremble at your energy, and expecting masses eagerly watch this the great crisis of our cause. Labour must no longer be the common prey of masters and rulers. Intelligence has beamed upon the mind of the bondsman; and he has been convinced that all the wealth, comfort, and produce, everything valuable, useful and elegant, have sprung from the palms of his hands; he feels that his cottage is empty, his back thinly clad, his children breadless, himself hopeless, his mind harassed, and his body punished, that undue riches, luxury, and gorgeous plenty might be heaped in the palaces of the task-masters, and flooded into the granaries of the oppressor. Nature, God, and reason have condemned this inequality; and in the thunder of a people's voice it must perish for ever. He knows that labour, the real property of society, the sole origin of accumulated property, the first cause of all national wealth, and the only supporter, defender, and contributor to the greatness of our country, is not possessed of the same legal protection which is given to those lifeless effects, the houses, ships, and machinery which labour have (*sic*) alone created" ("The Queen *against* Feargus O'Connor and Others," p. 948).

Counsel for the Crown in this and other trials laid hold of such expressions as are found in the closing sentence of this paragraph, and used them against the Chartist leaders with telling effect. Little did it lie in the mouths of such men to prate of liberty, the protection of labour, &c. "Talk of liberty," said Serjeant Talfourd in his reply to Cooper, at Stafford, in 1843, "talk of freedom, of the democratic lamp which is sometimes cast down to the earth only to be exalted on high. There never was an act of tyranny more foul or shameful than that act which the resolution embodies—('that all work shall cease till the Charter becomes law')—and which the acts of that day enforced. . . . Gentlemen, it is robbery of the worst

kind; it is robbery of the poor man of his all (for labour is the poor man's all), and well does it become those who represent labour as the source of all human wealth to go to the poor man, and, by their terror and force, turn him out from that work by which his family is sustained."

"No man," said Sir Frederick Pollock, in a passage quite as true and quite as apposite to-day as half a century ago, "no man more respects the rights of the poor man to his labour, which is his property. It is property, and it is this you have to protect, you have to enable the poor man to labour as he thinks proper, and not to be told by his fellow-men whether he shall labour or cease to labour, in order to further some political object about which he may think nothing. Labour is as much property, and as much entitled to protection, as the estate of the wealthiest and loftiest peer of the realm. After all, what is the difference between what is commonly called property and labour? Labour is the property of to-day; that which you may leave to your children after you is the labour of yesterday. The labour of to-day, if it has produced anything that can be laid by, becomes capital; so that in reality there is a common interest in the protection of labour and property; for property is the representative of labour, and labour is the only property which the poor man can command. These great elements of society are not to be set in hostile array against each other. It is perfectly true also that, without labour, what is called capital may be valueless. It is just as true that in an advanced state of civilisation labour would be quite as valueless if there were not capital to give it employment. These two great elements of the high state of cultivation in which we are placed ought not to be set in hostile array against each other. The one is necessary to support the other. Neither can do without the other. I trust in God, gentlemen, that the lesson of to-day, so far as this inquiry is capable of affording one, will go forth to the world. Let it be understood that labour and property ought to have one common protection, and ought both to be directed to the common end of all, the happiness of the community and the glory of God" (*Ib.*, p. 1196).

In the course of this trial a speech was made by one of the prisoners, whose artless eloquence the Court was quite unable to withstand. "Not only the ladies, but the jury, the judge, and even the Attorney-General (Sir F. Pollock), were moved to tears. Indeed, the Attorney-General was so overpowered by the picture drawn by Pilling of the distress which existed among the working-classes previous to the turn-out, and the heartless cruelty which they experienced at the hands of the master-manufacturers, that he was obliged to leave the Court."

Mr. O'Connor does not add that he himself was equally "disturbed with pity." That would have gone without saying. The Attorney-General, however, said that and something more. He readily acknowledged O'Connor's "kindliness of nature," but, like a true orator, he contrived to insert a sting in the tail of his acknowledgment: "I did not need the evidence that he has brought to prove that he is a man of humane feeling. . . . You yourselves may have seen how, when Pilling was telling his story of distress, Mr. O'Connor melted over those woes *that he had not participated in.*" Sir Frederick's emotion, which appears to have been quite genuine, was so unusual a phenomenon, and the passage in which he refers to it contains such valuable corroboration of the speech from which we are about to quote at length, that it is difficult to pass it by:

"Gentlemen," he said, "it is impossible not to feel the deepest sympathy with the distress that undoubtedly prevailed. I have no doubt, if you could quit the large public meetings that assembled . . . and could go to the dwellings of those who did not join in those exciting crowds, you would hear many a tale of heart-rending distress, such as the defendant Pilling told you yesterday—distress which it was impossible to hear without the most enlarged compassion and the deepest sympathy—distress which produced in many persons around me emotions in which I shared, and I am not ashamed to say that I shared in them to an extent which almost unmanned me, and prevented me from maintaining that demeanour that one ought to preserve in a court of justice."

Much of the pathos of the prisoner's speech has been lost in the report, and the speech as a whole must be read to appreciate its power; but the following extracts will partly account for the effect produced and for the acquittal which followed. Pilling was a cotton-operative at Stockport, and afterwards at Ashton-under-Lyne.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I am somewhere about forty-three years of age. I was asked last night if I were not sixty. But if I had as good usage as others I should look like a man of thirty-six. I have gone to be a hand-loom weaver when I was about ten years of age—in 1810. The first week I ever worked in my life I earned 16s. a week by the hand-loom. I followed that occupation till 1840. Then I was the father of a family—a wife and three children. In the year 1840 I could only earn—indeed the last week I worked, and I worked hard, I could only earn 6s. 6d.; but I should do that or become a pauper. I should go to the factory, which I detested to

the bottom of my heart, and work for 6s. 6d. a week, or become a pauper. But although I detested the factory system, yet, sooner than become a pauper on the parish, I submitted. I was not long in the factory until I saw the evil workings of the accursed system. . . . My Lord, and gentlemen of the jury, it was then a hard case for me to support myself and family. My eldest son but one, who was sixteen years of age, had fallen into a consumption last Easter and left his work. We were then reduced to 9½d. a cut, which brought our earnings down to something like 16s. a week. That is all I had to live on, with my nine in family, 3s. a week going out of that for rent, and a sick son lying helpless before me. I have gone home and seen that son—(here Pilling was unable to proceed for some time)—I have seen that son lying on a sick bed and dying pillow, and having nothing to eat but potatoes and salt. Now, gentlemen of the jury, just put yourselves in this situation, and ask yourselves whether seeing a sick son that had worked twelve hours a day for six years in a factory—a good and industrious lad—I ask you, gentlemen, how you would feel if you saw your son lying on a sick bed and dying pillow, with neither medical aid nor any of the common necessities of life? Yea, I recollect some one going to a gentleman's house in Ashton to ask for a bottle of wine for him, and it was said, 'Oh, he is a Chartist, he must have none.' Oh, such usage from the rich will never convince the Chartists that they are wrong. Gentlemen, my son died before the commencement of the strike, and such was the feeling of the people of Ashton towards my family that they collected £4 towards his burial. Gentlemen of the jury, it was under these circumstances that I happened to call at Stockport, excited I will admit by the loss of my son, together with a reduction of 25 per cent.; for I will acknowledge and confess before you, gentlemen of the jury, that before I would have lived to submit to another reduction of 25 per cent., I would have terminated my own existence. That was my intention. . . . My Lord, and gentlemen of the jury, I have only this to say, that whatever evidence has been given against me, you will make great allowance for the situation in which I was placed in respect to my family and the operatives with whom I worked. I have seen in the factory in which I have worked wives and mothers working from morning till night with only one meal, and a child brought to suck at them twice a day. I have seen fathers of families coming in the morning and working till night, and having only one meal, or two at the farthest extent. This was the state we were in at the time of the strike. In consequence of working short time, at low wages, with little food, with oppression upon oppression, distress upon distress, the people were at length nearly exhausted, both in strength, circumstances, and patience; and they were glad, as it were, that the time was come when there was some resistance offered to the manufacturers."

Nearly 400 pages are devoted to the trial of "John Frost and others," at Monmouth, for high treason in the shape of a

raid upon Newport, Mon. This was one of the earliest and most daring of the Chartist insurrections, and, but for the fury of the elements, it might have been successful for a time. On the night of Sunday, November 3, 1839, Frost (who had once been Mayor of Newport), together with Zephaniah Williams and William Jones, at the head of about 10,000 men, armed with guns and spears and scythes, marched in three divisions from the neighbouring hills. They were to meet about five miles from Newport and take possession of the town, as a preliminary to a general rising throughout the kingdom. The night was one of the darkest and wildest on record. Two of the divisions lost their way. The other, under Frost, did not reach Newport until nine o'clock the following morning. Finding that some of his partisans were prisoners at the Westgate Inn, and that a company of soldiers had been sent to guard them, Frost at once attacked the inn. The affair was soon over. The mayor of the town was wounded whilst opening the window to allow the soldiers to fire. Then there was a general scrimmage; several volleys were fired, about a score were killed and wounded, and, in less than ten minutes, the mob was routed and dispersed. There was no dispute as to the facts. The main question was as to the nature of the offence: was it "a levying of war," or merely a riot? In the former case it would be high treason; in the latter a misdemeanour. The three leaders were found guilty of the capital crime, and were sentenced to death in the barbarous fashion of the time. They were to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution and hanged by the neck till dead; the head of each was afterwards to be severed from his body, and the body, divided into four quarters, was to be disposed of as her Majesty should think fit! As in the case of the Earl of Cardigan, however, it was found once more that "some one had blundered." A mistake in procedure had been made which prevented the terrible sentence from being executed. The "delivery of witnesses" turned out to be bad in point of law. This would have completely quashed the conviction if the objection had been taken in due time. Nine judges held that it had not; six that it had. A difference of opinion so serious led to the intervention of the Crown. The

sentence was commuted to transportation for life. Mr. Disraeli was one of a minority of five who tried in the House of Commons to obtain for Frost a further mitigation of the sentence. In 1854 he was allowed to go to America, and, in 1856, one-and-twenty years before his death, he received a free pardon. Dr. Price, of Llantrissant, whose death and cremation at the age of ninety-two excited so much interest in January last, was one of Frost's adherents; but the subsequent "arch-druid and High Priest of Nature" managed to evade the trial. Up to the time of his cremation he distinguished himself from the human race by dressing in a green and scarlet suit, with a fox-skin on his head, and the "brush" waving about his shoulders. This strange apparition was sometimes seen in the streets of London; but it was usually put down to the credit of the Cossacks or the Kalmucks. Had it appeared at the trial, it would have added picturesqueness to the scene, and might have modified the verdict. The gallant doctor, however, in what his friends might wish us to describe as a "mad æsthetic freak," had escaped to France in female attire.

The element of comedy is seldom wanting in the gravest trials. Dundas—*e.g.*, one of the counsel for the Manchester Chartists—stumbled into a witticism that convulsed the Court:

"My client," said he, "was a Chartist. He thought, among other things, that it was not necessary that Members of Parliament should have any property qualification. I am sure I should be a very unworthy Scotchman if I were to say that I did not think that a very bad law which makes a property qualification necessary. There are fifty-six members that come from Scotland, and not one of them *has any qualification at all.*"

Edward Oxford, who was charged with shooting at the Queen in 1840, was not an Irishman; yet he was proved to have drawn up the rules of a society called "Young England," one of which rules was, "That no member will be allowed to speak during any debate, nor to ask more than two questions." Another witness proved that he had received a letter from the prisoner thus addressed:

"Fly, postman, with this letter bound,  
To a public-house, the Hog-in-the-Pound,

To Miss Chittenden there convey,  
With *speedily* obey;  
Remember, my blade,  
The postage is paid."

The Solicitor-General (Sir Thomas Wilde) maintained that this was no proof of madness, and mentioned that a letter was once directed to Sir Frederick Pollock's brother as follows :

"This is for David Pollock, Esquire,  
For him in Elm Court enquire,  
On the first floor, look no higher,  
There you'll catch him.

"He'll pay you twopence for this letter,  
He never paid it for a better,  
If he does not, like a setter  
Watch him."

But the most numerous illustrations of "the humour of the law-courts" are to be found in the sparkling speeches of Feargus O'Connor. Sly innuendoes, pungent epigrams, smart retorts, Irish stories racy of the soil, abound in them. A phrase in cap and bells not seldom strides before his longest and most serious arguments, and motley troops of mounted phrases—"phrases on horseback, curvetting and careering," Coleridge calls them—bring up the rear. Now, flowers of rhetoric, if any flowers, are surely common property. "We are all Socialists" sufficient "nowadays" to admit that. No apology is needed, therefore, for "conveying" some of these "O'Connors" to our final page. The garb in which these choice exotics come to us is none the less attractive for its foreignness. Here are a few :

"Perhaps you have not heard many Irish anecdotes. I will tell you one. Once upon a time there was an old maiden lady, who had an old cat and an old housekeeper. When the housekeeper grew somewhat antiquated she began to be negligent, and all the crockery began to go. But when anything was missing it was always the red cat. At last the red cat was doomed to death; it was killed. Notwithstanding this, the china salad bowl was broken. 'Molly,' says the lady, 'who broke the salad bowl?' 'Arrah, musha, my lady, sure the red cat has been here again.' 'Why, Molly, how can that be; the red cat was killed?' 'Ah! I declare to God, ma'am, I always heard that cats had nine lives, but now I'm sure of it.'"

"Then you have heard of my popularity. If this be a crime, fi n



me guilty of popularity if you please. But with all my popularity, where is my offence? Where is my name mentioned, except by the cracked man?"

\* \* \* \* \*

"Take any of these men; analyse them; look at them; do they look like conspirators? Place them in the situation in which the Attorney-General placed the Reformers. Do you see flames? Have you a Bristol on fire—a Nottingham in flames—a Newcastle consumed? Do you see an effigy of the King, with his head cut off, and inscribed—

'Reform; or the King's Head,'

and a blood executioner with a weapon in his hand? No; you only find such mottoes as—

'More pigs, and less parsons.'

\* \* \* \* \*

"Let but this spirit be still manifested; the 'risings and riots' left to the infernal hatchers of the plot; the calm determination of the people held up to its point; the enemy disarmed by peacefulness; and the strike becomes universal; England, Wales, and Scotland become at the same moment one workless workshop; while the dogs of war have no pretence to tear, and the fiends of faction will soon 'scratch their heads.'"

In an earlier trial, O'Connor sought to ride off under cover of his "great compatriot's" fiery tongue. The passages he quotes from Daniel O'Connell caused a good deal of amusement at the time. They are both amusing and suggestive still. Defending himself at the York Assizes in 1840, on a charge of seditious libel, and resorting to a kind of argument in common use about that time—an almost extinct species of the genus *tu quoque*—he exclaims:

"If the Attorney-General's object is to preserve peace, let him prosecute every one who is endeavouring to disturb it; he cannot come into court with clean hands if he lets others pass by who have been more guilty than I have, if I have been guilty at all, which I deny. I have passages here from O'Connell's speeches. Here is one: 'Hereditary bondsmen, though I am old, my arm is not too withered to wield a sword in defence of Ireland's rights. So help me God! I would rather see her green fields crimson with gore than see her miseries continued.'"

Then follow passages which show that boycotting was not invented by Parnell, and which give a graphic picture of what might some day come to be seen on College Green. "The shopkeepers have votes, but the people have the money. Let

no man spend his money with an enemy ; let every man, then, deal with him who will support the repeal of the Union."—*O'Connell at Youghall*. "Let every man's door be marked who shall oppose the people ; at all events, let us have the satisfaction of knowing our friends from our enemies."—*O'Connell in Kerry*. "Oh, if we had but a Parliament sitting in College Green, the Kildare boys would walk in some fine morning with their short sticks when the House was about to divide to teach their members how to vote."—*O'Connell in Dublin*.

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#### ART. VII.—THE CITY OF YORK.

1. *Historic Towns : York*. By JAMES RAINE, M.A., D.C.L., Chancellor and Canon Residentiary of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1893. 3s. 6d.
2. *Diocesan Histories : York*. By GEORGE ORNSBY, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of York and Vicar of Fishlake. London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 3s. 6d.
3. *Handbook to the Cathedrals of England : Northern Division : York, &c.* With Illustrations. London : John Murray. 24s.

NO city holds higher rank among the historic towns of England than York. For six or seven hundred years—right through the Roman, British, and Early Anglian times—it was really the capital of England. But petty feuds and tribal jealousies combined with the growing power of London to rob York of its earlier glory. It still held undisputed rank for many centuries after the Norman Conquest as the capital of the North, but even that distinction has now passed to the great commercial centres in Lancashire and the West Riding. York, thus twice disrowned, still keeps its place as ecclesiastical head of the Northern Province, with a record for educational and missionary work which forms one of the brightest pages in

the history of English Christianity, and a stately minster which has never failed to hold fast the admiration and affection not only of Yorkshire but also of all the north of England. Emperors and princes have long forsaken the city, but the minster, with "its dignity and massive grandeur," has perhaps a more widely extended reputation than any other English cathedral.

Mr. Raine has long been known as one of the chief authorities on the ecclesiastical history of York, and his little volume is a workmanlike epitome of all that is best worth knowing about the city. He says it "stands near the head of a vale renowned for fertility and beauty. The site was in far-distant days a heath-covered moor, interlaced with strips of pasture land, and on the banks of a tidal river. Large woods, of which the Forest of Galtres was a remnant, were in close proximity, with patches of grass and tillage, dying away into moors and marshes, the home of the beaver and wild-fowl." Bunsen said that the Vale of York was the most beautiful and romantic in the world, save only that of Normandy. Little is known of the old Celts who dwelt here, but relics of the stone, bronze, and iron ages have been found which carry us back to days when a number of small tribes roamed over the eastern wolds, protected against attack from their neighbours by rude entrenchments. The tribesmen dwelt in huts or in prahs, like the Maories of New Zealand, and hunted on the vast plains or in the adjoining woods. It seems probable that York was the capital of Cartismandua, the Brigantian queen. It was about 70 A.D. that the Romans, who had established a footing in the south of Britain, marched against the Brigantes. They knew well what advantage they would reap by making themselves masters of the tribal city, with its market and its established fame. After a fierce struggle, Petilius Cerealis subdued the country, so that when Agricola came as legate, seven years later, he merely had to consolidate the work of his predecessor and push his outposts farther north. A monument to a standard-bearer of the ninth legion, which is preserved in the York Museum, carries us back to these days when Eburacum was emerging from prehistoric obscurity under its Roman masters. The name is sometimes linked with Ure or Eure, a tributary of

the Ouse, but this is a very doubtful derivation. The Danes corrupted Eoferwic, as the Angles called it, into Jorvik, whence comes our York.

The Roman camp of Eburacum occupied sixty-five or seventy acres on the left bank of the Ouse. As the importance of the station became more manifest, fifteen to twenty acres were added. Considerable remains of the lofty wall by which this camp was fortified still remain. "It is built upon piles, without ditches, and must have been at least twenty feet in height, with two bands of brickwork—a pleasant contrast to the cream-coloured limestone of which it is constructed." A large tower of many angles stood at each corner of the fortification. One of these multangular towers is still preserved (*Bygone Yorkshire*, p. 98). It has nine faces, and its walls are five feet thick. Later builders have added to its height, but the Roman work is clearly traceable fifteen feet from the base. This is of rubble, faced with ashlar blocks of stone four or five inches cube. There is also a band of Roman brickwork laid in five courses. Each brick is seventeen inches long, eleven wide, two and a half thick. There were at least two guard-chambers in the tower, and on the walls the scribblings of the Roman soldiers may still be traced. Two chief roads, fairly represented by the present Petergate and Stonegate, ran through the camp. The old Roman highway, paved and concreted, has been discovered six feet below Stonegate. Stations were established in the surrounding district. Rich pavements, which have been uncovered at Isurium, or Aldborough, seem to show that this Brigantian town became the occasional residence of officers and wealthy men who wished to escape for a little while from the bustle of the capital.

Eburacum, as the arsenal for the north, was strongly fortified. To the west was a tidal river with an embankment; to the east the natural drain was deepened at special points. On the south lay the docks, fortified on their outward edge; and on the north a moat or trench might have been easily drawn from the Ouse. It is probable that these fortifications were erected by the ninth, or Spanish, legion in A.D. 108-9, twelve years before Hadrian built his wall between the Solway and the North Sea. Remains of large buildings, many tessellated

pavements, and an extensive series of public baths, uncovered in 1841, show how important a centre Eboracum was in Roman times. This testimony is confirmed by the extensive cemeteries around the city. The tombs can still be traced for a mile from Micklegate Bar towards Tadcaster, whilst, in carrying out some railway works, several thousand Roman graves were found. Some of the bodies had been buried in urns, others in coffins of wood, brick, stone, tiles, or lead. The Yorkshire Philosophical Society, which has done so much to search out and preserve the antiquities of York, has seven hundred funeral urns in its museum, and more than thirty large stone cists in its grounds. The auburn hair of a young Roman lady was taken out of her coffin with the pins of jet which she wore in her lifetime still fixed in their place.

Two Roman legions were stationed at York. The ninth or Spanish legion came under Aulus Plautius in A.D. 43; the sixth was brought from Germany by Hadrian in 120. Its officers and men were largely employed on garrison duty on the northern walls. The fact that the south of Britain had long been pacified, whilst the north was never wholly subdued, made York the great military centre in Roman times. It was the store city where the emperors and their chief officers took up their quarters to face the restless tribes of the north. The second and twentieth legions were stationed at Caerleon and Chester, in Britannia Superior; York was in Britannia Inferior. When Diocletian and Constantine divided the country into four parts Eburacum was included in Maxima Caesariensis, which extended from the Roman Wall in Northumberland to the Humber. The vicar, count, and duke of the Britains probably had their official residence in Eburacum. The population must have been large and strangely varied, for the Roman army was formed on the principle of mixing strangers with strangers, so that there might be no temptation to combine against their masters. The Spanish legionaries sighed in vain for the Peninsula.

“ But here in Eburacum [Canon Raine says] they would have a happier time than in the camps in the north. The air was soft, the work was comparatively easy. The rivers were full of fish, the forests of game. Easy and safe roads linked Eburacum to the neighbouring

stations, and here and there, wherever you went in the country, were the villas of the rich. There must have been more than one country house of the Emperor at no great distance from the city; and when Cæsar came back into Eburacum he might look with just pride upon the strength and beauty of the fortress, which was a sample of his power in every country in the world."

Two bronze tablets in the York Museum carry us back to the days of Domitian. They have punctured inscriptions to Oceanus and Tethys, and to the gods of the general's *prætorium*. Demetrius the Scribe, who presented these tablets, has been identified with Demetrius the Grammarian, a native of Tarsus. Plutarch says that this scholar visited him at Delphi on his return from Britain, where he had been sent on official work by Domitian. Plutarch calls him a holy man, and refers to his study of the religion of Britain. Unhappily, the results of his investigations have not been handed down the centuries. The first incident of importance connected with Eburacum which has survived in any detail is connected with Severus. That emperor came from Gaul in 208 to assist his legate in repelling the Caledonians. The emperor brought with him his two sons, Caracalla and Geta. A two years' campaign resulted in the temporary submission of the northern tribesmen. During these years the court was fixed at Eburacum. Papinian, the great jurist, expounded and administered Roman law in the city. Meanwhile, Severus, who was suffering from a serious disease, grew rapidly worse. As he returned from the north he was led by an error to the Temple of Bellona, near the north gate of York. Victims of an ill-omened colour were brought out for sacrifice. The emperor rejected them and made his way to the palace, but the same dark-coloured *hostiæ* followed him to the very door. All men now prepared for some crushing disaster. Trouble was not long in coming. The Caledonians and Measæ took up arms again, and Severus girded himself for a war of extermination. Meanwhile Caracalla was plotting against his father. He induced the soldiers to salute him as emperor. When Severus heard of this treachery he summoned the prince and his supporters, told them that the head made the general, not the feet, and ordered them to march against the foe. As his complaint grew more serious, the dying emperor pointed out to his sons how he had strengthened the empire,

and bade them cherish the soldiers, by whose help they could accomplish anything. Thoughts of the vanity of earthly things filled the old emperor's heart. "I have been all," he said, "and yet what better am I for it?" He requested to see the urn in which his ashes should soon be placed. "Thou shalt contain," he said, "what the whole world could not contain." On February 4, 211, he asked, "What more is there, my friends, that I can do for you?" and passed quietly away. A noble funeral pyre was erected outside the city; on this Severus was laid in military dress. His sons set fire to it, and then headed the long procession of princes and soldiers that rode around the pyre, after which they set out for Rome with the urn. Eburacum was familiar with other masters of the Roman State. Carausius, the sailor emperor, is said to have been killed there in 293. Constantius spent his brief reign in York, where he died in 306. There his famous son was proclaimed emperor. The tradition that he was born here has been long disproved. He left this country soon after his father's death, and was never able to return. But York is rightly proud of its connection with the first Christian emperor.

Eburacum was now a prosperous city. Its bishop was present at the great councils of Arles, Nicæa, Sardica, Ariminum. A hundred years after the departure of Constantine, Honorius desired the British cities to look to their own safety, as the hands of Rome were full with troubles nearer home. The Britons were not slow to rise against the Roman prefects and officers who had not already been drawn away from the country, and amid such scenes the curtain falls on Eburacum as a Roman colony and dépôt. London was even then the chief trading city, but York was the seat of government. "York, and York alone, among the cities of Britain, has been the dwelling-place of the Cæsars of Rome."

The Britons were now left alone to face the Picts and Scots as well as to hold back the advancing tide of Saxon invasion. We know little of the years that followed. Mr. Freeman says: "We might freely give up much about other places to get in exchange a single ray of light to throw on the struggle which made Eburacum English." The fact that even in the seventh century the independent British kingdom called Elmete com-

prised a great portion of the West Riding, points to struggle and compromise. *Ælle* was the first king of *Deira*. *Eburacum*, now known as *Eoferwic*, was his capital. On his death in 588, *Æthelric*, King of *Bernicia*, united the two provinces under the name of *Northumbria*. Under *Æthelfrith*, its next prince, *Northumbria* enjoyed great prosperity. This prince finally broke down the power of the Britons by his great victory at *Chester*. It was at this time that Pope Gregory designated *London* and *York* as archbishoprics of equal dignity. This was in anticipation of the day when *York* should become a Christian city. *Eadwine*, the son of *Ælle*, was now an exile, under the protection of *Redwald*, King of *East Anglia*. *Æthelfrith* tried to bribe this king to slay the refugee, but the remonstrance of *Redwald's* queen worked on his better nature, and he refused to commit so foul a deed. *Æthelfrith* now tried threats. *Redwald's* resolution wavered as he remembered the power of the *Northumbrian* king. It is said that while *St. Eadwine* was musing over the dangers that surrounded him, a stranger suddenly appeared, who hinted at the possibility of his regaining his father's throne, and meeting one who should teach him a better life and purer code than any of his ancestors had known. *Eadwine* promised to listen to such a teacher if only he could see the way to recover his father's throne. The visitor laid his hand upon his head, and bade him remember that sign when the hour to fulfil his promise should come. Such is the old story.

When *Redwald* refused to give up his guest, *Æthelfrith* marched on *East Anglia* with a large army. He was defeated and slain near *Retford* in 617. *Eadwine* now became king. *Eoferwic* (i.e., *York*) was his capital. As he passed to and fro a standard of purple and gold floated over his head, whilst a tuft of feathers fastened to a spear was borne before him. "With him," says *Green*, "began the English proverb so often applied to after-kings: 'A woman with her babe might walk scathless from sea to sea in *Eadwine's* day.' Peaceful communications revived along the deserted highways; the springs by the roadside were marked with stakes, and a cup of brass set beside each for the traveller's refreshment." *Eadwine* became over-lord of the five English realms of *Mid-Britain*.



Being left a widower with two sons, he made overtures to Eadbald of Kent for a marriage with his sister Ethelburga. The overtures were at first rejected on the ground that he was a heathen. But Eadwine pledged himself to grant Ethelburga and her retinue the free exercise of their religion. He even hinted that he himself might listen to its teachers. The new queen brought Paulinus as her private chaplain. Bede pictures him, on good authority, as a man above the average height, slightly stooping, with raven-black hair, worn face, and a nose high and curved like an eagle's beak. He seemed to inspire veneration and awe in all who looked upon him. Eadwine did not yield to the new religion without a struggle, but Paulinus took advantage of three great blessings—the king's preservation from an assassin, the birth of a daughter, and a great victory over the West Saxons—to plead the cause of Christianity. Whilst Eadwine was still undecided, Paulinus laid his hand upon his head and asked if he remembered the sign. The king now listened with new interest. He called together the leading men of his kingdom, and found a powerful ally in the chief priest of the idol temples, who acknowledged that the old worship was unsatisfactory, and boldly volunteered to tear down the images of Thor and Woden in the great temple at Saxmundham. The charter-horn of Ulf, still preserved in York Minster, bears witness how the land on which this temple stood was conveyed to that cathedral with other estates. On Easter Day, 627, Eadwine and his nobles were baptised. A little wooden church or oratory, the germ of the future minster, was hastily erected within the walls of York for this ceremony. Paulinus soon suggested that a stone building should be provided. This was erected over the little wooden church. The dark and gloomy crypt under the chair of the present cathedral marks the site of Eadwine's minster, and the fragments of Saxon masonry seen in its recesses may be part of the work of the first Christian king of Northumberland.

Eadwine did not live to see this church finished. He was slain in battle with the Britons under Caedwalla in 633. His head was brought to York by some of his faithful followers, and was placed in the minster which he had begun. Paulinus was now compelled to abandon those missionary labours which

had laid the foundations of the Church of Northumbria, and return with his royal mistress to Kent. Ethelburga secured the costly furniture and vessels which Eadwine had bestowed on his new church, and a golden cross and chalice thus brought to Canterbury were carefully preserved in the days of Bede.

Caedwalla, the Briton, was now master of York. He represented not only the Britons, but the ancient heathenism of the island. But his day of power was short. In 635 he was utterly defeated in a great battle near Hexham by Oswald. He it was who finished Eadwine's church at York. Days of trouble now settled on the city. Canon Raine compares the Northumbria of those days to the Highlands of Scotland two or three centuries ago, when the jealousies and contentions of the clans formed an effectual barrier to anything like national unity. The crown was at the mercy of adventurers; the hereditary chieftains were engaged in incessant feuds. Little of the architecture of the period has been preserved. But one great step was taken in the development of the city. The Synod of Whitby, which met 665, appointed Wilfrid bishop of York. He had studied in Rome, and had been for about four years Abbot of Ripon. He yielded a somewhat reluctant consent to his appointment, and was consecrated at Compiègne, in France. He was absent on the Continent for more than a year. When he returned to York he found that Chad had been consecrated to the see by the influence of Wilfrid's opponents. Chad had won all hearts by his apostolic labours; Wilfrid therefore quietly retired to Ripon. Three years later, Theodore, the newly-appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, came on the scene. He told Chad that his consecration was not in due form, and brought Wilfrid to York. But Chad's beautiful humility made so profound an impression on the visitor that he took measures to have him appointed to the See of Lichfield.

Wilfrid proved himself an energetic bishop. He found Eadwine's church falling into ruin. Its stones were crumbling, the rain came through roof and windows. The roof was now covered with lead; the windows were repaired, and the whole basilica carefully cleaned, and furnished with all equipments

befitting the mother church of the diocese. Wilfrid became the father of nine monasteries, and lived in princely splendour. But troubles were in store. Theodore visited York during his absence, and actually divided his diocese, and consecrated three new bishops in the minster. In vain did Wilfrid protest against this arbitrary act. He went to Rome to lay his case before the Pope. On his return, the Bull that he brought was disregarded, his reliquary seized, and he himself cast into prison. He made a brave fight, bearing exile and poverty with heroic fortitude, till at last a compromise was made, and he was appointed Bishop of Hexham. The character and fortunes of the great bishop form one of the most fascinating studies in early English ecclesiastical history.

Another notable bishop was Egbert, who was consecrated in 732. Three years later Gregory III. gave him the pall as primate of the Northern Province. A series of benedictions preserved in his pontifical show how careful he was to bring religion to bear on daily life. God's blessing was to be sought before a draught of medicine was taken, or bread or wine partaken of. He founded the famous School of York, to which youths flocked from all parts, and gathered the nucleus of its library. Alcuin was one of his students. Egbert is said to have been the first prelate who possessed a mint at York. His kinsman and successor, Albert, carried on his work, and restored the minster. Alcuin dwells upon its lofty height, its solid piers and arches, its many aisles and beautiful windows, its thirty richly-adorned altars. When that famous scholar yielded to the pressing invitations of Charlemagne, and went to spread light through his dominions, he did not forget his old home. He sent over a ship-load of metal to cover the bell-turrets of the minster, and wrote many letters of counsel to king and priest. He would fain have returned to spend his last days in York, but Charlemagne would not allow the man at whose feet he himself delighted to sit to leave his empire. It was the glory of York to have trained and sent forth the greatest scholar of the age.

In 867 York was taken by the Danes. The two kings of Northumbria were both slain in this great overthrow. Hoard after hoard of stycas, or copper "mites," have been found,

which show how the people buried their money in those dark days of threatened invasion. York now became the central hold of the Danish invaders, and witnessed many a sharp struggle between them and the English princes. It was not till 954, when Eadred subdued Northumbria, that quiet was restored. "No district in England," says Canon Raine, "required peace so much, and no city in England has seen more bloodshed and stranger vicissitudes of fortune than York. The rule of the early Angle and the Dane in Northumbria was marked by little except intrigue and slaughter." After Eadred's victory earls were appointed as rulers at York. The earl was generally a Dane. York was the great military bulwark for the north of the Humber, and was a large mercantile emporium. It is described in a tenth-century biography as a nobly-built but somewhat dilapidated city, with a population of thirty thousand, and was the resort of many merchants, especially Danes. This estimate of numbers is evidently much exaggerated. Danish influence was now paramount. In certain districts, especially of east and north-east Yorkshire, the faces of the people, as well as their speech, bear indubitable testimony to the presence of a vast body of Danish settlers, who have transmitted their language, customs, and temperament through thirty generations. The Rev. M. C. F. Morris, in his valuable book on *Yorkshire Folk-Talk*, points out that "the backbone of the Yorkshire dialect is Danish pure and simple." A Danish friend of his, staying at Flamborough, found that he could at once understand much that the fishermen were saying. Mr. Morris had a somewhat similar experience when he visited Denmark. If the city of York had not been so often plundered and burned, its soil would have yielded more numerous traces of its old Danish masters. An excavation in Clifford Street a few years ago brought to light some relics of Danish art, such as fragments of combs in every stage of manufacture, beads and articles of glass, amber, jet and bone-work, with horns of red deer, such as had never been found before in England.

On the death of Siward, the giant earl, whose fame still lives in the old chronicles and songs, Edward the Confessor appointed Tostig as his successor. He was a stern ruler, whose

deeds of cruelty outraged the Northumbrians. The murder of two Thegns in his own chamber at York led to a Gemôt or Parliament being held in that city during Tostig's absence in October 1065. The earl was deposed, a number of his friends and adherents slaughtered, and his treasury plundered. Edward, reluctantly compelled to endorse the decision of the Thegns, now ordered Tostig to leave England. The shock of this unfortunate event is said to have hastened the king's death. Harold, who succeeded him, was regarded with scant favour in Northumbria, but when he visited York his persuasive pleadings won the willing obedience of the people. Meanwhile, Tostig, Harold's brother, was intriguing to secure his return to his earldom. After many failures, he persuaded Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, to help him. The invaders sailed up the Ouse, and left their ships at Riccall, ten or twelve miles from York. A fierce battle was fought in the long meadow land at Water Fulford, opposite to the present Archbishop's residence at Bishopthorpe. It resulted in a complete victory for Tostig: the defenders were driven headlong into the city. Four days later it surrendered to Harold Hardrada, who was accepted as King of Northumbria. The next day Harold of England appeared on the scene. The invaders had gone towards Stamford Bridge. Thither Harold followed them. When the two armies met, the king offered his brother Tostig his old earldom if he would swear to be a true man to him once more. Tostig asked what Harold Hardrada should have, and received the famous answer—"Seven feet of English ground, or as much more as his length requires." The fight which ensued was desperate, but it ended in the complete rout of the invaders. Harold immediately set himself to reorganise the earldom. He had sat down to the feast which commemorated his victory, when a messenger entered the hall to announce that the Normans had landed in Sussex. From his great victory at York he marched in hot haste to the fatal field of Senlac.

There was much popular discontent at York during the first years after the Norman Conquest. When William came northwards a deputation of citizens appeared, bringing hostages and the keys of their city. The king proceeded to build a castle,

which was probably erected on the site of the old Danish fortress. Five hundred picked men were left as a garrison. The citizens were quiet for a time; then the flames of rebellion burst forth afresh. William lost no time. He fell upon the force that was besieging his castle, and scattered them like chaff. Then he plundered the city. A new fortress of wood was now erected on Bale or Beacon Hill, opposite to the castle. This was built in eight days. The people made an attack upon it after the king had left the city, but were quickly repulsed. The north was not easily pacified. In 1069 a Danish fleet sailed up the Ouse with a number of English refugees whose presence fanned the flame of discontent against the Normans. The garrisons in York took vigorous measures for their own defence. Houses that might shelter assailants were burnt down. The flames spread over the city and destroyed the minster, with its glorious library, which had been the pride of Saxon England. When the fire had been blazing for two days the invaders made their attack. The two forts stood on opposite sides of the river, so that the garrisons could hold easy communication with each other. They made a joint sally on their assailants, but were hopelessly beaten. Three thousand Normans are said to have perished. The two commanders and a few soldiers were captured. The forts were now dismantled. York was a mass of smouldering ruins. The Danes sailed away with their plunder, leaving the city to the tender mercies of William, who was then in the West of England. He swore "by God's splendour" that he would not leave one of his enemies alive. He was told that the insurgents were going to keep their Christmas at York, but when he marched towards the city every foe vanished. He led his men north, plundering and slaying and burning with such unsparing severity that for nine years the land between York and Durham was untilled. Not a few who escaped the sword perished of hunger. William returned to keep Christmas in York. There was no minster, and the troops had to camp outside because there were no quarters in the ruined city. William determined to hold a festival that night to commemorate his victory. "The rich vessels and garniture of his table, the emblems of royalty, and the crown of England itself, were brought from Winchester

to York, and there, amid sights and sounds of untold sorrow, he kept the high festival of Christian joy on the great mid-winter day."

Thomas of Bayeux, who became archbishop in 1070, found York reduced to ruins. With all a Norman's energy he set himself to restore and re-organise. He first restored the old minster and then rebuilt it in whole or in part. He appointed dean, chancellor, treasurer, and precentor, instead of the abbot, magister scholarum, and custos civitatis of Saxon times. Bishop Godwin tells us that "his special care was to replenish the Church and the rest of his diocese with learned and honest men, with whom he was wont continually to conferre and reason (sometimes with one and sometimes with another), partly for his owne exercise, and partly to see what was in them, and to raise them uppe to a diligence in increasing their knowledge." The troubles of York were not over. In 1075 a party of Danes made a raid upon the place, and plundered the minster. The marauders were caught and slain before they could leave the country. William Rufus paid several visits to the city. He laid the foundation-stone of a new church for the Abbey of St. Mary's, built a chapel for the Hospital of St. Peter, and restored the castle.

Archbishop Thurston, the friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, was appointed to the diocese in 1114. He had a long struggle for the rights of his See with the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was seven years before his way was open to enter York in state; but he had not been idle, for he was able to read from his throne in the minster the papal charter which exempted him from submission to the See of Canterbury. It was not however till 1354 that the long controversy was finally settled by a papal decree which ordained that York should be "Primate of England" and Canterbury "Primate of all England." The chief honour for the victorious Battle of the Standard belongs to Thurston. He invited the great barons to meet at York and thence they marched to rout the Scotch invaders at Northallerton.

On Thurston's death, William Fitzherbert was elected to the See, but the Cistercian monasteries, supported by St. Bernard, who was then all-powerful at Rome, were anxious to secure

Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fontaines, as Archbishop. The city rebelled against Murdac, who was noted for his ascetic harshness. He did not venture to come near York. William quietly waited at Winchester till his rival's death in 1153, then he entered York amid the acclamations of the citizens. A wooden bridge over the Ouse gave way under the crowd, and many were thrown into the river, but it is said that the Archbishop's prayers and tears saved every one from harm. In memory of what was regarded as a miraculous deliverance, a bridge of stone was built with a chapel on it bearing William's name. The Archbishop died thirty days after his entry into York. He was seized with illness after celebrating high mass in the minster, and it was commonly reported that poison had been put into the chalice. Many miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. York was able to secure his canonisation, much to the joy of the chapter, who now had a saint of their own to draw worshippers to his shrine. Henry II. paid five visits to York, and found in its Archbishop Roger one of his staunch supporters in the struggle against Becket. Roger rebuilt the choir of the minster, and a portion of the crypt may still be identified as his work.

We now reach the days of Richard Cœur de Leon. The Jews had long found a home in York. In the eighth century Archbishop Egbert forbade any Christian to become a Jew or share their banquets. The Jews of York had reached a high state of culture. When Alcuin was collecting manuscripts for the minster library, they had an academy and library of their own. Their Jewry was in Jubbergate, their burial-place (Jew-bury) lay near the present county hospital. Two noted Jewish bankers from York attended Richard's coronation. There an assault was made on the hated money-lenders, and one of them, Benedict, was so seriously injured that he died on his way homewards. The anti-Jewish riots spread to York. Benedict's house was plundered and his wife and children killed. The terrified Jews took refuge in the castle with their treasure. Those who were caught outside were slain without mercy. Then the castle was attacked. To avoid capture the Jews set fire to the buildings, killed their relatives and then slew themselves. Nearly five hundred perished. The rest



promised to accept Christianity in order to save their lives, but were ruthlessly slain as they left the castle. In reading these cruel records we are reminded of the wonderful picture of the times in *Ivanhoe*, especially the sketches of Isaac of York and the brutal Front de Bœuf in his dealings with the wealthy Jew.

York has other links to Richard's days. Its dean and chapter pawned a cross of gold in order to provide part of the king's ransom. John paid twelve or fourteen visits to York, where his half-brother Geoffrey was Archbishop. The one bright feature of Geoffrey's tenure of office was the welcome given to Eustace, the Norman Abbot, whose fearless preaching did so much in those dark days to rouse London and the Court. He was received at York with all honour and thundered from the minster pulpit against buying and selling wares in the churches or their porches. He urged the people to have an alms dish on the table at meals, to set up trunks or coffers in all parish churches to receive offerings for the poor, and sought earnestly to lead the citizens to honour the Lord's Day, which was to be reckoned from the ninth hour of Saturday until sunrise on Monday. It is a fine subject for the student of York that brief hour of opportunity and the many converts won by the preaching Abbot!

In 1252, Henry III. kept Christmas for the third time in York. There his daughter Margaret, a girl of twelve, was married with much pomp to her cousin young Alexander of Scotland. The Scotch visitors had a street to themselves, but even this wise precaution did not altogether avert bloodshed. Henry knighted his nephew on Christmas Day; next day came the wedding, with lavish display and magnificent banquets. Archbishop Gray, who had been King John's Chancellor, was one of Henry's most trusty counsellors. He built the stately dwelling of Bishop Thorpe, which is still the home of the northern primates. The south transept of the minster was also his work. Edward I. was at York with Queen Eleanor in January 1284, when the remains of St. William were translated to their new shrine, and lavished many gifts upon it. The year 1290 saw the Jews expelled from the city. They had grown in wealth and numbers since the massacre a century

before. Edward, irritated by their exactions took severe measures against them, and threw his influence into the hands of the foreign banking firms. The Jews were banished from England and much of their property confiscated. It was in November of this year that the king wrote a pathetic letter to the Archbishop of York to announce the death of his Queen at Harby in Lincolnshire. York shared its royal master's sorrow. The minster bells rang out a solemn knell, an indulgence of forty days was granted for Eleanor's soul, and 47,528 masses were sung or said on her behalf in the diocese. The king sent various gifts to the minster in recognition of the service thus shown in his hour of bereavment. At Whitsuntide 1298, the largest Parliament that had yet been held in England met in York to consult about the Scotch wars. Edward transferred the Exchequer Court and Court of King's Bench from London to that city. They were held in the northern capital for seven years. York was now at its height of prosperity. The chief men in England were residents or frequent visitors. "It became," says Canon Raine, "a great camp and arsenal," and wealth came pouring in on every side. The windows of the minster still blaze with the armorial bearings of the barons who assisted the dean and chapter to uprear and decorate their magnificent fabric. Among the prebendaries were men who occupied high positions, not only in the English but in many a foreign Court as well. It was the long presence in the city of all this wealth and taste and culture which made York at this period one of the chief art-centres of Europe."

Edward II. greatly loved York, where he sometimes spent the larger part of the year. After the ignominious defeat at Bannockburn he fled back in all haste to the city. His usual residence was in the house of the Friars Minors, which was under the cover of the castle between the lower end of Castle-gate and the Ouse. The king paid the friars forty shillings a week for rent. In those days the Scots often harried the north of England up to the very gates of York. One of these invading forces, numbering 15,000 men, burned the suburbs and nearly captured the queen, who fled precipitately southward. Archbishop Melton and the Bishop of Ely hastily

raised an army and marched out to attack the Scots, but they were defeated with great slaughter. The mayor was killed; the prelates had a very narrow escape. The archbishop's crozier was afterwards found in a ditch, and much plate which had been foolishly carried out to the battle-field was lost. It now seemed wise to send back the exchequer and its documents to London, where they arrived in the spring of 1322. The same year the king, who still had his headquarters at York, was nearly captured by the Scots, who made a raid into the county. Next year Edward left the city never to return.

York saw some memorable scenes under his son, Edward III. The king held his court on Trinity Sunday, 1327, at the house of the Friars Minors in Castlegate. A princely revel had been arranged, but that very day a fierce feud broke out between the English archers and the foreign mercenaries from Hainault. Seven or eight hundred men were slain. The parish of St. Nicholas, Ousegate, seems to have been completely burned out. Next January, the young king of fifteen was married to Philippa of Hainault in York Minster. Their second child, who died in 1336, was buried there. His monument in the north aisle represents a boyish knight clad in armour with a mantle thrown over his shoulders. His uncovered head is lovingly supported by two angels. The *planta genista* is strewn over the back of the monument. After Queen Philippa's death her richly-embroidered bed was sent to York and converted into copes and other vestments for the minster. The facts gathered together by Canon Raine show what a large place York filled in English history during the days of the Plantagenets. Seven Parliaments, or Councils, met there between 1328 and 1337. The courts were transferred a second time from London to York. In 1389 Richard II. gave his sword to the mayor to be borne before him and his successors, but it has unfortunately been lost. He also presented a silver mace to the mayor and a cap of maintenance to his sword-bearer. Still more precious, according to mediæval standards, were the pretended bones of one of the Innocents which he gave to the minster. They were placed in a shrine of silver ornamented with beryls, and were carried aloft by the choristers on Innocents' Day.

When Henry IV. took the throne he also became a frequent visitor to York. But the citizens could not forget their old master. In 1405 there was a serious rising, in which Archbishop Scrope took a prominent part. The insurrection was crushed with ridiculous ease, and Henry returned to Bishopthorpe with his prisoners. Thomas Mowbray (Earl Marshal), Sir John Lamplough, and Sir William Plumpton were beheaded. Henry directed Chief Justice Gascoigne to try the archbishop, but was told that no English law could condemn a bishop. The king found a more pliant tool in Sir Thomas Fulthorpe, who speedily sentenced Scrope to be beheaded. It was a rude shock to the city thus to lose its primate. Fines and imprisonments were laid on the citizens. They won pardon at last by begging for it on their knees with halters tied around their necks. The tomb of Archbishop Scrope, in St. Stephen's Chapel in the minster, was regarded as the shrine of a saint and martyr. The rich offerings brought to it were devoted to the maintenance of the fabric. The king did his best to stem the tide of popular devotion, but it was far too strong for him. It held its place in the hearts of the people until the Reformation, and when shrines and chantries were spoiled of their treasure, no chapel in York Minster contained a more costly array of gifts than that where Richard Scrope lay at rest.

We now reach the wars of the Roses. In 1448, Henry VI. visited York and Durham. He writes a glowing description of the beauty of the churches there, and says that his welcome was "als good, and better than wee had ever in our life." Yorkshire was strongly Lancastrian in the early days of the struggle. The king and queen were in York during the battle of Towton, and fled away with all speed towards Scotland when their army was overthrown. Wounded and disbanded fugitives came streaming into the city. Next day Edward hastened to York, but found that Henry VI. and his queen had fled. He was received with much state, and graciously took the city into favour. His brother, Richard III., was the most beloved of all English kings who ever visited York. He looked upon himself as a Yorkshireman, and regarded the people with a kindness which was fully returned. He had a noble reception.

when he came to the city in 1483. The houses were hung with tapestry and coloured draperies; £400 was subscribed to present some fitting presents to the royal guests. Richard and his train were escorted to the minster with much rejoicing. After service there the king was housed at Bishopthorpe. He now sent to London for his royal robes and banners. When they arrived the "Creed Play" was performed for the benefit of the citizens on Sunday, September 7. Next day the king and queen attended high mass at the minster. The altar was decorated with silver-gilt images of the Twelve Apostles and various relics belonging to Richard. Afterwards a state banquet was held, where the king and queen wore their crowns for four hours.

In the spring of 1486 Henry VII. came to York a few months after his marriage. The Corporation prepared a present of two hundred maine-bread casts—a rich bread for which their city was famous—a tun of rose-coloured wine, six fat oxen, and fifty fat wether sheep. Great preparation had been made for Henry's reception. Children were gathered together at St. James' Chapel on the Mount, and taught to call joyfully, "King Henrie." At Micklegate Bar a dainty device was prepared to represent the union of the red and white rose in the royal marriage. Then a figure appeared with the keys of the city. The houses were richly dressed with flowing drapery. On Ouse Bridge the first six Henrys were to meet the king, and Solomon was to step in and hand him a sceptre. The city, not simply content with pageants, drunk itself dry in honour of its guest. Henceforth York was wholly devoted to Henry. It barred its gates against the insurgents who took up the cause of Lambert Simnell, and dutifully sang a *Te Deum* in the minster when the monarch wrote that the rebellion had collapsed at Newark. In 1503 the city gave an enthusiastic welcome to the Princess Margaret on her way to marry James of Scotland. She was presented with a large silver-gilt cup decked with a fane bearing the arms of the city, and having a hundred "angels" inside. Ten years later the body of James of Scotland was borne southwards through York from the fatal field of Flodden. Margaret herself passed through the city in 1516 on her way to

London. She lodged at St. Mary's Abbey. The mayor made her a present of wine and mayne-bread, and six large pikes laid on a sheet, "lepyng affore her."

Henry VIII. only paid one visit to York. It left no pleasant memories. Robert Aske, the leader of that "Pilgrimage of Grace" which sprang out of the suppression of the monasteries, found warm supporters in York, then smarting under the loss of its chief relic—the jewelled case containing the head of St. William. It is said that Aske's party numbered 20,000. He set a proclamation on the minster door, desiring all the "religious" to send in their names, that they might be restored to their former positions. They almost seemed to spring up out of the ground, and however late at night they returned, the friars sang matins before they retired to rest. But the rising was soon mastered. Within a year poor Aske was hanging on the gallows set up on one of the towers or bars of York. A few weeks later the king came to the city. The streets were cleansed, as was usual before these ceremonials. The fronts of the houses were ornamented with the best beds of the citizens. All valiant (able-bodied) beggars were banished from the city; the rest were not to pursue their calling in the streets. It was intended that members of the Corporation should wear violet gowns, and the main body of the citizens put on a distinctive livery if they could afford it. Second thoughts made the Corporation adopt "newe gownes of fyne sadde tawny" as a penitential garb. They made abject confession of their error in the Aske rebellion, and assured their royal master that they "contynually have been frome the bothome of their stomak repentaunt, wo, and sorowfulle." It was more than three years before Henry granted the city a general pardon. The king appointed a special Council of the North to sit at York. It consisted of fifteen or twenty paid members, under a distinguished president, and was entrusted with full jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters. The Council brought many noted residents to York, but the Lord Mayor and Corporation were sadly dwarfed by the new-comers, and rapidly lost their authority. When the northern Roman Catholics rose against Elizabeth in 1569 they set their hearts on capturing York. They argued: "Yf they attayne York,

all ys theirs, and yf they mysse yt, yt were better for them to dye lyke men then to be hanged." Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, was lieutenant of the castle, and managed to keep out the rebels. After the rebellion melted away a commission to try some of the chief actors sat in York. Four were executed; the Earl of Northumberland, who escaped for the time, was beheaded three years later.

In 1603 we find York welcoming King James with great festivities. He was delighted with their maine-bread, and made special inquiry after it on his next visit in 1617. He told the lord mayor "he did mervaille that he had not seen maine-bread, as in former tymes had bene used, being so auncient and memorable a thing which the like was not used in any citty in this kingdome." The chief magistrate replied that spice-bread was beginning to supersede it; but James gave him strict injunctions to see that the maine-bread was not discontinued. Some dozens of cakes were sent to James at Brougham Castle on his return from Scotland, and the makers of spice-cake were actually fined and imprisoned, although with little effect. Spice-bread still holds its place among the good people of York. In 1633 Charles I. was at York. The reception was spoiled by torrents of rain; but the usual silver-gilt cup was presented, and Charles attended service at the minster on the Sunday. When he returned, six years later, the recorder described the York people as "the least and meanest moates in the fermament of your majesties government," and heaped all manner of fulsome praise on Charles. The king had given £1000 to the chapter for an organ. The authorities spent the money wisely, so that they were able to add to their store of Communion plate, and buy a Bible and Prayer Book, bound in purple velvet, with plates of silver-gilt, which are still preserved in the minster. Charles ordered that a building which had been erected inside one of the transepts should be destroyed, and showed his good taste by directing that certain houses which had been put up close to the west and south doors should be removed when their leases ran out. He also gave orders that the seats and pews for dignified persons, which were causing the destruction of the stalls and woodwork of the choir, should be taken away.

The royal visit in 1640 dealt with sterner matters. Charles inspected the fortifications and marked out new works. His army arrived in September. He visited his "beloved city of York" again in the two following years. The city now became the headquarters of the Royalists. In 1644 it sustained a short siege from the Parliamentary forces. The city was crowded not only with soldiers, but with gentlemen and their families from the country. During the siege the minster was thronged, and rang from end to end with the glorious psalm-singing of its vast congregation. A stray cannon-ball found its way in, and danced among the pillars; but the siege was an exciting novelty rather than a matter of life and death for the citizens. The greatest disaster was the destruction of the records preserved in Marygate Tower. The charters and books taken from the Yorkshire monasteries on their suppression were preserved here, and their loss was irreparable. Rupert raised the siege at the end of June. Not content with this exploit, he forced on the battle at Marston Moor, which crushed the Royalists and left York at the mercy of the conquerors. The brave garrison were, however, allowed to march out with drums beating and flying colours, whilst the citizens were protected from plunder and allowed to retain all their privileges.

The history of York for the next fifteen years was somewhat uneventful. The northern counties were under the charge of a committee which met in the city. The minster was kept in good repair, but its beautiful organ was sold; and various articles, such as "the brasse aboute the shrine called Thomas à Beckett," were sold. Four city preachers, approved by the Assembly of Divines, conducted service in the minster and at All Souls' Pavement. The cross in Thursday Market was stripped of its images; all superstitious pictures in glass and images in churches were broken; fonts were removed. In April 1648, twenty-four of the city churches were without pastors. When Charles II. was proclaimed king, York was almost beside itself with joy. But the Puritan leaven was still at work. Sir John Reresby, who was governor in 1682, called York one of the most factious towns in the kingdom. It is right to add that what Reresby resented most strongly was the laudable independence of the city as to its choice of



magistrates and members of Parliament. The Revolution saved York from the intrusion of a Roman Catholic prelate whom James had appointed one of four vicars-apostolic for spreading the true faith in England. This Dr. Smith made his appearance at the Manor House in August, where a chapel was soon set up. Happily, the coming of the Prince of Orange brought all these Popish devices to an end. The poor bishop had to take refuge with Mr. Tunstall at Wycliff-on-Tees. His richly-ornamented silver crozier, seven feet long—a gift from Catherine of Braganza—is still treasured in York Minster.

The history of the minster is somewhat involved. We have seen how Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop, built a new church to replace the old Saxon minster. Archbishop Roger (1154–1181) pulled down the choir with its crypts, and reconstructed them on a larger scale. The south transept was built by Archbishop Gray (1215–1255), the northern transept by Romanus, the sub-dean and treasurer (1228–1256). Thomas of Bayeux's nave still remained, but this was removed in 1291. The new nave and chapter-house were finished about 1345; the wooden ceiling of the nave was added ten years later. The Lady Chapel and presbytery date from 1361–1373, then the choir was begun; when it was finished the central and two western towers were added. The church, thus gradually transformed, was re-consecrated on July 3, 1472. The Norman work is in the crypts; the transepts are Early English; the nave and chapter-house Decorated; the choir and towers Perpendicular. York Minister is perhaps the most spacious of our cathedrals. Its low situation detracts somewhat from its importance, but it is "exceedingly fine and stately, and at unity with itself." The magnesian limestone of which it is built is very perishable, so that the maintenance of the fabric involves considerable expense, but, as Canon Raine says, the dean and chapter can in any great emergency—like the fire of 1829, caused by Jonathan Martin, which involved an expenditure of £65,000—appeal with confidence to the munificence of Yorkshiresmen. "Every native of the district feels that he has a share in it. York Minster, like a mother, binds the three Ridings together, and each vies with the other in reverence and affection."

Mr. King's *Handbook to the Northern Cathedrals* (published by John Murray) gives an admirable detailed study of the architecture and monuments of the minster, with some valuable biographical notices of the archbishops. York surpasses all other English cathedrals in the height of its roofs, and the view across the great transept is among the finest architectural effects in Europe. The gloriously decorated windows—veritable walls of glass—are famous all over Europe. When the priest stood in olden days at the high altar, Canon Raine says that, as he looked eastward, he saw the rood above him enshrined in the rich colours of the east window, which told the story of the Old Testament from beginning to end. To the west was Archbishop Melton's window, filled with saints and bishops on whom the setting sun delighted to shine. On the right, storey after storey of windows told the story of William, the saint of the minster, whilst the left was consecrated to the memory of Cuthbert. On every side the windows seemed to inspire and lift up the worshipper. Most of the grand old glass has survived the attack of fire and of passing centuries. "These windows had an inspiration of old; and it is still there, and we bow as it were before the illuminated pages of a sacred book which held our ancestors in thrall." The lofty and narrow lancets of the north transept, known as the "Five Sisters," are filled with Early English glass of special beauty, whilst the only rival to the great west window of the nave is the east window at Carlisle Cathedral. The east window at York is the largest window in the kingdom that retains its original glazing, and is one of the chief glories of the minster. The chapter-house, with its magnificent geometrical tracery, is still entitled to the distinction implied in the inscription painted at its entrance: "*Ut rosa flos florum sic est domus ista domorum.*"

In the Middle Ages, York was a veritable city of churches. The clergy, and monastics cannot have numbered less than five hundred. Many a gay procession delighted the citizens. Dodsworth the antiquary says that his grandfather had seen Dean Higden, who died in 1539, attended to the minster on a Christmas Day by "fifty gentlemen before him in tawney coates garded with black velvet, and thirty yemen behind him

in like coates garded with saffron." The great gild of Corpus Christi admitted 16,850 members between 1408 and 1546. In 1415 ninety-six separate crafts joined in its procession, and fifty-four distinct biblical pageants were got up for the benefit of the people. Another guild took its name from the Lord's Prayer, and founded "a play" upon it, in which all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues received their fitting meed of honour. The great hospital of St. Leonard, founded by Athelstan in 936, had 229 men and women in its infirmary, nearly twice as many as the York hospital of to-day can accommodate. The lord mayor has held that semi-baronial title since Richard II. visited the place. His wife retained her title for life, and had her own gold chain, given by a merchant of the city. The citizens expected much from her, for we find one lady mayoress officially censured in 1556 for not wearing a French bonnet for the worship of the city! Aldermen were bound to put on their scarlet tippets and have attendants marching before them when they went out of their own parishes. Every passer-by was obliged to "avail his bonnet" to the lord mayor and aldermen. Any disrespectful word was followed by close imprisonment. The population of the city was probably never more than 10,800 in mediæval times. In 1801 it had risen to 16,145; in 1851, 36,302; in 1891, after a readjustment of the municipal boundaries, it reached 66,984, a development largely due to the North-Eastern Railway. The castle, which was wrecked by an explosion in 1684, is now only a picturesque ruin, and St. Mary's Abbey, which once boasted a mitred abbey, is also in a state of decay; but York has still its own charm. "The scenery on the river is exceedingly picturesque. Old water-gates and walls blend admirably with the buildings of a later date which overhang the river, and you may imagine yourself in a low-lying Continental city, thronged with spires and towers." Trees have been planted freely, and blend admirably with the cream-coloured limestone of the older buildings. Like Chester, York is almost surrounded by fortifications; the circuit of its walls is nearly two miles and three-quarters. The four bars form a striking link to the old martial days when York was in constant fear of

enemies. Within its girdle of walls a beautiful city grew up favoured much by nature, smiled on by many dynasties of princes, blessed with a long succession of eminent archbishops, and enriched and glorified by its unrivalled minster, which still draws the eyes of all the world to the city which ages ago lost its Roman legions, and has long ceased to be the home of princes and Parliaments, but will never fail to be the pride and delight of the magnificent county of which it has for long centuries been the most famous city.

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#### ART. VIII.—THE CIVIL REORGANISATION OF ENGLAND.

1. *A Bill to make further provision for Local Government in England and Wales*, 1893.
2. *An Introduction to the Local Government Bill*. By A. F. JENKIN, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London : Knight & Co. 1893.
3. *The Local Government Act*, 1888.
4. *A Handbook to the Local Government Bill*, 1888. By ALEX. GLEN, M.A., LL.B., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London : Knight & Co. 1888.
5. *Census of 1881*.
6. *Census of 1891*.
7. *The Report of the Select Committee on Highways*, 1881.

**A**MONG the measures introduced by the present Government, few have had a more favourable reception from the House of Commons than the Local Government Bill. This is, no doubt, due to the fact that it is not, as some were prepared to find, a mere reproduction of the Parish Councils Bill of last year, but is a far more comprehensive measure, and includes among its provisions some almost identical with those relating to the formation of district councils, which were

originally embodied by the late Government in their Local Government Act of 1888, but had subsequently to be abandoned. Both parties are thus in a measure pledged to carry out its objects, and, whatever modifications it may subsequently undergo, it may fairly be assumed that it will eventually, and before very long, become law.

Be its fate, however, what it may, the Bill is in itself worthy of consideration as a probable supplement to the Local Government Act, 1888, which may be said to have initiated a new phase in the civil reorganisation of England, and as comprising the most recent propositions submitted to the Legislature on the subject. When commenting on the last-named measure in this REVIEW five years ago,\* we endeavoured to show, that, despite the radical and momentous changes it introduced, it was nevertheless based on foundations laid in the earliest periods of our history, and thus afforded a striking illustration of that capacity in our race so much admired by the late M. Taine for "transforming itself without recasting, and devoting itself to its future without renouncing its past."† This gradual adaptation of the old institutions of civil government to the needs of each succeeding generation, though, broadly speaking, coeval with our history, has hitherto never attracted much public interest; partly because the work of Local Government, which is administrative, continuous, and shared in by many, must always be overshadowed by that of the Imperial Government, which is legislative, intermittent, and carried on by a few, and partly because political and social changes, and our relations with foreign countries, must always in themselves excite more interest than humdrum details relating to the health, comfort, and safety of the public, the relief of the poor, and popular education.‡ During the present century, however, the process which we have termed the civil reorganisation of England has continued to assume increasing importance, and it has now reached a stage which cannot fail to attract to it a far more earnest attention from the

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\* No. cxli. (Oct. 1888), pp. 123, 4.

† *History of English Literature*, vol. iv. p. 80.

‡ Cf. *Local Government and Taxation*. By W. Rathbone, M.P. A pamphlet published in 1883, but still as deserving of study as it was ten years ago.

public than it has yet received. We propose, therefore, *first*, to trace some of the more salient points in its history; and, *secondly*, to examine the probable bearing of the new Local Government Bill on its future development.

1. Perhaps we cannot give a better general idea of what the term civil reorganisation implies than by comparing the old historical organisation of England, as described in our manuals of history and geography, with "reorganised" England as described in the Census Reports for 1881 and 1891, and the Report of Select Committee on Highways for 1881.

"Historical England," if we may so term it, is divided into fifty-two counties. Some of these are subdivided into large areas, such as the "ridings" of Yorkshire, the "divisions" of Lincolnshire and of Suffolk, the "rapes" of Sussex, the "Isle of Ely" in Cambridgeshire, and the "Soke of Peterborough" in Northamptonshire. Others have no such large subdivisions, but all counties alike are subdivided into groups of parishes termed "hundreds" or "wapentakes";\* while the parish itself—the Norman designation of the Anglo-Saxon *tun*, the unit of territorial division—is divided into areas termed townships in the northern, hamlets in the midland, and tythings in the western counties, some of which have gradually developed into towns, and, in case of the more prosperous, into municipal boroughs, which are subdivided into "wards," and into parliamentary boroughs which are subdivided into "divisions."†

It will be observed that though there are several different areas in historical England, each area is of one kind only. If we turn now, however, to "reorganised" England, we find that, in addition to these old historical areas, it comprises various new varieties of each, besides some entirely modern ones created within the last fifty years.

To begin with, we have another kind of borough, the county borough, which is practically speaking an administra-

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\* So-called in districts where the Danish element predominated.

† The subdivision of Parliamentary boroughs dates in reality, of course, from the "reorganisation" period, but is mentioned here for the sake of convenience.

tive county within a county, created by the Local Government Act, 1888. Then we have three different kinds of parishes, none of which correspond either with the old historical parish, or with each other: the civil or poor-law parish, which is one for which a separate poor-rate can be made or separate overseers appointed; the ecclesiastical parish, which is sometimes a "mother parish," originally conterminous with the historical parish, and comprises subordinate ecclesiastical parishes, and in other cases, an entirely independent area with extremely uncertain boundaries;\* and the highway parish, which is "any place or township, maintaining its own highways, or which would maintain them if it were not included in a highway district, or in an urban sanitary authority."† Then, again, we have three distinct kinds of counties differing from each other, both in area and population‡ —the Parliamentary county, the registration county, and the administrative county, created by the Local Government Act, 1888. The boundaries of the fifty-two Parliamentary counties correspond with those of the historical counties, but they are subdivided into areas termed "divisions," which have entirely distinct boundaries of their own. The registration counties, of which there are forty-five—London, which includes parts of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, being a separate county—and which are grouped in eleven registration divisions, are aggregations of poor-law unions, which are quite unequal in size, and many of which extend into two and some into three counties. The administrative counties are sixty-two in number, Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, Suffolk, and Sussex, being each divided into two, and Yorkshire and Lincolnshire into three distinct counties; as, however, each county contains one or more county boroughs—Lancashire has fourteen, and Yorkshire eight—and as, as

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\* The compilers of the Census for 1881 state that the boundaries of ecclesiastical parishes are especially "uncertain, and the subject of dispute between neighbouring incumbents." Report, p. iv.

† Report "Select Committee on Highways," p. iv.

‡ Thus, the area of the ancient historical county of Derby is 658,876, and its population 528,033; the area of the administrative county (exclusive of the county borough of Derby) is 654,100, and its population 426,768; and the area of the registration county is 556,869, and its population 432,414.—Census Report 1891. Preliminary Report, pp. vii and 39, and vol. i. p. 55.

already stated, these are practically administrative counties, and amount in all to sixty-four, it may be said that the total number of administrative counties is 126, and that the total number of counties of all kinds in reorganised England is 223 ! Lastly, to come to the more modern areas, there are 1006 urban sanitary districts "with areas defined," as the compilers of the Census of 1881 plaintively remark, "without any apparent regard to other administrative areas,"\* and some 500 rural sanitary districts, the areas of which correspond for the most part with those of the unions ; there are in each county a varying number of petty sessional divisions, the total number being 721, which may consist of any number of parishes, or parts of parishes, and which seldom correspond with any other area ; and, scattered throughout the kingdom wherever popular fancy has been pleased to establish them, there are some hundreds of Local Government Act Districts, Improvement Act Districts, and Highway Districts, each with independent areas of their own.

It will be evident from the above comparison that, setting aside the Local Government Act, 1888, the result of the civil reorganisation of England has hitherto been to produce a veritable chaos of authorities, owing to the introduction at various times of entirely distinct systems for the administration of different departments of local government, without any attempt to harmonise them, either with old-established institutions or with each other.

In "historical" England local government was in early times conducted in the towns by municipal councils, and in the rural districts by parish vestries controlled by the justices of the county. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, when England began to become a manufacturing country, we find the Legislature for the first time appointing trustees and commissioners under local Acts to undertake functions of local government which municipal authorities had proved themselves incapable of performing, and the first sanitary Act on our statute book—a general Act against nuisances (12 Rich. II.

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\* Report, p. iv. The number of urban districts given is that stated in the Preliminary Census Report for 1891, but as the volume dealing with the rural districts is not yet published, the number of the latter can only be given approximately.



c. 13)—was passed as early as 1388. Though, however, this statute was followed by numerous measures of the same kind, such domestic and sanitary legislation left the ancient areas and authorities practically unimpaired till the early part of the present century. The famous Act of Queen Elizabeth (43 Eliz. c. 2), which inaugurated the present Poor-law system, may indeed be termed, in a measure, a precursor of civil reorganisation, since it for the first time delegated to the parish a duty hitherto performed voluntarily by the Church; but it differed diametrically from modern Acts in assigning this duty to the authority from time immemorial entrusted with local administration. Gilbert's Act (22 Geo. III. c. 83), passed in 1782, which provided for the appointment of guardians in lieu of overseers, and authorised parishes to unite with each other for poor-law purposes, though it was only permissive, is also noteworthy, as being based on the principles embodied half a century later in the Poor-law Amendment Act, 1834. It is, however, the latter statute which must be regarded as the first step in what may be termed "constructive civil reorganisation," and, beneficial as it has proved as respects Poor-law administration, as the primary cause of the chaos in which it has resulted. In the first place, it made the first inroad on the historical unity of the county by creating a number of new local government areas intersecting the boundaries of two or more counties, and which, owing to the circumstances of their formation, are unequal in size and irregular in form. In the next, it struck the first blow at the individuality of the parish—indirectly, by severing the connection between the country gentry and the poor, through the transfer from the magistrates to the guardians of the duty of granting relief; and directly, by grouping together a number of independent self-governing communities, and transferring to a new central authority, so constituted as gradually to absorb all their administrative powers, one of the most important duties till then entrusted to the vestry or ancient parish council of each of them. By so doing it also created within the ancient common-law parish two new forms of parochial area—the statutory or Poor-law parish, and the ecclesiastical parish, which hitherto had from the first establishment of Christianity been identical

with the township, as the deanery had with the hundred, the arch-deaconry with the shire, and the kingdom with the province of the Metropolitan, but which now became a distinct unit, antagonistic to the Poor-law parish, but destined in combination with it to reduce their common progenitor, the historical parish, to a mere geographical abstraction. Lastly, by making the market town the centre of the union area, the Act of 1834 also initiated the principle of subordinating rural to municipal institutions; while the Municipal Corporations Act of the following year, which reformed the abuses of local administration in the boroughs, created "the municipal model" on which the whole framework of local government is apparently now being reconstructed.

The next important phase of civil reorganisation may be said to date from the Report of the Royal Commission appointed by Sir Robert Peel "to inquire into the causes of disease in populous places," which was followed by a series of statutes, of which the most notable are the Public Health Act, 1848, and the Local Government Act, 1858, resulting in the establishment of Local Government Districts and Improvement Act Districts—areas equally varied in outline and in extent, some of which have less than 2000 and others less than 500 inhabitants, and which have been known to include parts of four townships, of two unions, and of three counties;\* but which, though numerous, are happily only found in particular places. Though, however, it thus increased the confusion of areas, it is to this phase of legislation that we owe the creation of the Local Government Board as a central imperial authority in 1891 (34 & 35 Vict. c. 70); and the Public Health Act, 1872 (35 & 36 Vict. c. 79), which may be said to end it, is noteworthy as having divided the whole of England into urban and rural sanitary districts, the authority for the former area being either the town council of a borough, a local board, or commissioners under an improvement Act, and for the latter the board of guardians. While sanitary administration in both areas includes the regulation of water supply, the maintenance of sewers and drains, and the prevention of nuisances, in urban

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\* Cf. p. 6 of *Local Government and Taxation*, referred to above.

districts it also comprises the laying out of new streets and of public parks and gardens, and the establishment of public baths and washhouses, drying grounds, swimming baths and gymnasiums.

Neither the Burial Acts—the first of which was passed some forty years ago, and under which the area is primarily the common law parish, and the authority a burial board appointed by the vestry \*—nor the Acts regulating modern police organisation, of which the first was passed in 1839, and which vest the control of the police force in the court of quarter sessions in the counties and in the watch committee of the council in municipal boroughs—have interfered in any degree worth chronicling with historical areas. The same may also be said with regard to the legislation as to education, which began in 1834, and under which no distinct area for their functions is assigned to educational authorities; but that relating to highways still further increased the chaos resulting from the Poor-law Act, 1834, and the Public Health Acts.

When the highway laws were consolidated by the 5 & 6 Will. IV. c. 50, in 1835, the parish was responsible—as it has been from time immemorial, and still *theoretically* is—for the maintenance of highways; but the chief lines of road, to which the Act did not apply, were managed by turnpike trusts under the system inaugurated in 1686 by 26 Car. II. c. 1. In the course of the twenty-seven years, however, during which highways were governed by the Act of 1835, local boards under separate Acts, and under the Public Health Act, 1848, and the Local Government Act, 1858, interposed areas with different jurisdictions in many towns and populous places, and the Highways Act, 1862, added to these three new forms of area under a new authority. As the latter statute (25 & 26 Vict. c. 61), while empowering the justices to divide counties into highway districts, gave no precise directions for their guidance, they, in some counties, adopted the union area, in others the petty sessional division, and in others, again, any area they deemed convenient for the purpose. Lastly, after Parliament had sanctioned the abolition of turnpikes, an Act was passed in 1878

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\* The Acts may, however, also be adopted by any ecclesiastical or Poor-law parish, or by any township or district.

(41 & 42 Vict. c. 77), which, with the view of distributing over a wider area the burden of maintaining the roads, thus thrown wholly on the ratepayers, imposed half the expense of maintaining the dis-turnpiked and certain other roads upon the county, and encouraged the formation of highway districts in union with rural sanitary districts under the Public Health Act, 1872, which had transferred the duties of the Secretary of State under the Highways Acts to the Local Government Board. It is therefore not surprising to find the Select Committee on Highways for 1881 stating in their Report, that if a committee were appointed, as has been proposed, to travel through England and re-arrange the boundaries of the various highway areas, the operation would, it is calculated, occupy ten years.\*

As the highway district is but one of the seven or eight varieties of local government areas we have been considering, the task of rearranging the boundaries of all of them would, according to this estimate of the committee, occupy the best part of a century. The administrative evils which must result from this unsystematic subdivision of functions are self-evident, and if we add to them the fact that there are almost as many rates as there are authorities—poor rates, highway rates, borough rates, district rates, county rates—each of which requires, as a rule, a separate machinery for its collection, it seems almost incredible that the new phase of civil reorganisation begun by the Local Government Act, 1888, should have been so long delayed.

That statute represents an entirely novel and, as it seems to us, commendable departure in local government legislation. Though it created new areas, it respected the boundaries of the historical county, of which they are merely special divisions for administrative purposes, and by making the great boroughs administrative counties it gave free scope both to its rural and urban population for the development of the tendencies which distinguish them from each other. It established in the county council a central local government authority in each county, framed on the model which the development of local government, both in the parish and the borough, has shown to be

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\* See pp. iii, iv, ix.

best adapted to the free institutions of the nation, and provided for the ultimate transfer to it of the functions now vested in the numerous independent and conflicting local authorities enumerated above. In a word, it reorganised the historical county on certain broad lines for local government purposes, but, owing to the abandonment by its authors of the provisions relating to district councils originally embodied in it, the work of reorganisation remained unfinished, and it has been left to the present Government to attempt its completion by the new Local Government Bill, which we must now proceed to examine.

2. Like the Act of 1888, the Bill is mainly a measure for the reform of local government authorities, and will alter the law to be administered in but few respects.

It proposes, in the first place, to create an entirely new system of parochial government in rural districts, by the establishment in every Poor-law parish in a rural sanitary district of a "parish meeting," and in every such parish with a population of not less than 300, a "parish council." Parishes with a population under this amount are to be grouped with other parishes, and the group thus formed is to be treated as a single parish for the purposes of the Act. In parishes with a parish council certain business will be transacted by the parish meeting exclusively, other business by the parish council exclusively, and other business again by the parish council subject to the control of the parish meeting. Every man and woman registered on the portion of the local government register of electors relating to the parish, and every man registered on the corresponding portion of the Parliamentary register of electors will be entitled to vote on all questions arising at the parish meeting, the voting being on the "one man one vote" principle, and the persons entitled to vote, who are termed "parochial electors," all having equal voting power. The parish council will consist of not less than five and not more than fifteen councillors, who are to be nominated at a parish meeting and elected by the parochial electors, and who are to elect a chairman, either from their own body or from outside; and it must be noted, as a striking "new departure," that as no qualification is prescribed for the office of parish

councillor or chairman, not only any man, but any *woman*, not expressly disqualified, may be elected.\* The business of the council will comprise the appointment of overseers, the acquisition of land for various public purposes, taking proceedings to secure the provision of allotments under the Allotments Act, 1887, and the management of allotments when they are provided, and the carrying out in certain cases of the Acts—styled in the Bill “the Adoptive Acts”—relating to lighting, baths and washhouses, burial-grounds, public improvements, and public libraries. The council will also have powers to deal with parish charities, sanitation, water-supply, and the preservation of rights of way, and parish property will in most cases be vested in it. The parish meeting, on the other hand, will have exclusive power of adopting “the Adoptive Acts,” and, where these are adopted, exercise the powers of the vestry in connection with them. Its consent will also be required before the parish council can sell or exchange parish property, and no public footpath or highway can be closed until the consent of the parish council to its closing has been confirmed by the parish meeting. The expenses of parish councils are to be defrayed, with certain exceptions, out of the poor rate, and before incurring any expense involving a loan, or which, combined with other expenses, will involve a rate exceeding one penny in the pound, the council must obtain the consent of the parish meeting and the district council.

The provisions for creating urban and rural county districts—which, as already stated, are in the main identical with those formerly contained in the Act of 1888—form the second, and not, as might have been expected, the first part of the Bill, an arrangement which gives it the appearance, to use an “Irishism,” “of beginning in the middle.” District councillors are to be elected on the same franchise as parish councillors, and to choose a chairman either from their own body or outside; and, as in the case of the parish council, every man or woman not expressly disqualified may be elected as

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\* See Jenkin's *Introduction to the Local Government Bill*, pp. 2-8. The persons disqualified by the Bill are: Infants, aliens, persons recently in the receipt of poor relief, criminals, bankrupts, paid officers of the council, and, with certain exceptions, persons interested in a contract with the council. See sec. 33 of the Bill, and *cf.* secs. 21, 31, and 33.

uncillor or chairman. The existing sanitary areas are, in the main, to be adopted as those of the county districts. With the exception of county boroughs, existing urban sanitary districts will become urban districts, and existing urban sanitary authorities—reformed for elective purposes as regards local boards and improvement commissioners, as above indicated—will become urban district councils, municipal corporations remaining unaltered in constitution; but the functions of the urban district council will remain much the same as those of the urban sanitary authority. In the same way, existing rural sanitary districts—which it will be remembered are conterminous with the union area, the guardians being the sanitary authority—will become rural districts, the councils of which, besides discharging the functions of rural sanitary authorities, will also act as highway authorities, highway boards and parish surveyors of highways being abolished. Rural district councils will also have all such powers of an urban sanitary authority as the Local Government Board by general order direct, and the powers conferred on parish councils as to sanitation are not to derogate from the obligations of the district councils as to water supply and the execution of sanitary works. It will be the duty of the district council to protect public rights of way, and it will, besides having, as above noticed, the right to control the expenditure of the parish councils, have power to lend money to parish councils and to borrow for this purpose. Its expenses are to be defrayed in the same manner as those of existing rural sanitary authorities, but special powers are vested in it as regards highway expenses. Lastly, it is to act as local authority in the execution of several Acts at present administered by the justices out of session or by the quarter sessions.\*

Though we have, for convenience sake, noticed it first, the portion of part II. of the Bill relating to district councils is

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\* See clause 26. Among the powers thus conferred on the district council are those as to: 1. Licensing of gang masters, the grant of pawnbrokers' certificates, licensing of dealers in game, grant of licences for passage brokers and emigrant runners, appeals from police as to certificates for pedlars, abolition of fairs and alterations of days for holding fairs, and the execution as local authority of the Acts relating to petroleum, infant life protection, and dogs.

preceded—another instance of its curiously unsymmetrical form—by that which deals with the reconstitution of the board of guardians. The district councillors elected for any parish or other area in a rural district are to be the representatives of that parish or area on the board of guardians, and guardians as such are no longer to be elected for such parish or area, while *ex officio* or nominated guardians are to be abolished.

Of the remaining parts of the Bill it is only necessary here to draw attention to Part III., which authorises county and county borough councils to deal with cases where a parish or rural sanitary district lies partly within and partly without a county or county borough, or where a parish lies partly within and partly without a sanitary district, or where a rural parish has a population of less than 300; or where a rural sanitary district has less than five elective guardians capable of acting as members of the rural sanitary authority.\* County councils are also empowered to divide large parishes into wards for the election of parish councils and of dealing with the boundaries of areas in which the "Adoptive Acts"† are in force.

It will be evident from this rough summary that, though the main object of the Bill is the application to rural parishes of the process of "municipalisation" extended to the counties by the Act of 1888, it is also well calculated to supplement the work of consolidating authorities and simplifying areas begun by the latter statute. And with regard to this, it is interesting to note the final triumph of the "union" area over both its ancient and modern competitors. The new district councils will preside over union areas, though these will in some cases be remodelled so as to fit into the boundaries of the administrative counties and county boroughs; and the parish for which the new parish council will be elected is the Poor-law parish,‡ which will deprive its rival, the ecclesiastical parish, of all its share in local administration, save as respects ecclesiastical charities and affairs directly connected with the Church. The

\* Areas lying in more than one county are to be dealt with by a joint committee of the councils of the counties and county boroughs interested. See sec. 30.

† Cf. p. 343 *ante*, as to the "Adoptive Acts."

‡ See Jenkin's *Introduction to the Local Government Bill*, p. 3.



"triumph" is so far incomplete in that the union or registration county has not yet swallowed up the historical, parliamentary and administrative counties—a feat, however, which it may yet be destined to perform through some new extension of municipalisation in the "dim and distant future."

Though some of its details are very questionable, such as the appointment of female councillors and "chair-women," the abolition of *ex officio* and nominated guardians, and the constituting chairmen *ex officio* justices of the peace,\* that portion of the Bill which deals with the establishment of district councils and proposes to make these practically identical with boards of guardians, must, we think, commend itself to all who realise the importance of reducing local government to some system and order. On the other hand, however, with the exception of the provisions relating to parish meetings, the scheme of the Bill for the creation of parish councils appears to us calculated to materially increase the existing complications of local administration by the establishment of some 10,000 new authorities, the functions of which could be easily and far more efficiently performed by the district councils, which will themselves be some 600 in number.

Hitherto the contest between the reformers of local government in the counties has turned solely on the question as to whether the union or the Poor-law parish would supply the best primary area, and the idea of three—or, since the parish meeting will in parishes too small for a parish council form an additional authority, we might say four—distinct areas in the county is an entirely new and, as it seems to us, undesirable proposal.

The objections to the parish as a primary area were well summarised by Mr. Rathbone ten years ago:†

"In the first place, the parish for Poor-law purposes—the area which we should have to adopt as the primary area for local administration—is not always the same thing with the ecclesiastical, the civil, or the highway parish. In the next place, many parishes, are so very small, or so very thinly peopled, that they could not furnish enough men willing and able to undertake the charge of

\* See secs. 3 (7), 21, and 46. Cf. Jenkin's *Introduction to the Parish Councils Bill*, pp. 2, 3, 8, 10.

† See *Local Government and Taxation* above referred to, p. 19.

local affairs, or enough work to engage the serious attention of such men. Other parishes are larger than a primary area should be. In the process of grouping the small and breaking up the large parishes, much of the advantages which the parish derives from sentiment would be lost. Moreover, parishes now intersected by the boundaries of a borough or an urban district would have to be remodelled. Then the vestry must be reorganised and new parish officers must be appointed. At the same time the existing organisation of unions and of highway districts must be dissolved. Again, experience has shown that for poor relief an area much larger than the ordinary Poor-law parish is absolutely necessary. Taken altogether, these objections appear to be conclusive against the adoption of the parish as the primary area."

We have quoted this passage at length because it will be seen from it that the Bill proposes to do all that Mr. Rathbone has suggested as necessary for ensuring the efficiency of the parish as a sole primary area, and because his objections appear to us to apply tenfold to it when made an additional area to that of the union. The Bill abolishes the highway parish, but, though it deprives the ecclesiastical parish of all its civil authority, both it and the common law parish will still exist and intersect its boundaries. It reorganises the vestry and dissolves the existing organisation of unions and highway districts, but no amount of reorganisation can succeed in drawing from small and sparsely inhabited parishes "enough men willing and able to undertake the charge of local affairs," or in rural parishes of 300 inhabitants supply "enough work to engage the serious attention of such men."

The Bill, just as Mr. Rathbone suggests, proposes to overcome these last two difficulties by grouping parishes with a population of under 300 with other parishes, and by dividing large parishes into wards. Some idea of the magnitude of the task thus thrown upon the county councils may be gathered from what has already been said as to the difficulties with regard to rearranging the boundaries of highway areas,\* when coupled with the fact, that, according to a Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, there were in 1878 788 parishes containing less than 50 inhabitants and 6000 parishes containing less than 300.† As the census returns

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\* See ante, p. 341.

† Report Select Committee on Highways, p. vi.

show that the rural population has only increased 3.4 during the decennium 1881-1891, while the urban population has increased 15.3 per cent.,\* the number in both cases is now probably greater. The Census reports as yet published give no totals in this respect, and deal only with individual counties; but taking Gloucestershire as an example, we find that in the administrative county, exclusive of the county boroughs of Bristol and Gloucester, there are 342 entire Poor-law parishes and parts of seven others, and that no less than 133 of these, or over one-third, have less than 300 inhabitants.† In the list of 38 counties showing an increase of population, ranging from 36.3 in Essex to 0.6 in Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire stands twenty-ninth with an increase of 4.8, so that in the 11 English counties below it, and in the 10 Welsh and 2 English counties showing an absolute decrease, the number of parishes with a population under 300 must be much greater.‡ In rural districts the difficulty of grouping these parishes will be increased in many cases by the distances between them, which must prove a serious obstacle to attendance at meetings of the council in the parish chosen as the centre of the group; while the close equality in numbers of their populations will render the selection of any parish for this purpose a source of jealousy which is not calculated to ensure united action between bodies, each of which has hitherto been an independent community.§ It is this important characteristic of individuality, due to isolation, which distinguishes rural parishes from the wards of municipal boroughs, in which, by the way, it has never been proposed to establish "councils," and the process of

\* Census Preliminary Report, p. 3. † Census Report, 1891, vol. i. p. 109.

‡ *Ib.* Preliminary Report, p. 6. Since going to press the writer has ascertained by a rough calculation that, excluding the administrative county of London and the county boroughs, there are 10,893 rural civil parishes in England and Wales, of which 6,273 (or considerably over half) have less than 300 inhabitants. In one county, Westmorland, this is the case with *three-fourths* of the parishes; while in 17 counties the number exceeds *one-half*, in 15 *one-fourth*, and in 9 *one-third*. See Census 1891, vol. i. *passim*.

§ As an example, the writer may instance two villages in Somersetshire, three miles apart, which being the one four and the other five miles from Bath, the nearest town, would presumably have to be grouped. Both are situated on the summit of a hill, and the population of the first is 190, and of the other 185. In a contiguous corner of the same county are three other villages, each about three miles apart, one with 84, another with 72, and the third (only one mile from Bath) with 600 inhabitants. Problem: to select the centre of these groups.

grouping must, as Mr. Rathbone points out, have the effect of destroying it. Those, however, who know how widely rural parishes often differ in character, and in the nature of their requirements, are justified in doubting the possibility of its accomplishment; and their acquaintance with the local feuds often resulting from the voluntary union of neighbouring villages for organising a flower show or promoting technical education, will make them tremble to think of the feeling likely to be evoked when these parishes are united by statute and called upon to contribute to a common rate for the management of a charity or of allotments, or to adopt any of the "Adoptive Acts." The decision of such differences would fall on the district council, which, as we have pointed out, is itself amply sufficient to perform the duties of the parish council, and seems to us inevitably destined, therefore, to extinguish its vitality as the union did that of the vestries.

The strongest objection to the parish council seems, therefore, to us to be that it will be in a majority of cases a body wanting in cohesion, and, even when it possesses this, will control an area too small for the purposes for which it is designed, and so unequal in size as to add to the existing complications of local government. The union owes its existence to the fact that an area far larger than the poor-law parish has been found necessary for the administration of poor-relief, and an equally large area is necessary for the economical and efficient management of all the business proposed to be entrusted to parish councils. Large areas, each governed by a moderately sized representative body, entrusted with the sole authority for levying, collecting, and spending a single rate, appear to us essential to the efficient and economical management of local affairs.\* As regards water supply and sanitation generally the advantages of large areas are obvious; and their merits with respect to charities are being constantly demonstrated by the sanction given by the Charity Commissioners to schemes for vesting the administration of the charities of several parishes in a representative board. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners—if we may borrow an illustration from the ecclesiastical rival of the Poor-law parish—have a similar

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\* Cf. *Local Government and Taxation*, pp. 18 and 30.

power under various Acts,\* and the grouping of several adjacent rural parishes under a single vicar is now beginning to be urged by a section of the Church of England. As regards local government, the proposed county district seems to us to supply the ideal area we have named, while its merits for administrative purposes have been practically tested during half a century through the working of the union system. Had the new Bill confined itself to establishing in every Poor-law parish the parish meeting, for the purpose of exercising, in addition to those proposed to be entrusted to it, the function—as part of an electoral division—of electing a representative in the district council, as the authority for administering all the duties allotted both to it and to the parish councils, it would have materially aided the reform of local government. Had it at the same time abolished the historical parish and fused the four different counties in the administrative county, it would have been still more useful. Its proposal to create a mass of new authorities in the shape of parish councils appears to us, however, retrograde in principle, and, if carried into effect, calculated seriously to retard civil re-organisation.

## ART. IX.—CHRIST'S PLACE IN MODERN THEOLOGY.

*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology.* By A. M. FAIRBAIRN, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

DR. FAIRBAIRN'S volume has a twofold fascination. The subject is one of supreme interest. Any work treating directly, as the volume does, of the Lord Jesus Christ appeals at once to the deepest Christian thought and feeling. The two treatises by the greatest of Independent

\* 3 & 4 Vict. c. 113, and 23 & 24 Vict. c. 142. See Forty-fourth Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (1892), p. 4.

theologians—John Owen—on the “Person of Christ” and the “Glory of Christ,” despite a most cumbersome, ungainly style, will never lose their value for Christian students. Dr. Fairbairn brings to his treatment of the subject the resources of a style such as few theological writers of the day possess. Every reader of his former works will come to the present one with high expectations in this respect, and they will not be disappointed. The author has evidently made the subject a special study, and his labour is a labour of love.

The main thesis of the volume is nearly akin to a characteristic tendency of present-day theology. We hear a great deal of the Christo-centric character of Christian doctrine. Christ is often more or less consciously set in a sort of competition with Scripture as the final standard of truth. The fashion can appeal to the high authority of Luther, who, as is well known, estimated the canonicity of books of Scripture by the extent to which they treated of Christ. So now it is often said in pulpits, on platforms, and through the press that we must go behind Scripture to the living Christ. The tendency is not without danger. Where do we obtain our knowledge of Christ but in Scripture? What do we know of His life and teaching apart from the Gospels and Epistles? Shake the authority of these writings, and what becomes of the figure of Christ standing behind them or constructed out of them? It is plain that in the degree to which we lower the trustworthiness of the New Testament we render our possession of Christ uncertain. Dr. Fairbairn knows too much to put this antithesis between Christ and Scripture in the bald, crude form in which it is often stated. Still, it seems to some extent implicit in his argument. Yet of course he is obliged to go to Scripture for all his knowledge of Christ. His Pauline and other Christologies are all taken from the New Testament.

The special note of modern theology is said by our author to be the “Return to Christ,” the “Recovery of the Historical Christ,” just as the principle of the Reformation was the “Return to the Sources”—i.e., to the Scriptures. This supposes a certain departure from or neglect of Christ previously, and the drift of the first historical part of the work is to this

conclusion. The pure revelation, as given by Christ, came in succession under the power of more or less foreign elements—Judaic, Greek, Roman, Mediæval—which modified and in a sense perverted its outward form. The great task of the modern Church is to set the Christian revelation free from these accretions, and to restore it to its pristine purity. “It is neither said nor meant that our age is distinguished by a deeper reverence or purer love for the Redeemer, or even a stronger faith in Him. In these respects we might claim pre-eminence for other ages than our own.” Anglican, Presbyterian, Catholic, Lutheran, have been faithful in heart to the one Redeemer of man. “In the regions of the higher devotion and the purer love all differences cease. And as in worship so in theology; the greatest of the older divines were those who most laboured to do honour to Christ.” But all these divines were more or less on a wrong line; their Christ was rather the metaphysical or philosophical than the historical Christ. Perhaps Dr. Fairbairn would not agree with us that this must be taken with some qualification. Christ was certainly viewed in His historical surroundings. There were Lives of Christ before Farrar and Neander and Lange. Still, no doubt, the change is immense. The historical spirit has changed everything, even in the conservative realm of theology. “Lives of Christ by men of all schools, tendencies, churches,” are supplemented by “monographs on Jewish and heathen teachers, on Hellenistic and Talmudic beliefs, on Judaic sects and Gentile schools and usages, on early heresies and primitive societies,” as well as by elaborate histories of New Testament times. If the Gospels and Epistles and the lives of the Apostles are not reconstructed, they are studied from new points of view and in new lights. “What the theological consequences of this larger and more accurate knowledge may be is more than any one can tell as yet. To deduce or indicate some of these is the purpose of this book.” The purpose is conspicuous enough in the second constructive part of the work, where, after an exposition of the New Testament doctrine of Christ’s person, one division treats Christ as “the interpretation of God,” and another takes Christ’s interpretation of God as “the determinative principle in theology and

the Church." The principle is not applied exhaustively, but a beginning is made. First, by the study of Scripture we are to find out Christ's conception of God, and then through this conception interpret the universe. "His consciousness is the source and norm of the conception; but the conception is the source and norm of the theology. This theology must then, to use a current term, be, as regards source, Christo-centric, but as regards object or matter, theo-centric; in other words, while Christ determines the conception, the conception determines the theology."

Dr. Fairbairn illustrates the change that has come over theology by a very picturesque contrast between a clerical library of fifty or sixty years ago and one at present. The former is very elaborately described. Its typical books in apologetics would be Butler, Paley, Lardner, the old-fashioned commentaries in abundance, and especially the great dogmatists, the Anglican Pearson, Hooker, Bull, Waterland, and the Puritan Owen, Goodwin, Williams, Pye Smith. But works dealing with Christ as a historical person were conspicuously absent. "Hardly a book attempting to conceive and represent Him just as He appeared in history would have been found. . . . It was indeed a strange and significant thing: so much speculation about Christ, so little inquiry into His actual mind; so much knowledge of what the creeds or confessions, the liturgies or psalmodies, of the Church said; so little knowledge of the historical person or construction of the original documents as sources of real and actual history." Incidentally, the author mentions how little the leaders in the Tractarian revival concerned themselves with Scripture or with Christ. "They were possessed of the passion to find and restore the Church of the Fathers, and to the Fathers they appealed for direction and help; but in no one of their multitudinous tracts or treatises is there any suggestion or sign that Christ, as the Founder, supplied the determinative idea of His own Church." And at a later point (p. 232), "There is nothing so startling in their early literature as the absence of all, not to say scientific, but even intelligent, study of the Scriptures, and especially of the creative Personality of the faith."



A striking feature in Dr. Fairbairn's volume is the thoroughness with which the principle of evolution or development is applied to explain the growth of theological thought in the Church, *i.e.*, of course evolution or development as a mode of divine working. The entire work is written on this basis; the phraseology of the evolution school is constantly used. The continuity of Christian doctrine, whether the continuity be legitimate or not, is amply illustrated. Everything in the realm of Christian doctrine is the result of the reciprocal action of organism and environment. Both factors are necessary, though not equally necessary. The organism is the ruling determining element. And it is important to observe that according to our author the creative organism in Christian faith is, not the Church, but Christ, the historical Christ, "not the created society, but the creative Personality." The organism—say the sum of Christ's teaching—then comes into contact with various environments in succession, with Judaism, with Roman and Greek thought, with mediæval philosophy, and takes different forms accordingly. The environment is no doubt as necessary and legitimate a part of the process as the organism. Still, the very thesis of the volume before us supposes that some of the developments were "illicit or unnecessary." Otherwise, what need of the Reformation? And what need in our days of the "recovery of the historical Christ" with its immense changes?

In the first instance, our author expounds and vindicates this law of development of which he makes such important use. Nothing in the book is more interesting or important than this chapter (p. 25-47). It was Dr. Newman who introduced both the name and the idea into English theology. The utterly one-sided nature of Newman's exposition, despite all its ingenuity and cleverness, is thoroughly exposed. His book on the Development of Doctrine, like his *Grammar of Assent* and so many of his other writings, was what the Germans would call a *Tendenz-schrift*—a book with a purpose; the conclusion was settled before the argument began. According to him the range of development was strictly limited, being carried on under the control of the Church. The Church itself, the most striking example of the law, was altogether

exempted from its operation. In short, the doctrine was used to prove the authority and truth of Catholic doctrine. Newman's theory is most unreal, "a theory not for historical use, but for polemical or apologetical purposes." Dr. Fairbairn's view of the principle is far truer to fact. Christ or Christianity comes into a world of a certain definite character, with systems of thought and worship already in possession. These must necessarily influence the shape which Christian institutions and dogmas take. "The action of the environment is as real as the action of the organism. They may differ as regards function and quality, but they agree in being alike efficient as factors of change. The organism is creative, the seat and source of life; but the environment is formative, determines the shape which the life assumes." The environment in the present case is the entire world of Christ's time, human society with its diversified inheritance from the past—Judaism with its many schools and sects, Hellenism with its picturesque cults and philosophic schools, barbarian heathenism in its many shades of blended truth and falsehood. The old persisted in many forms and blended with the new. Justin Martyr, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, Chrysostom show traces of both. "The causes and conditions that so helped to shape the Fathers helped no less to form the Church whose mind they made and expressed. Change their philosophy, and their theology would not have been what it was. Without Aristotle in the Middle Ages we should not have had scholasticism. . . . If, therefore, the men who made the thought and formulated the faith of the Church have been so powerfully affected by external forces, it is evident that its development cannot be dealt with as if it had been governed entirely from within. The internal were indeed the creative forces, but the external were factors of form and of formal change."

The essential factor, then, is the "creative Organism," which is Christ, or Christ's revelation of God. This, brought into contact with the primitive environments of Jewish and Gentile life, gives us primitive Christianity, brought into contact with Greek and Roman thought gives us patristic Christianity, into contact with the Mediæval intellect formed

and tutored by Aristotle gives us the Mediæval Church, into contact with Luther's re-discovery of Pauline teaching gives us Protestantism, into contact with modern philosophy and criticism gives us the historical Christ and Christianity portrayed and discussed in these pages. In baldest outline this is the gist of the first historical part of the work. It is this part which will attract the greatest interest, as it gives a most vivid and brilliant picture of the growth of dogma in the Church and the causes that have determined the great periods and movements of thought. The description of the chief elements of Greek and Roman life, of the great systems of theology, of teachers and leaders of thought, of schools of philosophy, gives ample scope for the author's rich stores of knowledge and commanding style. Great schools are pictured in an individual life. The accounts of Tertullian, Augustine, Anselm, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and in later days of the German thinkers, of Strauss and Baur, can scarcely be excelled, or indeed equalled for clearness and force. The inner thoughts and motives are bared to the light. It is impossible by any selection to give an adequate idea of the wealth of information and suggestion poured out in these pages.

First, the "creative Organism, Jesus Christ," is sketched in few, clear lines (pp. 47-50). Christ makes Christianity, Christians are to be copies of Christ. Religion, as Christ presents it, is intensely spiritual. Its ruling thought is God as Father. Everything else depends on or grows out of this. "What He founded was a society to realise His own ideal; a kingdom of heaven, spiritual, internal, which came without observation; a realm where the will of God is law, and the law is love, and the citizens are the loving and the obedient, whose type is the reverent and tender and trustful child, not the hard and boasting man. In its collective being it has a priestly character, but is without an official priesthood. . . . A priestless religion, without the symbols, sacrifices, ceremonies, officials hitherto, save by prophetic Hebraism, held to be the religious all in all." "Here then is the problem: How did this parent germ or creative organism—*i.e.*, the religion instituted by Christ—behave in its various environments? What was their action on it and its action on them? How far were

the forms it assumed and the elements it incorporated due to the immanent laws of its own being or to the action of the medium in which it moved?" These questions the author proceeds to answer in the way we have indicated. The first stage of development described is that of the sub-apostolic age. The first element in the environment was Judaism, the entire atmosphere of Christ and the apostles being Jewish. And yet the direction of the young Church soon passed into Gentile hands. The Gentile converts, who formed the majority everywhere, were at first without the New Testament as a whole; their Scripture was the Old Testament. The result is that the Christianity of that age presents a very mixed appearance. "What is absent is even more remarkable than what is present." The great Pauline and Johannine thoughts are conspicuously lacking. "Religious thought has become more legal and less ethical; a new emphasis falls on knowledge; the antithesis to the Old Testament is lost, and its ceremonial ideas are seen, disguised as to form, but unchanged as to essence, returning to power." "Speaking broadly, we may say, from the intellectual point of view the men have hardly begun to understand the alphabet of the religion; their world is smaller, meaner, emptier than the apostolic, is in relation to it neither a development nor a decline, but rather a thing of another order—the first endeavour of the child-mind to understand the truth. The men are not yet prepared to know the religion. They excellently illustrate the influence of tradition without Scripture, and the inability of an undisciplined and inchoate Christian consciousness to interpret Christ." The one certain feature in the Christianity of those early days is the supreme position of Christ, the sense of indebtedness to Him for the gift of a new life and hope for the individual and the world.

The reader will be struck in the review given with the fact that at each great crisis an intellectual and a religious factor co-operated in effecting the transition from the old to the new. It was so at the Reformation. Erasmus embodied the intellectual, Luther the religious principle. Some might even dispute whether Humanism or religious faith contributed most to the result. Erasmus was more a Humanist than a Reformer; his religious convictions were weak and pliant. "To the work

of a reformer no man was ever by nature less destined, and no man was ever more obedient to the nature he had. He loved peace, culture, good society; he was delicate, fastidious, sensitive, 'so thin-skinned that a fly would draw blood'; he hated the obtuse, the ignorant, the vulgar, the men who could not see or feel the sarcasm within its veil of compliment, or the irony hidden in a graceful allusion or ambiguous phrase. He feared revolution with its sudden release of incalculable forces, the chaos, the collisions, the brutalities it was certain to evoke. . . . He loved his esoteric world, desired nothing better than to be left in possession of it, free to criticise from its point of view the world esoteric, yet, with due regard to the benefits of studious peace, always preferring to insinuate rather than express an opinion, to pronounce a conditional rather than an absolute judgment. But in spite of the nature that bound him to the old order, and so held him a Catholic, no man did more for reform, or formulated principles that more demanded it." How different Luther's portrait! "He was no Humanist in the strict sense, though Humanism had contributed to his making. Some of its brightest sons were among his oldest and truest friends." Refinement, fastidiousness, had no place in his nature. He was strong, passionate, daring to a fault. His was the deeply religious feeling of a Paul and an Augustine. The sense of sin in him was overwhelming. He needed, he demanded simple, direct access for the sinners to God, and he found it, not in Rome, but in the New Testament. "To him it was impossible that both the New Testament and Rome could be right; whatever was wrong, it could not be the New Testament; there stood the mind of Christ and the interpretation of His apostles; and to accept the one and attempt to realise the other was the absolute duty of the Christian man." Here we have, then, the intellectual and the religious factors in the "environment" at the Reformation.

In the transition of our own days from dogmatic to historical theology, Dr. Fairbairn describes the intellectual or philosophical factor with elaborate fulness. The literary precursors—Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe, Kant's ethical theism, Jacobi's intuitionism, Fichte's idealism, all preparing the way for

Schelling's, Hegel's, and Schleiermacher's massive constructions, Strauss's criticism of the Gospel history, Baur's attempt at reconstruction, the sceptical Lives of Christ—are not only described and criticised, but arranged in natural sequence. We would recommend especially the account of Hegel and Schleiermacher, two writers whose ideas are just now having a resurrection in our own country. To Hegel, as is pointed out, the historical fact is indifferent, the idea everything; the former is merely the temporary incarnation or vehicle of the latter. The key, again, to the system is the distinction between notion (*Begriff*) and idea (*Vorstellung*). The former is "the highest form of thought, the mind's grasp of an object in its totality, as it exists in and for itself." The latter is "thought in a picture, a general conceived in an individual, the boundless and eternal in the conditions of space and time." And this is just the difference between philosophy and religion. "The matter was in each case the same; the forms under which it was conceived alone differed. Whether the difference in form did not involve an essential difference in matter is a question which need not here be discussed. Enough to know there was for Hegel, as for Homer, one speech for the gods, another for men. Religion was the form in which truth existed for mankind, a lantern here of horn, there of glass, in which beams of the eternal light were carried, making humanity, even in its dark course, conscious of the right way." The analysis given of the Hegelian Trinity and Incarnation is perhaps as clear as can be given. As to the latter, Hegel's point is rather the Church's faith in the Incarnation than its realisation in a given historical Person. "The remarkable thing is the relation of the faith to the Person, rather than the Person to the faith. Christ through death became the God-man in the faith of the Church, and His history was written by those who held this faith, and upon whom the Spirit had been poured out. The main thing was the consciousness, not of the historical Christ, but of those who held Him to be the God-man."

It is impossible for us to pursue further the course of development which issued in the birth of the historical school. The signs of the revolution that has taken place are seen not

merely in the numerous Lives of Christ, but in the endeavour to realise the entire condition of New Testament times, the new form which constructive criticism has taken, a new literary criticism of the New Testament, and a more intimate study of its contents. "As the mind which comes to the New Testament has grown more historical, it has become more historical to the mind—*i.e.*, the mind has been able to discover a more historical character in literature, has studied abstract principles less, has studied the textual, philosophical, and literary matter and minutiae more, with the natural result that the more scientific treatment has obtained more assured results. In this field the services of English scholarship have been conspicuous and meritorious, and happily complementary to the more audacious and brilliant inquiries of continental scholars." We thus see that an infinite variety of factors has contributed to the change, a change reflected in the new tone of literary men like Matthew Arnold, and imposing new tasks on theology. Fifty years of "the most radical and penetrating critical discussion" has made a re-statement of theological beliefs desirable, if not imperative. And the process which has created the necessity supplies the means for discharging the task. Christ becomes the standard of doctrine and Church alike.

The second, or constructive part of the work, if outwardly less fascinating, is even more important, as it is also more novel. It is the first attempt to construct a system of dogmatic theology on a Christological basis. Considered in the light of this purpose, the attempt is far from complete. Some doctrines are omitted, and others are merely sketched in outline rather than fully argued. The author himself regrets that he has been obliged to omit "more detailed discussions and elucidations, especially in the third division of the second book." Here, indeed, the curtailment makes itself painfully felt in contrast with the flowing expansiveness of the earlier sections. Perhaps this is the reason why the author's position on important points is not always clear, nor the novelty of treatment obvious. Still, the boldness of the aim, and the ability with which it is carried out, are beyond question. Whether the scheme as a whole is successful or not, this portion of the work abounds in fine analysis and suggestion.

The design is the same as in Mr. Strong's *Manual of Theology*, noticed in the last number of this Journal. The two writers are wide as the poles asunder in order of mind and in Church position, but the aim of both is to bring every question of theology under the governing influence of the Incarnation. In both cases this is easily done so long as the question is one of the divine nature, or soteriology, or even sin; but in other questions, such as revelation and the Church, and still more in the topics omitted, the hold on the central principle becomes very slight. We fear that the design, however fascinating, is as artificial as some of the older dogmatic schemes, such as Calvin's *Institutions* and Martensen's *Dogmatics*, which follow the order of the Trinity.

There is one fashionable error, of which we find no traces in the present volume; we mean the disposition to undervalue apostolic teaching in comparison with Christ's. The desire to make all theology Christological does not at all imply an exclusive appeal to Christ's own teaching. Dr. Fairbairn freely uses the teaching of all the Epistles to establish and complete the doctrine of the Incarnation, and by parity of reasoning their teaching on other subjects would be of equal weight. We note the remark in regard to Galatians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, "I do not think that any good reason for the denial of Paul's authorship of any of these has been made out." There are indeed some remarks on page 293 which jar on the ear trained in the Apostolic school. "Where Paul is greatest is where he is most directly under the influence or in the hands of Jesus, evolving the content of what he had received concerning Him; where he is weakest is where his old scholasticism or his new antagonism dominates alike the form and substance of his thought. So with John: what in him is permanent and persuasive is of Christ; what is local, and even trivial, is of himself. To exhibit in full the falling off of the Apostles cannot be attempted here; enough to say, their conception of God is, if not lower, more outward, less intimate, or, as it were, from within; nor does it, with all its significance as to the absolute Paternity, penetrate like a subtle yet genial spirit their whole mind, all their thought and all their being. . . .



Their ethics have lost the wonderful searching inwardness yet fine sanity of the Sermon on the Mount; their conduct is more mixed, their tempers are more troubled and troublesome; they so live as to show more of the infirmities of man and less of the calm which comes of the complete possession of God." There is here a mixing up of two very different things—the official teaching and the personal character of the Apostles. No one questions the distance in the latter respect, because no one has dreamed of making the servants equal to the Master. And even as to the teaching the language goes much too far. No doubt "the mind of the Master transcends the minds of the disciples." But if the above sentences are right, they imply a serious reflection on the words of the Master Himself in John xiv. 26.

The novelty of plan is sufficiently evident when the system of theology begins, not with the usual prolegomena, but with the Christology of Scripture. The four chapters, dealing with this topic, form an excellent theological study. First comes the Christology of the expository books—the Pauline, Jacobean, Petrine, Apocalyptic, and Hebrews, that of the Synoptists and John, of Christ—and then a chapter discussing "The Relations and the Reason of the Christologies." The last chapter is strikingly fresh and original. The affinities between the Apostolic Christologies and Christ's are presented under four heads—historical, religious, philosophical, and theological. It is well said: "This Christology was the work of Jews, men who had Monotheism as a passion in their blood; and made its appeal to men many of whom were of the same race and had the same passion. Yet these men join God and the Son of God together, speak of them with equal honour, and do them equal reverence, using of the Son terms as descriptive of Deity as ever they use of the Father; and neither they nor the men they address feel any shock or sense of incongruity in such usage." This language was used of one who not long before had been put to death. It was offensive to the spirit and philosophy of the age. And yet history has abundantly confirmed the claim. Jesus Christ is the one unique person of history; "He is the real creator of Monotheism"; His religion is as unique as himself; His religion is

the ruling faith of the progressive races of the world ; " Love of Him has remained the inspiration and passion of His Church " ; that love is the great means of ethical transformation ; the religion is one with its Founder, who still lives and works through it. But we must hasten to notice some of the theological applications of the principle.

The first application is to the Godhead. Christ is spoken of as " the interpretation of God." The distinction between God and the Godhead is somewhat strange, but the definition makes it clear. " God is deity conceived in relation, over against the universe, its cause or ground, its law and end ; but the Godhead is deity conceived according to His own nature, as He is from within and for Himself." The former is specifically Hebrew, the latter specifically Christian. " The doctrine of the Godhead was created by the attempt to understand the person of Christ, or explain and unfold the contents of His consciousness ; the doctrine of God was inherited, a gift which Judaism gave to Christianity." In other words, the Christian God is a God in Trinity. " Now it must be here quite frankly stated, that a doctrine of the Godhead as the basis of a doctrine of God is possible only as a result of revelation and through it." The doctrine of the Godhead starts from the filial consciousness of Christ. " He directly and intuitively knew His own Sonship, and by its means He made known God's Fatherhood. The two were correlative and mutually inclusive, the being of the Son involved the Father's, and the Father was in character and quality as was the Son. The regulative element in His mind became the determinative idea in the Apostolic." The tendency in some sentences seems to be to equalise Christ's and man's sonship. But this again is precluded when it is said of the divine relations, " The relations were not voluntary, but necessary ; the distinctions not matters of choice, but of nature or essence. . . . Fatherhood is no older than Sonship ; the one is only as the other is ; in other words, if Fatherhood is of the essence of Deity, Sonship must be the same. And to Christ God does not become Father—He is Father just as He is God ; and He himself does not become Son—He is Son, and were He not Son He would not be." The distinctions which the terms Father, Son and Spirit

denote are "immanent and essential." "The Sabellian notion is as shallow as it is false." The Scripture terms, Father, Son, and Spirit, are better than the Greek terms, which are philosophical. "As the conception is peculiarly and specifically a conception of revealed religion, it ought, when articulated into a doctrine, to be stated as nearly as possible in the terms and according to the spirit of the revelation." The influence of "the doctrine of the Godhead" on the deity of natural theology and of constructive theology is very ably discussed in two chapters. The chief influence is that it completely "ethicises" the conception. "The history, whether of religion or philosophy, shows that there is nothing harder to thought than to conceive God as a moral being, though it is relatively easy to conceive Him as the source of all the moralities." To Judaism God was mainly a lawgiver, although a lawgiver in a broader sense than the Roman forensic one. "His nature was legalised rather than ethicised. The law He instituted was positive, the creation of His will rather than the transcript of His nature." The Greek conception was of course far less ethical than the Jewish one; it was metaphysical to the core. "To the Greek the one God was the last deduction of thought and its supreme object. The reason that reached Him defined Him; He was interpreted in its terms, clothed in its attributes, but did not transcend its categories—*i.e.*, He remained abstract, logical, impersonal. The ideas of reason are its ultimate realities; but it is of their essence to be ideas, to refuse to become actual, to defy ethical impersonation. . . . So Plato's God may be termed the good, or the beautiful, or the true; but he is personalised when the philosopher becomes a poet only to be depersonalised when the poet relapses into the philosopher." In contrast with these the apostolic conception is thoroughly ethical. "A God who could not be without a Son was a God who could not be without moral qualities in exercise. The relations that belonged to the very constitution by virtue of which He was God involved moral character, duties, ends." The ultimate reality in God is not ontological, but moral. "Father and Son do not here denote a Paternity and Sonship that begin to be, for in the region of the eternal all the categories of time cease; but they denote states,

relations, that ever were and ever must be in God. . . . God conceived as Godhead is the very manifold of exercised and realised moral being. The main thing is to adhere to the ethical realities: the thing we cannot afford to lose is what was won for us from the consciousness of Christ and its apostolic interpretation." The discussion on the "Juridical Deity" of Calvinism and Catholicism is excellent, but we cannot linger upon it (p. 429).

Equally excellent and suggestive is the exposition of the relations of the Divine Fatherhood and Sovereignty (pp. 432-444). The two are not mutually opposed, scarcely even contrasted, but the Sovereignty is an essential function of the Fatherhood. The primal natural sovereignty is that of the parent or patriarch. This is enough to show that authority inheres in the parental relation. The two ideas are inseparable. They only become separate and opposed in the artificial relations of society. The divine sovereignty must be interpreted, not from our artificial systems, but from God himself. "If, then, we interpret God through the Godhead, the result will be a conception which, instead of dividing and opposing, unites and harmonises the ideas of Fatherhood and Sovereignty. These terms denote, not so much distinct or contrary functions which Deity may successively or contemporaneously fulfil for opposite purposes and as regards different persons, but rather the attitude and action of a Being who must by nature fulfil both if He is to fulfil either. We may distinguish them as we distinguish love and righteousness, which we may term the paternal and regal attributes of God; but they are as inseparable as these, and form as real a unity." Then follows a long and most beautiful analysis of these two "paternal and regal attributes," which certainly brings out their distinct or contrasted natures. These three pages are among the finest in the volume. "Love is righteousness as emotion, motive, and end; righteousness is love as action and conduct. Love is perfect being; righteousness is perfect behaviour; and so they may be described as standing to each other as law and obedience. It is of the essence of both to be transitive. Love regards an object whose good it desires; righteousness is the conduct which fulfils the desire of love.

Love, as it desires another, hates the evil that mars his good ; righteousness, as it serves another, judges the evil that defeats the service." Notwithstanding all that has been said before about the "juridical Deity," the writer proceeds : "Hence love is social, but righteousness judicial ; the law the one prescribes, the other enforces. And so they must exist together in order to exist at all. Subtract love from righteousness, and it becomes mere rigour, conduct too inflexible to be loving, justice too severe to be just. Subtract righteousness from love, and it ceases to be, becomes mere sentiment, an emotion too pitiful to combine truth with grace. Love makes righteousness active and helpful ; righteousness makes love beneficent while benevolent." The two attributes are here certainly not identified ; they are distinguished, if not contrasted. On the whole, the reader will probably conclude that, while the writer has not finally settled the relations of the two, he has shed much light on the question. He sums up : "The antithesis between the Fatherhood and Sovereignty of God is fictitious, violent, perverse. The Father is the Sovereign ; and as the Father is, such the Sovereign must be. Hence the primary and determinative conception is the Fatherhood, and so through it the Sovereignty must be read and interpreted. In all His regal acts God is paternal ; in all His paternal ways, regal ; but His is not the figurative paternity of the King, though His is the real Kinghood of the Father."

Another brief, thoughtful chapter discusses the bearing of the Fatherhood on Soteriology, taking up the Incarnation, Atonement, and the Holy Spirit. The paragraphs on the Atonement do not make the author's theory clear. On a previous page he has said the God made known by Christ "did not need to be propitiated, but was propitious, supplying the only priest and sacrifice equal to His honour and the sins and wants of man" (p. 48). All that is said on p. 480 about the law of the Old Testament and of Paul being far wider and more comprehensive than the Roman idea of law may be accepted ; but we do not understand what is said about Christ's death having relation only to the ceremonial law : "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law ; certainly, but this was the law which the Jew loved, and

which was thus for ever abolished; not the universal law of God. But the law that thus judged him condemned itself; by cursing him it became accursed. His death was not the vindication, but the condemnation of the law. And this is the characteristic attitude of the New Testament writers. The law which Christ at once fulfilled and abolished was not the law of the judge and jurist, but the law of the rabbi and the priest, the law of ceremonial and service, of works and worship, of prophecy and type. The language which describes His relation to it and its to Him cannot be used to describe His relation to the absolute law or righteousness of God." This seems a somewhat eccentric exposition. Had, then, Christ's sacrifice no relation to God's law? Does it save us from no legal penalty? On the above exposition Christ's redemption from the curse of the law affected none but Jews. We cannot pretend to expound, much less to justify, the theory which Dr. Fairbairn substitutes for the "juridical theory." It is too intangible to be fixed in words, or even in distinct thought. It seems, in brief, to be that the atonement is God's condemnation of sin embodied in act. God's hatred and condemnation of sin are necessary and eternal. "It works in the universe as the manifest and embodied judgment of God against sin, but of this judgment as chastening and regenerative rather than juridical and penal." God eternally hates sin to the point of suffering. "Theology has no falsier idea than that of the impassibility of God. If He is capable of sorrow, He is capable of suffering. "To be passible is to be capable of sacrifice, and in the presence of sin the capability could not but become the reality." "We may, then, construe the sufferings and death of Christ as if they were the sacraments, or symbols and seals, of the invisible passion and sacrifice of the Godhead." The Jews were simply the agents in consummating this great act of sorrow for and hatred of sin. "This Atonement, in the degree that it exhibits God as a Being who does not need to be appeased or moved to mercy, but who suffers unto sacrifice that He may save, must have exalted in the eyes of all created intelligences His character and majesty. And the higher the character of God appears, the greater the happiness of the universe. And so

we may say, the work of Christ has modified for the better the state of all created being—nay, even of the lost." Apart from the latter enigmatical sentence, the exposition of the nature of the Atonement is perhaps the least satisfactory part of Dr. Fairbairn's work. He provokes questions which he does not give us the means to answer. He writes like one who has abandoned old ground without having found a new position. He asserts that certain effects follow Christ's work, but gives no hint of the mode or reason. It will be seen that the following sentences supply only assertions without reasons: "As the work of One so constituted and representative of God and man, it is in nature substitutionary—i.e., so does the work of the penal yet corrective judgments of God as to create the very sense of sin and attitude to it that they aim at. In those who thus feel its action it has accomplished all the ends of the chastisement that at once vindicates His authority and seeks our correction. God has made us to know sin by making Him who knew no sin to be sin for us. The Atonement has satisfied both the love and the righteousness of God—His love, by being a way for the recovery and salvation of man; His righteousness, by vanquishing sin within the sinner and vindicating the authority of the eternal Will." We wonder that the author has not on this subject made use of the principle of solidarity which he has applied so effectively in another part of the volume. Dr. Simon (*Redemption of Man*, p. 101) and Dörner (*System of Christian Doctrine*, iii. 117) do this to good purpose. On p. 460 Dr. Fairbairn applies the truth of "the unity and the solidarity of the race" to the doctrine of sin. The Church's unvarying faith in vicarious atonement can be justified on the same ground. Indeed, what we contend for is actually implied in what is said on the subject of original sin (p. 461), but the principle is not referred to in the discussion of the Atonement, nor is it applied to the benefits of Christ's sacrifice. The paragraphs on "sin, common and transmitted" (pp. 459-462), are admirably put: "The names that in theology embody good and evil for the race are Adam and Christ; through the one sin came to be, through the other righteousness. They are, because opposites, complementary and correlative. If either was to be, both must be. If Adam and his

sin reigned unto death, then it could not but be that Christ and His righteousness would reign unto eternal life. This means that we cannot construe common or collective sin apart or by itself; it must be taken in connection with the common or collective righteousness." This is good Arminian and Scriptural doctrine, as is the following: "First, the unconscious or irresponsible whose only sin is the common sin stand both in Christ and in Adam, and share in the good as well as in the evil. The race was constituted in the Son, stands together in Him, is His; and all its undeveloped personalities are His by right, by His death redeemed, and by His redemption reclaimed. Secondly, the conscious and the responsible determine their own relations to the sin or the righteousness. By transgression the one is developed into personal guilt; by faith the other becomes a personal possession. By the one the man belongs to the race whose head is Adam, by the other to the race whose head is Christ."

We can only refer briefly to the helpful chapter on "Revelation and Inspiration," with its exposition of the rights and limits of criticism and authority, and its discussions of the respective positions of Catholic, Protestant, Rationalist. Dr. Fairbairn justly condemns the misconception which makes canonising an authorising process. The books of Scripture are not authoritative, because made canonical; they were made canonical because authoritative. "A law does not become authoritative by being codified; it is codified because it is authoritative." "Hebrews, for example, was long outside the canon; got into a local before it was received into the catholic canon; was denied to Paul, then attributed to Paul, and is all but unanimously denied to him again. But Hebrews was precisely as much inspired, and possessed of exactly as much authority, though it might be an authority much less recognised, before as after its incorporation in the canon, when it was denied as when it was attributed to St. Paul. It is not to their co-ordination and codification that the books owe their authority, but to their essential character and contents." Besides, the question must be asked—When, where, and by whom was such canonising authority ever exercised? Let names and dates and places be given. They cannot be. No



council or ecclesiastical authority ever claimed such power, any more than it ever authorised the Apostles' or Athanasian creed. The common consciousness of the Church was the only agent in the matter. "The concrete and historical Christ created the Scriptures as He created the Church; both are forms of His activity, valid as they derive their being from Him, authentic and authoritative only as possessed of Him and authorised by Him. . . . Without the Scriptures we could never stand in the presence of the Founder, know His mind, or see how He laid the foundation of the society that was to be. With them the humblest Christian, as much as the stateliest Church, can reach the Presence, and know and believe. The Scriptures, then, have the prior existence, owe everything to the Master, and do everything for the Church. Then if the Bible is made to depend on the Church, is it not evident that it is the Bible conceived as a book, and not as a revelation? For these two things are most dissimilar, and, indeed, opposite. The authority that belongs to the Bible belongs to it not as book, but as revelation; what the canonising process created was not a revelation, but a book."

The two final chapters on "The doctrine of the Church in the New Testament" and "The Church in Theology" are brought into connection with the purpose of the volume by the heading, "God as Interpreted by Christ the Determinative Principle in the Church." It is needless to say, that the view of the Church given is intensely spiritual and, as we believe, Scriptural. The ideas of apostolic succession and a Christian priesthood receive as stern refutation as they deserve. The inconsistencies of Augustine and the doctrine of the Reformers are effectively brought out. The apostolic idea of the Church, the difference of Church and Kingdom, Church polity, the Church visible and invisible, are all discussed. We have no space even to characterise the contents of these chapters. "There is no doubt that Christ appointed twelve apostles, that the number twelve bore an ideal significance, and that they had certain specific and defined functions. But that they were to create and did create a special order of successors; that they were empowered to transmit, or did, as a matter of fact, either profess or endeavour to transmit, Apostolical authority—

are positions, to say the least, quite incapable of historical proof; and to be not proven is, in claims of this sort, to be found not true." The argument against a Christian priesthood is conclusive (pp. 101-106, 533 f.). "The Church and its ministry correspond throughout; the ministry is one of persuasion, that seeks to move the will through the conscience, and both through the reason and heart; that cares in the new and gracious way of brotherhood for the poor, the sick, the ignorant, the suffering, the sinful, and attempts to help, to love, to win by sweet reasonableness; while the Church is a society which seeks to realise the beautiful ideal of a family of God, or a household of faith, or a brotherhood of man. The rise of the sacerdotal orders marks a long descent from the Apostolic age, but is certainly no thing of Apostolic descent."

We have simply given gleanings from a rich volume. It would be easy to find as many more points to commend and to criticise. We have been obliged to omit much which we had noted for remark. But we think we have said enough to indicate the purport of one of the most notable contributions to theological literature which our days have seen. The theme is one of transcendent interest and importance to the Church, the very centre and citadel of the Christian system. Of that citadel Dr. Fairbairn is in essentials one of the foremost defenders.

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## SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

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### THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

*The Book of Job.* Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text, with Notes, by C. SIEGFRIED, Professor in the University of Jena. English Translation of the Notes by R. E. BRÜNNOW, Professor in the University of Heidelberg. London: David Nutt. 1893.

**I**N connection with the text of the Old Testament, besides Baer's handy and valuable series of separate books, there are two literary enterprises in which a great interest is felt by scholars. The one is Dr. Ginsburg's long-promised edition of the Massoretic Text, and the other is Professor Haupt's Critical Edition of the Text, based upon an investigation of authorities of every kind. In the latter the collaboration has been secured of some of the foremost Hebraists in the British Empire, in America, and in Germany; and although most of them have shown a leaning towards the views of the analytical school, they have not all committed themselves to very extreme opinions.

As a sample of the whole work, Professor Siegfried's edition of the text of Job has been issued first. Two more parts are promised before the close of the year, and next year the publication is to progress more swiftly. Of the typographical quality of the work it is impossible to speak too highly. Paper, ink, type, workmanship, are of the first order; and the Hebrew student, too often accustomed to tax his eyesight upon characters that can hardly be worse printed, will be favourably disposed towards this book by its attractiveness to several senses. It contains Professor Siegfried's version of the text, printed in unpointed Hebrew in colours that mark its supposed sources, together with some twenty pages of critical notes on the text. The authorities used embrace the Massoretic, Septuagint, Vulgate, and Peshitto texts, with the Targum, and the versions of Aquila, Symmachos, and Theodotion; and signs have been adopted for each of these, as well as for conjectural emendations, and for departures from the Massoretic points and from the received division of the consonantal text. A very few passages are left blank as hopelessly corrupt; and in a note the reason is stated, no attempt however being made in some

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\*.\* Owing to pressure on our space a large number of Short Reviews and Brief Notices are held over till October.

instances to supply the deficiency. The principal value of the work to scholars will lie in these critical notes, though many will probably feel that too frequent resort has been made by the author to conjecture, notwithstanding his hesitation in the case of the clauses which he refrains from touching.

The limitations of the work are indeed so many that it is possible at present only to postpone judgment of its value. Not only is there no general discussion of the authorities that are used in the construction of the text, but even for information as to the principles that have been followed in its distribution the reader is referred to an unpublished book. And this distribution is so far from being regarded as a matter of slight importance, that a number of devices have been found necessary to effect it. Asterisks "point to *lacunæ* in the original." Later interpolations are relegated from the text and appear in the footnotes. Parallel compositions are printed in blue, whilst red is used for interpolations that conform the speeches of Job "to the orthodox doctrine of retribution," and green for the Elihu speeches and for "polemical interpolations directed against the tendency of the poem." And the reader, if aghast, still eager for knowledge, is told that "the arguments for these distinctions are given in the introductory remarks prefixed to the explanatory notes on the English translation of the book." The English translation is inaccessible; the date of its issue has not been fixed, or even its prospectus framed and circulated. Until it appears, the reader can but suspend judgment, and wonder by what course of proof Professor Siegfried will be able to show that a book, so complex and controversial in its contents, was accepted as divine by the shrewd race of Israel.

*The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170.* By W. M. RAMSAY, Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1893.

Professor Ramsay is not an artist in book-making, or a moulder of paragraphs, but his work on *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* proved him to be a very high authority on the subject with which it deals, and his present work will add to his general reputation, and be especially valuable to the student of St. Paul's travels and labours in central Asia Minor, and also to the student of Church history in the first and second centuries. The light cast on the Apostle's work in Antioch of Pisidia and the region contiguous or stretching away northward and westward, is especially interesting and valuable. It would seem that our views as to the province of Galatia and the Galatian Churches will have to be very materially modified, with the general effect of making the relations of the Galatian work to the other Asiatic work of the Apostle come out with greater clearness and consistency than before, and of confirming at many new points and with singular force the history contained in the Acts. As to the history,

also, of the early Roman persecutions of the Christians, Professor Ramsay appears to have adduced, from the combination of history and archæology with ancient geography which he, by the aid of his travels and researches, is able to bring together, considerations relating to Rome and its provinces in Asia Minor which will compel the revision of conclusions hitherto generally accepted. This volume is one which no student of the subjects referred to can afford to overlook.

*Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.*

By H. P. LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., late Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's, &c. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1893. Price 14s.

This volume exhibits the great Anglican preacher in a new and interesting light. For twelve years Dr. Liddon occupied the chair of the Ireland Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, and the Epistle to the Romans was his favourite subject of exposition. This *Explanatory Analysis*, which Dr. Liddon had worked over several times and left ready for publication in a complete state, is a substantial and worthy fruit of his Oxford Professorship, and will occupy a place of its own in the extensive critical literature that has gathered round the Epistle to the Romans. There is much more in the book than the title suggests. It is a laboured and minute digest of the Epistle, furnished with copious critical and illustrative notes. The analysis does not strike us as being by itself of exceptional value. It is careful and finished to the last degree, but somewhat formal and over-technical, and does not bring out the vivacity and subtle underplay of the Apostle's thoughts. It distinctly fails in the handling of chapters vi.-viii., which Dr. Liddon lumps together under the heading of "Moral Consequences of Justification." The exegetical and doctrinal notes inserted in the analysis are, however, a real acquisition. They are compiled with the utmost diligence from a very wide area; and they show the rich learning and delicate taste, the clear, strong judgment, the conscientious fairness and thoroughness, the lucid order, and not unfrequently the spiritual elevation and piercing insight which distinguished Canon Liddon amongst the religious teachers of our time. It is a tribute to the exegetical genius of Meyer that Dr. Liddon confesses to having "largely followed his suggestions," although Meyer's views and spirit were in many respects repellent to him.

We are indebted to the editors for the loyal and scrupulous care with which they have produced this posthumous work of a man whose name and fame are dear to all the British Churches.

THE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE BIBLES.

The *Oxford Bible for Teachers* and the *Cambridge Teachers' Bible*, which have just been issued, show under what vast obligation our

great Universities have placed all lovers of the Word of God. The printer and binder have lavished their best art on these volumes, whilst in the Oxford *Helps* and the Cambridge *Companion* an army of scholars have gathered together all the light that history, chronology, exploration, and science can pour on the world's greatest book. The exquisite copy of the Oxford Bible in best Levant morocco, silk sewed, full flexible, with edges red under gilt, is a treasure which every one ought to covet. It may be had either in the Authorised or Revised Versions. The *Helps* have grown into their present form from the tables of weights and measures compiled by Dr. Cumberland nearly two centuries ago. As issued in 1878 it was evident that they had met a long-felt want, and nearly 2,000,000 copies have been issued. Such success, and the fact that the Revised Version has drawn public attention to the Biblical text as it had never been drawn before, has led the Delegates of the Clarendon Press to perfect their work. This new edition has been prepared under the general superintendence of Canon Maclear, who has had valuable help from Canon Girdlestone and a host of experts. The fact that it is an illustrated edition, with sixty-four full-page plates, giving facsimiles of the chief Bible manuscripts and ancient monuments, will secure it wide and well-deserved popularity. There is a short description of each plate, supplying dates and facts. It requires an expert to give due praise to the Scripture Atlas prepared by Mr. Courtier. All the new and important identifications made by the agents of the Palestine Exploration Fund and others up to March last have been noted. Any one who will examine the south-east of the Salt Sea in Map 3 will see the value of the atlas. It is certainly far more complete than the Cambridge Atlas, showing 1367 Bible sites where that only shows 362, though the maps are not quite so attractive. The section on "The Witness of Modern Discoveries to the Old Testament Narrative" is a new feature of special value. We have been pleased to note the wise reserve used in dealing with such questions as the authorship of Deuteronomy and Isaiah. The *Helps* are in this matter safer than the Cambridge *Companion*. No one need fear to put the Oxford Bible into the hands of any young student. There is nothing here to unsettle or perplex. The *Helps* are published separately in a very convenient form. We hope that every teacher and preacher will have them at hand for constant reference.

The *Cambridge Companion to the Bible* has been prepared under the editorship of Dr. Lumley, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. He has also secured the ablest writers of his University. Bishop Westcott deals with the Sacred Books of other faiths; Professor Robertson Smith writes on nations surrounding Israel. Dr. Moulton's valuable sketch of the History of the English Bible, Professor Ryle's History of the Canon, Dr. Skeat's admirable Glossary of Bible Words, are only a few of the features of this compendium of all Bible knowledge. It is hard to say which edition is best, but there is in each so much valuable matter tersely put that we strongly recommend every

Bible student to have both the Oxford *Helps* and the Cambridge *Companion* constantly in use. The ripe fruit of our best English scholarship is now brought to every one's door.

*Jeremy Taylor's Golden Sayings.* Edited, with an Introduction, by JOHN DENNIS. London: A. D. Innes & Co. 1893. 3s. 6d.

Mr. Dennis justly describes Jeremy Taylor as "the most eloquent and one of the most erudite of English divines. . . . Of all our prose writers on serious subjects he has the liveliest fancy, and perhaps the sweetest turns of expression." Yet, notwithstanding his exuberance of fancy, Jeremy Taylor is one of the most practical and weighty of devotional writers. "If he rambles to pluck flowers by the way, he has always the cunning art of extracting from them medicine or fragrance." The seventeenth century was not an age in which biography flourished, but Mr. Dennis weaves the ascertained facts as to the bishop's life pleasantly together in his brief Introduction, and adds some useful descriptions of Taylor's chief books. The *Golden Sayings* are clearly arranged, and the sources from which they are drawn are carefully indicated. There is a wealth of wisdom in these gem-like phrases. "Enjoy the blessings of this day," he says, "if God send them, and the evils of it bear patiently and sweetly; for this day is only ours; we are dead to yesterday, and we are not yet born to the morrow." "If you will know how it is with you in the matter of your prayers, examine whether or no the form of your prayer be the rule of your life." How forcible is this fragment: "A prosperous iniquity is the most unprosperous condition in the world." The sayings about temptation are very weighty: "Secure but your affections and passions, and then no temptation will be too strong." The fine paragraph on courting temptation should not be overlooked. We hope Mr. Dennis' bright volume of selections will stir up many young people to study Jeremy Taylor's writings for themselves. They will certainly find a rich reward.

*The Gospel of John: An Exposition.* By Rev. THOS. F. LOCKYER, B.A. London: C. H. Kelly. 2s. 6d.

One of the best features of this little book is its clear arrangement. It is divided into fifty short sections, indicating clearly the sequence of thought and the plan of the Gospel. Mr. Lockyer has gained the scholar's reward—a clear insight into the Apostle's meaning and a capacity for recognising significant connections which do not appear on the surface. The treatment of well-worn subjects is very fresh, and the book abounds in suggestive hints for the local preacher or class-leader. The chapters on "Faith's Failure" and "Love's Devo-

tion"—both referring to St. Peter—show Mr. Lockyer's expository skill at its best. The explanation which he has adopted of the arrangement of the grave-clothes surely needs reconsideration. There are about thirty pages of critical notes, pointing out shades of meaning which have been overlooked by the Revisers. This little volume will more than justify its place in the series of "Books for Bible Students."

1. *Bible Studies.* Sunday Evening Sermons on the Early Books of the Old Testament. (1878-9.) By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Edited from Stenographic Notes of J. T. ELLINWOOD by JOHN R. HOWARD. 6s. 6d.
2. *Old Yet Ever New.* Lessons for Daily Life from the Old Testament. Being a series of Sermons and Addresses to Working Men. By the Rev. CHARLES LEACH, D.D. 5s.
3. *The Gospel of Fatherhood.* Sermons preached at Highgate. By Rev. J. M. GIBBON. Second Edition. 4s. 6d.  
London: R. D. Dickinson. 1893.

1. There is much matter in these volumes to interest preachers and Bible students. Mr. Beecher's sermons were reported in full by Mr. Ellinwood, but were not published at the time, as a series of morning sermons were then being issued in his paper, the *Christian Union*. The preacher's purpose, as stated by himself, is "not alone to interest you in local histories, nor alone to benefit you by drawing lessons from special passages, but so to present the subject matter of the Old Testament as to give you a more enlightened conception of the doctrine of inspiration that you may enjoy in a larger degree than many people now do the study of the Scriptures." He regards Jacob's experience at Bethel as simply a dream, though the fugitive thought it a revelation directly from God. In this and other points we find ourselves unable to follow Mr. Beecher's exposition, but there is much forcible thinking and vigorous word-painting in this volume. We have been specially interested in the sermon on the Sabbath.

2. Dr. Leach's addresses to working men are too rhetorical, but there is much good teaching and earnest appeal. The addresses which deal with the preacher's visit to Palestine should not be overlooked.

3. Mr. Gibbon's *Gospel of Fatherhood* is marked by direct appeal and high spiritual tone. Its simple illustrations are often very effective. It is not a volume of great merit, but it is useful and stimulating.

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## HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL.

*William George Ward and the Catholic Revival.* By WILFRID WARD. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

WE reviewed at some length the volume on Dr. W. G. Ward and the Oxford Movement, of which the present volume is the sequel. That volume was invaluable in its relations to the movement of which Newman was the leader; the present volume leads us into a new world, a world hitherto unknown to English literature. We are made familiar with the history of the Catholic Revival, which made itself first felt on the Continent, and, of recent years, has become more or less a recognised fact also in this country, the first stirrings of which began with the earliest years of this almost completed century. In this aspect of its contents we know of no work comparable to the present volume for instructiveness. The Protestant reader—even though of more than average general cultivation and knowledge—will learn here very much of which it is most undesirable that he should remain ignorant, but which could not very well be learned elsewhere. But he will also be introduced into the interior of Roman Catholic theological student-life in England, and into the arena of metaphysical study and controversy as maintained on the part of the most profound metaphysical theologian the modern Roman Catholic Church has produced. Dr. Ward, indeed, as a theistic metaphysician was a Christian philosopher of no particular sect. He was the most redoubtable champion of theism as against Stuart Mill and the whole agnostic school. In this connexion the description given in this volume of the famous metaphysical society of London, of which Ward, Mill, Huxley, R. H. Hutton, and a host of famous men were members, is profoundly interesting. This is all that at present we can say as to this most important volume, except that it illustrates at every turn not only the very strong but the singularly weak points of Dr. Ward's intellectual character. A giant in abstract logic and in metaphysics, he was abnormally deficient in the historic and inductive faculties. As to all concrete facts, all scientific reasoning or insight, all knowledge of nature or common life, this giant in philosophy was incomprehensibly unintelligent and obtuse. We shall hope to return to this volume.

*The Globe Edition. Boswell's Life of Johnson.* Edited, with an Introduction, by MOWBRAY MORRIS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893. 5s.

It is sixty years since Lord Macaulay wrote his famous panegyric: "Homer is not more decidedly the first of heroic poets, Shakespeare is not more decidedly the first of dramatists, Demosthenes is not more

decidedly the first of orators, than Boswell is the first of biographers. He has no second. He has distanced all his competitors so decidedly that it is not worth while to place them. Eclipse is first, and the rest nowhere." Lockhart's *Scott* was then unwritten, but it still remains true that Boswell's "book has some distinguishing marks of its own unmatched by any biography that the world had then or has since seen." The reality and vigour of its scenes; the writer's absorption in his subject, the marvellous accuracy and truthfulness of the book, lift it above all other biographies. Mr. Morris shows in his valuable little Introduction that Boswell's fame has gone hand in hand with Johnson's. Many harsh things have been said of him, but the fact that, though Johnson laughed at him, scolded him, and insulted him, he yet loved him in his heart, is itself an abiding tribute to the Scotchman's real worth. "He did many foolish things, but assuredly he was no fool. When his book was published, the truth and brilliancy of its extraordinary portraiture were instantly recognised, and have never since been disputed." All the world endorses Boswell's own tribute to his work in a letter to the Rev. William Temple: "I am absolutely certain that my mode of biography, which gives not only a history of Johnson's *visible* progress through the world, and of his publications, but a *view* of his mind in his letters and conversations, is the most perfect that can be conceived, and will be more of a Life than any work that has ever yet appeared." His marvellous industry in collecting material is seen from the fact that at the beginning of his happy friendship with Johnson he sat up four nights in one week recollecting the doctor's sayings. He had learned the preciousness of small details, and acted upon Johnson's dictum that there was "nothing too little for so little a creature as man." The biography is crowded with fine sayings and amusing touches which make it a rare treat to turn these pages. Mr. Morris has preserved all Boswell's notes, and has been allowed to make free use of Dr. Birkbeck Hill's great edition of the biography. His predecessors have left him little to do save to feed in their pastures, but this he has done admirably. To have Boswell's *Johnson* in such a complete, workmanlike, and low-priced edition ought to bring delight to a multitude of readers.

*Northumberland : its History, its Features, and its People.* By the Rev. JAMES CHRISTIE, B.A. Carlisle : Thurnam & Sons. 1893.

There is much in this little book not only to delight natives of Northumberland, but all students of our English shires. Mr. Christie, himself the son of a Northumberland manse, succeeded his father as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Otterburn, and found the shepherd elders of that district among his best friends. "The shepherds are the aristocrats of labour in the highlands of Northumberland. Lithe and stalwart in their youth, when age comes upon them

their advice is deferred to on all hands, and in their reverend and hoary age they are, as a rule, the pride of the district where they reside, and in innumerable instances they are elders in the Presbyterian Church." They are men "prevailing in prayer, and deeply read in the Old Marrow theology of Boston of Etterick, Flavel, John Owen, Ralph Erskine, Bunyan, and Doddridge." The pages which deal with life in these remote corners are the best in the volume. We have much enjoyed the sketch of Communion Sunday, with its great gatherings and its generous hospitality; the touching account of the long funeral processions; the paragraphs devoted to old-time precentors, and the glimpses of local "characters," such as Sally the Mugger selling 'her salmon, or enjoying her breakfast of bacon-collops and eggs. A friend, who witnessed this exploit, says she had flung the shells of seven eggs away before he beat a retreat, and she was still eating vigorously. There is a capital story about a canny farmer, who urged his young pastor to be cautious about his love affairs. "Now, Mr. Christie, ye'll very likely be doing a bit o' courting some day, and let me advise you never to put it in black and white, for you'll always find a horse in my stable whenever you want one." There are some pieces of careless writing, and a few paragraphs which read too much like a peroration; but the book is bright and enjoyable, and makes us hope to have some more sketches from Mr. Christie's pen. The four full-page illustrations are specially good.

*After Fifty Years; or, Letters of a Grandfather on occasion of the Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland in 1893.* By WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1893. 1s.

The thought of writing an account of the origin and progress of the Free Church of Scotland was simmering in Dr. Blaikie's mind when he received a request from the Publications Committee of that Church to write a history which, while suitable for the young, should be interesting and instructive to all. He has carried out that suggestion in a way that will delight old and young. There is not a dull paragraph in the book. It brings out clearly the causes of the controversy, and paints with vivid skill the chief movers in the Disruption and in the making of the Free Church. The whole story is inspiring, and Dr. Blaikie has made it live. The sacrifices borne by pastors and people for conscience sake have yielded noble fruit in the great and growing prosperity of the Free Church. We are glad to note some wise words about Presbyterian re-union, and to find the freedom from bitterness in this record of an historic struggle. Every member of Dr. Blaikie's own Church ought to master the book; and we hope that it will be widely read by members of all churches.

## BELLES LETTRES.

*An Introduction to the Study of Dante.* By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. Third Edition. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1893. 7s. 6d.

MR. SYMONDS' preface to this new edition of his *Introduction to the Study of Dante* was written less than a month before his long fight with failing health came to an end. His book was prepared at Heiligenblut in 1870, and was originally intended for lectures. The writer's sole purpose was to make the study of Dante more easy for English readers, and he has certainly attained his object. No one can sit down to read these pages without finding a flood of light poured on Dante's character and work. It is one of those introductions which whet the appetite of a student and send him with new zest to his author. The first chapter sets the poet in his historic framework. It is perhaps the hardest part of the book to master. The sections in which the Divine Comedy is treated in detail are of absorbing interest. The fine passage on Dante's choice of Italian rather than Latin as the vehicle for his poem, the pages in which various views of the Divine Comedy are discussed, and the powerful section on Dante's power as a satirist should not be overlooked. "He has dragged naked souls forth from their lurking-places, smiting and branding them upon the forehead, and setting the story of their infamy in his immortal verse for all posterity to read." His intensity of bitterness and scorn is perhaps the least pleasing feature in Dante's character. If it helps one to understand why the poet might not return to Florence, it nevertheless adds to the interest with which we follow the writer's self-revelation in his verse. The minute detail of the Divine Comedy, the marvellous powers of observation which it shows, the manner in which Dante gives vividness to the unseen by references to well-known things, furnish material for some sections which will send students back with new interest to the poem. The comparisons between Dante and other poets are just and striking. Perhaps the most interesting to English readers is that between Milton and Dante. Dante was not only, as Shelley said, "the first awakener of entranced Europe," he also "bequeathed to his own nation a Bible, a Testament, a Book of Prophecy, which cannot be mute." Mr. Symonds' Introduction is a book which students of the Divine Comedy will delight to consult and meditate upon.

*Introduction to Shakespeare.* By EDWARD DOWDEN, Professor of English Literature in the University of Durham. London: Blackie & Son. 1893. 2s. 6d.

This essay has already been published as the General Introduction to the *Henry Irving Shakespeare*, but Professor Dowden has taken the [No. CLX.]—NEW SERIES, VOL. XX. NO: 11. 2 B

opportunity of its appearance as a separate volume to revise it and add some paragraphs on the great tragedies, with a brief notice of famous Shakespearean actors from Burbage to Macready. These additions—especially the bright sketches of Burbage, Betterton, Garrick, Edmund Kean, and Mrs. Siddons—greatly increase the interest of the book. Professor Dowden shows that, however scanty we may think the material for Shakespeare's biography, we know far more of him than of many of his dramatic contemporaries. Our wonder ought to be not that we know so little of him, but that we know so much. The facts of the dramatist's life are skilfully woven together, and his surroundings as an actor in London are clearly sketched in the first part of the volume. The study of Shakespeare's *Hook of Might*, which follows, shows that the dramatist's best portrait and biography is found in his own works. Professor Dowden points out that the moment was especially fortunate for his appearance. English drama had passed through its infancy, and was ready to assume its perfect shape under the forming hand of a great master. After dealing with the pseudo-Shakespearean plays, Professor Dowden gives a good account of the Shakespearean commentators, critics, and actors of successive generations. This is perhaps the most interesting part of a little book which young students and lovers of our great dramatist will find to be thoroughly reliable and eminently readable.

1. *Sweet First-Fruits. A Tale of the Nineteenth Century. On the Truth and Virtue of the Christian Religion. Translated from the Arabic, and abridged, with an Introduction by Sir WILLIAM MUIR, K.C.S.I.*

2. *Mr. By-Ends of Fairspeech and other Sketches from Bunyan.*  
By LESLIE KEITH.

London: Religious Tract Society. 1893.

1. *Sweet First-Fruits* is a romance written by one who was born and bred in the corrupt Christianity of the Eastern Churches, but has shaken it off, and embraced the Gospel in its purity. The story is intended to present to the Moslem world the proofs for the Christian faith, the purity and genuineness of our Bible, its attestation by the Coran, and the consequent obligation on Moslems to obey its precepts. The argument between Christian converts and their former companions is enlivened by many stirring incidents, and the constancy of the new converts under persecution is an impressive feature of a memorable little book. Sir William Muir makes "bold to say that the Moslem world has never, since the rise of Islam, had an appeal made to it under more favourable circumstances, nor one more likely to ensure respect, if not force conviction." The book ought to be widely circulated by mission workers among Moslems.

2. Mr. Keith's bright sketches from Bunyan cannot fail to interest

and profit all readers. The novel binding, clear type, and good portraits help to make this little book still more attractive. Bunyan's characters are made pegs for many a helpful lesson put in a way that cannot fail to attract attention.

*Secular Poems.* By HENRY VAUGHAN, Silurist; including a few pieces by his twin-brother THOMAS. Selected and arranged, with Notes and Bibliography, by J. R. TUTIN, Editor of "Poems of Richard Crashaw," &c. Hull: J. R. Tutin. 1893.

Many admirers of Henry Vaughan are not aware that he wrote "secular poems" which are worthy to be set beside his best sacred pieces. Mr. Tutin has laid lovers of poetry under a great debt by selecting and editing some of the best of these pieces. A bright and sensible preface, with some good notes, greatly help the reader. The lines "To the River Usca" are perhaps the finest in the volume, but the epitaph on the Princess Elizabeth, daughter to Charles I., is singularly beautiful. The last lines of the verses "To the best and most accomplished couple, —," are very happy. "The Charnel House" has some powerful lines, whilst in "The Eagle" Vaughan takes a lofty flight. "Zida" is really a perfect love song. It was a happy thought to include some of Thomas Vaughan's poems in the volume. His "Thalia" is exquisite, and the other verses show true poetic faculty, though they lack the ease and finish of Henry Vaughan's work. The neat little volume will be a real treasure to lovers of our old English poets.

#### WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Twenty Minutes Late.* By PANSY (ISABELLA M. ALDEN). 2s. 6d.
2. *Vaughan Persey.* By HELEN BRISTON. 2s. 6d.
3. *Spindles and Oars; or, Chronicles of Skyrle.* Edited by ANNIE E. HOLDSWORTH. 2s.
4. *Soldiers of Liberty; or, "From the Great Deep."* By EMILY P. WEAVER. 1s. 6d.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1893.

1. A capital story for children. Caroline Bryant and her brother Ben are a little pair of true heroes who set themselves to do unpleasant things with unfailing good humour and unselfishness. They are certainly well repaid and win a host of friends. The little girl falls on her feet in the home of Dr. Forsythe, where she becomes

the good angel of his frail little daughter Dorothy. The whole tale is fresh, lively, stimulating.

2. *Vaughan Persey* is a story with a purpose. The millowner's clever son Vaughan sets up a "Recreation Hall," which he fancies will save men from dull Sundays. He finds, to his cost, that his own brother is led astray, the workmen become atheists, and a painful harvest of immorality and misery springs from his well-meant but sadly mistaken policy. Ethel Tringham is a charming character, and the story is told in a way to hold attention whilst teaching some valuable lessons for the young.

3. Miss Holdsworth's *Chronicles of Skyrle* contain some really first-rate sketches. The minister's daughter is a very happy portrait, and the group of Skyrle worthies stand out well on the canvas. The book is evidently the outcome of much loving study, and it is a distinct success.

4. Miss Weaver's *Soldiers of Liberty* deals with the "Siege of Leyden." It is full of incidents, and will send boys and girls with a taste for history to Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*. It is a story worthy of a corner in every Sunday School library.

*Chris Willoughby.* A Tale for Boys. London: T. Nelson & Sons. 1893.

This is one of the most healthy tales for boys that we know. Christopher Willoughby and his friend Jack Avery with their homes and friends furnish abundant material for a thoroughly entertaining story. Chris has to make his own way in the world, and is no stranger to disappointment, but he finds many true friends who see that he has in him the making of a fine character, and he wins his way at last to a comfortable home and a prosperous position as a medical man. How Jack Avery went astray through self-indulgence, and sank down into sin and poverty, till Chris rescued him, we must leave readers of the book to discover for themselves. It is a story which one finds it hard to put down—a bracing book, which will help boys to be both manly and industrious.

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## MISCELLANEOUS.

*Essays and Addresses.* By the Right Hon. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M.P. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1893. 6s.

SOME of the critics of this volume remind us of one of George Eliot's characters, who, in speaking of a certain clergyman, remarked that he was a very good man, barring his character. "Apart from politics," says one of these involuntary admirers of the leader of the Opposition,

"Mr. Balfour's is a reasonable, humorous, and civilised mind, open to the touch of excellence on many sides." To those who think that the author's politics are the best thing about him, the fact that there are no politics in it, in the ordinary sense of the word, will not render the book more attractive. There is plenty of excellent political philosophy in the chapter on "Politics and Political Economy" and in "A Fragment on Progress"; whilst "Cobden and the Manchester School"—a review of Mr. Morley's *Cobden*, published in 1882—may be described as a political polemic, albeit of an innocuous kind: but of current party politics there are none. The nearest approach is to be found on p. 102, where it is pointed out that, whereas Swift "belongs to the large class of Irish politicians whose chief public motive is a desire to avenge the wrongs of their country, Berkeley belongs to the very small class whose first desire is to remedy her woes." With which little sally, written in 1883, may be bracketed the quotation on p. 95 from the bishop's famous *Querist*: "Whether the bulk of our Irish peasantry are not kept from thriving by that cynical content in dirt and beggary which they possess to a degree beyond any other in Christendom?" Those who do not relish such allusions have an easy remedy. Let them imitate Montaigne, and exercise their "skipping wit." The course will then be clear. Avoiding these two plague spots, the most susceptible reader may pass through the volume without risk of political contamination.

And it will be well worth his while to go through the book. From beginning to end it is full of interest and varied charm. On almost every page, we see, we have marked some bright or shrewd or pregnant passage. While reading it, we feel, as the author felicitously says of *Berkeley's Life and Letters*, that we are "in the company of a man endowed with the subtlest of intellects lit up with a humour the most delicate and urbane"; of a man, we may add, in Mr. Balfour's words in another connection, "of a cultivated sensibility to the beauties of nature and of art." To the delightful chapter on "The Pleasures of Reading," in which the Positivist theory of culture as set forth in Mr. Frederic Harrison's *Choice of Books* is half-playfully criticised, and to the no less delightful though much weightier and more powerful criticism of the Positivist theory of Immortality in the Church Congress Address on "The Religion of Humanity," we find ourselves returning again and again; while the essay on "Handel"—the longest, and, in many respects, the most complete and satisfactory in the volume—impresses us, the longer we consider it, as a masterpiece of exposition and criticism. What, *e.g.*, could be finer or more delicate than the following analysis of that complex emotion which the Germans call "Weltschmerz," but for which we have no name—"a quality of emotion faintly and imperfectly represented in Handel's writings, though, unfortunately, perhaps for his fame, it is the one most valued in modern art:" "Pathos hardly renders it; for although it can hardly be cheerful, it need be impregnated by no more than the faintest and most luxurious flavour of melancholy. There is in it something indirect, ambiguous, complex. Though in itself positive



enough, it is, perhaps, most easily described by negatives. It is not grief, nor joy, nor despair, nor merriment. It is no simple emotion struck direct out of the heart by the shock of some great calamity or some unlooked-for good fortune. If it suggests, as it often does, an unsatisfied longing, it is a longing vague and far off which reaches towards no defined or concrete object. It is the product and the delight of a highly-wrought civilisation, but of a civilisation restless and tormented, neither contented with its destiny nor at peace with itself. Its greatest exponent has been Beethoven, and . . . the example I should select would be, perhaps, the third movement of his ninth symphony."

Or what more full of salutary wisdom than this caution for the times? It is the conclusion of the valuable lecture in which at the Manchester Athenæum Mr. Balfour pointed out the pitfalls in the path of the statesman who either relegates Political Economy to the planet Saturn or takes the science as his only guiding star. The former danger is the danger of the hour:

"Burning with a desire to remedy the ills they see on every side, these philanthropists are impatient of a science which is apt to beget a wise if chilling scepticism as to the efficacy of short cuts to universal happiness. . . . It is true that without enthusiasm nothing will be done. But it is also true that without knowledge nothing will be done well. Philanthropic zeal supplies admirable motive power, but makes a very indifferent compass; and of two evils it is better, perhaps, that our ship shall go nowhere than that it shall go wrong, that it should stand still than that it should run upon the rocks. As, therefore, nature knows nothing of good intentions, rewarding and punishing not motives but actions; as things are what they are, describe them as we may, and their consequences will be what they will be, prophesy of them as we choose, it behoves us at this time of all others to approach the consideration of impending social questions in the spirit of scientific inquiry, and to be impartial investigators of social facts before we become zealous reformers of social wrongs."

A handful of the sparkling epigrams which light up and adorn it may be added as a final sample of this fascinating book. Speaking of the Positivist sanction of morality, the author asks: "Can we seriously regard it as an improvement in the scheme of the universe that Infinite Justice and Infinite Mercy should be dethroned for the purpose of putting in their place an apotheosised Mrs. Grundy?" Referring to the prevalent abuse of the examination system, he speaks of those who brush off the bloom and freshness from the works of the British classics "in the struggle to learn something, not because the learner desires to know it, but because he desires someone else to know that he knows it." A humorous and happy turn is given to a familiar phrase in speaking of Berkeley's unrivalled powers of persuasion, thus: "His eloquence so moved them that those who came to scoff remained to subscribe." Which samples should be rounded off and crowned perhaps by one brief specimen of Mr. Balfour's

richer and more flowing style. He is speaking of the "spectacular" enjoyment of the study of history.

"The story of the rise, greatness, and decay of a nation is like some vast epic which contains as subsidiary episodes the varied stories of the rise, greatness, and decay of creeds, of parties, and of statesmen. The imagination is moved by the slow unrolling of this great picture of human mutability, as it is moved by the contrasted permanence of the abiding stars. The ceaseless conflict, the strange echoes of long-forgotten controversies, the confusion of purpose, the successes in which lay deep the seeds of future evils, the failures that ultimately divert the otherwise inevitable danger, the heroism which struggles to the last for a cause foredoomed to defeat, the wickedness which sides with right, and the wisdom which huzzas at the triumph of folly—fate meanwhile, amidst this turmoil and perplexity, working silently towards the predestined end—all these form together a subject the contemplation of which need surely never weary."

*An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory.* By  
W. J. ASHLEY, M.A. Part II. Longmans, Green & Co.  
10s. 6d.

The accomplished writer of this book is the Professor of Economic History in Harvard University. The first part of the work, which treats of the Middle Ages, was reviewed in these columns in April 1889, when the writer was Professor in Toronto. Part II. continues the history from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth. . . . German writers, of the school of Roscher and Adolf Wagner, have long since seen the necessity for the application of the historical method to economics. This book is a most valuable addition to the English literature of the subject, and, considering the increasing prominence of social questions, it is of special interest just now. It throws most welcome light on "many of those theories of social change which are now influencing men's minds." Professor Ashley distinguishes clearly between the permanent and the merely accidental factors in the growth and working of economic forces; and along with a happy knack of stating broad generalisations and grasping great principles, he combines a fulness of detail—interesting detail, for not one of these five hundred pages is dull. The evolution principle is applied to economics, and the development of industry is traced through four great stages—the family system, the guild system, the domestic system, the factory system. This book treats only of the second and third of these, showing how they are the outcome of the first, and how, under altered conditions, they inevitably lead to the last. The writer is well acquainted with the foreign literature of the subject, and he shows us that English legislation and the history of English social reform are not so isolated and insular as they are generally supposed to be. The same conditions and similar results have appeared in Germany and in Western Europe generally.

The book is divided into six chapters, each of which is preceded by a long list of authorities, and followed by notes and references. The first chapter, on "The Supremacy of the Towns," traces the development of civic patriotism, the gradual organisation of industry by the town authorities, and the gradual rise within the towns of small communities—men of the same trade banded together for mutual protection against foreigners and strangers from the surrounding hamlets. Every freeman must belong to one of these guilds or "misteries," and "in many instances the town council was wholly or in part composed of the elected representatives of the companies."

Chapter II., on "The Crafts," deals with the further development of these guild organisations, which were gradually "extended to every branch of industry and trade." The original and primary purpose of these guilds was to secure a good article at a reasonable price—"to secure the observance of the generally accepted standards of work." But alongside this there was another object, at first hinted, then definitely asserted—there was a movement towards restriction and protection from new-comers; hence the limitations in the number of apprentices, and the rise of a *journeyman* class, who could never hope to become masters in their own trade. "As soon as this 'working-class' appeared, the 'labour question' began to perplex legislators. The labour question is, accordingly, not one that has appeared for the first time in our own day." The full discussion of these new conditions, and the formation of "associations of journeymen," on the model of the craft guilds, is the most instructive part of the book. These workmen's associations were, in part, religious fraternities, and fulfilled many of the functions of our modern benefit societies. A separate chapter is devoted to "The Woollen Industry," because that, more than any other of the crafts, shows the transition from the "guild system" to the "domestic system"; "a change which can only be compared in its far-reaching consequences to the overthrow during the present century of the domestic system itself by the strength of machinery and great capital." It is interesting to know that in the first attempts to bring together a number of workmen under the same roof some of the old monastic buildings were used as mills. The writer quotes from Leland (1542): "At the present time every corner of the vast houses of office that belonged to the (Malmesbury) Abbey be full of looms to weave cloth in." This change in the industries brought about a corresponding change in agriculture—a substitution of pasturage for tillage.

Chapter IV., on "The Agrarian Revolution," is practically identical with a paper read by Professor Ashley before the British Association in 1890. It gives evidence of independent research. The question of the enclosure of commons, which so vitally affected the mediæval village economy, is discussed with great discrimination.

Chapter V., on "The Relief of the Poor," contains a strong and hearty defence of the dissolution of the monasteries, and as hearty a condemnation of the *method* of the dissolution. "There is no evidence at all," says Mr. Ashley, for the theory that "the dissolution made

the Poor Law necessary." Many of the monasteries had become mere "centres of pauperisation," and "most of the hospitals that were doing good work in the relief of sickness and destitution were spared at the Dissolution, and handed over to the municipal authorities." The Poor Law was called for in order to remedy evils which had sprung up *in spite of* the efforts of the monasteries and other charitable institutions to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. The problem of the "unemployed" had not yet arisen; still there was a gradual and tardy recognition of a common obligation to support the really needy and destitute. Chapter VI., on "The Canonist Doctrine," is a presentation of the results of modern German research in the history of the Canon Law and Commercial Law. There were important discussions of economic topics in general theological treatises and manuals of casuistry in the Middle Ages. These writers "absolutely condemned the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself." The central point of Canonist teaching was the prohibition of usury, and the chief aim of the chapter is to trace the rise and gradual recognition of customs allowing interest for the use of capital. We cannot but envy the students of Harvard who are introduced to the study of economics by such a teacher.

*National Life and Character: a Forecast.* By CHARLES H. PEARSON, LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893. 10s. net.

To those who are able to fill up the *lacunæ* in his exposition, and especially to make the necessary additions to his enumeration of the factors of progress, Professor Pearson's book may be commended as an able, interesting, and instructive forecast of the future of the races of mankind. A fresher or a more suggestive book we do not often read. Owing largely to the author's point of view, and therefore to the omissions to which we have alluded, the book is not an exhilarating one. The effect of it, as it stands, is indeed to damp the spirits and depress the energies of forward-looking Englishmen, who fondly, and, as this author thinks, absurdly, hope that they, together with the other higher races, are to rule the world to the end of time, and to maintain their present supremacy in industry and commerce, in politics and arms. The white races (this is the author's first contention) cannot live and labour and make progress outside the relatively narrow temperate zones; and the dark and yellow races, which alone can flourish in the vastly larger spaces beyond those limits, are destined at no distant date not only to oust the white man from their own domains, but to beat him in all neutral markets and to press him hardly both in arms and industry upon his native soil. The consequence of this will be that all the higher races, shut up with the temperate regions of the earth, will be compelled in self-defence to resort to a species of State Socialism for the purpose of restricting population and regulating trade and industry and defending themselves against the encroachments of the swarms of negroes, Chinese, and barbarians that are threatening even now to overrun the earth. The

greater part of the volume is devoted to an estimate of the effects of the State Socialism necessitated by this vast uprising and diffusion of the lower races on the character, and therefore on the destiny, of the nations that are compelled to adopt it. The State will replace the Church as the organiser of society; the family ties will be loosened; the springs of energy and of activity in the individual will be weakened; national character will decay; and mankind as a whole will enter on its period of stagnation and senility. This is, of course, the most meagre outline of a book whose chief attraction lies in its wealth of detail. It is literally packed with information, and totally as we differ from the author's point of view—a purely naturalistic one—we can cordially commend it to the thoughtful and discriminating reader as a storehouse of ideas, facts, and speculations bearing on a number of the more important questions of the time.

*Plato and Platonism.* By WALTER PATER. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.

Up to the present time perhaps the clearest account of Plato and Platonism available for the general student of the world's thought-development has been that given by Lewes in his *Biographical History of Philosophy*. Henceforth, however, the book for all such students, so far as Plato is concerned, must be this of Mr. Pater's. It does all that may be reasonably expected towards conveying to the English reader a serviceable notion of Plato's transcendental mysticism, his doctrine of ideas. It at least explains the vague general postulates, and the tendencies of thought and feeling which underlie it. It does as much, perhaps, as may well be done towards differentiating the actual Socrates as he lived and taught from the Platonic Socrates. It shows the relation in which the philosophy of Plato stands to that of his predecessors, regarding these as representing steps of progress in abstract speculation, as the Greek thought proceeded in its course of questioning and conjecture from the period of the first wakening of conscious reflection on the problems of existence. The style is always beautiful and of seductive charm. But Mr. Pater, no more than other expounders, can really explain the inexplicable—and the Platonic philosophy is inexplicable—i.e., it cannot be rendered with intelligible propositions or logically expounded. It is nebulous, but nevertheless full of gleaming tints and suggestions of beauty and truth.

*Science, and a Future Life: with other Essays.* By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1893.  
5s.

When it becomes known, the last essay in this valuable volume will take a permanent place among the masterpieces of English literature. As a piece of prose it is perfect. Simple, musical, transparent, beautifully balanced in its estimate of its subject—the late Prince Leopold—exquisitely graceful in its allusions, touching even to tears in its distant,

reverent, and yet tender sympathy, symmetrical and harmonious both in its parts and as a whole, the essay, which is at once a eulogium and an elegy, is, both in conception and in expression, as we have said, a perfect masterpiece. Bossuet might have written it, or Burke, or Newman, had they given their days and nights to pruning and refining and subduing what, in some happy moment, they had hurriedly composed; but we know few living authors who, with what pains soever, could approach the perfect literary workmanship here displayed.

The last essay is linked to the first by the fact that the Prince was greatly interested in those psychical researches which it is the author's aim throughout the volume to commend. The titles of the other essays are: "Charles Darwin and Agnosticism," "The Disenchantment of France," "Tennyson as Prophet," and "Modern Poets and Cosmic Law." All of them bear more or less directly on the central theme, and, in addition, they contain discussions of great interest and value on a score of cognate subjects in the fields of art and science and philosophy. The volume is a weighty and a welcome contribution to constructive criticism on the side of spiritualism as opposed to naturalism in science and philosophy. It is a work to buy and read and keep. If we mistake not, it opens out, or widens out, more than one path along which English thought will travel in the immediate future, not without both hope and peril. But Mr. Myers is a cautious and delightful guide.

*Forest Tithes.* And Other Studies from Nature. By *A Son of the Marshes*. Edited by J. A. OWEN. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1893. 5s.

*Forest Tithes* is a happy title for these Nature studies. The first paper, which deals specially with that subject, introduces us to the heron, which tithes the trout stream; the fox, which takes its tithe from the poultry-yard; the weasel and other vermin-killers, and "that glorious insect-destroyer, the great green dragon-fly, that helps to clear country lanes of such winged pests as hornets, wasps, and the ferocious stoat-flies." *Eyes and No Eyes* shows what a vast amount of patient study of Nature is involved in such a book as this. One enjoys the humorous outburst against the man who had ridden in a cart for many years along the high roads about which *A Son of the Marshes* wrote, yet had never come across any of the creatures that figure in his pages. The explanation was simple. "As the vehicle he used made nearly as much noise in its progress as a goods train might do, it was hardly to be expected that he would." *In the Weald* pays a fine tribute to the sturdy farmers and peasants, who dwell upon the Weald, and gives an amusing sketch of a night-prowling entomologist who was mistaken for a poacher, and nearly seized by a bloodhound. *British Reptiles*, one of the more complete papers, shows how much there is of interest, even in such a subject; whilst *Our Rodents* is another delightful study. *The Witch of Smoky Hollow* is a touching fragment of rural romance. *Little Jake* is a tender memorial

of a ten-year-old boy and his bullfinch. *Longshore Memories*, perhaps the best of all the papers, carries us back to the scenes of the writer's boyhood so lovingly described in earlier volumes. These studies show the same intimate knowledge of nature in all her moods, the same sympathy with the simple folk who spend their lives far from towns, and the same power to act as interpreter to less favoured people that have won *A Son of the Marshes* so wide a reputation as the first of our living writers on natural history. It is a charming book, and we are glad to see that the writer's mind is turning to the folklore and superstitions of the woodlands, which will, we hope, soon furnish another volume. On page 155 "twenty" is a misprint.

*Napoleon and the Military Supremacy of Revolutionary France.*

BY WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893. 5s.

Another handsome volume of the admirable "Heroes of the Nations" series, well bound, well printed in large type on thick paper, and profusely illustrated with maps, plans, portraits, and descriptive sketches. The ever-fresh and ever-fascinating story of the rise and fall of the "hero" of Marengo, Austerlitz, but not, as we were going to add, of Waterloo, is here told with knowledge and discrimination, and in a fairly interesting style. We could name more profound and brilliant analyses of Napoleon's character, and more graphic pictures of some parts of his career, but none, perhaps, which cover so much ground in so few words, and, on the whole, in quite so adequate a way. The volume will attract and please the general reader, and would make an excellent and high-class "prize."

*The Message of Quakerism to the Present Day.* By EVELYN M. NOBLE. London: E. Hicks, Jun. 1893.

Miss Noble has changed her name to Armitage since *The Message of Quakerism* was published. Many who are familiar with what she has written under the name of "Evelyn Pyne" will be glad to see this thoughtful and spiritual little book. It starts by defining Inspiration as "the Breath of God, which is the true life of man," and argues that those to whom "Inspiration means only something pressed between the covers of their Bibles, know little of its reality. To them, Christ's promise that He would be with the faithful until the end of the world, means nothing: for they practically assert that instead of revealing all truth, if He is present at all, He is silent!" The difficulties raised by the Higher Criticism are here simply waived out of court as questions affecting the husk, not the kernel, of the Bible. There are some striking sentences which claim the noblest types in Browning's portrait gallery, and the finest fruit of Wagner's genius as brimful of inspiration. The sketch of intolerance in the chapter headed "George Fox—the Seeker"—shows what the times were that gave birth to Quakerism, then the chief topics of Fox's teaching are brought out,

and a careful account is given of the Friends' *Book of Discipline*, which is described as presenting "probably the highest ideal of the Christian life, both from its spiritual and its practical side, of any book or church in the world." A final chapter deals with *The Message To-day*. Each must seek the Light in all ways that are open, must follow its guidance unhesitatingly, and fulfil the little duty of deed or word which every hour will bring. "Life rightly lived becomes like a precious mosaic, bound and encircled with gold, wherein is pictured in various colours the life of the Saviour." We are not inclined to criticise the doubtful or one-sided statements in this little volume. We will content ourselves with saying that all Christian people may study it with interest and profit.

*Life of St. Edmund of Canterbury*, from original sources.

BY WILFRID WALLACE, D.D., M.A., LL.B., Priest of the Order of St. Benedict of the Beuron Congregation.

London: Kegan Paul & Co. 1893. 15s.

In spite of its numerous puerilities, inserted, the author informs us, in order that nothing, however trivial, recorded by the saint's biographers might be omitted, and in spite of the almost incredible credulity of the author himself, this is an exceedingly interesting and valuable life of one of the most learned, pious, and devoted of the early English archbishops. It is, we believe, the first English Roman Catholic life of the saint, and, though written, for the most part, with commendable candour, it is written entirely from the Roman point of view, and not without a polemical purpose. Nevertheless, it is an excellent piece of work. Learned, elaborate, beautifully and in places touchingly written, diffusing a not altogether unwholesome, if sometimes ascetic and almost morbid, savour of devotion, the book will probably take its place as the standard English biography of St. Edmund, and will be read, not only with profit, but with pleasure outside the circles where its least reliable statements and doctrines will be unhesitatingly received. Others besides Roman Catholics will find it a book of instruction and of edification. The substance of all previous biographies is included in it, and the three contemporary Latin lives—by Eustace, Robert Bacon, and St. Edmund's brother, Robert Rich—together with much valuable elucidatory matter, are added in the appendices.

*My Mission Tour in South Africa. A Record of Interesting Travel and Pentecostal Blessing.* By Rev. THOMAS COOK.

London: C. H. Kelly. 1893. 1s. 6d.

During the six months which he spent in South Africa, Mr. Cook conducted 220 services, at which 2000 natives and 4000 Europeans were led openly to confess Christ. Mr. Cook had long held that preaching through an interpreter need not rob the message of its



power to reach the conscience and heart. When he reached Annshaw, where he was to hold services among the Kaffirs, he took his interpreter—the native schoolmaster—aside, and went over the sermon with him, explaining difficult words, emphasising the most important points, and urging him to imitate his movements and the modulations of his voice. It was an impressive sight to watch a thousand Kaffirs hanging upon the Word. Profound silence reigned during the sermon, but tearful eyes and distorted features indicated that the Spirit of God was striving mightily. When the congregation began to sing, one penitent after another hurried to the communion rail. All prayed audibly for mercy; the floor was wet with tears. For a time it was useless to speak or even to sing. That day eighty souls professed to find forgiveness. The same fruit was seen in other places. One Sunday at Kimberley upwards of a hundred adults were gathered in. The mission tour was throughout a memorable success. The record is an inspiring one for all Christian workers, and Mr. Cook throws in many vivid bits of descriptions, such as that of the diamond field at Kimberley, which will help those who have never visited South Africa to understand Methodist work there, and see the greatness of our opportunity in that colony.

“The Children’s Library.” I. *Finnish Legends for English Children*. By R. EIVIND. Illustrated. II. *The Pentameron, or The Story of Stories*. By GIAMBATTISTA BASILE. Translated from the Neapolitan by JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR. New Edition, revised and edited by HELEN ZIMMERN, with illustrations by GEORGE CRUIKSHANK. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893. 2s. 6d. each.

Charming both in matter and in form, like all the rest of the series of volumes in this unique and sumptuous “Children’s Library”! “To be boy eternal,” on such aliment, should not be difficult, and would be delightful. The former volume throws open the new, rich realm of Finnish story-land to children of all ages; and the latter, in the prudent, skilful hands of Miss Zimmern, is made to introduce us to the not less rich and still more racy, though, in some parts, noxious realm of Neapolitan romance. Twenty of the fifty tales by Basile have been wisely, and indeed necessarily, omitted, and the rest have been carefully expurgated and adapted to English ears. The result is a collection of stories second to none for wild fancy, sportive drollery, proverbial wisdom, and that magic of expression we call charm. Everything is done by way of glossary and illustration to make the Finnish legends more easily intelligible; and George Cruikshank’s grotesque pictures greatly add to the attractions of this exquisite selection from the *Pentameron*. Our own children have already devoured these two volumes, and, like *Oliver Twist*, are crying out for “more.”

## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

**R**EVUE DES DEUX MONDES (March 15).—M. Chevrillon's bright notes of travels in "Judæa" should not be overlooked. He had come from Egypt, and after the grandeur and simplicity of the land of pyramids, of temples, and of the dead, was surprised with the charm of Palestine. Jaffa he describes as the most picturesque, the most oriental of any city on the borders of the Mediterranean. The passage of the bar there in great barques, which bounded upon the fierce surge, amused him very much. From Jaffa to Jerusalem was a pleasant three hours' journey. The Jews of Jerusalem now number forty thousand; all come from Europe. Every year they flow in in greater numbers from Poland and Russia. He describes one of the alleys where they herd together, so narrow that daylight can scarcely penetrate it, and hemmed in by slaughter-houses where the heads of sheep are piled up. There inside is the unsavoury mob, sickly, tattered, scrofulous, anæmic from their life in the shade; blear-eyed, with unhealthy complexions, almost transparent through very paleness. They are dressed in the old costumes worn by the Jews of the Middle Ages—long Oriental tunics striped with yellow, great mantles with sleeves which fall from the shoulders to the feet, pitiful Western bonnets, all the rags of the old Jewries of Amsterdam or of Prague. The beards are long and curling, the waving locks fall in greasy curl-papers on the whiteness of the temples. Yet, often under these old hats, among these long mops of hair, what admirable and pitiful heads, what intensity of expression, what shining forth of the soul, what weariness of life, what profound and sad eyes, what peeps of interiors worthy of Rembrandt, the painter, who felt the beauty of their Jewries, the tragic life which overflows from that gloom and darkness. Some impassioned heads of young men make one think of Christ. There are old men who seem to embody a whole age of misery. One cannot turn one's eyes away from them, and their figures remained fixed in the memory among the most intense souvenirs that the visitor carries away from Jerusalem, so beautiful with their muffled flame of interior life, their abysses of suffering grown familiar, of dumb resignation, such as we see in Rembrandt's old Jew in the National Gallery.

(April 1).—M. Filon's sketch of Prosper Mérimée is based on personal recollections and unpublished documents. It was at Fontainebleau in August 1868 that M. Filon saw the Empress walking in the English garden with an old man at her side, whose eyes were cast down on the ground. He was dressed with care, almost like an old beau, in grey trousers and white waistcoat, with an ample cravat of sky blue. His big nose was curiously squared off at the end, four deep wrinkles ran across his forehead, his eye was round, cold, and a little hard with the shadow of a thick eyebrow, and behind the glitter of his eye-glasses. The Empress called up M. Filon, and said, "It is Mérimée." For seven years the young man had made every effort to initiate himself into Mérimée's good graces, but without success. He was then twenty-six, while the great literary man was nearly sixty-five. No old man ever courted young people less than Mérimée. He held to his old friends, who were men of letters rather than *littérateurs*. As to the new generation he not only made no advance towards them, but did not even encourage them to cross the space which separated them from him. M. Filon, however, enjoyed the confidence of some of Mérimée's close friends, so that he found himself a third in almost confidential talks. He is thus able to evoke the memory of Mérimée as a visible living person. It is twenty-three years since his death. Silence has settled down around him, broken only now and then by the tardy reception of his successor at the Academy, and by the publication of his letters to two "Unknown" and to Panizzi. It seems as though

the moment has almost arrived for telling the story of Mérimée's life, and fixing his share in the balance to be drawn at the end of the century. M. Filon has been almost embarrassed by the wealth of material put into his hands. He has had access to the letters written to Mérimée's old friend, Albert Stapfer (1825-1870), and has been allowed to read his complete correspondence with the Countess of Montijo (1839-1870). Everywhere, and in all things, Mérimée was a man of wit. It is this characteristic which gives to a study of his life that kind of retrospective attraction which surrounds the anatomy and physiology of extinct species. Of the historians who have won a reputation during the last twenty years, three or four have had *esprit*, but they have had it in excess. For young people a man of wit seems to be a kind of buffoon who flourished under the Second Empire, an unfortunate who treats words as the Roman parasite, or like the gleeman of the Saxon banquets. They are astonished when they are taught that the subtle essence called wit mixes itself with all, even with religion and love; that it is really the vivacity, rapid and unerring, of the literary function, that force of projection which makes of thought a "trait"—a very suggestive word which has lost its meaning by being misused.

(April 15).—M. Jusserand's paper on "The Life and Works of Geoffrey Chaucer" opens with an impressive sketch of Poet's Corner, where the long line of poets sleep beside the long line of kings. After a long period, during which it seemed doubtful whether the island of Britain would not become French, a new people sprang up in the fourteenth century, differing from their ancestors despite the ties of blood—a nation quite young, which was already covered with glory, and fixed, as by a deliberate choice, the distinguishing traits of its own character. Chaucer belonged to the new era. His biography is hardly less characteristic than his work, for he describes nothing by hearsay or supposition; he is himself an actor in the scenes which he recounts; he does not dream them, he sees them. His history is, as it were, a reflection of that of the nation. The nation grows rich by commerce, and Chaucer is the son of a trader; it ceases to study in Paris, and Chaucer does not go there; it makes war in France, and he follows in Edward's train. England sets its faith in the Parliament, and Chaucer becomes member for Kent; she interests herself in things of beauty, loves the arts, and wishes to have them rich and smiling; Chaucer becomes keeper of the royal palaces and looks after their embellishment and due maintenance. In him also Merry England finds its true poetic representative. Chaucer's life and poems are sketched with M. Jusserand's usual felicity of style and insight. The article will repay the perusal of all lovers of the Canterbury Tales. The same good sense, calm and optimism, which made Chaucer adopt the language of his country and the usual versification, prevented him from setting himself too violently against the notions of his time, whilst neither patriotism, piety, nor pride has been allowed to make him the victim of illusions as to his country, his religion, and his times. The impartiality of that old French prisoner is extraordinary, superior even to that of Froissart, who was a native of a border-country, and, therefore, by birth impartial, yet showed by the revision of his Chronicles more decided preferences as his years increased. Chaucer, from one end of his career to the other, remained the same, and the fact is the more remarkable because his turn of mind, his inspiration, and his literary ideal, became more and more English as he grew in years. Apart from the great quarrel in which he had had his share, he remained impartial, his works contain no line aimed at France, not even a single eulogy of his country as the happy rival of that country. Even Des Champs, a great enemy of the English, who had not only ravaged France, but had burned his country-house, makes an exception in his hatred, and pays homage to the wisdom and the genius of the "noble Geoffrey Chaucer."

(May 1).—M. Filon continues his study of Prosper Mérimée. The access of Dandyism, from which he had suffered for a few years, seemed to pass away about 1834. His *Ames du Purgatoire*, published that year, showed his true originality and talent. He was named Inspector-General of Public Buildings.

At first he was oppressed with *ennui* as he set out on his tours of inspection. He complained bitterly of the filthiness of the inns and the absurdity of the municipal councils, the stupidity of the provincials and the ugliness of their women. The Bretons filled him with *ennui*, the Gascons wearied him. The ladies of Caen, of Aurillac, and of Chaumont were not able to be anything else than frights, since they did not know how to dress. "Woman in her savage state is always ugly"—his elegant friends, the Parisiennes, had instilled into him that dogma, and he believed it. But despite all he kept his eyes open. Sometimes it was an election scene, partly ignoble and partly gay; or it might be an evening with the peasants, where he improvised to terrify them one of his most grisly stories. His natural tastes and his early education served him well in dealing with artists and questions of art. He was the son of an artist, and had grown up among painters and sculptors. He took constant pleasure in drawing, and found it not only a pastime, but almost a necessity of his nature. In 1843 he was elected a free member of the Academy of Inscriptions. The following year he was elected to the French Academy. It is very amusing to read about the terrors inspired by his address. His face grew the same colour as the green trimmings of his coat, and he felt no little dismay at the ordeal before him. His chief care was to preserve his voice, and in that he succeeded very well. People appeared content with his deliverance, he wrote two days later. "I was satisfied with the public, and I hope they were satisfied with me."

(May 15).—There are several articles of unusual interest in this number. M. Deschamps has a good subject in "Smyrna." He describes the evening promenade of the foreign residents in the city. Almost all, save perhaps the English, have assumed the character and habits of the Levantines, and have a physiognomy both ferocious and insipid, where there is something of the ruffian and of the cavalier mixed. The women have the languor of Eastern beauties, and scarcely shake it off, save at the fêtes given in their honour on board the ships of war or in the salons of the European casino. Then they seem outrageous, amusing themselves like children, and abandoning themselves to their pleasure like colts that leap about in a meadow. The Rue Franque is the centre of the Christian quarter. Its shops almost rival those of Paris, and are filled with European goods. The foreign consulates are here. There are 80,000 Greeks in Smyrna who look upon the place as part of their own country. M. Boissier writes a sketch of the "Old Sorbonne," which is just about to disappear. In a few months there will be nothing left of it save its church, and there is some notion of lodging there a museum of geology or natural history, or workshops and laboratories. M. Boissier hopes that the place will be spared this profanation. The paper on "Franche-Comté" ought not to be overlooked by lovers of old French history.

REVUE CRÉTIENNE (April).—M. Lods' interesting paper on "The Gospel according to St. Peter" holds the first place in this number, which also contains a thoughtful study of Thomas' doubts as to the Resurrection. M. Puaux pays a graceful tribute to Taine, "who holds a foremost, if not the first, place among the French savants of this century." He never disguised his sympathy for the Reformation, and desired that he should be buried by a Protestant pastor. He expressed his conviction to Freeman, the historian, that the Catholic Church was not able to free itself from elements which to him appeared incompatible with modern civilisation, whilst Protestantism, adapted to the conditions of modern life, as it has been by its best defenders, was capable of raising the thought and guiding the social progress of humanity. The pathos of Jules Ferry's death is clearly brought out in this *Revue du Mois*. The hour of recompense had come to that great citizen after years of suffering and of ostracism. He belonged to a generation that lived only to establish true liberty. He had a lofty soul, an inflexible will, and he served the cause with antique virtue. He was anti-clerical, but not anti-religious. Finding himself in the presence of adversaries who conspired openly against the Republic, whilst shielding themselves under the wing of the Church, he was compelled to take away from the Church the education

of the young. French Protestants have suffered severely from a law that was not aimed at them.

(May).—M. Kruger's article on "The Jubilee of the Free Church of Scotland" describes the historic Synod of 1843, and the scene in George Street as the procession of ministers filed out from St. Andrew's Church after Dr. Welsh had laid his protestation on the table. M. Kruger points out that this secession was a necessary consequence of the reforming activity of John Knox. The Presbyterian constitution of the Scotch Kirk contained in germ the principle of ecclesiastical independence. The abuse of patronage in several instances sharpened that sentiment, and the religious revival at the beginning of the age hastened the movement. A short *résumé* of the history of Scotch Presbyterianism after Knox leads up to a clear account of the struggles at Auchterarder and at Marnoch, which roused all Scotland to a white heat of excitement and made the Disruption inevitable. Madame de Witt-Guizot continues her sketch of "Oberlin," which was begun in March.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 15).—Signor Palma deals with "Mr. Gladstone's New Project for Home Rule in Ireland." The writer refers to the Bill of 1886 "brought in by the 'Great Old Man,' as they call him in the United Kingdom, rich in years and in glory." The civilised world, he says, followed with admiration and perplexity the great struggle between the powerful champions of the two parties. The provisions of the Bill are then sketched; the chief objections to it epitomised. This brings the writer to the Bill now before Parliament, whose provisions are carefully stated, and then clearly discussed in detail. It shows that England, Scotland, and Wales must have their own Legislatures, if the plan adopted for Ireland is to be applied all round. It points out that the question bristles with difficulties, because if Home Rule is refused there will still be serious discontent in the greater part of Ireland, and its concession threatens not less discontent on the other side.

(April 1).—Signor Ferraris has a timely article on "The Maritime Convention before the Italian Senate," which will awaken great interest. The proposed measure awoke a lively discussion in the Chamber of Deputies, and after a fortnight's debate 143 voted for it, and 112 against it. It is proposed to give a subvention to the General Italian Navigation Society for the use of its ships in time of war. It seems that on December 31, 1891, there were 305 Italian steamers with a tonnage of 199,945 tons; the "General Italian Navigation" has 105 vessels with 106,908 tonnage. It will therefore be apparent that the wise and sound administration of this society is a matter of national importance, provided that the state of trade and of national finance make it feasible to impose any burden on the nation in favour of that society. The maritime convention aims to secure a public service of postal and commercial transport by sea, and to create and sustain a mercantile marine for the country, useful to commerce in time of peace, and to the fleet in time of war. The whole subject is very carefully discussed, the age and condition of the vessels of the Navigation Society, the weak points of its working, and other matters are considered. The Senate will have to take a line of conduct worthy and firm, which will harmonise the true interests of the Navigation General itself with the principle of good and conscientious administration of public affairs, and, above all, of the public money.

(April 15).—Verax's account of "The Diplomatic Reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus" brings out the points in those memoirs which throw light upon Italian politics. The brief sketch of "King Humbert" by Fedele Lampertico will be read with special interest amid the silver wedding festivities. It was on February 1, 1868, that Menabrea, then President of the Council of Ministers, announced to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies the marriage arranged between the heir to the throne and Princess Margaret of Savoy. It was felt that it was a truly Italian match. Humbert, the son of a king who was both a warrior and a patriot, and himself also a warrior and a patriot, was affianced to the daughter of the glorious conqueror of Peschiera; the son of the king espoused the daughter of the valiant prince, who was more than brother to Victor Emanuel, his companion in the perils of war for the freedom of Italy. The marriage was celebrated on April 22 in the Metro-

politan Church, and was greeted with exultation by the Italian people. The article proceeds to show, without adulation, and with historic impartiality, how the king became the first Italian citizen. He took part in the great struggle for independence, and lifted high the honour of the Italian arms. As King of Italy Humbert has known how to give to the German Alliance that character of intimacy and cordiality which is a precious guarantee of the international treaty. In the exercise of his prerogative also, the writer holds that he has been a perfect model of a constitutional king. Kind and popular, always prompt to take the lead in any work that is useful and generous, and always prompt to succour his people in every national calamity, King Humbert is venerated and loved throughout Italy.

(May 1).—Signor Giacomini's paper on "New York" shows how the city impresses a stranger as he sees it rising from the water like a vast amphitheatre. The people, their life, and their surroundings, all seem to harmonise with each other, so that one cannot be dissociated from the other. New York, besides being a thriving seat of trade and mechanical industry, is blessed with activities more humane—elements of life intellectual, artistic, and pleasure-seeking. The great bustle of ships coming and going; the gaiety caused by a thousand yachts under steam or canvas, all seem to add to the charm of the scene for a stranger. The bay of New York forms a sight almost beyond comparison. There is none with such a vast stretch of water, so surrounded with workshops, so full of life, so varied in its aspects and movements, so provocative of thought. The article will give Italian readers a good idea of the city and its surroundings. The careful paper on "The New Bank of Italy" appeals to students of finance, whilst "The Rose in Science and in Industry" is bright reading for all lovers of the queen of flowers.

(May 15).—Signor Palma's article on the "Revision of the Belgic Constitution" points out that it dates from February 7, 1831, so that it has a double claim to attention as the oldest and most satisfactory of European Constitutions. The Bourbon settlement of 1814, and the other French Constitutions of 1830, 1848, 1852, and 1870 have fallen, as also has the Spanish Constitution. The Belgic Constitution was not the work of a single victorious party, but was due to the Clericals and Liberals united, and was a happy adjustment of a beautiful and healthy monarchy, where the rights of Crown, of Chamber of Representatives, and elective Senate were safeguarded, whilst ample local and individual liberty was secured to all in matters of religion, of the press, of reunion and association. There is also an interesting little study of "The Eve of the Discovery of America."

MINERVA (February).—This valuable little review, which is mainly made up of cuttings from the chief European periodicals, evidently fills a gap in Italian magazine literature. Its first pages are given to a translation of Dr. Pfeleiderer's article on "Ernest Renan and the Story of Christianity," from *Deutsche Rundschau*. Then follow extracts from E. B. Lanin's discussion of "Count Taaffe and Austrian Politics" in the *Contemporary* and other papers of special interest for Italian readers.

METHODIST REVIEW (March-April).—We learn from a note by the assistant-editor that Dr. Kelley, who was appointed editor of this review by the Book Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was not set free from his pastorate at New Haven till April, so that the May number is the first of which he takes charge. The assistant-editor is therefore to be congratulated on the special excellence of this March-April number. Dr. Baker's capital sketch of "Amos Shinkle" introduces us to a layman who gave away fifty thousand dollars in one year. "I found I had to," he said to a friend; "it was getting too strong a hold on me." Dr. Strong's "Songs of the Church" gives the Greek text of Clement of Alexandria's "Hymn of the Saviour Christ," and attempts a version of part of Bernard of Clugny's "New Jerusalem." The article is slight but suggestive.

THE CENTURY (April, May, June).—J. Addington Symonds' little paper on "Tennyson" in the May number is invested with a kind of pathetic interest, for it follows close upon the notice of the writer's death, after a long fight

with failing health. The paper describes an evening at Thomas Woolner's with Tennyson and Gladstone, in December, 1865. There was much animated talk about the Jamaica business, Gladstone bearing hard on Eyre, Tennyson excusing any cruelty in the case of putting down a savage mob. "It is hard," says Mr. Symonds, "to fix the difference between the two men, both with their strong provincial accent—Gladstone with his rich, flexible voice, Tennyson with his deep drawl, rising into an impatient falsetto when put out; Gladstone arguing, Tennyson putting in a prejudice; Gladstone asserting rashly, Tennyson denying with a bald negative; Gladstone full of facts, Tennyson relying on impressions; both of them humorous, but the one polished and delicate in repartee, the other broad and coarse and grotesque. Gladstone is in some sort a man of the world; Tennyson a child, and treated by Gladstone as a child." A bright little bundle of recollections it is. Mrs. Rensselaer's chatty article about the World's Fair at Chicago is disappointing for those who have enjoyed her exquisite critiques on our cathedrals. Mrs. Oliphant's "The Queen and the Duchess" deals with Queen Anne and her Grace of Marlborough in a very pleasant style. The account of the little Duke of Gloucester is very attractive and touching.

**HARPER'S MAGAZINE** (April, May, June).—Mr. Doyle's story, "The Refugees," shows as great power in sketching the life of the Canadian wilds and the atrocities of the Iroquois as it did in depicting the court of Louis XIV. It is certainly a powerful story, though the grim description of Father Ignatius Morat's handling by the Indians is almost more than one can bear to read. How a man thus handled should survive passes comprehension. The story bristles with thrilling adventures. M. de Blowitz's account of 'The French Scare of 1875' is another revelation of the journalist's influence in politics. It is evident that Count Moltke would have been glad to force a war with France in 1875, but M. de Blowitz's letter to the *Times* alarmed Europe to a sense of its impending danger. Mr. Delane wrote: "It has been of the greatest public service, and, as I sincerely believe, has done even much to spare the world the horrors of another war." In *Harper* for April Mr. Ralph gives an interesting sketch of Denver, the capital of Colorado. He says it is so new that it looks as if it had been made to order, and was just ready for delivery. The first citizen you talk to says: "You notice there are no old people on the streets here. There aren't any in the city. We have no use for old folks here." The theatres are absolutely gorgeous; the Methodist church is a quarter of a million pile of granite; along the tree-lined streets are some of the prettiest villas one could wish to see. "They are not palaces, but they are very tasteful, stylish, cosy, and pretty houses, all built of brick or stone, in a great variety of pleasing colours and materials, and with a proud showing of towers, turrets, conservatories, bay-windows, gables, and all else that goes to mark this period." The sketch of "The Empress of Austria," given by a lady of her court in *Harper* for June, shows that Vienna has been by no means a pleasant home for a woman like the Empress Elizabeth. "She is the most poetical and romantic figure among the royalty of Europe. She is a noble woman in the full sense of the word; very silent, very brave and resolute, extremely generous, and perfectly, absolutely truthful in all things, both great and small."

**ST. NICHOLAS** (April, May, June).—Mr. Adeney's "Night with the Poachers" in *St. Nicholas* for May describes the salmon-spearing in American or Canadian rivers, where men stand in a canoe twenty-four feet long and two feet wide, and strike a fish in nine feet of water as it darts swiftly past. The spear is a stout pole of peeled spruce, two inches thick and ten feet long. "A slender bar of iron, sharpened like a chisel or screw-driver, is set into one end, and projects forward six inches: and a pair of 'jaws,' each fifteen inches long and three inches across the blade, whittled out of tough rock-maple, are lashed with stout twine upon each side of the iron point." They are intended to slip round the body of the salmon and prevent its escape. Mr. O'Reilly's "Secrets of Snake Charming" is well worth reading. He says that snakes cannot be tamed nor taught to distinguish persons.

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