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A table of contents for the *London Quarterly Review* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\_london-quarterly-and-holborn-review 01.php

# Kondon Quarterly Review.

### CONTENTS.

I. The Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Angient and Modern.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE G. FINDLAY, B.A., D.D.

- II. The Evolution of the Leader.
  By T. H. S. ESCOTT
- III. Judaism and Jewish Evangelization.

  By PROFESSOR THOMAS NICOL, M.A., D.D.
- IV. British Industry and the Labour Frebiem.
  By FRANK HENLEY.
  - V. The Primacy of the Individual.

    By ARTHUR BOUTWOOD,

    VICEPRESIDENT OF THE ASSISTMENT SOCIETY
- VI. The Development of Bird-Song.
  By ROBERT MCLEOD
- VII. The Blessed Trinity.

  By R. MCCHEYNE BDGAR, M.A., D.B.
- VIII. The Reign of Queen Anne.

  By JOHN TELFORD, B.A.
  - IX. The World of Books.

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### LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

### JANUARY, 1903.

## THE INTERPRETATION OF HOLY SCRIPTURE. ANCIENT AND MODERN.

- History of Interpretation. The Bampton Lectures for the Year 1885. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., [then] Canon of Westminster. (London: Macmillan & Co.)
- 2. Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii. The Latin Version with the Greek Fragments; with an Introduction, Notes, and Indices. By H. B. SWETE, D.D. In Two Volumes. (Cambridge University Press. 1882.)
- 3. Chrysostom: a Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation. By F. H. CHASE, M.A. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co. 1887.)
- 4. The Oracles of God. Nine Lectures on the Nature and Extent of Biblical Inspiration, and on the Special Sig-New Series, vol. ix., No. 1.

nificance of the Old Testament Scriptures at the Present Time. By W. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D. Fifth Edition. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1894.)

THE history of the interpretation of Holy Scripture is admonitory and yet assuring to a Christian mind. The word of God has proved itself at once a stone of stumbling and a rock of foundation to mankind from age to age. Looked at from the one side, the record of Biblical exegesis is a register of human impotence, presumption, and folly; turning the pages of the ancient commentators, one is obliged again and again to say, "The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain." The infirmities of holy men, the pride of dogmatism, the powerlessness of the strongest and most gifted minds to surmount the limitations of their day, find in this field abundant illustration. No other branch of literature surely is encumbered with such a mass of ineptitude,—yet seamed with veins of untold wealth, and holding embedded in it many of the finest jewels of spiritual thought and genius bequeathed to us from the past. The teaching of Divine Scripture has everywhere set minds moving and hearts beating; it stirs faith, awe, wonder, speculation. It has engaged men of all kinds and qualities in its elucidation—the wise and the unwise, the humble and the vain, scholars subdued to the spirit of Scripture or seeking to exploit it for alien purposes. There is no more striking evidence of the inspiration of the Bible than the contrast between itself and the bulk of the commentaries upon it, nor of its vitality than the fact that it has survived and thrown off the incubus; no greater sign of its dominion over the human mind than the way in which this book enlists new interpreters in every age and region of the world to which it penetrates.

Holy Scripture requires interpretation. Its beginnings strike down to primeval times. Its plainer teaching is blended with tremendous mysteries, questions of sin and judgment and eternal destiny suspended on the passing incidents of national or domestic history. Heavenly things

and earthly form the warp and woof of its tissue; its golden and purple threads intertwine in a thousand ways with life's common homespun. The expositor, the explicator, is constantly in request; the Ethiopian Chancellor, as he reads his roll of the Prophets, cries out, "How can I understand, unless someone shall guide me?" He is happy to find the interpreter running by his chariot-side! Added to the difficulties inherent in the subject-matter, there are those of the form and setting of Scripture: the two languages, Hebrew and Greek, foreign to all except the original readers of the Testaments; the gulfs of time, with all the remoteness in mental habit and environment which they create. separating the reader from the Scriptural origins even when the barriers of language and idiom are surmounted. The spiritual and national idiosyncrasy characterising the ancient Israelite people during the growth of the Bible, and the vast changes which Israel underwent in that long period, must be realised for the intelligent construing of its books; to gain this apprehension, one is compelled to travel outside of Scripture and to acquaint oneself with the old civilisation, with Oriental ideas and manners, and with the course of empire from early Egyptian down to Roman times. For these amongst other reasons the Bible has always called for the student and the trained expositor; it has always found listeners for him, if he offered anything that promised a better comprehension of the wondrous volume.

Hence the enormous store of Scriptural learning, containing material from all quarters and of the most unequal value, that has accumulated in the shape of translation, commentary, illustration, homily, from the times of the Jewish Targums and Talmud down to the latest Century Bible. An adequate account of the building up of Holy Scripture in its two Testaments, and then of its exposition and use within the Church, and of its influence upon society and civilisation, would be little less than a history of the progress of mankind. For these volumes hold a central place amongst the forces governing human development; they have been, in one dispensation after another, "working

salvation in the midst of the earth." This river of life proceeding from the throne of God has watered the richest lands of history. It has drawn into its course all the other main currents of the world's thought and activity—art, science, law, commerce, secular learning, and even war and statecraft—and has been influenced and coloured by each of them in turn. What has been finely said of poetry, that it is the criticism of life, is true of inspired Scripture in the highest sense. But the relationship is mutual; and if Scripture expounds life in its ideals, then life must be called in to expound Scripture in its actualities.

The interpretation of Holy Scripture has a long and continuous history. Its present results from its past-by way partly of inheritance, partly of emancipation and reaction. In every acquisition we are drawing upon our ancestors; revolution is revival, the recovery of lost ideals, the germinating of seeds long buried and left for dead. The deeper study of Scripture makes us sensible of the continuity of moral progress and the derivative character of our originalities. We partake of "the root and fatness" of an "olivetree" that has grown through uncounted seasons. The exegesis of the Bible begins within the Bible; the expositor finds his warrant and his models in its pages. The New Testament expounds the Old; the Prophets and Psalmists are critical commentators upon the Israelite traditions; the Apocalyptic Books read coming judgment in the light of God's present dealings with the world; the Epistles draw their doctrine from the facts of the Gospels, and from the experience of the Church outlined in the Acts of the Apostles. The earliest editors of Scripture set their seal upon it, committing the trust to their successors; when the Elders of Ephesus attached their certificate to the Fourth Gospel (John xxi. 24), or the prophetess Huldah commended the Law-book of Deuteronomy to King Josiah (2 Kings xxii, 8-20), what these did must, in some shape or other, have been done by way of attestation and conveyance. on the part of the first recipients, in the case of other treasured documents. Each generation in turn has given its testimony and added its reading, Intelligently or otherwise, to the sum of assent and opinion respecting the Holy Books, and has helped to swell the mighty stream of tradition which has borne them down to us. Contemporary critics are dealing with the work of the ancient critics, Higher and Lower, of Rabbinical and Patristic and Reformation times. The Jewish Scribes and Doctors, the Christian Fathers of Alexandria and Antioch, the Scholastic Theologians of the middle ages, the Reformers and Translators of the sixteenth century, the scientific exegetes of our own day,—these are conduits in the flow of reverent thought, research, teaching that has poured incessantly from the divine fountains.

Mingled in this stream error has flowed down, to be neutralised and overcome by saving truth. Errors there are which the merest tyro may discern in the honoured and orthodox doctors of former ages; for we are dwarfs looking down on the giants from their shoulders' height. On the whole, despite reactions and relapses and with wide detours both to right and left of the straight path, the course of Biblical interpretation has been one of sure advancement. The stream as it ran has worked clear of foreign and disturbing infusions. Apocryphal Books have found an entrance at this point or that, securing a local or temporary footing, to be rejected by the general judgment and Christian sense of the Church. The deep thoughts of God in Scripture reassert themselves, though overlaid for ages; one by one they come to their rights; and the prophetic word that shone "as a lamp" unheeded "in a dark place," breaks into a flood of radiance. Time has sifted the labours of the old commentators, "taking forth the precious from the vile"; their garnered fruit becomes seed multiplied a hundred-fold. After a long and disastrous eclipse, the Revival of Learning and the Reformation of Religion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries restored to Scripture the ascendency lost in the barbarous ignorance of mediæval times and under the Papal tyranny. Modern history dates from the upheaval of Christendom caused by the resurrection of Scripture. translation of the Bible into the Western tongues brought

a new day-spring from on high to the world. The leadership of mankind passed to the nations which built their religion upon the reinstated word of God. Science and free thought sprang from the Protestant reform.

This immense revolution, whose fruits we are now reaping, has brought after it a train of fresh trials for Scripture and its interpreters. The Bible is threatened with being devoured by its own children. The rights of private judgment and the passion for scientific truth, with the finer and more scrupulous conscience of modern thought, appear in many quarters to be arrayed against the mother that gave them birth. The text and literary construction of Holy Scripture, its genealogy and title-deeds, the settled assumptions and preconceptions under which it is read, and all its priceless spiritual contents, are exposed to the fierce light of science—a science furnished with methods and tools for research far exceeding in their range and accuracy, and in the confidence with which they are wielded, any critical apparatus previously constructed. The Bible is passing through the crucible. The present age, whatever other titles it may bear, will be known in the Church hereafter as the age of Biblical Criticism. Can we doubt that "the King of the ages" presides also over ours? He "sits as a refiner and purifier of silver," superintending the critical process through which the human forms and vesture of His word are passing. That is true of the book which was said of the people: "Lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of Israel among the nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth" (Amos ix. q).

It is hard for the lovers of Scripture not to be anxious and fretful at such a time. So much is at stake. To many it seems as though the Bible itself were perishing in the fires; as though it were not the mere traditional framework and circumstantials but its very texture and substance, that are suffering under this ruthless investigation. There are critics whose destructive spirit and unmeasured boasts justify an alarmed resentment; and indignation swells, with

some minds, into a reactionary panic and prompts a futile resistance to the advance of knowledge. "He that believeth shall not make haste." The experience of the Church demonstrates the living power of God in Scripture to save and to bless-a power which waits for no critical pronouncement upon philological or historical details, but inheres in the gospel message and shines with selfevidencing light from the image of Jesus Christ stamped upon the pages of the New Testament. In all parts of the Bible there sound words "proceeding out of the mouth of God," by which men live as by no earthly bread. Let the lips or pens through which those words travelled have been what they may-there they are! Let the verdict of science upon the literary form of the record turn out as it will, these are to us "the true sayings of God." We are "perplexed but not in despair, cast down but not destroyed," by the sharp questionings to which our cherished views of inspiration and canonical authority are subjected. The career of the Bible sustains our confidence. The tests through which it has passed, the persecutions, betravals, tortures it has suffered at the hands of foes and friends in the course of two thousand years, comfort us. The glorious work it has wrought toward the salvation of mankind, the way in which Holy Scripture has identified itself with everything noblest and worthiest in the life of men and nations and wrapped its fibres about the heart of the race, give us assurance that it is indestructible. "Yet once more" a shaking in the fabric of God's earthly temple! "Quod autem Adhuc semel dicit, declarat mobilium translationem tanquam factorum, ut maneant ea quæ sunt immobilia."

Dean Farrar's Bampton Lectures on *The History of Interpretation* were delivered so long ago as the year 1885. In publishing this volume—perhaps the most learned and valuable of the numerous works on sacred subjects produced by the pen of the brilliant, and now venerable, author—Dean Farrar stated that "there does not exist in any language a complete history of Exegesis"; such a task, he says, "would furnish worthy occupation for a life-time of study." This

desideratum is still unsupplied. The subject should occupy a place in the forthcoming Supplement to Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible. Dean Farrar has not escaped in this volume the defects of his great qualities. A microscopic examination would discover inaccuracies in his copious references; and a fastidious taste may take objection to the over-emphasis of style, which is symptomatic of a certain lack of nice discrimination and judicial balance in his estimate of men and movements. But he gives a powerful, and in the main a just representation of the course of Exegesis and of the salient features of its successive schools and stages, such as a more minute and dispassionate analysis might fail to convey. We gratefully acknowledge the debt under which we have long been placed by Dean Farrar's scholarly investigations and his vivid and illuminating narrative.

Two injurious tendencies warped the interpretation of Scripture from its early days, proceeding from Jerusalem and Alexandria respectively. While opposite errors in appearance, they were freely combined or interchanged with each other, and they wrought to the like effect. These were Jewish literalism and Hellenistic allegorism. In both these fashions—by insisting on the bare letter apart from the sense of the divine word, or by substituting for the matter-of-fact sense some other which it was supposed to symbolise—the official interpreters of Scripture in our Lord's time had learnt to "make void the commandment of God through their tradition." Their arts unhappily were transmitted through post-apostolic times to become naturalised in the Christian Church.

The Jewish Scribes, who are associated with the Pharisees in the Gospel narratives, were true bibliolaters. They have copied out their Scriptures during the last 2,000 years with an exactitude that, for a work of this extent, has no parallel in literature. To their scrupulous fidelity we owe the preservation of the Old Testament in a form identical, almost to the letter, with that in which it was read by Jesus. "Not one jot or tittle" has "passed from the law." But the

actual religion of these devotees of Scripture was radically unscriptural; "do not," said Jesus, "after their works." The Masters of Israel added to the Bible a cumbrous appendix of legal tradition, whilst they stultified its clearest directions and most solemn teachings. They built upon its text a mass of comments, distinctions, illustrations, and applications that practically effaced the original; they buried the Bible underneath the Talmud. The mere letters. in their view, constituted the inspired word of God, and these had manifold meanings; whatever sense could be elicited from the alphabetic signs by reading them in any sort of connexion or construction was a legitimate exegesis. The Doctors of the Law rivalled each other in the ingenuity of their quibbling perversions; the best intellect of a subtle people and a highly trained profession was for centuries devoted to the exercises of legal casuistry and a sophistical jurisprudence, brought to bear upon the text of Scripture.

The following specimens of Rabbinical interpretation they might be multiplied indefinitely—indicate some of the modes in which adherence to the letter of Divine Scripture was reconciled with disregard, or even defiance, of its plain The Mosaic law, in Deuteronomy xv. 12-18, makes provision for the retention in certain cases of a bondman by the family which he has served, after the year of release; he is entitled to say to his master, "I will not go away from thee, because," the Deuteronomist continues, "he loveth thee and thine house, and because he is well with thee": the comment is, that if such a slave be crippled or sick or worn-out with age, he cannot truthfully profess that "he is well," and therefore he may be turned adrift !-a parallel to the Corban trick of interpretation denounced by our Lord. The use of the ancient letters as numerical figures opened the door to a variety of exegetical juggleries: Moses, for example, is said in Numbers xii, 1 to have married a Cushith, i.e. an Ethiopian woman; but this was scandalous! Read arithmetically, however, the letters of Cushith amount to seven hundred and thirty-six, a sum also made up by the letters of the Hebrew words for "fair of form"; this equi-

valence 1 set matters right, and disclosed the unmistakable sense of the Holy Spirit! Or it was proved that creation took place in the month of September, because Breshith, In the beginning, by a slight rearrangement of letters becomes B'thishri—therefore "In September God created the heavens and the earth"! With sufficient practice and acuteness it was possible to extract almost any desired inference from Holy Scripture by such devices. These examples-of frivolous punning for exegesis-could be paralleled from grave and authoritative Fathers of the Church. In the (so-called) Epistle of Barnabas, which holds a place of honour amongst post-apostolic writings, amongst other feats of interpretation is the discovery that the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham spoken of in Genesis xiv. 14 prefigure Christ and the cross, since to be sure 318 is denoted by the Greek letters TIH, the first of these picturing the cross, while the other two are the beginning of IHCOYC (Jesus). "He who implanted in us the gift of His doctrine," the writer complacently observes, "knows that it is so. No one has been admitted by me to a more excellent piece of knowledge than this. But I know that you are worthy"! (ch. ix.) This Cabbalistic absurdity is applauded by a host of Fathers. So inveterate had the lewish mode of playing upon the words of inspiration become in exegesis, that even after the revival of learning Reuchlin, the Christian Hebraist who

¹ This method was technically called Gematria (Geometry); the 666 of Rev. xiii. 18 supplies a more legitimate application of the equivalence of names and numbers. The next example cited illustrates the method of T'mwrah (exchange): under this head came Ath-bath (as though we should say Az-by in English), the substitution for each letter in a word of that at the same distance from the opposite end of the alphabet. On this principle "Sheahach," in Jer. xxv. 26 and li. 41, appears to have been written as a cryptograph, or blind, for "Babel" (Babylon) by the author himself, or by some early copyist in Chaldean times who was afraid that the writing might catch the eye of the Government! Al-bam replaced each successive letter by the sign corresponding to it in the other half of the alphabet. Farrar counts "no fewer than twenty-four different kinds of T'mwrah."

"effected for the study of the Old Testament even more than Erasmus achieved for the New," continued to practise it. In the word bara' (created), e.g. of Genesis i. 1, by the method of acrostics he found evidence of the doctrine of the Trinity, in the fact forsooth that the three root-letters of this verb happen to be the initial letters of the Hebrew words for Father, Son, and Spirit; and he prided himself on etymologies of this sort. It is no pleasure to dwell on these fantastic aberrations of great divines and scholars; but they occupy a large space in the history of Scriptural exposition, and afford matter for serious reflexion.

The Allegorism born at the city of Alexandria supplied another instrument, even more efficacious, for transforming the sense of Scripture. Of both these materials the "veil" was woven, which St. Paul found "lying upon the heart" of his people in "the reading of the old covenant." Rabbinism trifled with the words, Allegorism with the facts of the Bible, instituting that practice of turning the persons and events of the sacred narrative into doctrinal symbols, which under the pretence of spiritualising the Old Testament has overlaid and obscured its primary truth. The Alexandrian exegesis is hardly vet out of fashion: it has a wonderful fascination for devout and fanciful minds. Vedas and the Qurán have been subjected to precisely the same treatment; allegorism is in fact the accepted mode of adapting ancient religious books to modern ideas, while leaving the text unaltered. The system is defended by the plea of necessity; it claims a warrant-more apparent than real—in certain New Testament applications of Israelite history. Professor Harnack (quoted by Sanday) accounts for its introduction very clearly, and finds a relative justification for it, when he writes, in his Dogmengeschichte, Vol. I., p. 187 (ed. 2):

The Christian communities in the empire became the heirs of the Jewish propaganda, in which already an extensive spiritualising of the Old Testament had been effected. This spiritualising was the work of men who regarded religion from the standpoint of philosophy,—from a point of view determined by the action of the Hellenic spirit upon Judaism. . . . The result was that all uncongenial or inconvenient facts and sayings of the Old Testament were turned into allegories. . . . "The history of the Old Testament was sublimated into a history of the emancipation of the Reason from Passion." . . . The [Christian] authors [in their turn] who made any diligent use of the Old Testament, employed the allegorical method to an unlimited extent. Indeed it was forced upon them not only by their inability to understand the literal sense of the Old Testament—in other words, by the remoteness of its religious and ethical ideas from their own—but still more by the conviction that every page of the book must reveal Christ and the Christian Church.

This amounts to saying that allegorism was inevitable so long as the conception of historical development in revelation was wanting to the Church, and while Scripture was regarded as being in all its parts upon one level.

Philo, the great Hellenistic teacher and contemporary of our Lord, was the chief exponent of the allegorical method in the treatment of the Old Testament. His work, however, bore almost solely upon the Books of Moses. The lewish allegorists learnt this art in the Greek schools, where it was already applied to Homer (whose poetry held almost the place of a Bible to the Greeks), as a means of reading philosophic notions into the old heroic tales. tivated Jews of Alexandria had embraced the tenets of Platonic and Stoic philosophy, while remaining devout Israelites and firm believers in the divine authority of the Mosaic Law. How should they unify these two sources of truth? Allegory supplied the instrument; by its aid they forced the new wine of Plato into the old wine-skins of the Pentateuch. The work was done thoroughly, and much of it skilfully, with an amazing wealth of learning and imagination. Philo translated in effect the Books of Moses into the terms of Platonism, confident that he had discovered their true sense. The bald history appeared to him coarse and trivial, wholly unworthy of the divine Author. crude, carnal facts of Scripture apprehended by the yulgar, were the mere wrapping and cover, under which lav its

holy secrets reserved for the initiated few; the entire narrative was an elaborate piece of cipher-writing, to which the Platonising mystics alone held the key! Sometimes Philo, for he was a man of high moral instincts, hit upon a fine analogy, as when he makes Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob respectively the types of virtue gained by instruction, by nature, and by discipline; but the greater part of his allegorising is fanciful and forced beyond belief, and to our taste utterly insipid. It belonged to an artificial culture which had lost feeling for the natural and genuine in character, and for which historical truth and matter-of-fact possessed but the smallest interest. Philo's "mysteries" differ from the parables and Old Testament lessons of Jesus as the atmosphere of a garden hot-house from that of a sunny hill-side on some fresh spring morning.

Philo Judæus became, however, a leading light to the exegesis of the early Church. The powerful Christian School of Alexandria, of which Clement and Origen were signal ornaments, was formed under the influence of his name and upon a soil in which allegorism flourished. As Philo read Platonism into the Old Testament writings by means of allegory, so the Alexandrian Fathers read Christian doctrine into them per fas aut nefas—by hook or crook—until, as someone says, there was scarcely a stick mentioned anywhere in the Bible but it was found to prefigure the cross. And this lawless and often ridiculous manner of seeing "Christ everywhere concealed" was taken to be the especial mark of a pious and Christian way of reading the word of God.

In the third and fourth centuries a reaction set in, proceeding from Antioch, against the prevailing method. Dr. Chase gives an interesting account of the Antiochene School of interpretation in the essay whose title stands at the head of this article. In this quarter Lucian and Dorotheus, followed in the fourth century by Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia and his brother Polychronius of Apamea, and above all the immortal St. John Chrysostom, set the example of a rational and yet spiritual treatment of

the Bible, and practised a true grammatico-historical exegesis; "their comments upon Scripture seem to have been clear, natural, methodical, apposite, and logically exact" (Newman). These were the forerunners of the exegetes of Reformation times. "The three great Cappadocians (Basil, and the two Gregories, of Nazianzus and of Nyssa) show in their exegesis traces of the same influence and training as the Antiochenes" (Chase). Amongst the Syrian scholars above named, Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, the pupil of Diodore and fellow-student of Chrysostom, was the most original and powerful in pure exegesis. Dr. Swete's edition of his commentaries on St. Paul's Minor Epistles will enable the reader to measure his powers as a theologian and expositor, and to understand his position in the controversies of the time, and the comparative failure of his work and of the group of thinkers to which he belonged. These interpreters sought to base everything upon the primary and literal meaning of Scripture, the sense that in each passage it bore for its first readers. Unfortunately the sober and careful methods of the Antiochene scholars, and the scientific exegesis toward which they were feeling their way, were discredited by association with the Nestorian heresy.1 These noble teachers and preachers had no worthy successors. The Greek Church sank into formalism and mental decay. SS. Jerome and Augustine in the West, though conscious of the dangers of allegorism and deprecating its excess of riot, yet succumbed to its spell and transmitted its influence to the Latin Church. In the dark ages which followed, the allegorical method maintained its supremacy, and lent itself to Romanist corruption of doctrine and mystical extravagance.

The great Church Fathers who laid the foundations of dogmatic theology, rose indeed above their exegetical principles. The Christian spirit in them, with its love of truth and its practical aim at edification, saved them from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Newman's Development of Christian Doctrine, pp. 323-347 (2nd ed.).

licence and triviality prevalent in Jewish exposition. It was in the Old Testament that they gave the freest rein to allegorising fancy; in the New Testament they stood upon the ground of firm fact and felt themselves close to the Incarnation and the mighty work of the apostles, and had less temptation to "spiritualise" the matter of exegesis; the Gnostics, on the other hand, made the New Testament just as allegorical as the Old. It goes without saying that interpreters like Origen and Augustine-men of rich Christian experience and supreme intellectual power-had a deep insight into the meaning of Scripture upon the vital truths: in their teaching luminous comparisons and just applications of its history abound; yet, for want of a better method, they fall into childish word-plays, preposterous etymologies, forced analogies, and irrelevant or even grotesque allusions. It was with Origen a fundamental rule that every inspired passage bears a threefold sense-literal, moral, spiritual. This axiom was expanded into the mediæval principle of the "fourfold sense" of Scripture-literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical; the second relating figuratively to morals, the third to the life of the Church militant, and the fourth to the Church triumphant. The consequences of interpreting history upon these lines one may imagine.

The Jewish schools claimed to possess a secret tradition, legal or mystical, outside of Scripture and hidden from the lay reader, which by their several methods they were able to graft upon the Bible while holding its verbal text intact. In their distinction between Scripture and tradition and their modes of accommodating the two, these were the precursors of Roman Catholicism; they invented and shaped the instruments which it has used to such effectual

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr. Sanday makes some pregnant observations on "the defective apprehension of the Old Testament in the early Church,"—"the diversion of the stream of genuine Old Testament influence from the early Church during the formative period of its theology" (Appendix II. to Oracles of God, p. 150). He traces the failure of the post-apostolic Fathers to keep in touch with the Pauline doctrine to their want of historical sense for the Old Testament.

purpose. J. H. Newman in his essay on The Development of Christian Doctrine significantly wrote, condemning the Antiochene exegetes: "It may be almost laid down as an historic fact that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy stand or fall together": 1 "a more fatal admission," as Dean Farrar remarks, "could hardly be made." The Papacy can never abide a rational and unsophisticated reading of Scripture. As sacerdotalism gained dominance in the Church, the priesthood, and finally the Roman See, appropriated the keys of Scripture. Their dogmatic creeds governed exegesis. To the interpreter the function was assigned of finding proof-texts for ecclesiastical doctrine; quite frankly Hugo of St. Victor (in the twelfth century) advises the Biblereader, "Disce prius quid tenendum sit"-"Learn first what you should believe; then go to Scripture to find it there." As early as the First Synod of Sirmium (A.D. 351) the dogmatic theologian began to terrorise the expositor; under such dictation, exegesis speedily lost originality and power. Scripture was turned into a suborned witness, a buttress to support pretensions and teachings grounded elsewhere—"a nose of wax" as it was bluntly styled. It served once more as a cloak and vehicle for a religious system repugnant in its essential spirit to the revelation it contained, and which "made void the word of God." Such was the condition of things, and such the kind of "development," which culminated in the mediæval Papacy. The Bible became a huge conundrum, and Scriptural "proof" a paradox and a jest. The deep contempt into which Interpretation had fallen is expressed by the well-known scholastic epigram:

Hic liber est in quo quærit sua dogmata quisque; Invenit ac pariter dogmata quisque sua.

"Here is the book in which each man seeks-and finds-

<sup>1</sup> Page 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For example: "Si quis *Pluit Dominus a Domino* (Gen. xix. 24) non de Filio et Patre intelligat . . . anathema sit" (Canon xvii.; see Hesele's *History of the Church Councils*, Vol. II., p. 196).

his own dogmas!" Practically, the Church had suppressed the Bible; if it once recovered its voice, revolt and schism were inevitable.

Nicolas of Lyra, a French monk who died in the year 1340, heralded a better day. He was the "morning star of the Reformation" in point of Biblical learning, as Wyclif in respect of doctrine and churchmanship. While Lyra was a loyal Romanist, and while he formally adhered to the scholastic principle of the "fourfold sense," his Postilla perpetuæ (or running commentary) in V. et N. Testamentum laid the axe to the root of scholastic interpretation. Lyra non lyrasset"—so the proverb afterwards ran— "Lutherus non saltasset": Luther danced to Lyra's lyre ! For Lyra insisted on referring to the original tongues, behind the Vulgate and the Septuagint; he forbade the mystic sense to "choke" the literal, and demanded that the latter should alone be used in proof of doctrine—ad probationem vel declarationem alicujus dubii. These brave words meant a revolution little dreamed of by the simple scholar monk; here was Protestantism in nuce. Singularly enough, Lyra received his impulse from the study of Hebrew, and from the Franco-Spanish Rabbinical School of the twelfth century (beginning with Ibn Ezra and culminating in Maimonides), who were the founders of scientific Hebrew grammar, and who played a part in Jewish exegesis not unlike that of the Antiochene School in the Christian Church. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi (commonly known as Rashi) was in fact Lyra's master in Scriptural exposition.

The modern interpretation of Scripture commences with the Reformation of the sixteenth century. To that great resurrection of the human soul many causes contributed, and it may be construed in many different lights. On one side, it was a revival of the Augustinian doctrines of grace; on another side, of the Antiochene principles of interpretation. The Bible was rediscovered; it came to be read, as it had hardly been for a thousand years, grammatically and experimentally. Scripture spoke once more as from living souls to living souls. Paul voiced himself across the cen-

turies to Luther and to Calvin; the old springs of experimental religion broke from their sealed fountains. The translations rapidly made by the pious scholars of the New Learning enabled every man to hear in his own tongue "the grand things of God."

From this time forward, with many blunders and misgivings in the process, the human factors in the Bible have been brought more and more into play along with its supreme divine constituent. We recognise in Scripture not God alone addressing men but man speaking to God-man in his frailties, his wanderings, his desperate need, drawn ever nearer to God in His holiness, wisdom, and mercy. This dialogue between God and the soul is the secret of inspired Scripture. Blending with the voice of the Spirit we hear all along that of the Church of Christ-of "His own" before and after His coming in the flesh. Not yet the perfect Bride of the Marriage-supper " without spot or wrinkle or any such thing," with broken cries and tearstained face and torn vesture she toils through the wilderness; still fair and chosen, loving her Lord, and travelling toward His advent under His drawing and His discipline. Viewed in this light, there is an infinite pathos in the defects of Old Testament saintship; in the operations of "the law" that "made nothing perfect"; in the manifold "infirmities," which the Spirit evermore "helpeth," that cleave to the divine record of which man has been the subject, the medium, and the depositary; in the flaws of the "earthen vessel" holding the heavenly "treasure," and the marks of time's hard wear and rough encounters that are upon it, spite of which it has kept its treasure safe. As Dr. Sanday savs:

We can imagine the Bible in some of its accessories more perfect than it is—what we at least might think more perfect. But if it had been so, it could never have been in such close contact with human nature. Its message could never have come home to us so fresh and warm as it does. As it is, it speaks to the heart, and it does so because, according to a fine saying in the Talmud, it speaks in the tongue of the children of men.

With the humanising trend of modern exegesis there has been developed a truer and broader historical sense in the handling of Scripture. Historical science has carried into the interpretation of all ancient records a strictness and certainty of procedure unknown before, while it furnishes the expositor with copious stores of illustrative matter. The times and men of Scripture live again, as they have never done for intervening ages. The Egypt and Nineveh of three thousand years back are disinterred. We walk the streets of the cities where Paul preached, and watch the faces of their crowds. The pictures of Bible times have started for us, almost suddenly, into stereoscopic relief. What was viewed formerly as in a kind of panorama, in which the ideas and personages of different ages and regions were exhibited and called up indiscriminately, is surveyed as in moving procession and under the manifold inter-relations of its "sundry times and divers manners." There opens before us the immense and grand perspective of revelation. To quote Dr. Sanday again (than whom we have no more reverent and trustworthy representative of the modern spirit in theology):

Let us see the fabric of divine revelation rising up around us as it really rose; let us see its different parts one after another in contact with the actual crises of history; . . . let us observe them swaying the fortunes of nations and masses of men; let us mark how the light first dawns and then broadens, how the formative force which God has implanted in His revelation draws into its vortex, absorbs and assimilates, first this, then that element of extraneous or secular culture; let us trace the mighty purpose which runs through the ages down to our own time; it seems to me that both our hearts and our imaginations must be kindled and inflamed to the very utmost of their capacity.

The principle of evolution, which has touched and transformed every department of modern thinking, has acted powerfully on Biblical study. It co-operates with the historical method to impress upon our conceptions of revelation the idea of organic growth. Its earlier stages we

discern to be governed by the later; its vital and central organs we attempt to distinguish from those more auxiliary; the meaning and function of each part are judged by its relation to the adjoining parts and to the entire system. This theory of Holy Scripture is parallel to that which St. Paul applied long ago to the Church; the analogy is both true and fruitful. It obviates a host of difficulties from which there was no escape when Scripture was regarded as a mechanical unity, with its contents all upon the same plane; and it turns these very difficulties to account for edification. We can understand how one life of the Spirit runs through the whole development, and yet with an outcrop widely different at different points of His operation now rudimentary and tentative in its manifestation, now "perfect and entire, lacking nothing." "Distinguish the times, and you will reconcile the Scriptures," Augustine has well said; that maxim is now taken in earnest and pushed to its consequences. As the structure of the Bible appears more complicated, as the number of contributory minds and combined elements, and the range of time occupied by its compilation and unification, are shown to be greater, in the same degree its unity is more conspicuous and "the Lord's doing" therein is the more "marvellous in our eyes." A new and impressive disclosure is made of what St. Paul has called "the plan of the ages," the historic system of truth and grace worked out in the Bible, the divine discipline of our race of which this book is the transcript.

Another feature of the best modern exposition, connected with those above distinguished, is its objective and realistic character. Exegesis has a conscience and passion for the facts of its documents, which it did not always possess. It strives to surmount its own prepossessions—ecclesiastical or dogmatic, sentimental or rationalistic. Its procedure is precisely the opposite of that followed by the scholastic theologian who bent Scripture to his formulæ. It aims at giving the inspired writers their own in every particular, making itself their slave; it leaves edification to wait upon

truth, instead of dictating to it. The most perfect exegesis is, of course, only approximate. The interpreter must rid himself of his subjectivity and escape the refracting atmosphere about him, if he would personate his author so as to reproduce his figure and voice his thought to the modern mind. And to do this he must steep himself in the spirit, and the mental and moral climate, of his original.

That this aim is realised in a considerable degree, and that exposition has become fairly dispassionate and objective, is apparent from the collaboration of expositors of different Churches that had been parted by dogmatic contests. The masters of exegesis are common property; one could hardly tell from the complexion of their work to which of the severed communions they belong. Scripture is catholic ground; and the increasing co-operation in this field of labour is amongst the best auguries for Church reunion.

It is another way of putting the same thing to say that the accepted mode of Biblical interpretation is inductive, in contrast with the deductive habit of most earlier exegetes, and in keeping with the procedure of modern science. Instead of starting from the platform of a preconstructed system, the present-day interpreter takes the words of the Book expounded in situ: he endeavours to grasp them accurately as they stand, in their detailed grammatical and literary sense, gathering from the language of each writing its general import, from the writings of each author the sum of his teaching and his distinctive message, and from the authors of each period the teaching of that whole period and movement in the total revelation. Thus we have learnt to speak of Biblical as distinguished from Dogmatic or Systematic Theology, of Old Testament and New Testament Theology, of Pauline, Johannine, and Petrine types of doctrine, and so on. The prevalent danger is, indeed, that of exaggerating differentize in the teaching of Holy Scripture, of pushing varieties of standpoint and accent into contradictions, of sacrificing the unity of the Spirit to the diversity of His operations and losing the underlying harmony of the one word of God in our new sensitiveness to the intricacy of its composition and the range of its modulated notes.

It is not suggested that the historical and inductive plan of exposition is a discovery of modern times. This is, after all, only the natural and genuine way of reading any series of connected works that extends over a stretch of time and embraces a number of authors differing in their environment, in their mental conceptions and literary habit. laws of a true exegesis are embedded in Scripture itself. Under the guise of the Rabbinical phraseology imposed upon him by his training, the apostle Paul used them with fine penetration. The Antiochene Fathers of the fourth century had developed sound principles and put them into vigorous application; their method, had it prevailed, might have saved the Church from a world of errors. Calvin and Bengel afford eminent examples of its successful use in former generations: their commentaries are therefore classics of exegesis. But we may assert for our own times that the principles of interpretation are now grounded on a settled basis, that they are applied in a systematic and what may be called a scientific way as they were not hitherto, and that they have become matters of common sense amongst instructed readers of the Bible. No one in these days would dream of handling Holy Scripture with the mechanical literalism, or the wild and capricious allegorism, which disfigure the work of the Fathers and Schoolmen.

We must take the evil with the good, the bitter with the sweet, of our particular lot; we must balance with each other the "Loss and Gain" (to quote the title of the sixth of Dr. Sanday's striking Sermons) resulting from the new critical attitude toward the Bible and the new appreciation of it. The severities of trial in the different ages of religion, as in the different ranks of life, are more equal than we are apt to think. The anxieties of criticism are the price we have to pay for the advance of knowledge. We envy the untroubled faith of other generations (about which, by the way, there is a great deal of illusion); we sigh for the

halcyon days when no one questioned the inerrancy of Holy Writ, and a well-put text of Scripture was an end of all controversy. Would we have Scripture understood and used as it often was in those envied days? The most absolute submission to the letter has been concurrent with the most wanton or crass perversion of the sense and utter disregard of the spirit of the Bible; "full well" have those known oftentimes how to "make void the commandments of God," who were zealots for every jot and tittle of their outward form. It is the task of Christian teachers in these days-the uncompleted work of the Reformation, a task of infinite difficulty and without superhuman aid impossible to unite in the use of Scripture and the building up of the Church freedom with authority, science with faith, the confessed imperfections of man with the unerring purpose and absolute truth of God. They look for His living guidance who is the Word incarnate, the light of the world as He is the light of all Scripture, the perfect Reason and Love and Will that tabernacled once among us and is with us always to the end, in whom all things are at last to be reconciled and comprehended.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE LEADER.

- 1. The Prose Works of Dr. Jonathan Swift, D.D., with a Biographical Introduction by W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. Edited by TEMPLE SCOTT. (London: George Bell & Sons. 1897-1902.)
- 2. The Life of Daniel Defoe. By THOMAS WRIGHT. (London: Cassell & Co. 1894.)

THE edition edited by Mr. Temple Scott for Messrs. Bell contains all the ascertained writings of the dean of St. Patrick's, collected with infinite labour from a variety of known and unknown quarters, by one who has devoted many years to the study of his subject. "The prince of journalists," we read in the introduction, is the description popularly applied to the master of eighteenth-century English, whose pamphlets and shorter pieces seldom failed to produce in their day an effect such as has followed few periodical compositions before or since. The writer of whom that can be truly said, whatever may be his place in other departments of letters, must be a foremost figure in that band of political penmen who, under many dispensations of publicism, have combined to invest the leading article with its present force and form. The mental alertness, independence, and general intelligence said to be growing among all readers of those broadsheets which record the contemporary history of the universe for the twentyfour hours previous may eventually cause the disappearance of the two columns of leaded editorial matter that immediately follow the paragraphs of summary. As yet there are no signs of the dawn of that era of universal leisurely thoughtfulness in which alone the experiment of the omission is likely to be made. When the author of Gulliver's

Travels received the journalistic name, what is meant, of course, is that the leading article of to-day takes the place of the eighteenth-century pamphlet, and that among pamphleteers Swift was nearly, if not quite, without a rival. According to his detractor, the historian Mommsen, no one having. any literary ability, whether in ancient or modern times, was so "essentially a journalist" as Cicero; that of course is only another way of saying that the writer of the Tusculan Disputations conveyed Greek thought in a Latin dress. The first Roman writer who, under the necessary conditions, might have developed into an excellent leader-writer was slightly the great orator's senior. The Catiline and Jugurtha of Sallust are in spirit two typical specimens of pamphleteering; subdivided into the suitable lengths, both these treatises might have been welcomed as leading articles by the public that read the news of the day in the Acta Diurna. These, unless indeed a claim to seniority should be established for any similar records of Assyrian or Attic origin, are the earliest instances of a daily publication, in which those items of social, political, and miscellaneous intelligence form the groundwork of the printed news-sheet. One might, indeed, claim for these Acta that they were the original precursors in republican Rome of the twentiethcentury society journals in monarchical England; they were certainly the sources whence Juvenal and Tacitus drew materials for exercising their bitterest satire. For the most part, however, the incidents related in them are of the kind which belong to the sub-editorial department in the daily journal of our own times. Their quality may be judged from the specimens collected by Dr. Johnson in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1740. An assault case heard before the local magistrates, arising out of a brawl at a notorious tavern; the "Hog in Armour" in Bankers Street; the fining of Marcus Fuscus, of Lucius Albus, and others at the police court for being drunk and disorderly; the infliction of a like penalty on Titus Lanius for giving short weight,—such are the events most frequently chronicled. These trivialities were, however, often interspersed with graver matter. The actuarii

were also shorthand reporters. The biography of Cæsar, given by Suetonius (chapter xx.) shows that at one time the proceedings of the senate and the pleadings in the law courts were both summarised. The literary style of the entries in this old Roman gazette are parodied rather baldly by Petronius in his Satyrica. Imagine, the satirist, in effect says, an endless repetition of announcements concerning the boys and girls born on Trimalchio's estate at Cumae, concerning the bushels of wheat housed in the public granary, the number of oxen in training, the slaves crucified for speaking disrespectfully of their owner's tutelary genius; -vou have skimmed the cream of all the Acta Diurna extant. Johnson, who first collected the classical curiosities of the Acta, suggests that the Romans during their occupation of Britain may have celebrated their doings here in memoranda, promulgated at their headquarters. Italy itself seems to have known nothing of the chronicle after the days of the Cæsars. That country, however, about 1536, undoubtedly produced the first regular news-sheet in the shape of a manuscript account of the war between the Venetians and the Turks, read aloud at a public place in Venice on the first of every month, the items of intelligence being sometimes accompanied by oral comments which did duty for leading articles. These hand-written journals continued till the sixteenth century, they were then superseded by printed sheets; the earliest of these in the British Museum bears a date in 1570. Now in its journalistic connexion first came into use the word "gazette"; about its derivation there may be some doubt. Gazetta means both a Venetian coin, worth about a farthing, and a short relation of the occurrences of the time—in this sense, obviously the same word as the Latin for treasure-house: on the other hand, gazza or gazzara means in Italian a magpie or chatterer, and from the first the Venetian gazetteer became a synonym for a Alike therefore in its news and in its leader columns the English journal of to-day may safely be referred to an Italian origin.

While at various centres of the classic peninsula, in the

manner already described, was being diffused a knowledge of contemporary events, in England that information was reserved as a luxury for few and wealthy readers. The progress of the different campaigns during the Wars of the Roses is shown in the Fenn collection to have been conveyed to the great houses by letters, whose writers, sometimes captains in the opposing armies, added a few pounds a year to their pay as news-collectors. The jester was going out of fashion in noble households; the day of the journalist and the leader-writer had already begun. Sometimes a number of humbler families co-operated to retain an epistolary captain of their own; thus the circulating library system already existed in embryo. The feudal wars at last came to an end. The literary warrior ceased to be in demand; his occupation passed into the hands of civilians, generally lawyers of little practice, who picked up in Westminster Hall, at St. Paul's Cross, and in other places of general resort, the talk of the moment, spicing it with a running commentary of their own to suit the palate of provincial subscribers; such was the class to which belonged the earliest victim in the Titus Oates conspiracy, Edward Coleman, a courtier and barrister. Napoleon used to be toasted by authors as the only emperor who ever shot a publisher. Coleman was the first leader-writer to be hung. During the Tudor period the news letter-writers contrived to convey to their patrons in the country a less incorrect idea than might have been expected of what passed within the walls of Parliament; the letters themselves were read by the lord of the manor, from the grassy terrace in front of his house, to a gradually increasing rural audience.

The eloquence and tactics of Hakewill, Yelverton, and other popular champions of the sixteenth century in the House, through the agencies now mentioned, were only less well known throughout the country than were the policy and speeches of Eliot, Hampden, and Pym during the Stuart era. The English Mercurie of 1588, after careful examination of the type and the paper used, seems to have been proved a forgery; of the seven numbers professing to have appeared in

July, 1588, four exist in manuscript, three in Roman type; their notable feature is that, in addition to Sir Francis Walsingham's reports about the movements of the Spanish Armada, they contain certain comments, which may be described as the germ seed of the leader, on the text of Queen Elizabeth's address to her subjects at Tilbury Fort. Lord Burghley long enjoyed the reputation of inspiring and even organising this apocryphal sheet, whose account of the thanksgiving service at St. Paul's, November 24, 1588, suspiciously resembled the style of official narratives in the London Gazette two centuries later. Not only the type already mentioned, but in the case of the manuscript numbers, the exceedingly modern handwriting, and on the paper the watermark of the royal arms with the initials G. R., might even to inexpert eyes have disproved the English Mercurie's genuineness. The author of the elaborate and circumstantial forgery, who deceived one famous critic in Dr. Birch, seems to have been the second Lord Hardwicke. The Elizabethan period accumulated the material alike for leader and news columns; it did not, as a fact, develop anything that can properly be called a newspaper. From the presses issued shoals of news letters, purporting to give full, true, and particular accounts of occurrences in every part of the world, abroad or at home; now it might be a budget of diplomatic tidings from Florence, Vienna, the Hague; now, as in 1607, an account of floods in Monmouth, or of a London atrocity in the Seven Dials. Gradually the news-collector and the pamphleteer on a reduced scale combined their forces; under James I. the chronicle of incident and the commentary on the textual fact were combined in the same sheet; the journalistic union of the two elements began to approach in its completeness the fashion of our own day long before the monarchy of the Stuarts fell. After the abolition of the press censorship and the general concession of free utterance by William III., the development continued without serious interruption. The earliest composition satisfying the recognised requirements of a twentieth-century leader

cannot be found before Pulteney's contest with Walpole in the House of Commons. But for the chief leader-writers of those times, neither in Parliament nor the country could Toryism have been organised. In his shorter political pieces, reprinted from the Examiner in the ninth volume of the edition of his works now before us, Swift rendered even greater assistance to his Tory clients than by his more elaborate compositions defending the treaty of Utrecht. For another special reason do the Tory prints of the eighteenth century mark a stage in the leader's evolution: in the case of most effective compositions of that time it is, as the present editor of Swift allows, occasionally impossible to identify an individual with the author. The ablest editor of the Bolingbroke-Swift newspapers was Dr. King; he seems to have anticipated the highest excellence of a modern "daily" editor by writing nothing himself, but by pointing with consummate skill the gun which the contributors to his columns were to fire. Arbuthnot, St. John, and Swift were in nearly equal parts personally responsible for the literary production; it owed much to the clear-sighted commonsense of the dean as well as to his mastery of direct, terse, simple, forcible English and of the mental idiosyncrasies of his readers, low or high. At the same time, it is tolerably clear that in these shorter periodical pieces, now brought together for the first time, Ionathan Swift's pen seemed but as the instrument for expressing ideas on affairs of Church and State that had not necessarily originated with the writer, but had been struck out in those conversational councils whose presiding spirit was generally in Bolingbroke, and at which Dr. William King himself, subsequently included in Johnson's Lives of the Poets, was generally permitted to be present. In the case of one very successful London newspaper of the present day the method now recounted had been that in which the leader columns have been arranged and filled.

But the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would not have been as important to English newspaper-writing as was actually the case if the editorial columns had only discussed

political themes. Gradually and not without many vicissitudes in its growth, ever since the national prosperity following the commercial enterprise of the Elizabethan epoch. had been coming into existence the tolerably educated middle-class public, without which the clever and supercilious pens enlisted by Pulteney and his agents on the side of the Tory opposition would have laboured far less effectually. Throughout the periodical productions now being considered one may trace two distinct currents of literary At the fifteenth-century revival of learning Tacitus was one of the earliest classical authors to command the attention, first of professional scholars, then, as a great stylist, of writers; a hundred years earlier his works were almost unknown. The Annals were first published in Rome by Beroaldus in 1515; consequently any references to the historian before that date do not include his chief works. Machiavelli, who lived till 1527, was probably the first famous author on politics who really knew the new master then coming into vogue. For that popularity there were special reasons in the circumstances of the time. Europe was settling down into a Cæsarism, tempered here and there by heredity; the Tudor dynasty in England; in France, the régime of Louis XI. and Francis I. illustrate the monarchical quality of the period. The Papacy, fresh from its triumphs over the attempts at Basle and Constance to control it, seemed to exult in becoming more insolently tyrannical and more flagrantly corrupt. The power which Gibbon has called a misnomer, as being neither holy, Roman, nor an empire, had become from elective, in truth, though not in name, hereditary. Francis III. of Hapsburg had been invested with the imperial purple in 1440; his reign filled the rest of the century. male heirs were wanting; with that exception the sceptre has never been held by another than a Hapsburg hand.1

The domestic disturbance caused by every change of dynasty, or even by each demise of the crown, had given

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's Middle Ages, chap. v., and Literature of Europe, chap. iv.

Germany good reason to distrust the elective principle; she now found a narrative of congenial warning to some extent in all the writings of the Roman annalist, but especially in the third book of the Histories, whose seventieth and eightieth chapters contain the luridly appalling and imperishable monition against imperialism, given in the pictures of the butchery and civil war which followed the death of Nero. Machiavelli, in the second book of his Florentine History, by a pardonable hyperbole, may be said to continue and bring down to date the teachings of the political moralist of imperial Rome. The moral tone of Machiavelli is indeed below that of Tacitus; the classical Italian upheld the light of moral principle, he showed that even amid the gloom and abominations of his own age the virtues of old times were not impracticable, and that the ideal Roman life might even yet be lived. Machiavelli. on the other hand, goes near to arguing that power being attainable by a prince without the show of virtue, what was once the moral condition of holding authority may safely be disregarded.

It is easy to understand how the Roman word-painter, whose recovery was among the gifts bequeathed by mediævalism to posterity, should have possessed a peculiar charm for the more thoughtful Englishmen lamenting the Stuart absolutism. Sir Walter Raleigh, both in his History of the World and in his shorter political pieces, first popularised among the intellectual class of his countrymen the diction of the Roman writer, whose style was so visibly influenced by forensic practice. The oratory of the day of Tacitus was not that of Cicero; from the rhymical, finished, and magnificent periods of the "man of Arpinam" there had indeed taken place a marked reaction; the ears of the Tacitian hearers as well as readers required epigram, terseness, and point; Tacitus writes history like a special pleader or debater; his style abounds in innuendo, in cynical imputations, in stinging verdicts, all compressed into an amalgam which makes itself felt and remembered. tendency is also seen in most of the poetry of that date:

nor on this subject can anything better be said than is to be found in Quintilian's criticisms on Seneca. Perhaps the difference between the Latin prose of the latter part of the century immediately preceding the Christian era and that of the early masters may be summarised by calling Tacitus the triumph of art and Livy the product of genius, whose history reads like a poem, and after the Homeric manner contains the germs of the most perfect oratory, the most vivid description, and the tenderest pathos; the style of Livy suggests and implies a truly liberal education; that of Tacitus a technical instruction and an apprenticeship to the bar. Recent and responsible acquaintance with the classical schools of Moderations Honours at Oxford incidentally suggests the remark that if in these days of diffuse education undergraduate latinity admit of debasement, Tacitean reading at Oxford has appreciably deteriorated the Latin prose which now comes before the perplexed examiner. One hears his plaintive echo from Horace, brevis esse laboro. obscurus fio, as he reads the Roman writing of those Honour candidates who aim at any style at all in their prose exercises. The literary models of the House of Commons at various periods have been also the conscious or unconscious patterns of the journalist or the pamphleteer. John Eliot, the colleague and contemporary of Hampden and Pym, was the first eminent member of the Commons to discard the pompously sesquipedalian involutions of the Elizabethan diction in favour of the direct and more or less simple sentences; the originals of these, in a humorous spirit, Eliot told Cromwell, who scarcely troubled to remember much of either, were to be found rather in Tacitus than in Cicero. Dr. William King, the clever and absolutely unprincipled manager of the old Bolingbrokian press, instructed all his leader-writers, as they may be called, to take for their model the prose Iuvenal of the Empire. The whole tribe of the essayists, who perhaps more than any other body of men were the parents of the newspaper social leader of to-day, were told by Addison, as the spokesman of Templar opinion, that no Englishman could

hope to form a correct style in his own tongue unless he gave days and nights to his study of Cicero. That counsel, by the way, recalls the late Cardinal Newman's declaration of his life-long literary indebtedness to the same Roman master. Such were the force and fire of Bolingbroke's intellect that, whether as speaker or writer, he would have been impatient of, and indeed needed not, any teacher of style in expression; like Gladstone, rather than his nineteenth-century disciple, Disraeli, the author of the Patriot King certainly spoke better than he wrote. Bulwer Lytton, who had access to original documents in Paris, not indeed to any report (for such a thing does not exist) of a Bolingbrokian oration, was able, in his carefully illuminating novel of Devereux, to convey some idea of what a speech from Henry St. John must at its best have been. Of his writings, the chief interest lies in the fact that they were among the chosen studies of Lord Beaconsfield's literary youth, that Macaulay only just dipped into them to find they could teach him nothing, and to become more deeply confirmed in his conviction that, putting for the moment on one side, Milton's poetry and treatises, John Bunyan, and above all the authorised translation of the Bible, the most trustworthy and effective masters of modern English style for the periodical writer were Addison, the lectures of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the narrative pieces of Swift and Defoe.

Journalism, it has been said, is not literature; and the best leader is that which most faithfully reflects the conversation of well informed and educated people on the subjects of the day. The remark has been attributed to John Thaddeus Delane of the Times; the present writer happened to be of the company before which, in after-dinner talk, the great editor tore the platitude to tatters as a piece of pure undiluted humbug. The man who half a dozen generations since may be looked back to as the founder of the twentieth-century leader is none of those already mentioned, but Robert South, canon of Christchurch, who might have been bishop of Rochester instead of Atterbury; South L.O.R., JAN, 1903.

preferred to descend to posterity as author of the most cleverly composed sequence of political paragraphs ever delivered from a pulpit, and died as the parish clergyman of Islip, near Oxford. Apropos of the apocryphal Delanianism, which Delane resented, the best secular practitioners in the leader line were the foremost men of letters of their day. Holcroft, the dramatist of The Road to Ruin, as a boy, toiled long to qualify himself to grind out leaders very effectively under niggard paymasters at five shillings and half-a-crown a column. Then, too, Tobias Smollett, the novelist, made some of his most characteristic contributions to the politico-literary structure, called for the sake of brevity the leader. That writer's Tory and High Church Critical Review had been started in 1756; it had involved him in countless quarrels with nearly every person of any mark then living; it certainly contained the first specimens of the slashing leader, which readers of Pendennis will remember. The publisher Bungay declared there was no one who could write like Captain Shandon, then a captive in the Fleet prison. Admiral Knowles was Smollett's pet aversion; in his first article on him, the Critical reviewer describes the gallant sailor as "an admiral without conduct, an engineer without knowledge, an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity." For another reason Smollett's position in the present survey is noteworthy; the Scotch and Irish colouring of the various editorial staffs in London is remarkable even to-day. Smollett was the first Scotchman of great mark as well as the first journalist of any sort officially affected to the ministerial press, even nominated to it by the premier himself. After the death of George II, the British Crown and parliamentary system passed under the control of the nobleman from beyond the Tweed, whose unacceptableness to the English masses reflected unpopularity on his country, too. Lord Bute, in his efforts to maintain the cause of prerogative and of himself, conferred with Bubb Dodington as to the best way of meeting the exasperating attacks of the opposition newspapers. The prime mover in those onslaughts was the Monitor, whose most effective

leaders were written by a man with a name familiar in the schooldays of our grandparents; this was John Entick of Reader fame; he had as his colleague a certain Dr. Shebbeare. These two worthies were the first to make a fair business out of leading articles; they received together from their journal or from the Treasury a tolerably regular £200 or £300 a year. The result of the Bute-Dodington conferences was the counterblast to the Monitor from the Briton. This, edited and chiefly written by Smollett, lasted exactly four years (1750-1763). Its "editorials" are the first to mark the accomplishment of the transition from the pamphlet to the leader. Twenty years before the Briton of Smollett, his brother novelist, Henry Fielding, with words and looks of good-humoured contempt, in 1739, had pushed aside the crowd of article-writers inspired by the Pretender's attempt. Not till a decade later, in 1749, did Fielding in his sketch of Squire Western, cursing, over his cups, the "Hanoverian rats," hold up to ridicule the Jacobite remnant. Already, in 1739, with James Ralph, whose nom de guerre was Captain Hercules Vinegar, first in the tri-weekly Champion, afterwards in the True Patriot, had Fielding supported the Whigs with political essays in the. same outspoken vein as Smollett's invectives against the unlucky Admiral Knowles. Fielding also honestly tried to heighten the self-respect of those newspaper commentators whom Walpole had systematically corrupted. Both as a literary composition and as an instrument of political attack or defence, the leader gained appreciably in form and in importance from the moulding agency of the two fathers of the English novel.

But the most important founder of English journalism in all departments, the leading article of course included, has yet to be mentioned. In the *Rambler*, and the entire series of little sheets which he originated, Samuel Johnson shows a popularly enlarged conception of the mission and opportunities of the press; its range, according to Johnson's view, should be co-extensive with the entire field of public interests and needs. As the last, the ninth, volume of Messrs. Bell's

edition shows, Swift had already practically recognised that no journal, at whatever intervals published, could hope to live by politics alone; domestic economy, cookery in the household, improved provision for the health of the masses in town and country, the public and private encouragement of thrift, life-insurance, educational reform, the regulation of the drink trade—all these, as well as the policy of ministers, the conduct of wars, and the management of allies, were the topics that came home to the bosoms and business of many in the new reading public, who were ignorant of and indifferent to imperial concerns. The hint thus given was developed by Johnson in his periodical essays; one of these, it is opportune to the present moment to notice, advocates, as had been also done by Swift, the formation of just such an academy of English letters as that the granting of a charter for which proved among the earliest official acts of the present reign.

The same Nonconformist influence which made the English House of Commons had also a chief share in deciding the temper and the colour, as well as in stimulating all the activities, of English journalism. The most popular and telling leader-writers of to-day owe far more to the iournalistic labours of the dissenting Daniel Defoe than to the Tory highfliers of the Examiner, the Craftsman, and the whole litter of sheets covered by Dr. King's clever pens. Only when Defoe's amazing career had closed did the newspaper projector realise that the first condition of success was to supply an ascertained demand, and not merely to disseminate certain notions in Church, in State, or in any department of affairs. Defoe was the first popular publicist. The habitual loneliness of Defoe's life is allegorised in Robinson Crusoe.1 In his dauntless persistency, in his unwearying capacity for sheer hard work, in the practical illustration of his faith that genius carries with it no dispensation from drudgery, in his quickness of seeing not only

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In proof of this view, see Mr. Thomas Wright's Life of Defoe, pp. 231, 232, etc.

the two sides of every question but all round a given subject as well as in his aptitude for seizing the true points of each new social or political problem; in his unerring identification of himself with all those classes of readers addressed by him, sometimes individually and sometimes collectively; as conductor now of the *Popular and Radical Review*, now of the officially Whig Scotch journal, which three centuries later transformed itself into the Conservative *Edinburgh Courant*, as edited by James Hannay, the rival of the *Scotsman*. Herein Defoe remains for all time the most complete type of the consummate journalist in general and leader-writer in particular.

As we descend in the direction of the present day, the connexion between pure literature and that department of journalism dealt with here will be found not less close than it has been discovered in the case of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century masters of English fiction. It is not to the newspaper press alone that one must look for the further evolution of the leading article, since free speech and a free press have become part of the English heritage of civil and religious liberty. Two of our quarterly contemporaries have recently celebrated the centenaries of their birth; the origin of each was literary rather than political. When, under the administration of Lockhart, of Gifford, or of Jeffrey and Macvey Napier respectively, politics from the party point of view were handled both in the Edinburgh and the Quarterly, the pieces devoted to these topics resembled much more closely the newspaper leaders of our own time than the more exhaustive essays afterwards found in the same organs of opinion. A little later came the monthly magazines, Blackwood and Fraser. Wilson and Aytoun in the one, with some colleagues, and William Maginn in the other, exercised an influence still felt on the structure of the daily "editorials."

By this time English statesmanship had paid a noticeable tribute to the successful rivalry of the leader-writer with the House of Commons and with the Cabinet itself. Samuel Taylor Coleridge was writing articles of no very

superb merit in the Morning Post. Charles James Fox, speaking at St. Stephen's, attributed to "Coleridge's essays in a daily paper" the miscarriage of the Amiens peace negotiations. To see, however, at its closest the nineteenthcentury connexion between the leader-writer and the literary master, one must look outside the political field. To-day the newspaper columns set apart for leaders as well as for special correspondents all bear the imprint of the enduring influence exercised by Charles Dickens on all departments of the daily and weekly press. The Pickwick Papers appeared in 1837; about half a dozen years earlier their author had begun his newspaper connexion as a reporter on one or two journals that now belong to the past. No writer great or small ever more perfectly mastered every secret and stage in his craft, from the subeditor's room to the position long before his death he had secured, as the most varied and incomparably the most popular writer in his century. The weekly periodicals, Household Words and All the Year Round, successfully edited by him, were in reality journalistic schools; to have been trained in them constituted the leader-writer's best education. The leader columns of the penny press did not become of much importance till some little way on in the second half of the nineteenth century. The particular kind of leader which made the editorial reputation of the Times was the combined product of the inspiration of Thomas Barnes and the tremendous pen of Captain Sterling. "As," once resumed that writer, "we thundered forth the other day"; hence, appropriately enough, was bestowed on the paper for which he wrote the title of "the thunderer." These were the leaders belonging to the school of Fielding and Smollett, chastened by the severer influence of "Junius." Their effect came quite as much from the independence of their tone as the ability of their composition. Both parties and all statesmen were liable to the same unexpected attack or support. With the addition of the most accurate and comprehensive news concerning the Cabinets, the Bourses, and the Chanceries of Europe, the Times became at once the oracle of the City and as mighty an organ of statesmanship as Thackeray had described it in a well known passage in Pendennis. But the repeal of the paper duty and the consequent growth of the cheapest newspapers were preliminaries essential to the supremacy of the popular leader; that was reserved till about 1865. By that time the author of David Copperfield had completed the training of several clever pens engaged by him on his different magazines. Grenville Murray, "the roving Englishman" of Household Words, and Felix Whitehurst; the once notorious Paris correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, George Augustus Sala, who really possessed some of his great teacher's talents, and many more, not being special practitioners of the leader-writing art, all owed to Charles Dickens much of their success as leader-manufacturers for, and in themselves the creators of, the famous penny newspaper. Gradually the leader of the new order, from being chiefly occupied with social themes, became political. Statesmen of light and leading are credibly reported not to have been indifferent to the distinction of a caricature in Punch. A press nickname has before now been found equally useful. W. E. Gladstone's exclusively Tory, aristocratic antecedents, as well as a certain atmosphere of academic reserve, which he was said to find most congenial, even after he was known to have embraced the popular political faith of Lord John Russell, long prevented thousands of his later followers and admirers from seeing in him their personal hero or national representative. Almost without warning the diurnal broadsheet then issuing from Peterborough Court familiarised "the largest circulation in the world" with the figure, the achievements, and the mission of "the people's William." The first mover in paper duty repeal had been Thomas Milner Gibson; he had entered public life as a Conservative in 1837, but had seceded on the question of the Corn Laws; he had since been an advanced Liberal leader and a social enthusiast for the penny press, that seemed in a manner his

own offspring. He believed in its influence and mission. Its writers, as well as the Liberal stalwarts of the House of Commons with whom they were associated, first acquired status in fashionable London from their presence at Mrs. Milner Gibson's evening parties, on the Cambridge House model, at the once well known corner mansion in Brook Street, Grosvenor Square. The leader of the new and cheap newspapers, all of them in some degree copies of the Peterborough Court original, now in literary form and composition began, thanks to good management and a competent staff, dangerously to compete with their older and costlier rivals. The keynote of the leaders in the Morning Star was sounded; they were, as a whole, occasionally written by John Bright. That paper's editor, Leicester Buckingham, the son of a strenuous Anglo-Indian publicist who founded the Athenœum, and an impressively picturesque figure with his flowing silver hair and beard, contrasting with his black velvet suit in the Fleet Street of his day, had a keen eye for literary form as well as power of imparting that sense to others. The same gifts belonged to Thomas Hamber, the great editor of the Standard, when and long after Lord Robert Cecil, the future Lord Salisbury, wrote regularly for the journal. A son of Leigh Hunt, who had inherited all his father's literary insight without his political extravagances, actively superintended at the office of the then infant Daily Telegraph the cleverly concocted pieces which won for the paper the forgotten sobriquet of "Jupiter junior"; with James Macdonell as his right-hand manperhaps the subtlest and finest brain known to nineteenthcentury journalism-and with Jeffrey Prowse, the present Sir Edwin Arnold, and the late Frank Lawley as his chief contributors, Mr. Thornton Hunt imparted to the leaders in his paper a character of their own that soon influenced contemporary prints. For the Standard the same work was done by Captain Hamber, the most vigorous intellect then connected with that journal, with Percy Greg, Horace St. John, George Painter, and H. E. Watts, the distinguished Spanish scholar, as the most responsible exponents of their

editor's ideas. The literary methods illustrated in the Times by Delane, in the Saturday Review by Douglas Cook, were of course the exemplars of the penny press leaders, whose growing excellence, however, was the direct consequence of the initiative and administration of the conductors now mentioned, to whom ought to be added the name of Frederick Greenwood, of the Pall Mall Gazette, and Algernon Borthwick, of the Morning Post, not inferior as a trainer of pens to any of their greatest predecessors. Hamber's training, in most of its excellences, of leader-manufacturers was carried on by those who afterwards filled his chair, Mr. Mudford first, Mr. Curtis afterwards.

The palmy period of the leader coincided perhaps with the decade between 1856 and 1866. The work was not then produced under the severe pressure inseparable from the habit of writing articles for the same day's issue in the small hours of the morning, with foreign telegrams and telegraphic condensations of parliamentary debates actually going on as text or materials. But the chief change recently visible in the evolution of the leader is its tendency to become an echo instead of an oracle. One of the consequences of the temporary paralysis of the party system is the disappearance of a critical and independent press. To say "ditto to Mr. Burke" is the first duty now accepted by many of the ablest pens in journalism. Formerly the leader aimed at confuting political antagonists, counselling, and as need might be, admonishing political friends. After this it played rather the part of the Greek chorus in conveying the deliberate opinions of the well informed spectator. To-day it might almost be called the Paganini of panegyric, primarily an instrument for trumpeting the praise of the present dual controllers of the House of Commons. Its one mission is, not as formerly to instruct or to criticise, but to intensify the convictions already entertained by different circles of political partisans. For the time, therefore, one cannot wonder that the leader is being superseded by the paragraphs which it is now the fashion to

call leaderettes. As our political system very gradually reverts to a healthier and a normal state, there may again be a place for those compositions which have in their day done good work, exercised much power, and which have grown and declined after the manner set forth in the foregoing pages.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

## JUDAISM AND JEWISH EVANGELIZATION.

- 1. The Jewish Year-Book, 5662 (1901-1902).
- 2. The Jewish Encyclopædia. Vols. I. and II. (London and New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1902.)
- 3. Christianity and Judaism. By Professor Dalman, D.D. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1901.)
- 4. Life and Work of Rev. William Wingate. By Rev. GAVIN CARLYLE, M.A. (London: Alfred Holness. 1901.)
- 5. Nathanael. Zeitschrift für die Arbeit der Evangelischen Kirche an Israel. Bde I.-XVIII. (Leipzig.)
- 6. Judentaufen im XIX. Jahrhundert. Von Pastor JOH. DE LE ROI. (Leipzig.)

EVEN if they were not the rock out of which the Christian Church is hewn, the Jewish people alike for their history and for their destiny must always command our interest. They are the most remarkable people of history. They had passed the zenith of their political power and greatness before the culture of Greece or the polity of Rome had risen above the horizon. They are the only people still maintaining a separate and organised existence whose ancestry goes back in an unbroken line to the cradle of human society, and whose progenitors were familiar with the populous cities and mighty temples now being dug up out of the soil of Babylonia, many millenniums old. The Jews of London and New York, of Paris, Vienna, and Constantinople, the Jews who form ghettos in our large

cities, who make cigarettes in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and who bargain for herrings in the season at Peterhead and Aberdeen, are all of them in race and feature the children of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the brethren of the psalmists and prophets of Israel, the kinsmen of our blessed Lord according to the flesh. They are "mixed with every race, yet lost in none." They float like oil on the surface of modern life, unassimilated, unabsorbed.

Their survival is itself a miracle of national indestructibility and vitality.

"Is it not a miracle," said Dr. Hermann Adler, the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain, speaking at the opening of a new synagogue in Edinburgh two or three years ago, "that Israel has defied all the shafts of persecution that have been levelled against him, that he has not been absorbed by the nations among whom he has been scattered? Egyptian Pharaohs, Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, Gothic Crusaders, Spanish Inquisitors, aye and Russian procurators have alike devoted their energies to the fulfilment of that common purpose, the destruction of the Hebrew. Exile, captivity, confiscation, tortures the most ingenious, massacres the most cruel, debasing laws and restrictive enactments, which would have broken the heart of any other people, have been tried in turn, but tried in vain. Our Christian fellow-countrymen term the most solemn period of their calendar Passion Week, to commemorate the sufferings believed to have been endured by the Founder of their faith at that season of the year. What is one day's, what is one week's suffering compared with the passion endured by a whole people for nigh upon two thousand years?"

Truly, as Jesus the son of Sirach has said, "the life of man is numbered by days, and the days of Israel are innumerable" (Ecclus. xxxvii. 25). Israel scattered among the nations, defying contempt, and reproach, and persecution, and exile, and massacre, is the riddle of history, an abiding witness to the supernatural, a perennial remembrancer to the nations both of the promises and of the threatenings of God.

Marvellous as is the vitality of the Jewish people, it is equalled by their intellectual gifts and social influence. In

every sphere of modern life, in every profession save that of arms, Jews have achieved distinction. The Jewish Year-Book has a striking list of celebrities to record. finance the Jewish genius has always been strong. Although the Rothschilds have been eclipsed by American millionaires, and though the monopoly of international finance has now largely passed from Jewish hands, the money power of the Continent and Great Britain vested in lews is still considerable. In journalism they have also distinguished themselves: it is one of the bitterest charges made against them by the anti-Semites that they have captured journalism in the Continental capitals. In philosophy there is scarcely a more eminent name than that of Spinoza, and Baruch Spinoza is at once identified by his fore-name as a Jew. In music the names of Felix Mendelssohn and Sir Michael Costa show the eminence lews have attained. In literature there are Heine, Disraeli, Palgrave, and others of no mean rank among the dead, and many popular authors among the living, of Jewish parentage, whose genius has thrown lustre upon the race. In scholarship, both in the classical and the Semitic fields, in critical and theological science, and especially in Christian theology where Hebrew Christians have done notable service, names of the highest eminence. like Theodor Benfey, Emmanuel Deutsch, Neander, and Alfred Edersheim, are to be chronicled. And in political life, not to go beyond Great Britain, the names of the late Lord Beaconsfield, the late Lord Herschell, Lord Goschen, and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff are familiar as the sons or immediate descendants of Jewish proselytes to the Christian faith. These names are but a few that may be recalled, and when it is remembered that the total Jewish population of the world has probably never exceeded ten millions, the position of Jews in letters and learning and social and political life is seen to be remarkable.

The Jewish question at the beginning of the twentieth century is many-sided, and is bringing the Jewish people into greater prominence than ever. Anti-Semitism on the Continent has given rise to bitter agitations against the

lewish communities, it has driven them in tens of thousands across the Atlantic, and in more than one country has threatened their wholesale expulsion. In Roumania their treatment, even in defiance of the Treaty of Berlin, has been marked by violence and repression, and, although at the moment anti-Semitism is elsewhere comparatively quiescent, fresh outbreaks may occur upon the least exasperation of popular prejudice. On the other hand Zionism, which aims at securing a refuge for the persecuted race in the ancient land of their fathers, where they may be free to establish themselves again in a self-governing Jewish state, has lit up the tinder of lewish national aspiration into a burning enthusiasm, and drawn the attention of the civilised world in a marked degree upon the people. To the Church of Christ there are movements within Judaism full of interest and hope.—the stirring of the stagnant waters of Jewish orthodoxy, the changing attitude of liberal Judaism to Jesus Christ, and the increasingly felt inadequacy of Talmudism to satisfy the spiritual cravings of Jews brought up under the influence of modern culture. And the Church does not stand looking upon these movements with folded hands. In Great Britain, on the Continent, and in America she prosecutes the work of Jewish evangelization with increasing ardour and with fresh hope derived from the unmistakable and unchallengeable results of a century of Jewish missions.

To all who from any cause whatever are interested in the Jewish people the new Jewish Encyclopædia, of which two volumes have now been issued, comes with a fulness of information regarding Jewish history, biography, sociology, literature, religion, and philosophy never reached before. The great histories of Jost and Graetz, and Hamburger's Talmudic Encyclopædia, containing abundance of materials, are after all books for scholars. The Jewish Encyclopædia, while eminently serviceable for purposes of scholarly research, is a popular work in the best sense, presenting to the ordinary reader in modern phrase and attractive style much that has been hidden away in obscure treatises concerning the thought and life, the teachings and usages of

Judaism, ancient and modern. It professes to furnish a record of the multifarious and eminent activity of the Jews in the development of human thought and social progress throughout the centuries down to the present time. It is planned on a large scale, and judging by the amount of ground already covered, we should not be surprised if the twelve volumes promised were to extend to twenty before the work is completed. If the scale of the work is large, the execution is scholarly and thorough. Purely Jewish subjects, such as the statistics of Jewish communities. the doctrines and ritual observances of Judaism, Jewish sects, and the development of Jewish philosophy, are in the hands of lewish experts, and are set forth with a learning and authority to which no Gentile scholar could lay claim. is proof, however, of the liberal attitude of the projectors of the work, and of their determination to avail themselves of all the resources of modern scholarship, that they have invited the co-operation of non-lewish scholars of eminence. Among the contributors are Colonel Conder, R.E., whose authority on the topography and archæology of Palestine is supreme; Professor Schürer of Leipzig, whose History of the Jewish People in the Time of Christ is a monument of learning and research; and Professors R. W. Rogers and W. Max Müller, both leading representatives of archæological scholarship of America. On the Boards of Consulting Editors, representing both sides of the Atlantic, Christian scholars like Professors M'Curdy of Toronto, G. F. Moore of Andover, H. L. Strack of Berlin, and Dr. Charles Taylor. Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, have been asked to co-operate with the most eminent Jewish scholars of the day. Such co-operation is by itself a sign of the times and full of hope for the future. Hitherto, as the editors say in their preface, "deep-rooted prejudices have prevented any sympathetic interest in Judaism on the part of Christian theologians, or in Christianity on the part of the rabbis." In the two volumes already issued there are important articles. Under the heading "America" there is an excellent sketch of the history of the lews in the New World.

and a very interesting account of American Judaism. The article "Anti-Semitism" contains a full account of the origin, progress, and present position of the modern movement so designated, the bias in favour of the Jewish people as an innocent and unoffending body of citizens being only natural in such a sketch. The aims and history of the "Alliance Israelite," which has done so much, especially in the East, to protect Jewish interests and to advance education in the poor Jewish communities of the Levant and elsewhere, are fully described. Biographical sketches of lewish scholars and thinkers and writers, such as Aberbanel, Grace Aguilar, Akiba, and notices of public personages like Barney Barnato and Alfred Beit, add greatly to the interest of the work. As an illustration of the detail into which it goes in matters of Jewish interest it may be mentioned that under the heading "Aberdeen" we are told there is a synagogue and seventeen lewish families, of whom twentythree persons (in 1899) were seatholders. In many particulars the *lewish Encyclopædia* invites comparison with the new Dictionary of the Bible and the Encyclopædia Biblica. In historical geography, Scripture history, Biblical antiquities and biography it covers the same ground, and does not suffer by comparison. It is even more profusely illustrated, and its pages are brightened by photographs of places and persons, as well as by pictures of Jewish modes of worship and representations of Jewish architecture. There is everywhere in these volumes a very natural tendency to magnify the part the lew has taken in the life of the nations, and to pass lightly over the failings which have helped to make him distrusted and hated in modern times. But upon the whole the promoters make good their undertaking to "place before the reading public of the world the history of the Jew in its fullest scope, with an exhaustiveness which has never been attempted before—without concealing facts or resorting to apology," and so "to contribute no unimportant share to a just estimate of the Jew."

That the Gentile world, and Christian people in particular, require instruction on the subject of Judaism, and even

regarding Jewish usages and social life, cannot be doubted. In his valuable pamphlet entitled *Christenthum und Judenthum* (now to be read in an English translation by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., under the title *Christianity and Judaism*) Professor Dalman, of Leipzig, says:

It is a curious fact, but one that in this controversy is constantly coming into evidence, that the religion which is next-of-kin to Christianity is relegated to the category of those to which least attention is paid. So far is this carried that censure even is meted out to those who concern themselves with Judaism, as though an active interest in Islam, Buddhism, or even in the fetichism of a Bantu tribe would be of greater utility to the State, the nation, and the Church.

Dr. Dalman has braved the censure, and by his studies in Judaism and its fundamental literature contained in the Talmud has done something to remove the reproach to which he refers. His newly translated Words of Jesus is a weighty and able contribution to the elucidation of the gospel records from the language and ideas of rabbinical literature as near as possible to the time of Christ. It does seem remarkable that a people whose history, so far as recorded in the Bible, is familiar to every well instructed Christian child, who are themselves an important factor in the social life of the nations, who are found in the capitals of every civilised country, and form a considerable percentage in the population of our larger cities, should yet as a community be largely shut off from their Gentile neighbours, and should, at least on the Continent, be credited with obscure and mysterious usages and rites, and even with secret institutions which operate to the detriment of the body politic in which they reside. Yet it is by this separateness that the Jews have preserved their identity and their racial characteristics unimpaired in the lands of their dispersion. All through their history, since the days of the Babylonian exile, social and religious exclusiveness has been a dominant note in Jewish character. The Maccabæan struggle in the second century before Christ knit

them more closely together and intensified their hatred of everything heathen, especially of the Greek culture which was spreading in the East; and Roman domination a century later only added fuel to the flame. Of the hatred, well reciprocated, which they bore to the Gentiles among whom they lived, Tacitus and Juvenal bear striking witness. In the early centuries of our era they showed towards Christianity the same hatred that they bore to pagan idolatry. Gibbon, in his famous fifteenth chapter, in setting forth the causes which he thinks account for the rapid growth of Christianity, describes the Jews of the second century as the one people who "refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind."

"The sullen obstinacy," he proceeds, "with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners seemed to mark them out as a distinct species of men, who boldly professed or who faintly disguised their implacable hatred to the rest of mankind. . . . Their religion was not attractive to proselytes, their peculiar distinction of days, of meats, etc., and the variety of trivial though burdensome observances were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations, to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The painful and even dangerous rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue."

Shut up in their ghettos, restricted within "the pale," limited to occupations which developed what was worst in their character rather than what was best, having a home life and religious usages and communal institutions of their own, they easily excited the dread, or drew upon them the wrath and illusage, of their Gentile neighbours wherever they dwelt. And so the intervening centuries, with their tale of cruel massacre by the Crusaders, of the tortures of the Inquisition, of insult and repression, of banishment and exile, did not tend to fill up the gulf between the Jew and his Gentile neighbour. Indeed, it is out of the conception of the Jew as an anti-Christian and disturbing element in the Christian State—a conception honestly held by many

excellent Christian people on the Continent, but surely grievously coloured and exaggerated—that the powerful and widespread anti-Semitic crusade has arisen.

The grounds of Israel's exclusiveness are not far to seek. Chosen in Abraham to be the vehicle of blessing to all the nations of the earth, they have throughout their history cherished a profound conviction of their singular vocation. Since their dispersion, and the destruction of the temple as the visible centre of their unity, they have clung tenaciously to their nationality, and the instrumentality which has kept lewish nationality alive for nearly two thousand years has been the Talmud. The marvellous unity which is characteristic of Jewish life throughout the world is due to the Talmud; but it is the exclusive spirit of the Talmud embodied in the social system of Judaism, and expressed in many notable sayings, which has impressed upon the lew that character of exclusiveness of which the consequences to himself have been so disastrous. The opinion of the learned is greatly divided as to the real character of that marvellous and immense conglomeration of wisdom and absurdity, of learning and childishness, of acute speculation and miserable triviality, of lofty moral precept and scurrilous abuse of Christianity. It has been the basis of lewish orthodoxy and the fountain-head of lewish spiritual and intellectual life down to recent times. Its prescriptions have regulated lewish relations with Gentile nations as well as the relations of Israelites to one another. It would be unjust to make Judaism responsible for all the utterances and assertions of the Talmud, often contradictory of each other, and with reference to fundamental Christian doctrines frequently blasphemous and always hostile. But Talmudism has been destructive of real community between the mass of the lews and the Gentile nations, and it has been disastrous to intellectual sincerity and spiritual life. It is largely responsible for that lack of depth and seriousness and reality of which those complain who have had occasion in the course of religious discussion to follow the subtle and perverse workings of

the Jewish mind steeped in the lore and the spirit of the Talmud. It is not surprising to learn that Talmudic Judaism knows scarcely anything of personal sinfulness in the Christian sense; and it is one of the most calamitous results of Talmudic influence that it has practically extinguished the sense of sin and guilt before God which breathes through so much of the ancient literature of Israel, and expresses itself so fully in the penitential psalms. Were it not that the sense of sin belongs to the indestructible essence of man as a spiritual being, and that it will assert itself even where it has been overlaid by gross materialism or bitter scepticism, access with the truths of Evangelical Christianity to the Jewish mind under the influence of Talmudism would be hopeless indeed.

But the Talmud is not for ever to constrain the conscience and cramp the spiritual life of Israel. days of Moses Mendelssohn, honoured in some circles of Judaism as "the third Moses"-Moses Maimonides being the second—there has been a manifest loosening of the bonds holding Israel to the Talmud. He appealed to his people to renounce their exclusiveness and enter into the life of the nations among whom they dwelt. He opened out to his coreligionists the riches of German literature; and by his translations and commentaries on the books of the Bible, as well as by his enlightened views on the education of the voung, he showed them the way to the fellowship of modern culture and friendly relations with the society around them. His translation of the Pentateuch into German, we are told, had an influence on German Judaism only to be compared to that of Luther's translation of the Bible on German Christendom. Mendelssohn, the father of the new liberal Judaism, conceived that by his labours in establishing relations between Judaism and culture he had solved the lewish problem. Pastor de le Roi, the learned historian of lewish missions, in his papers in Professor Strack's magazine, Nathanael, on "Jewish Baptisms in the Nineteenth Century," now gathered into a separate publication, shows how the new attitude to political life and

modern culture became a movement towards Christianity on the part of many of Mendelssohn's disciples.

"All Mendelssohn's descendants," he points out, "are now Christians, and a great and ever broadening stream of Jews has been pouring into the different branches of the Christian Church. Since the early days of Christianity, apart from times of persecution and compulsory conversions, there has never so great a multitude of Jews attached themselves to the Christian Church, and the leaders of Jewish thought show themselves ever more impressed with this fact."

At any rate, the tradition, maintained through many centuries, of living isolated from Christian society while still dwelling in the midst of it is no longer possible to Judaism. It has embarked upon the stream of modern life and culture, and the currents have carried it to lengths and in directions of which it never dreamed.

"Their own domain of religious and spiritual ideas has fallen into complete confusion," adds De le Roi, "and their religion no longer furnishes them with a bond of union. Many Jews have accordingly reached the sure persuasion that if things are to go farther in this direction, the Jewish population of Christian lands must sooner or later be absorbed in their environment. They even confess that a process of assimilation has begun among them which nothing can arrest, if the new relations of Israel with the Christian peoples are to continue."

De le Roi goes on to point out that the natural outcome and logical consequence of this persuasion is Zionism, with its watchword of "the Jewish land again for the Jewish people." But he does not expect much from Zionism as a resource to arrest the disintegration of Judaism:

Zionism is only the last effort on the part of Jews to escape from the acknowledgment of the truth, which the numerous baptisms in the nineteenth century have proclaimed with increasing clearness and force, that Jesus Christ is too strong for them, and that they are destined to be His. To escape from the power which draws them to the arms of Christ and into the

fellowship of His people, the children of Israel have surrendered one position after another, but always only to make the experience that all their weapons in the fight against Him become eventually blunt and useless.

There is much in Jewish life and literature at the present time to warrant this sanguine estimate. lewish controversialists in vindicating their position appeal less and less to the Talmud. Of the opprobrious references to Christ and to Christians in the Talmud the leaders among the liberal lews are sincerely ashamed. Reformed Iudaism says: "For us the Talmud is no conclusive record of doctrine with divine authority." Mr. Claude Montefiore expressly declares that the "position of Conservative Judaism is as untenable as its environment is unattractive." He speaks for a circle of Jewish thinkers who are perhaps numerically weak, but exercise a powerful social influence. Those who sympathise with him regard circumcision, the national badge of Judaism, with feelings little short of positive aversion; they deplore the exclusion of women from the duties of their religious cult, and are warm friends of their higher education; they have given up the hope of a return of the nation to Palestine, and consequently look askance upon the Zionist movement; they are eager for great reform in the services of the synagogue, with a considerable approximation to Christian modes of worship; and, while they cannot endure St. Paul because of his utterances concerning the law and his doctrine of justification by faith alone, they have a genuine admiration and reverence for lesus of Nazareth, whom they claim as the greatest of Israel's sons.

Indeed, the attitude towards Jesus of Nazareth of thoughtful Jews who have received a Western education and are alive to the tendencies of modern progress, is very significant. In *Nathanael*, in the earlier issues of 1902, Pastor de le Roi has collected a series of important utterances by modern Jews concerning Jesus Christ. Leaders of Jewish thought in Germany, Austro-Hungary, Switzerland, France, Italy, Great Britain, and America are represented

among them. The general editor of the Jewish Encyclopædia says:

I consider Jesus of Nazareth as a Jew of the Jews, one whom all Jews ought to get to love. His teaching has done immense service to the world, for it has brought the God of Israel to the knowledge of thousands and millions of mankind. When I was a boy, my father, who was a very pious man, if he had heard the name of Jesus of Nazareth mentioned from a pulpit of our synagogue, would have left the place, and the rabbi would have left along with him. Now it is nothing uncommon in our synagogues to hear sermons laudatory of this Jesus, and nobody thinks of lifting up his voice against it. We are all glad to claim Jesus as one of our people.

#### Max Nordau has said:

If the Jews to this day have not attained to the full and complete recognition of the moral greatness of Jesus, the blame rests with the constant persecutions and massacres which have been perpetrated against them in His name. The Jews have concluded from the character of the disciples to the character of the Master, an injustice no doubt, but an injustice pardonable in view of the victims of the miserable hatred of the so-called Christians.

Mr. Montefiore has pronounced Jesus of Nazareth "the most important lew that ever lived, exercising a greater influence upon mankind and civilisation than any other whether within the Jewish race or without it." To place lesus of Nazareth, whom the Talmud calls "the Hung" and whom fanatical lews still call by that opprobrious name, above Abraham, Moses, and David, is an amazing exhibition of candour. Jesus is making an ever deeper impression upon the mind and heart of His own people. Many of them endeavour to find excuses for their fathers who condemned Him, and many would fain throw the guilt of His death upon the Gentiles. There are not a few of those that confess Christ as Israel's greatest Son and the world's highest Teacher of truth who are not far from the kingdom of God. But when they have made their most generous acknowledgments we feel that they still fall short of His full

and essential divinity. He is still to them only flesh of our flesh and soul of our soul, the ripest fruit that Israel has ever borne, but still only one of human kind. It is only when the sense of sin is awakened in him that the offer of a divine Redeemer will be grateful to the Jew.

It is the work of Missions to Israel to awaken in the lew the sense of sin, and to make Christ known to him in the glory of His divine person and in the sufficiency of His complete atonement. For, after all, the one solution of the lewish problem is the gospel of Christ, whether preached in the Churches or made known by the Missionary Societies with their many-sided agencies. Organised missionary effort among the Jewish people has made great strides during the nineteenth century, and has learned much from experience as to principles and methods. In the two great lines of Jewish mission labour, in individual ingathering and in national preparation, far more has been accomplished than is generally believed. Perhaps the story which Mr. Carlyle tells so skilfully in the Life and Work of Rev. William Wingate is the most remarkable narrative of missionary labour for Israel which that century has to show. Mr. Wingate-whose sons have distinguished themselves in different departments of the public service in India and the East, and whose nephew is Sir Francis Wingate, the Sirdar and Governor-General of the Soudanwas won from a business career to the service of Israel by Mr. Robert Wodrow, the real founder of the Jewish mission of the Scottish Churches. He was a missionary to the Jews at Buda-Pesth from 1842 to 1852, and with two colleagues had the joy of gathering in a great harvest. The spiritual movement which began, in 1843, with the conversion and baptism of Israel Saphir and his family, including Adolph Saphir, afterwards the well known preacher and divine, was remarkable alike for its depth and its extent. Early in the movement Alfred Edersheim became an inquirer and a convert.

"He came to me for advice," wrote Mr. Wingate in his Journals, "and received from me counsel to go to God in secret

prayer and covenant with Him, which he did, when light broke in on his dark soul . . . Oh, make this my Timothy, my own son in the faith, a chosen vessel to bear Thy name before kings and to Thine ancient people of the house of Israel and to the Gentiles."

How fully this prayer was answered is known to all who are acquainted with the late Dr. Edersheim's remarkable career. In seven years there were at least seventy converts, and among them and the converts won in turn by them were men who attained to eminence and have greatly enriched the Church of Christ by their labours. One of those converts, Mr. G. R. Lederer, baptized in 1844, settled in New York in 1855 as a city missionary. One day, on the streets of New York, Lederer encountered a young man wearing Polish dress and speaking broken English, and trying to make a living by putting in panes of glass. The city missionary had pity upon the wanderer, who had attended the school of a rabbi in Poland, but being of a restless disposition had found his way across the Atlantic. As the result of Christian instruction and kindness the young man believed in Christ and was baptized. Exhibiting a great aptitude for the acquisition of languages, he was encouraged to enter upon a college career. He was trained and sent out as a missionary of the American Episcopal Church to China, where he has translated the Old Testament into the Mandarin dialect, and otherwise laboured successfully among the lews, not forgetting his kinsmen of lewish race in the heart of China. In 1876 he was chosen a missionary bishop, an office which he had twice before declined. Bishop Joseph S. Schereschewsky, who in this remarkable manner rose from a rabbinical school to the episcopal bench, is thus a fruit of the Pesth Mission to the lews. The account of the movement as given in Mr. Carlyle's volume, with details of the after-history of many of the converts from Mr. Wingate's diary and notes, is full of encouragement to all lovers of Israel and friends of lewish missions.

It is not every Jewish mission which has such immediate

and abiding spiritual results. But those who turn away from the cause of Jewish evangelization or hesitate to lend it their sympathy and support, on the ground that lewish converts are few, and those few of doubtful quality, are grievously misinformed. The labours of the Churches and the Missionary Societies on behalf of Israel have had even greater success than their labours on behalf of the heathen. We have now reached the close of a century of missions the first century of organised and systematic missionary effort since the Reformation, both to lews and heathens. We can therefore compare results in the two fields. As to the number received by baptism into the Church of Christ in connexion with Protestant missions in the course of the century now closed, the authorities are not seriously at variance.1 No authority would place the converts of Protestant Missions higher than five millions, and the same figure may be held fairly to represent the converts of Roman It is a question with missionary Catholic Missions. statisticians whether the negroes of the United States should be included or not, but for our purpose we shall admit them, numbering as they do about seven and a half millions. We have thus seventeen and a half millions, but in order to make sure that no injustice is done to missions to the heathen in our comparison, we shall reckon twenty millions as admitted to the Church of Christ in all her branches from Paganism during the nineteenth century. On the other hand, we can determine with considerable confidence the numbers who have passed during the same period from the Synagogue into the Church. Pastor de le Roi, whose historical investigations give him the greatest right to be heard, has published a statistical inquiry in which he accounts for 224,000 converts who have been received from Judaism

¹ See Dennis's Centennial Survey of Missions, p. 264; Warneck's History of Protestant Missions, pp. 339, 340. Compare also Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift, July, 1902, and Journal des Missions Evangéliques, July, 1902, for articles on missionary statistics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Judentaufen im XIX. Jahrhundert (Sonderabdruck aus Nathanael, 1899). Leipzig: Heinrichs.

into the Christian Church—Protestant, Roman Catholic, Greek—in the course of the nineteenth century. His figures are confessedly under the mark, and we cannot go far wrong to estimate them at a quarter of a million. Assuming that there are a thousand millions of heathen in the world, the fruits of a century of missionary labour, reckoned by us for this comparison at twenty millions, are as one in fifty. Assuming that there are in all ten millions of Jews, the fruits of labour in their evangelization—estimated at a quarter of a million—are as one in forty. These calculations do not profess absolute exactitude, but such as they are they show convincingly that the soil of Judaism is not harder to cultivate than that of Paganism, and that nowhere is the Church of Christ reaping a richer harvest than in the Jewish mission-field.

Moreover, when we compare the fruits of Evangelical labour on behalf of Israel in the nineteenth century with the fruits of apostolic labour in the first century, there is abundant ground for encouragement. Professor Warneck¹ estimates that there was in the broad Roman empire at the close of the first century perhaps 200,000 Christians, and of course the Jewish Christians among them would be in a minority.

"If we think," says De le Roi, "of the 224,000 baptized Jews in the nineteenth century and also of their numerous descendants, we may surely maintain that the number of Jewish proselytes during that period more than equals the number of baptisms in universal Christendom from among the peoples during the first century of the Church, and far exceeds the number of Jewish baptisms."

There is still a further consideration in connexion with the results of a century of Jewish evangelization full of hope to lovers of Israel. Converts from heathenism have not as yet greatly enriched the thought and the life of Christendom, although we are entitled to expect such enrichment in the future, when India and China and Africa and the Islands of

History of Protestant Missions, p. 3.

the Sea shall in their mass have received, and learned to exemplify, Christianity. But converts from Judaism have already made valuable contributions to Christian literature and theology. Neander, with his history of the Church; Edersheim, with his Life of Christ; Adolph Saphir, by his preaching and his writings; Philippi, with his great exposition of the Lutheran theology; Caspari and Paulus Stephen Cassl, with their Commentaries—have enriched Christian theology; whilst others that might be named have given fresh impulse to Christian activity or manifestly helped forward Christian progress.

It is not true to say that the Jews will not convert, and it is false to say they are not worth converting. Even in the present, not to speak of that future which is big with hope for Israel, the Church of Christ may feel that her Jewish Mission is not a failure. To some, indeed, the slow rate at which the evangelization of the world proceeds suggests that the Church may be following the wrong order, and that the Jewish Mission may still be the first in God's plan as it was in that of the Lord and His apostles. No one will disparage Foreign Missions who admits that the raison d'être of the Church is the world's evangelization; and there is no proportion between the necessities of a thousand millions of unevangelized heathen and of ten millions of lews. what if, after all, God's purpose should be that the thousand millions are to be evangelized by the ten, brought by a mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit to accept Jesus of Nazareth as their Messiah?

The fruits of these labours in the cause of Israel are not open and palpable as the fruits of mission work among the heathen. Jewish converts cannot be gathered together in a Church, like the young Church of Uganda, with its 30,000 baptized Christians in little more than twenty years. There are friends of Jewish missions who urge the establishment of a Hebrew Christian Church, which would be a visible witness to the power of the gospel in Jewish hearts, and a home to which Jewish inquirers and converts could be brought. But the constitution of such a separate Hebrew

Christian community would be fraught with spiritual danger. It is advocated by those who hold that it would be easier for Jews to accept Christianity were they allowed to adhere to the external usages of Judaism. In the last resort, however, there is no difference between a converted lew and a converted heathen. "Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ" were the notes of apostolic preaching to Jew and Gentile alike, and both are indispensable to a true conversion, whatever the standing or race of the convert. After all, we need not complain though the Hebrew loses his identity when he enters the Christian Church. It is a lofty conception of Israel's destiny that is given by a Jewish sage and poet of the Middle Ages when he declares that Israel is to be to the nations what the heart is to the body,—not a nation of the nations, but a vitalising element of them all. The ideal will be attained when Israel is wholly won for Christ. An evangelized and Christianised Israel, pouring new life into the agencies of the Church, would greatly advance the evangelization of the heathen world, and hasten the day when, as the casting away of Israel was the reconciling of the world, the receiving of them should be as life from the dead.

THOMAS NICOL.

# BRITISH INDUSTRY AND THE LABOUR PROBLEM.

- 1. The Crisis in British Industry. Articles and Correspondence in "The Times" Newspaper, November, 1901, to January, 1902.
- 2. American Engineering Competition. (London: Harper & Brothers.)

THE relations between employers and employed, and the merits of the wage system as a means for obtaining the best work and the most work from the labourer, and for ensuring to the labourer a fair and reasonable return for his exertions, have been occupying a prominent position in the public mind during the past few months, especial interest having been roused of late by the prolonged and serious stoppages of work in the coalfields of Pennsylvania and the Northern Departments of France. And it is well that the public should take a lively interest in these questions. There is no more important problem to be faced in the near future than this; none upon the successful solution of which the nation's prosperity—its position in the world more depends. Competition in the merchandise markets of the world grows keener and keener year by year, and the long lead that this country obtained and kept during the greater part of last century (by the more ready adoption of steam power, and the consequent more rapid development of her wonderful natural resources) is being reduced very materially by the progress of her commercial rivals—notably by Germany and the United States.

We are not of those who see cause for hysterical alarm in every growth of prosperity amongst our neighbours. Their

increased powers of production mean increased powers of consumption, and the wealthier they are, the more fully they develop their natural resources, the better customers they are likely to be for our goods. But, on the other hand, it is a matter for alarm, or at least for very serious consideration, when the increased production of our neighbours displaces the goods of our manufacturers, not because we are so fully occupied with orders that we cannot supply all our customers, but because the cost of production, of which labour is the controlling item, is so much higher in this country than abroad. A parallel advance of ourselves and our competitors, consequent upon the growth of civilisation and the increased requirements of mankind, is a different matter from an advance of our rivals at the expense of ourselves; and it is unfortunately only too true that in the past decade we have been losing some branches of trade entirely, and large portions of others, that we ought not to have lost: and that the loss has, in many cases, been due to the foolish policy pursued by the workers in the industries affected. Of that there can be no doubt whatever in the minds of those who have inquired carefully into the facts.

Such an inquiry has been made by a special correspondent of *The Times*, and his observations and information have been embodied in a series of very valuable articles published in that newspaper (under the title of "The Crisis in British Industry") at intervals from November, 1901, to January, 1902. Those articles attracted much attention at the time, and called forth a considerable volume of correspondence, most of which was by way of confirming the statements of the writer. None of those statements were, in fact, satisfactorily refuted by those who attempted to do so.

The condition of affairs in some of the trades dealt with in *The Times* articles, and the history of the events leading to that condition, constitute reading that is calculated to make one almost despair of one's fellow-countrymen, and to marvel that men of no mean intelligence could be so foolish and unteachable. But despair never put evil right yet, and

### 64 British Industry and the Labour Problem.

what we want to do is to diagnose the disease, and then find a remedy, if there be one.

What, then, are the leading symptoms?

First.—A strong disposition on the part of the men, encouraged by their unions, to restrict the amount of labour to be done by each individual worker; such worker, however, requiring from the employer a full day's wage for an indifferent day's work.

Second.—Hostility of the men to the cheapening of production by the introduction of labour-saving machinery.

Third.—A strong tendency on the part of the unions to interfere in the actual management of the workshops, and by their restrictive and short-sighted rules to hamper or altogether prevent enterprise upon the part of the employers.

Fourth.—Restriction by the unions of the employment of apprentices.

Of the very general adoption by the workmen in this country of the policy of restricting the output of work per individual many proofs are given by *The Times* correspondent, and any manufacturer could give more were they needed. We will only here cite one or two instances. The following is an extract from the by-laws of a district of the Society of the Ironfounders of England, Ireland, and Wales:

Should any member of these branches consider that any of their shopmates are doing work in less time than it has taken formerly to do, whether set work or day work, or, if piecework, doing for less money than the amount previously paid for the same work from the same pattern, it shall be the duty of each and every member in the shop to warn such member or members of the consequence attending the same, or be fined 2s. 6d.; and should the offenders after this notice still persist in the same course, it shall be the duty of the shop steward to acquaint the president of the same, so that a committee meeting may be called to inquire into the case, and should the said meeting, after hearing both sides, consider that the law has been violated, they shall enforce the fine of £1 against each of the offenders.

This quotation speaks for itself, and needs no comment.

In the printing trade the same policy of restricting the output per man is pursued, with devastating results in some branches.

"The decreased amount of work per man," we are told, "as compared with twenty years ago, has been accompanied in London by rises in the rates of pay to such an extent as seriously to interfere with certain branches of the trade, these increases being mainly due to trade-union action. The last advance, granted in July [1901], practically settled the fate of the book trade, so far as London printers were concerned. Much of this class of work has gone to Edinburgh or to the provinces, where rates are substantially lower, but much also has gone to Holland and Germany. Dutch printing firms, especially, have been keen on getting work from London. . . . The flow of printing orders to either Holland or Germany is in fact steadily increasing. and with each further increase of wages here that flow is doubly accelerated—that is to say, not only because of the increased cost of production, but also because on each occasion people learn how much cheaper they can get their printing done abroad than at home."

The growth of the "go easy" policy in the building trade was very fully described by Mr. William Woodward, the architect, in an article in the Nineteenth Century for March. 1001, which may be commended to the attention of everyone interested in this question. The bricklayer who can easily lay from 1,000 to 1,200 bricks per day (at the new works of the Westinghouse Company in Trafford Park the figure actually came out at nearer 2,000 bricks) is restrained by the moral—occasionally by the physical—suasion of his fellows from laying more than from 400 to 500 bricks as a day's work. In the case of the bricklayers employed by the London County Council-many of whose members are dependent upon and truckle to the labour vote-it has been alleged that the "recognised" number that must not be exceeded is 330 bricks per day. This allegation was met by vigorous denials from the labour members in the Council chamber, and a committee was appointed to inquire into the matter. The report of that committee, by the complete absence from it of any evidence to rebut the allegation made (in spite of an obvious and strong desire to prove its falseness), afforded conclusive proof to the unbiassed mind that the figure given as to the work done—about one third of what a man could easily do—per day was not materially wide of the mark.

The result of the general adoption of this system of organised laziness and dishonesty—no gentler words are appropriate—in the building trade has been to so increase the cost of building that very many fewer houses have been and are being constructed than would have been built had the cost remained at or near its former level.

"Fifteen years ago," Mr. Woodward tells us, "the price inserted in builders' tenders for the labour on a rod of brickwork was about £4; to-day it is £8; and even at that a builder is never sure that it may not be exceeded. . . . I shall not be far wrong," he adds, "in stating that a block of workmen's dwellings, which could well be erected for £100,000, will now cost £132,000—solely by reason of organised idleness, and interferences with the contractor in carrying on his work in a perfectly legitimate manner."

This leads, of course, to (1) a general increase in rents, which especially hits the working classes; (2) an aggravation of that very serious problem, the housing question; (3) the employment of fewer hands than could be employed if each man did a fair day's work; and (4) an increase in the cost of production generally throughout the country, rent being a material item in that cost.

A specific instance of some of these results was given by a correspondent in the *Spectator* for November 30, 1901. He wrote:

In May, 1894, I prepared plans to develop a small building estate, on which it was proposed to build twenty-six six-roomed houses. Nine tenders were invited by me from the builders, the lowest working out at £160 11s. per house. The tenders were refused as being too high to yield a fair return to the free-holder. The land has remained unbuilt upon.

One more example of trade-union restriction of output must be quoted, this time from the report of the Federation of Employers in the Engineering Trades:

A. reports that, when making ammunition boxes for sixpounder cartridges some years ago, it was found that, in finishing up the hinges, any member of the Society employed on the job used always to do exactly eight in a day. The foreman in charge knew that this was not a day's work, and he changed the men; but in every case—notwithstanding that considerable changes were made—the union men made exactly eight per day. A young Swiss (non-unionist), who did not speak English, was then put on the job, and the first day he did fifty! The same firm reports that, in filing up the outside handles of machineguns, it was found that any member of the Society working on the job generally did one a day. The firm knew that this was not a day's work, but were unable to get a Society man to do more. The work was then given to a gun-filer not belonging to any society, and he did twelve a day!

This sort of thing, of which many more instances might be quoted, is part of a policy, not only of restricting the output ber capita in order to increase the number of hands employed, but also of opposing the introduction or extension of labour-saving machinery on account of the fear that the use of such machinery may lead to an increase in the number of unemployed hands. By insisting that only skilled labourers, paid full wages, shall be employed to tend machinery that an unskilled lad could easily manage, and that one man should not tend more than one machine, though perfectly able to run two, three, or four, and by, as a consequence, preventing many employers from introducing machinery at all, the unions have kept up the cost of production in this country to such a level that much of our trade has gone abroad, and the volume of work to be done has been materially reduced—the very result that the unions were seeking, by fallacious methods, to prevent.

The cost of production has also been increased—and trade consequently lost—as a result of the vexatious restrictions and conditions imposed by the unions upon the

management of factories and workshops. It strikes a lay observer as a very extraordinary thing that employers, who would proudly call themselves "freeborn Englishmen," should consent to have dictated to them by their employés, not only what men they shall employ, but also what those men may or may not do. Yet it is no uncommon thing to find a body of men striking or threatening to strike against the employment of non-unionists, or against the number of apprentices being increased beyond that which the union thinks proper, or because a bricklayer has been asked to do a small job that the masons or the joiners or the carpenters look upon as being their special preserve. As a typical instance of the last form of union interference with employers may be mentioned the fact that the boilermakers and the fitters at the well known shipbuilding yard belonging to Thornycrofts some while since went on strike, and caused very great loss and trouble to their employers and to the Government, because they could not agree as to which class of men should make some water-tube boilers-the boilermakers declaring that boilers were their work, and the pipe-fitters that water-tubes belonged to them.

Probably the trade which has been most hampered and most seriously damaged by trade-union interference is the plate-glass, bottle-glass, and flint-glass trade, as to which we must allow ourselves room for a few quotations from the articles of *The Times* correspondent. The men in the glass-bottle trade, we are told, enforce such restrictions upon the employment of apprentices that it is practically impossible for them to learn the trade.

The object of these restrictions is to enable the men to keep a good thing in their own hands. They, at any rate, make no profession of philanthropy in the way of leaving something for others. They work five days a week (representing forty-six hours) for a wage of from 45s. to 47s., and they have no desire to see too many people brought in. The result of this policy is that if any great expansion were to take place in the trade there would not be enough glass-bottle makers in the country to meet it. . . Nor is this all, for a further effect of the action of the

men in regard to apprentices, and of the other restrictions imposed, is to be seen in a marked deterioration in the skill of the workers—a deterioration that is likely to become even worse in the future than it is already, unless something is done to check it. It seems strange to hear that the masters are now asking the men's union to "allow them" to make such modifications in the working of the system of working as will permit of the apprentices being better taught.

At one time there were a dozen firms, some of them very important concerns, in the north of England, which made the particular kind of black bottle used for wines; but owing to the attitude of the trade unions, which refused to adopt improved methods or to allow apprentices to be properly trained, foreign competition steadily increased.

One after another of the original firms retired from the business rather than attempt to carry it on further under such almost impossible conditions, until at last only three of the dozen remained, and the Germans, with their improved methods and cheaper production, combined with their low rates of freight, practically captured the market.

In the case of the flint-glass trade the same state of affairs, "only more so," is to be found.

The union is one of the most powerful of labour societies, as well as one of the most domineering in its general policy. To its action in the restriction of output, in imposing obnoxious and oppressive rules, and in other ways, is attributed the fact that a once thriving British industry has been brought within measurable distance of total extinction. Every year sees the closing of one or more flint-glass houses. . . . Twenty-five years ago there were probably fifty flint-glass manufactories in full work in this country. To-day it would be difficult to count twenty, and in a number of these the output is not more than half what it formerly was.

After describing how completely the men have obtained control over the output in these factories—

the employer is practically in the hands of his men, and, as a rule, the outcome of the discussion will be the fixing of an amount of work which can be got through in about four hours,

### 70 British Industry and the Labour Problem.

the men going home when they have done it, although they are paid for six hours' labour

#### -The Times correspondent adds:

Almost, if not quite, as incredible is the fact that in the flintglass trade an employer is not allowed to choose his own employes. If he did so, the whole body of men would be withdrawn, and his works stopped. When a flint-glass employer wants an additional hand, he must write to the district secretary of the men's union, and ask him to send him one. He may suggest the person he would like to have, but the probability is that the district secretary will ignore his suggestion, and either send him the individual who stands first on the unemployed list, or else somebody he wants to get off the books. District secretary and employer alike may be perfectly aware that the person in question is absolutely incompetent, but the employer is bound to take him for at least fourteen days; and it has often happened that when there has been friction between the district secretary and the employer, a man will be sent to whom wages are duly paid for a fortnight, though it is deemed prudent not to let him do a stroke of work, lest he should waste good material. On one occasion, a firm who had dismissed an absolutely incompetent workman sent to the local secretary as usual, and received the very man they had just discharged, being bound to put him on for another fourteen days before they could get rid of him again.

Does not such a state of affairs "give furiously to think"? We may well set against these quotations one from a recently published brochure on American Engineering Competition (in which it is pointed out that the labour problem is rendered of paramount importance to British manufacturers of the present day by the disappearance of the practical monopoly of the world's markets which they once possessed):

It is hardly necessary to emphasise again the fact that one of the chief advantages the United States manufacturer possesses is the use of labour-saving machinery; indeed, that and free labour are the foundations of American manufacturing success.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> American Engineering Competition, p. 129.

. . . The American always strives to do what he can by machinery; and the inevitable co equences are that labour is better paid, and that there is more den. for it than in any other country. "For anything that can be done without thinking we want to use a machine, so that men can be set free to work the best part of them, their brains." That is the position taken by the American. It is this that chiefly accounts for the apparent anomaly of high wages and cheap labour—that is, cheap in terms of the product.1... It is not suggested that there are no strikes in America. That would be flying in the face of recorded facts, for there have been perhaps more serious riot and bloodshed in recent years in the United States than in Great Britain in connexion with labour disputes. The point is that employers have not meekly allowed control to pass out of their hands, nor tamely submitted to restriction of output and to general inefficiency, as the British employer has.3

It would certainly have been "flying in the face of recorded facts" to have suggested that America has been free from strikes; and facts that have been recorded since the book from which we have quoted was written—we refer to the long and by no means bloodless strike of the anthracite miners—have served to remind us that, unless in the States great care is taken by those vast capitalistic undertakings, the Trusts, to secure the co-operation and not the enmity of labour, there are in that country, with its glaring and unprecedented contrasts of riches and poverty, elements of danger that may combine to cause what Mr. Herbert Spencer has predicted will be witnessed there in the not distant future, a terrible social revolution. lesson, however, that we have at present to learn from our American rivals in commerce is that trade unions must not be allowed to obtain-or, where they have it, to retainsuch control of our workshops as to restrict output and to reduce all the workers to the dead level of the least efficient.

This leads us to touch upon one of the principal points raised by the Pennsylvanian miners' strike—the point upon

American Engineering Competition, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

which the miners were completely defeated—and which is also the vital question at issue in the long struggle between Lord Penrhyn and his Bethesda quarrymen; we mean the question of the employer being asked to "recognise" the trade union—that is, to deal with the union officials and not with the employes themselves in regard to all matters concerning the relations between master and men. It is a question that the theoretical student of labour questions is in the habit of settling out of hand, with an air of contempt for those who venture to hold different opinions. For instance, we find a writer in the Saturday Review for October 18 last (in an article dealing with the Pennsylvanian strike), declaring that:

The men have their interests as well as the employers, and . . . it is mere perverseness for employers to refuse to acknowledge the official organ by which they may be represented. . . . Experience has shown that where employers are willing to do justice to their workpeople, they are aided and not hindered by the existence of a body of responsible men representing the trade.

Now, this question of the "recognition" of the trade union has been the cause of not a few serious strikes in its time, and is at present and has for several years been causing heavy monetary loss to one employer in particular -Lord Penrhyn: one would therefore have thought that even the casual writer of weekly articles might have found time to ask himself whether it was likely that a large number of employers would subject themselves to serious loss and trouble out of "mere perverseness"; and to consider whether he was justified in branding all employers who decline to "recognise" the trade union as being unwilling "to do justice to their workpeople." We take leave to tell this very assured judge of some of the ablest leaders of modern industry that experience has shown to many an employer, willing and anxious to forward the interests and welfare of his men as well as of his business, that to admit the trade union as an intervening party between the master and his men is absolutely fatal to discipline, efficiency, and good feeling.

In almost every case the union with which the employer is asked to deal comprises, not merely the few scores or hundreds of men in his service, but thousands employed at other works under different and various local conditions; and rules that may suit and rates of wages that can be paid at one works are often required to be adopted at others where such rules do not fit in with existing modes of working, nor will local circumstances admit of such wages being paid. But that is not the greatest objection. The great, overpowering objection is that the officials of the union-who in most cases have no interest in any of the businesses concerned—have to find work to justify their existence. They find it by "raising questions" that no one else would discover; they impose elaborate and detailed rules upon the men; they punish by fine or expulsion any breach of these rules, even though the rules be broken in an emergency to forward the interests of the business; in short, the union becomes a second master which it is more important for the men to obey than their actual employer, and discipline disappears, efficiency is lowered, and friction and ill-feeling are generated between capital and labour. Finally, when trouble comes, and the employer negotiates with "a body of responsible men representing the trade," he very likely finds that the union has no power, and takes little trouble in trying, to force its members to abide by the terms it has arranged. As witness the recent trouble between the Grimsby fishing-boat owners and their men. In that case, the union—the "responsible men representing the trade" formally entered into an agreement with the owners referring the matters in dispute to an arbitrator. The arbitrator's award went against the union, with the result that the men promptly kicked the award into the sea and continued on strike, while the union refused to expel the refractory members. That is how employers are "aided" by the existence of a union.

Trade-union officials, except in a few honourable instances,

<sup>1</sup> Vide The Times, September and October, 1902.

## 74 British Industry and the Labour Problem.

pay little or no regard to the interests of the employer, and play for their own aggrandisement. That is why many employers, who are animated by an earnest desire to deal justly with and to forward the real interests of the men, say, "You can belong to a union if you like, but I will deal with you and not with the union."

To return, however, to our main argument.

We think we have demonstrated clearly enough that there are radical evils in the relationships existing at present between masters and men in this country. Those evils work to the serious detriment of both employers and employed, and consequently to the nation as a whole. The economic harm done is sufficiently clear from the evidence already adduced. The moral harm done to the men has been very forcibly stated by Mr. Bramwell Booth, of the Salvation Army (which comes closely into contact with the working classes), in a letter to *The Times* of October 18, 1901. Mr. Booth cannot be accused of want of sympathy with working men, so his testimony is of especial value. He says:

I am well aware that such restriction has often disastrous effects upon business. I know also that, by increasing the cost . . . of nearly all kinds of production, it tends to withhold work which would otherwise be undertaken, and thus defeats its own supposed object, by reducing instead of increasing the amount ultimately distributed in wages and the aggregate number of persons employed. Of this I have had only too effective proof in connexion with business of one kind or another undertaken by the Salvation Army. . . . But this, serious as it may be, is but a commonplace of the subject. What I wish to point out is that this question is not only an economic and commercial, but a moral question.

Whether or not the tacit understanding which so largely prevails, that no workman should attempt to do all he can for his employer in the time which he has agreed to sell to that employer, is in the end commercially profitable to that workman or to workmen as a whole, it is, I venture to think, a violation of the law under which moral beings are associated, and a perversion of the true social order; and from my own observation

I am led to believe that it is only too often followed by the most unfortunate consequences to the manhood of the worker. It tends to dull his moral sense, to dwarf his idea of what is honourable, to commit him to a course of "eye service," which is really cunning and trickery, and, when it finds congenial soil in weak and truculent natures, ultimately reduces him to little more than a highly specialised cheat, intent upon appearing to give a full honest return for what his employer pays him, while careful, above all things, to do nothing of the kind.

This is, I know, a hateful thing to have to say. It is a hateful thing to have to witness. I feel it all the more so because our people have such splendid qualities, and because the mischief comes largely of the modern theory that labour is, in some way, a discreditable thing—a pain and injustice—and that a man is, therefore, justified in doing as little as possible in the employer's time, while getting as much as possible for that time. . . . When the British citizen is ready to sacrifice the first principle of honour, and—so far as his employer is concerned—to trample under foot the golden rule, and to do violence to all that is high and true in his own nature, for the sake of a supposed increase of a few pounds per annum in his earnings, one may well inquire: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

This is a really eloquent and obviously sincere attempt to get the working classes, and especially their leaders, to realise the utter folly and viciousness of the "go easy" policy; but something more practical than exhortation by letter is needed. Letters to *The Times*, articles in reviews, or in such newspapers as will print and support opinions distasteful to the political trade unionists, do not reach the working classes. They are needed, urgently needed, to call the attention of both employers and the general public, whose support the employers should have, to the seriousness of the problem that has to be solved; but salvation can only come to the men through the employers. That cannot be too strongly emphasised.

The working classes have adopted a policy that is, economically, inimical alike to the interests of their employers and of themselves, and is, morally, dishonourable; but they have not done so, be it said, from dishonest or wantonly

destructive motives. The policy has grown from a double root, namely, from the belief that labour and capital are necessarily antagonistic, coupled with belief in the fallacious but plausible idea (which originated among the socialistic altruist-philosophers, and has grown rapidly in the modern school of trade unionism) that the less work each man does the fewer unemployed there will be, and that when all the unemployed are absorbed labour will be able to demand and obtain higher wages.

The fact that, under the system of remunerating labour generally in vogue at the present time, the share of the product of labour received by labour bears no relationship to, and is not, at any rate directly, affected by, the profit realised by the sale of that product, lends colour to the idea that the interests of labour and capital are necessarily opposed—that, as a working man writing to The Times puts it, the master tries to get the most he can out of the man for the least money, and the man tries to get as much money as he can out of the master, and to do as little in return as he may without losing his job. That appeared to the man who wrote it to be the natural and proper relationship between employer and employed, and doubtless represents the view of a large number of workmen. The wage system, pure and simple, does nothing to destroy that opinion. It does nothing to induce working men to do their work as expeditiously and as efficiently as possible, with a view to keeping down the cost of production. gives the men no interest in their work, and there are-nowadays more than ever-plenty of other less wholesome attractions for his thoughts if a man be not so constituted as naturally to take pride and interest in the work by which he earns his livelihood. Betting, football, and drinking absorb the whole thoughts and constitute the life interests of all too many of the working men in this country, and the existing conditions of employment afford little in the way of counter-attraction.

The belief that the unemployed margin of labour can be absorbed by the simple expedient of each employed man

doing a little less work for his money, is based upon the same fallacy as is the opposition of the working classes to the introduction of labour-saving machinery—namely, that there is only so much work to be done and so much wages to be earned, and that therefore the more one man does and earns the less there will be for his fellows. That is an idea that appears on the face of it sound. A house is being built; there are 30,000 bricks to lay; if three men lay 1,000 bricks a day each the work will last them ten days. But if, while receiving the same wages per day per man, those men can get the employer to accept 500 bricks as one man's work for a day, then the job will either last the three men twenty days, or afford employment for six men for ten days. is obvious; and workmen see it easily when the union leader puts it to them. What they do not see so easily is that, by doubling the cost of laying 30,000 bricks, they have very likely prevented someone else from giving orders for 100,000 bricks to be laid, orders that would have been given had the cost of labour not increased; the eventual result being a reduction in the amount of work to be done and of wages to be earned.

The problem is: How are the working classes to be taught (1) that labour and capital are allied, not opposed, interests; and (2) that the enhancement of the cost of production by the failure of labour to do a fair day's work for a fair day's wage is as injurious to labour as to capital?

The answer is: By making the mutual interdependence of labour and capital tangibly evident to the workman; and that is to be done only by giving him some share in the profit arising from his labour other than his wages, such share being, as nearly as may be, dependent upon economy in the labour cost of production. Shortly, by the adoption of a rational system of co-operative profit-sharing.

Into the possibilities and advantages, and into a detailed description, of a system of profit-sharing (in which must be understood to be included joint-proprietorship, for there is no moral tonic for a workman equal to that of having some share, however small, in the ownership of the business for

which he works) there is not space now to enter, nor is it necessary in view of the full account—to which we would refer our readers—of one of the most successful systems in existence, given by Mr. Francis G. Newton, in this Review not long since.¹ What we would desire especially to emphasise here is, not only the urgent need for the replacement of the wages system by the more enlightened plan that gives to the worker a direct incentive to do his utmost for the welfare of his employer—urgent if we are to retain our position as a nation in the industrial contest that becomes daily more keen, and which is destined to become infinitely more severe when the present extraordinary wave of trade prosperity in the United States has spent itself—but the fact that the initiative must come from the employers.

It is no use for the employers merely to wring their hands at the insensate folly of their men, to cry out that their trade is being captured by foreign competitors, and to curse trade unionism. They must do one of two things. Crush the trade unions; or, destroy their influence with the men by showing these men in a practical way that their real interests lie in co-operation with and not antagonism towards capital. The first alternative, if possible, is not practicable; or, if practicable, would be too terribly costly. The second affords an honourable, possible, and thoroughly practicable means of escape from the present unhappy position. With that position, whose dangers they are unable to perceive, the men are fairly satisfied, and no move towards reform can be looked for from their side. Let, then, the employers rouse themselves to the necessity of action, but action on the lines of peace, not war; remembering that "no method has yet been devised for rendering the whole force of an industrial establishment-physical, mental, and moral-more powerful and productive than this simple plan of making all the agents—capital, business talent, labour—partners in the profits." Trade unionism—the instrument devised by the

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Capital and Labour," LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1901.

## British Industry and the Labour Problem. 79

working classes—stands condemned for its failure to understand and forward the true interests of labour; it is for the employers to give the workers a substitute, a system which shall succeed where trade unionism has failed.

Great will be their reward if—in the right spirit—they set themselves to establish the relations of capital and labour upon the true basis of co-operation. Sore will be their confusion and loss if they refuse or neglect to fulfil their duty towards their fellow-men.

FRANK HENLEY.

### THE PRIMACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

Personal Idealism. Philosophical Essays by Eight Members of the University of Oxford. Edited by HENRY STURT. (London: Macmillan & Co. 1902.)

I.

E do not know, and can with difficulty surmise, what were the thoughts of primitive man-of the Palæolithic drift-man, and of the yet earlier and more barbarous folk who shaped the almost shapeless flints of Eolithic times—concerning the world on which he had so precarious a footing, and his own place in that world. To us when, with the help of science, we attempt imaginatively to reconstruct his life and the environment of his life, it seems that the world which he found so inhospitable must have appeared to him pre-eminently hostile, and that he himself -if ever he thought so deeply-must have seemed but an undesired and unbefriended accident in its history. But this imagining owes, perhaps, more to our knowledge of ourselves than to our knowledge of primitive man. we so reconstruct the past, we are in reality thinking how the world would have seemed to us were we then living in it with no other outward resources than those which the men of that day possessed. But we are what we are because of untold ages of discipline and discovery. The humanity in which the world to-day mirrors itself is very different from that which caught the outlines of the Glacial and Pre-Glacial world. The men of that far-off time knew of the world nothing but what they immediately saw and what their fathers declared unto them. They knew nothing of that unmeasured extension in space and time which, when we are in certain moods, makes us feel so lonely and

helpless. However unfriendly nature may at times have appeared to them, that unfriendliness was but incidental, and, since they were actually able to make good their footing in the world, must have been more than counterbalanced by the world's incidental friendliness. They must have been entirely unacquainted with the thoughts that in later times have so appalled the imagination of man and oppressed his heart-those thoughts of immensity and changeless order which made the world seem unhomelike and nature a heartless indifference. The outlook of primitive man was immeasurably smaller than ours, and his thought was probably more hopeful-shall we say more healthy?-than ours would have been had we been in his place. It is in religion that man's thought of his relation to the world finds concrete expression; and, unfortunately, of the religion of our earliest fathers we know nothing, and can surmise but little. Perhaps—who can say?—our earliest ancestors had no religion; but certain it is that, in some form or other, religion was among the earliest discoveries of the race, and wherever religion is, there also we may be sure is some helpful measure of optimism; for religion, whatever be its form, is always proof that man does not think of the natural forces around him as unalterably and essentially hostile or indifferent. The crudest religion we know-even if it be nothing more than that primitive cultus of the dead which Mr. Grant Allen conceives to be the beginning of all the world's religions—is evidence that to the man who held it there were unseen agencies in the world, accessible to human entreaty, responsive to human service, and able, directly or indirectly, to affect man's life for good. We may find it difficult to give an account of the earliest religious consciousness of the race without reading back into it elements derived from later experience, and it would probably be incorrect to say that, to the men who believed it, primitive religion was primarily a theory of the world; but it seems clear that it must have involved, at least, the thought that man is not entirely friendless in the world. Certainly this thought is conspicuous in the world's religions as we know

them to-day and as we can trace them in the records of history; and it is not only conspicuous, but essential. Religion has been more variously defined than any other subject of human thought; but the definition which seems most helpful—which accords best with our own experience and thought, and which best enables us to understand the history of religion—is that which traces it back to a belief in the dependence of human life upon somewhat of helpful capability in the world around it. That "somewhat" has, by different men, in different places, and at different times, been most diversely construed as

# "Jehovah, Jove, or Lord,"

as Brahm, as Mithras, as Moloch, and even, so Mr. Grant Allen would have us believe, as the worshipper's dead progenitor, or dead chief; but, however interpreted, its function was always, in modern phrase, to make the natural order of the world ancillary in some sufficing degree to the practical order of man's endeavour, purpose, and desire. And this, our latest philosophy tells us, is the characteristic function of religion. Not only did Kant find in the thought of God the reconciliation of the two forms of reason—the pure and the practical—which seemed to him ultimate, but almost the latest words of one of the ablest thinkers of our day 1 is precisely this,—that the distinctive worth of religion is to unify speculative and practical philosophy, our thought of the world with our thought of life.

Herein, I take it, we find the secret of natural religion, which, from this point of view, is seen to be nothing more nor less than this,—the attempt of man to establish points of helpful contact with the Reality around him—to lay hold of what, in these later times, we have learned to think of as the Eternal Fatherhood; and in Revelation, and, above all, in the Cross of Christ, we have the divine response to that attempt.

Religion thus has its primary roots, not in speculation about

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The reference is to Professor Sidgwick.

the essential nature of things, but in the needs of man's life. As it develops, however, it inevitably gives rise to a doctrine of the world; but quite naturally, and very significantly, that doctrine is always anthropocentric, or, at least, it always assigns to man a certain pre-eminence of worth and importance in the order of things. The cosmology of religion is always determined by the thought that is essential in religion—by the thought that there is somewhat in or behind nature capable of helping man against the adverseness of nature; and as the thought of religion develops, this determination naturally results in a doctrine which makes human life and human destiny of central significance in the historical order of the world. And at one time the universe seemed so small and so dead a thing, that there was little or no difficulty in assigning this importance to human life; and the more clearly that life was seen to be spiritual, the easier it must have been to believe it thus important. When the starry heavens seemed a narrow compass, and the world a thing obviously fashioned by designing thought, and the spirit of man a thing essentially apart from the substance of the things around it, then there could have been but little difficulty in believing that He who held the heavens in the hollow of His hand, and had made the world according to His will, and had set man apart from the beginning by breathing into him alone the spirit which makes him man, would so rule the world as not to bring His noblest work to nought; and with these thoughts and in this faith generation after generation lived and worked and died-lived nobly. worked effectually, died hopefully. But in the process of the centuries other thoughts arose which were widely different, and they occasioned doubts which the men of the earlier day did not know. The natural sciences revolutionised man's view of nature, and the question became urgent, When the old thoughts about the world have vanished, can the old faith about man reasonably survive? Those old thoughts about the world were displaced by two widely significant conceptions, of which one may be called a discovery of science, and the other at least a persuasive

suggestion. Astronomy and geology revealed to us the immensity of nature—its indefinite and unmeasurable extension both in time and in space. Biology, reinforced by palæontology, disclosed to us the genetic connexion of living forms in a process of seemingly "natural" becoming, and suggested that man himself, who had claimed unique character and origin, did but form part of that same "natural" succession. The first discovery in itself sufficed to make the old faith more difficult. Man had thought of God as dwelling beyond nature; but so long as nature seemed small. God seemed ever close at hand; the discovery of nature's immensity seemed to remove Him into an inaccessible distance. Moreover, so long as man thought of the world and of the whole fabric of things visible as but little older than his race, he could easily think of the world as fashioned to be his home, and of the natural order as predetermined for his good, or as at least over-ruled for his good; but these latter thoughts became difficult to man when astronomy had once given to him the true measure of the stellar distances, and when it had joined with geology to give him some hint of the vastness of the antiquity behind him, and of the vastness of the future before him, when the earth would no longer be habitable. The whole history of humanity, in its widest possible extension, then seemed but an episode in the history of the world, and this one world in the midst of the universe of worlds seemed but as a pebble on the seashore. That the order of the universe has either centre or goal in man, or that it was in any way predetermined to meet his need, then seemed an impossible belief. Yet, had man still retained his early belief in himself as distinctively spiritual, and as therefore, even to the thought of God, essentially different from the material universe around him—higher in character and incomparable in worth,—the old faith might still have remained possible, and in due time thought, when it had become familiar with the new lessons of science, might have once more proved that faith reasonable. But the doctrine of evolution fatally suggested quite another view of human nature. To the

thought of physical immensity it added the conception of natural genesis; and there were not wanting those who applied this, without qualification or reserve, to the whole nature of man. They taught that "man's place in nature" is simply that of any other organism:—that he is but one form out of myriads, all alike produced by entirely natural processes of derivation from the potencies inherent in the first beginnings of things, that the "spiritual" is but a form of the "natural"; and that, as essentially a part of nature, man is wholly governed by nature—by an order, that is, which was conceived to be essentially purposeless, mechanical, and unalterable. To-day we are not greatly troubled by these thoughts: but we can all remember the time when they first broke in upon us, and the havoc that they made. But we remember, too, how the invaders were driven back. said: "If it be true that man is merely 'natural,' then there can be nothing in man essentially inexplicable by natural history. Let us, then, see whether the facts of human nature and of human life are such that we may reasonably hold them to be so explicable." They looked, and the judgment of thought was clear and decisive. Naturalism cannot explain man, for no natural genesis can reasonably be assigned to the facts and powers most genuinely characteristic of his life. But before this verdict was given the incursion was checked. Before they analysed, they felt.

They turned from nature to their own hearts. They made new discovery of their own deepest experience, and therein found that which refused to do homage to the new lordship of natural science. It was upon facts of feeling that the first stand of faith was made, and happily it proved effectual. To this victorious self-assertion of the human heart against a creed that would prove it both homeless and worthless *In Memoriam* is an imperishable monument. But feeling, although it may turn back a foray, cannot give a settled peace. This can be won only by the statesmanship of thought. Fortunately, in those still recent days of Faith's distress, that statesmanship was not wanting, and now for some years our sanctuaries have been undisturbed,

although the echoes of war still come to us from distant parts of our frontier.

II.

To-day, then, faith dwells in peace. But is that peace permanent? I think not. We shall not, I think, be again seriously troubled by our old foes; for against them—against all forms of materialism—Green's analysis of experience is, I think, final. Our human experience is distinctively an experience of connected events. Now, an experience so characterised always and of necessity presupposes the existence of a subject which, in its own nature, is neither an event nor a series of events, and of which, therefore, materialism, since these events and series of events are the only factors with which it deals, can neither give, nor can ever reasonably hope to give, any account. This demonstration of the "spiritual principle in knowledge" is, I think, a permanent achievement.

But Professor Sidgwick's criticism of Green, recently given to the world, compels us to ask whether in the first flush of our victory we did not over-estimate our gain. The Prolegomena to Ethics opens, it is true, with a demonstration of the "spiritual principle in knowledge"; but this demonstration is immediately used to suggest a like principle in nature, and this, indeed, is characteristic of idealism, which—at least, as ordinarily received and understood—is always a doctrine, not only of experience, but also of ultimate reality. Green speaks to us, therefore, not only of the self-conscious subject of individual experience, but also of the self-conscious subject of the universe, and he evidently regards the latter as identical with the living God, who is central in the thought of faith.

But by what right does he thus pass from epistemology to cosmology? and when the transition is made, what precisely does he gain by it? We know what Green himself thought that he had gained. He thought that he had gained a reasoned ground for religious faith,—for belief in God and in

a life beyond the grave. But Professor Sidgwick, after rightly speaking of Green's doctrine of nature as resting upon analogy, forcibly points out that the analysis of human experience, upon which Green's cosmology is based, gives no ground for assigning any moral character to the self-conscious subject he reports in nature, -for attributing to Him a righteous will,—and also that there is nothing in his fundamental doctrine concerning God and man to warrant belief in any form of immortality higher than that which pantheism promises through ultimate absorption into God. Now, if Green's theism rests upon analogy, it is still a doctrine of faith, an assurance unvindicated by thought; and if it fail to establish the effectual sovereignty of righteousness in the world, it leaves untouched the essential work of religion. If all this be so, it follows that Green left the greater part of apologetics still unachieved.

If we turn to the history of English idealism since Green's day, we shall find abundant suggestion that the philosophical vindication of the central thoughts of faith is still far from completion. Mr. MacTaggart, for instance, in his brilliant exposition of Hegel, leaves us, not as Green did, with a supreme self-consciousness which reproduces itself in each individual experience, but simply with a community of finite selves, of whom, of course, none can be the God we have been taught to worship and to trust. But Mr. MacTaggart's strongly individual work cannot perhaps be taken as fairly representative of recent English thought. That thought—as we find it, for instance, in Mr. Bradley's epoch-making essay on Appearance and Reality-is still dominated by the conception of an Absolute Existence which is more than, and other than, the several individual selves that have part in it. But the Absolute is not thought of as personal; nor are individuals, although admittedly spiritual, conceived to be permanent. The Absolute, we are told, is at best hyper-personal, and individuals are but temporary modes of its appearance. The personality of God, and the abiding personality of man,—these are thoughts unrecognised by the most characteristic philosophy of our

day; and yet these are thoughts essential to faith—at least, to the faith that we to-day inherit.

Our defensio fidei is, then, far from complete. We have, it is true, vindicated spirit as against matter; but philosophy has not yet given us an adequate basis for theism, nor a conception of human nature adequate to the needs of religion. Nor is this a matter of merely academic concern. Let us take only one point. Writers like Mr. Grant Allen have undertaken to explain how the thought of God first arose in the human mind, and their explanation makes that thought a deluding imagination—an incident in the development of belief, and nothing more. Now, how shall we refute this, if the last word of our philosophy be adverse to the primary affirmation of our faith?

#### III.

Of this incompleteness of our apologetic the "eight members of the University of Oxford," whose essays are before us, are fully aware. Their work is not indeed directly apologetical, and yet, "so far as it develops and defends the principle of personality," it is a significant contribution to apologetic. The volume originated, the editor tells us, "in the conversations and discussions of a group of friends drawn together primarily by their membership in the Oxford Philosophical Society." That society "was started in the spring of 1808, and among some of the most regular attendants at its meetings a certain sympathy of view soon declared itself." It would be interesting to know in what discussions and in what way this sympathy first showed itself, but this the editor does not tell us. Apparently, however, it grew out of a common opposition, on the one hand, to naturalism, which says, "You are a transitory resultant of physical processes"; and, on the other, to that "more insidious, perhaps more dangerous," thought which discovers in personality nothing but "an unreal appearance of the Absolute." Of this common concern for the integrity

of individual life the present volume is a result—I hope only a preliminary result.

The editor claims that these essays continue "in the main the Oxford polemic against naturalism." The argument of them is, he tells us, "a development of the mode of thought which has dominated Oxford for the last twenty years"-a development, not a renunciation. It is, therefore, as idealists that he and his friends oppose naturalism; it is as personal idealists—as men concerned primarily to develop and defend "the principle of personality"—that they separate themselves from absolutism. I say "separate themselves from absolutism," for in truth they do not directly oppose it. They have no polemic against it, as they have against naturalism. The editor tells us that he and his friends "instead of entering upon the intricate task of refuting absolutism, . . . have felt free to adopt the more congenial plan of offering specimens of constructive work on a principle which does more justice to experience." Against naturalism they take the aggressive and carry the war far into the enemy's country. The absolutist, however, they decided to meet with "what may be called a rivalry of construction."

I do not question their wisdom, certainly not their prudence. It is always well to let truth make its way by the positive value of its work—to take possession of a disputed field and show oneself at home there. But "rivalry of construction" is not all that we have a right to expect from the apostles of a new creed, from the advocates of a "new way in ideas." If the construction appear successful, it may win a more or less wide allegiance; but its very success will invite attack, and against attack nothing but a critical counter-attack is of permanent avail. After all, there is much to be said for clearing the field of foes before beginning to build. And in this case the foes are of no mean order. "Absolutism," we are told, "has been before the world for a century, more or less." This passage, if I understand it rightly, identifies absolutism with Hegelianism and the whole post-Hegelian development of thought. It is

a name for the characteristic philosophical movement of the nineteenth century—a movement second in importance to none that history records. Even those of us who, like these Oxford Protestants, cannot rest in its results, may be pardoned a feeling of disappointment when Mr. Sturt, in his editorial preface, calmly says: "If the grounds of dissatisfaction be demanded, I can only give the apparently simple and hackneyed, but still fundamental answer, that absolutism does not accord with facts."

Because Mr. Sturt and his friends, in the exercise of a right which is undoubtedly theirs, have refrained in this volume from any critical polemic against the creed from which they most characteristically dissent, and because, too, their "rivalry of construction" is confessedly incomplete—"our essays are but specimens,"—it is impossible to say how far their dissent extends. For instance, do they wish to banish the thought of the Absolute from philosophy? If they do, by what would they replace it? If they do not, in what sense and for what purpose would they retain it, and how, from the starting-point of personal idealism, do they reach it?

This uncertainty is the more to be regretted, because it seems quite probable that we have in these essays the beginnings of a quite noteworthy departure from the established ways of English thought.

"The whole future of ethics," says Mr. Bussell in his essay on The Future of Ethics, "needs to be restated. In terms of Idealism? Certainly in no other way can we escape mere fragmentary pieces of good business advice. But of an Idealism which refuses to consider the world, whether as fact or design, except as subordinated to the consciousness. 'What!' it may be urged, 'revert to the assumptions of an "anthropocentric" vanity?' I answer they will be found to be less exacting by Pure Reason than those of Monism, debased into sentimental altruism."

A great part of Mr. Bussell's essay is taken up with a contrast between "Oriental and Occidental modes of thought" in matters ethical. "The latter," he tells us,

"which has given us the ideal of self-realisation," makes for practical effort; the former "for quietism and abstention."

The one rests upon the conviction of the abiding value of the individual, however difficult to explain, justify, or define, and the relativity of all else: the other, whether from the side of religious or physical Monism, preaches that complete or implicit mysticism, which denying the individual as an illusion, and glossing over his sufferings in advancing the world-purpose for some inscrutable end, proclaims the tyranny of the triumphant one.

In his concluding paragraph Mr. Bussell states the contrast thus:

Immersed in unconscious resignation to a spiritual, physical, or political unity, the Eastern rouses himself to reflection only to sink back to apathy, from a sense of impotence. The vague pessimism which more or less strongly tinged their systems in very remote times spread into Hellenic culture, and is revived to-day in reaction against hasty optimism—is the result of their power to criticise but not to alter. . . .

But upon the prejudices and postulates of our genuinely different soul-life has been built the structure of European ethics and society, and we shall be obliged in the end to revert to that region of faith wherein lies the spring of benevolent activities, and desert the supposed discoveries of Pure Reason; for therein lies stagnation and lethargy, not merely of action, but in the end of thought itself.

This reference to "prejudices and postulates" is characteristic of Mr. Bussell. He tells us:

The Western European mind—the fruit of the conjunction of Hellenism and Judaism under the long tutelage of Rome—entertains a prejudice (which, as quite beyond rational proof, I can only call instinctive) in favour of action, striving, conflict, and social endeavour for a common good.

The "Western point of view," he says again, "is only a prepossession of our mind, and cannot be explained or defended with complete success."

Mr. Bussell, as we have seen, frankly accepts the word

"anthropocentric." In the following passage he tells us in what sense he accepts it:

The student of physics must perforce abandon in the natural world for a moment that "anthropocentric" and prepossessed attitude, but he will resume it again as a necessary condition of his practical life. Only because each man believes that he is an end in himself, can he treat others as if they likewise were ends in themselves, and not things or chattels, but persons. This may be, like its complementary postulate of freedom, like the existence of the material world, an illusion; but it is one from which we cannot escape, and which is implied in our most trivial act.

Here the last word is "illusion"; but Mr. Bussell probably does more justice to himself when he tells us that "ethics is the realm of faith,"—that it "owes everything to a set of initial assumptions and hypotheses, which must to all time remain 'matters of faith.'"

Thus far Mr. Bussell. If now we turn to Mr. Schiller's delightfully characteristic essay on Axioms as Postulates, we find the same "anthropocentric" thought abundantly illustrated.

Mr. Schiller starts with "two fundamental points of initial agreement," which would, he thinks, "be admitted by nearly all who have any understanding of the terms employed in philosophic discussion."

The first of these is that the whole world in which we live is experience, and built up out of nothing else than experience. The second is that experience, nevertheless, does not, alone and by itself, constitute reality, but, to construct a world, needs certain assumptions, connecting principles, or fundamental truths, in order that it may organise its crude material and transmute itself into palatable, manageable, and liveable forms.

We do not know what the world is, he tells us; "we have to find out."

This we do by trying. Not having a ready-made world presented to us, the knowledge of which we can suck in with a passive receptivity (or rather, appearing to have such a world to

some extent only in consequence of the previous efforts of our forerunners), we have to make experiments in order to construct out of the materials we start with a harmonious cosmos which will satisfy all our desires (that for knowledge included). For this purpose we make use of every means that seem promising: we try it, and we try it on. For we cannot afford to remain unresistingly passive, to be impressed, like the tabula rase in the traditional fiction, by an independent "external world" which stamps itself upon us. If we did that, we should be stamped out.

The world, as it now appears, was not a ready-made datum; it is the fruit of a long evolution, of a strenuous struggle. If we have learnt enough philosophy to see that we must not only ask the ontological question, What is it? but also the profounder epistemological question to which it leads, How do we know what it is? we shall realise that it is a construction which has been gradually achieved, and that the toil thereof dwarfs into insignificance the proverbial labour, Romanum conders gentem.

The cosmos grows, as we have said, by experiment. Such experiment may have been random at first (as for methodological purposes we shall be prone to assume); at all events, it was vague, and its prescience of its issue was probably obscure. In any case its direction is ultimately determined not so much by its initial gropings as by the needs of life and the desires which correspond to those needs. Thus the logical structures of our mental organisation are the product of psychological functions.

### Thus,

if the propriety of a phrase may be held to atone for the impropriety of a pun, we may sum up our result by saying that the clue to experience must be found not in words but in deeds, and that the method of nature and the true methods of philosophy is not a *Dialectic* but a *Trialectic*.

It is an obvious criticism that in

describing our activity in constructing the world by experimenting or making trial, Mr. Schiller has ignored the subject-matter of the experiment, that in which and the conditions under which we experiment.

Here is Mr. Schiller's reply:

But of course I had no intention of denying the existence of

this factor in our experience and, consequently, in our world. We never experiment in vacuo; we always start from, and are limited by, conditions of some sort. Just as our experiment must have some psychological motive to prompt it and to propel us, so it must be conditioned by a resisting something, in overcoming which, by skilfully adapting the means at our disposal, intelligence displays itself. Let it be observed, therefore, that our activity always meets with resistance, and that in consequence we often fail in our experiments.

Now, concerning this "resisting factor in our experience," what does Mr. Schiller say?

"The truest account . . . it would seem possible to give of it is," he says, "to revive, for the purposes of its description, the old Aristotelian conception of 'matter' as this descript' row eidous, as potentiality of whatever form we succeed in imposing on it."

This leads Mr. Schiller to a thoroughly characteristic doctrine of "the plasticity of the world."

The world, then, is essentially ῦλη, it is what we make of it. It is fruitless to define it by what it originally was, or by what it is apart from us (ἡ ῦλη ἄγνωστος καθ' αὐτὴν); it is what is made of it. Hence my fourth and most important point is that the world is plastic, and may be moulded by our wishes, if only we are determined to give effect to them, and not too conceited to learn from experience, i.s. by trying, by what means we may do so.

That this plasticity exists will hardly be denied, but doubts may be raised as to how far it extends. Surely, it may be objected, it is mere sarcasm to talk of the plasticity of the world; in point of fact we can never go far in any direction without coming upon rigid limits and insuperable obstacles. The answer surely is that the extent of the world's plasticity is not known a priori, but must be found out by trying. Now, in trying we can never start with a recognition of rigid limits and insuperable obstacles. For if we believe them such, it would be no use trying. . . .

Thus it is a methodological necessity to assume that the world is wholly plastic, i.e. to act as though we believed this, and will yield us what we want, if we persevere in wanting it.

To what extent our assumption is true in the fullest sense, i.e. to what extent it will work in practice, time and trial will show.

It is verification by successful experiment that converts a postulate into an axiom.

The first point which perhaps will bear further emphasis is that mere postulating is not in general enough to constitute an axiom. The postulation is the expression of the motive forces which impel us towards a certain assumption, an outcome of every organism's unceasing struggle to transmute its experience into harmonious and acceptable forms. The organism cannot help postulating, because it cannot help trying (§ 5), because it must act or die, and because from the first it will not acquiesce in less than a complete harmony of its experience. It therefore needs assumptions it can act on and live by, which will serve as means to the attainment of its ends. These assumptions it obtains by postulating them in the hope that they will prove tenable, and the axioms are thus the outcome of a will-tobelieve which has had its way, and, as William James has so superbly shown, has been rewarded for its audacity by finding that the world granted what was demanded.

On an earlier page Mr. Schiller tells us that the axioms arise out of man's needs as an agent, are prompted by his desires, affirmed by his will,—in a word, are nourished and sustained by his emotional and volitional nature. But, as we have already seen, it is not distinctively as axioms that they first become operative. The

general structure of the mind and the fundamental principles that support it must be conceived as growing up, like the rest of our powers and activities, that is by a process of experimenting, designed to render the world conformable to our wishes. They will begin their career, that is, as domands are made upon our experience, or in other words as pestulates, and their subsequent sifting, which promotes some to be axioms, and leads to the abandonment of others, which it turns out to be too expensive or painful to maintain, will depend on the experience of their working.

Mr. Schiller is emphatic that axioms are not to be drawn exclusively from any one part of our nature. He tells us that "in our final attitude towards life our whole personality must be concerned." In the practical experimenting of everyday life all the powers of our manhood are employed. Not the intellect alone, but the whole self. The whole

thinking, feeling, willing self is, to use Mr. Schiller's words, the true postulate of the constructive process by which the cosmos of experience has been built up, and the same broad humanism should rule in our philosophy—in our systematic attempts "to grasp experience as a whole." "Our nature is one, and, however we distinguish, we must not be beguiled into forgetting this, and substituting a part for the whole." In the final unification of our thought we must seem to satisfy not merely that "frigid abstraction called the 'pure' intellect," but our whole nature—the heart as well as the head, and no less than the head.

Mr. Schiller's doctrine of axioms and postulates, and of the part they play in the construction of the world, obviously invites comparison with the Kantian doctrine of categories and postulates. The following paragraphs are taken from the conclusion of the section—that under the heading "Criticism of Apriorism"—Mr. Schiller devotes to an examination of Kant:

It is impossible to acquiesce in Kant's compromise, and to believe by the might of the Practical Reason in what the Theoretic Reason declares to be unknowable. For if the suprasensible and neumenal does not really exist, it is both futile and immoral to tell us to believe in it on moral grounds. The belief in it is an illusion, and will fail us in the hour of our direst need. If the belief in the postulates is to have any moral or other value, it must first of all be used to establish the reality of the objects in which we are bidden to believe. We cannot act as if the existence of God, freedom, and immortality were real, if at the same time we know that it is hopelessly inaccessible and indemonstrable. We must therefore choose; we must either trust the Theoretical or the Practical Reason (unless, indeed, we are to conclude with the sceptic that both alike are discredited by their conflict).

If we choose to abide by the former, the undeniable fact of the moral consciousness will not save the postulates of the Practical Reason from annihilation. It may postulate as it pleases, as pathetically or ridiculously as it likes, its desire shall not be granted to it, and it will prove nothing. By postulating the inadmissible it merely discredits itself. To the plea that the moral life must live and feed upon the substance of unverifiable hopes, science must ruthlessly reply, "je n'en vois pas la nécessité." If, then, the moral life demands freedom, and freedom be an impossibility, the moral life must inexorably be crushed. Kant is der Alles-sermalmende, as Heine thought, and nothing more.

If, on the other hand, the Practical Reason be really the higher, if it really has the right to postulate, and ethical postulates are really valid, then we really stand committed to far more than Kant supposed. Postulation must be admitted to be capable of leading to knowledge, nay, perhaps even to amount to knowledge, and indeed the thought will readily occur that it lies at the very roots of knowledge. For of course postulation cannot be confined to ethics. The principle, if valid, must be generalised and applied all round to the organising principles of our life. The Theoretic Reason will in this case be rendered incapable of contesting the supremacy of the Practical Reason by being absorbed by it and shown to be derivative. Thus postulation is either not valid at all, or it is the foundation of the whole theoretic superstructure.

We stand committed, therefore, to the assertion that in the last resort it is our practical activity that gives the real clue to the nature of things, while the world as it appears to the Theoretic Reason is secondary—a view taken from an artificial, abstract, and restricted standpoint, itself dictated by the Practical Reason and devised for the satisfaction of its ends.

#### IV.

Now, with the general doctrine embodied in these essays I must confess my entire agreement. Our philosophy, and, therefore, our apologetic must commence, not with the world, nor with the history of the world, not with conceptions of evolution or revelation, certainly not with the absolute, but with the individual and personal self. This does not mean that it commences with Solipsism. This, indeed, makes the individual self its starting-point; but it does so because it finds immediate reality only in the individual self that knows and thinks, and attempts to philosophise. This, however, rests upon the mistaken belief that the individual thinker has an immediate knowledge of

his own self which is different in kind from his knowledge of other things-of other selves and of the world around him. The orthodox creed of Solipsism would, indeed, require us to affirm that the thinking individual self and the ever-changing content of its passing experience are the only things that can properly be said to be known; all else is but inference. It is not thus that our philosophy must start with the individual self. And, indeed, such a commencement is impossible, for we have no such unique and independent knowledge of the self as Solipsism supposes. The experience that reveals to us the self reveals also a world which is other than the self-reveals both with equal immediacy as equally real, and only as thus contrasted with an alien reality can we know the self. Our philosophy, therefore, starts with the individual self, not so uniquely real, but as dynamically central. It is, or seems to be, the agent in all our activity, the guide of all our practice, and whatever we know of other selves and of the universe of things, that knowledge is the architecture and in great part the intentional achievement of the self. Two thousand years and more of criticism have made it impossible for us to start with the world as a given thing. We need not argue whether there be an external world. Of course there is,at least, there is most certainly a world which is other than the self that knows it—a world which that self discovers and does make: which it construes, but does not construct. and which has the ground or principle of its existence elsewhere than in the self that construes it. But this world is known to us only in and through experience. Not that the world ever enters into experience in its own essential being and independent reality. That, indeed, were impossible, for the content of experience is always a content of consciousness—of the consciousness of the particular self that has the experience—and the content of experience is always psychical, never physical. With a pardonable and helpful boldness of speech we may say that the psychological nonego is always part of the ego.

The conception of the self becomes definite only through

experience—only, as Mr. Schiller would say, through trial and experiment. We arrive at it by distinguishing certain elements in the content of consciousness from others, and of the elements so distinguished one group gives us the conception of a reality other than the self, while the other gives definite form to our thought of the self, which has them all. In this work of discrimination the leading part is taken by volition and impulse, for only through effort do we learn our limitations and our powers, and the same effort that discloses to us the nature of the self discloses also the world which is not self. But, once more, that world is disclosed only by facts that are psychical, not physical. The very material out of which we construct our thought of that world takes, therefore, essential character from the fact that it is part of the furniture of the self, even as the apparatus of thought by which we endeavour to organise that material into a rational whole is part of the self's native equipment.

In experience, therefore, the self—the individual self—is ultimate, and, whatever the harvest of experience, it comes to us only through the soul's own husbandry.

We start, then, with the individual self; and we start with it, not as an abstract principle, but a concrete reality—definite alike in character and in capability. This character, however, and this capability, although from the first definite, is at first largely potential. They become actual only through experience—mainly, to use Mr. Schiller's word, by experiment. In this way individual character is built up and individual capacity developed. In this way, too,—through experience and endeavour—has the manhood of the race been built up during the long history that opened—when? Shall we say in Tertiary times?

It is characteristic of all the higher forms of life that they can only maintain their footing in the world by effort. Biological needs and impulses make them characteristically active, and in these needs and impulses man, of course, has part, although, because in him they are the needs and impulses of an organism which is not merely animal, they have a higher character than we conceive them to possess

in the infra-human series of animal forms. But in the life of man we find other activities which we cannot trace back to any biological ultimates, and it is these that are most distinctively characteristic of man-these that, through the whole course of his history, have been most fruitfully creative. These characteristically human activities arise from the dynamic possibilities of human nature. The soul of manthe self—is a concrete spiritual entity, complexly constituted and variously endowed from the very beginning of its life, but constituted and endowed in such a way that at first character and capacity are largely potential. But although not actual, they are none the less real, and at the first invitation of circumstance they are prompt to become actual. Now, no organism can persist as merely organised poten-Mr. Herbert Spencer has taught us that the biological ideal of life is an ideal of perfect adaptation to circumstance—of perfect equilibrium between the organism and its environment. Now, this adaptation and this equilibrium cannot be reached so long as character and capacity are but partly developed. The possibilities of human nature thus become a new and independent source of human activity—a source distinctively spiritual; and it is to the development of these along the various paths of daily practice, rather than to the pressure of biological need and the urgings of biological impulse, that man's greatest and most distinctive achievements are due. Sometimes they seem to act automatically, at the prompting of experience; but at other times as longings, aspirations, and desires they anticipate opportunity, and become the foundation of those ideals which are sovereign in life and which consciously control endeavour, and mark out beforehand the paths of practice. We must think, then, of the human soul not only as a spiritual organism, complex in nature and various in furniture, but also as a distinctively dynamic organism—an organism which through all history and experience is ever reaching out towards its own completeness, to the full development of the manhood potential in it from the beginning. It is this endeavour after self-realisation—an endeavour sometimes conscious and sometimes unconscious, but always creative alike of character and of institutional helps that has built up the civilisations, the politics, the morality of the world, and given basis, character, and form to the world's religions.

Thus philosophy and practice alike presuppose and rest upon the self and the powers of the self. The whole activity of man rests upon himself, is inspired and guided by the resources of his own nature. We may say, if we will, that these resources, moral and intellectual, are postulates whereby he interprets experience and guides endeavour; but this can be only for some temporary convenience of speech, for whereas a postulate can exist only by and through a conscious act, the self and the powers of the self are effectually operative in thought and practice long before reflection has recognised their dynamic pre-eminence, or reached the conception of a postulate.

It thus appears that the whole activity of man, whether speculative or practical, is essentially a venture of faith. Being what he is, he acts as his nature prompts him to act, and as it enables him to act, and he cannot do otherwise. His logic is the expression of his rational nature; his ethic and his ethical ideal the expression of his moral nature. Along all the paths of his endeavour he always walks by an inner light, and he cannot walk otherwise. But is this light a genuine and trustworthy guide, or one of an ignis fatuus, which, indeed, he cannot do otherwise than follow, but which is as likely to mislead as to lead? Solvitur ambulando. Experience confirms his faith and verifies his "postulates," and the lessons of experience, although always won by faith, he accepts as truth. But in one field of adventure, and that the one of pre-eminent import, he cannot win this verification. In science and the practical acts of life, and to some valuable extent in philosophy, he can rest content with his discovery of what is; but the highest and most characteristic activities of his life are dominated, implicitly or explicitly, by an ideal of what ought to be, and allegiance to this ideal demands present selfdiscipline and sacrifice. Moreover, try as he will, that ideal is ever beyond him, and at each stage of his advance becomes more and more remote. We know the explanation of this. His ideal is an infinite one—it is an ideal of spiritual completeness of character and life, and as such it can never be reached by man, for it can be actual only in one such as the God of whom religion speaks. This does not mean that man is fore-doomed to ultimate disappointment, for charity is the corrective of life's infinitude, and in the life of dependent and ministering love man can find the rest—the self-realisation—that at first he thinks can be found only in the Absolute Perfection. But what can assure him that Love is "the final goal of all"? that the ideal of his hope is as trustworthy as the present facts made known in his daily practice—the thoughts verified in daily experience?

This present discrepancy between the is and the ought is the opportunity of religion, which, whatever the accidents of its historical genesis and the immediate aim of its earliest ritual, has always, for its distinctive work, to be helpful to man in that wherein he cannot help himself. In all its forms it is the expression of man's dependence upon that which is not himself for the furtherance of his life and the fulfilment of his desire, and in its highest form it addresses itself precisely to his need of an assurance that his highest aspiration and holiest purpose are not in vain. religion be only human—the creation of man's hope, even as philosophy is of his thought-it can never give that assurance, which, from its very nature, must of necessity come—if it come at all,—not from the heart of man, but from the heart of things,-from that ultimate Reality which is sovereign alike over nature and over man. If religion be ultimately helpful to man in his highest and most characteristic longing and need, there must be in it not only the voice of human aspiration, but also the present power of a divine response. Religion, if it is to do its work effectually, must of necessity be "supernatural."

ARTHUR BOUTWOOD.

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIRD-SONG.

- I. The Evolution of Bird-Song. By CHARLES A. WITCHELL. (London: Adam & Charles Black.)
- 2. The Cries and Call-Notes of Wild Birds. By CHARLES A. WITCHELL. (London: L. Upcott Gill.)
- 3. The Structure and Life of Birds. By F. W. HEADLEY, M.A., F.Z.S. (London: Macmillan & Co.)
- 4. A Dictionary of Birds. By ALFRED NEWTON, assisted by HANS GADOW. (London: A. & C. Black.)
- 5. Darwinism: An Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, LL.D., etc. (London: Macmillan & Co.)
- 6. Langage et Chant des Oiseaux. By F. LESCUYER.

A T this season of the year comparative silence has fallen upon nature, few song-birds are heard in the bare woodlands and grey meadows, and the severity of our English climate restricts out-of-door investigation of wild life within narrow limits. The lover of nature, unless he be sufficiently robust to face inclement winds and rains and frosts, is compelled to devote his attention to such subjects as may be considered at home—to read up the authorities, to consult his note-books, to ransack his memory, and to deal with fascinating problems like that before us.

Are the songs of birds hereditary? What part does instinct play in their development? How far are they influenced by danger and hunger, and the vicissitudes of the struggle for existence? Are they largely due to imitation and mimicry? Are they simply the expression of defiance, or of the passion of love? Or are they the over-

flow of abundant vitality? Do several of these factors blend in the production of song? How are we to account for varieties of song in individuals of the same species? These, and kindred questions, occur to the mind as soon as we begin to look at the subject.

In this article we shall, for the sake of clearness, adopt Mr. Charles A. Witchell's definition of bird-song—"the whole range of voice in birds." The term "phrase," as we shall employ it, will not mean "a strain in music, but a period of song, so that if a bird sang a few notes at one time, then paused, and sang them again and so on, each repetition would be a 'phrase.'" A "strain" means a succession of phrases uttered in a definite order that may be repeated again and again. In the same song a "phrase" may be exactly reproduced, or it may be varied at intervals; and a "strain" of music may incorporate many different phrases.

Probably the first vocal sounds were produced involuntarily under the influence of danger, or during conflict, and were cries of terror or anger. These, as Mr. Witchell points out, are represented, in their earliest expression, in the hissing which is common to reptiles (to which avians are physically related) and to certain birds when they are disturbed by intruders on their privacy. The wryneck, the great owl, the gander, the mute swan, and other birds utter this form of menace when their nests are invaded and their young threatened. Gradually this hissing sound developed into a high-pitched exclamation of alarm, which as it was found to answer its purpose was repeated when occasion demanded, and, being modulated by the particular character of the vocal organ, became common to a genus or a species. and was understood by that genus or species as a danger signal. The single alarm-note then grew into a prolonged alarm-cry, varying in vehemence and pitch according to the kind of bird: and as it would be uttered, generally, in the vicinity of the nest, the fledglings would become acquainted with it as suggesting to them the presence of an enemy. In due course it would be reproduced and perpetuated; and

in this way each race of birds would evolve its own arbitrary and practically exclusive danger-cry.

The habit of contemporary birds to utter their alarmsignal many times in succession when fear intensifies emotion will afford illustration of what has just been advanced. "It is a matter of easy observation," says Mr. Witchell, "that the rattling alarm of the blackbird is constituted of repetitions of one cry. As the peril increases, the notes become more frequent, more acute, and considerably higher in pitch." Is it not probable that, invariably, alarms which consist of a note repeated many times were evolved in a similar way?

The vocal sounds originating in fear and menace were further developed by hostile combat. In defence of their homes, in their jealousies of rivals, in eager competitive quest of food, avian war doubtless raged in the beginning of their history, as it still rages at times in woodland solitudes, on river margins, and around tree cities. The avian war-cry of defiance, the confused noise of battle, the shout of triumph, the shriek of suffering, broke the silence of the primeval forests of gigantic palms and ferns, mingled with the roar of oceans, and the troubled plash of mighty streams where fought and bellowed the incredible monsters of that far-away world. We can only dimly imagine the conditions of life on this planet in those distant days; but we see clearly enough from the analogy of to-day how the martial passion, stirring emotion, must have found expression in voices that filled the world with a tumult of angry and defiant sounds.

We are familiar with avians that illustrate the influence of anger and defiance in the employment of bird-voice. Chanticleer invariably crows when it has beaten a rival, as well as when it challenges to single combat. The king-bird (*Tyrannus carolinensis*), at one end of the scale, when attacking the lordly eagle, and the snow-bird, at the other end, when quarrelling over food; larks and buntings when contending for an eligible nesting-place; the robin when provoked by the song of a rival singer,—all give vent to their

fury, their greed, their envy, in cries more or less discordant. Some birds, like the crested lark, the chiff-chaff, the tree-pipit, and the wren, sing when engaged in contest. They sing on the battle-field, and chant to the stroke of tooth and claw. Mr. Witchell, quoting from Jesse, records that a blackbird, after beating a cat away from the fledglings, celebrated its victory with a song.

Naturalists, usually, have distinguished the call-note, by which the attention of other birds is attracted, from the danger-signal and the combat-cry. Not that there is a clearly marked difference between these utterances in every species, but that in some instances specific call-notes are used. It is likely that the earliest call-notes were adaptations of alarm-cries, employed, first, to secure mutual aid and companionship among associated individuals to whom the alarm-cry was well known; and, secondly, to express the need or the discovery of food. The call-note, therefore, is related to fellowship, and to hunger and its satisfying, as the alarm-signal and the combat-cry are related to danger and defiance. The young birds in their straits, after leaving the nest to shift for themselves, and the old birds instinctively concerned for their offspring, utter calls which are penetrated with a plaintive and distressful, or a sympathetic tone not heard in the cries already alfuded to. No doubt, as we shall see, imitation in time influenced these inherited modes of expression. We see that many birds are garrulous while they continue with their young, making frequent use of these characteristic calls to direct and console them. Doubtless the necessity for protective silence among birds haunting grassy savannahs and vast treeless plains, where there is little shelter from enemies, and where keen sight is of greater value than brilliant song, has retarded the development of voice; and this may in part account for the comparative songlessness of these birds. Fear, unless acute, induces silence, an axiom of Mr. Witchell's which appears to be true.

Incessant and exacting labour to procure food has the same effect. Hence it is that some of the most charming

woodland birds are well-nigh silent. The woodpeckers, for instance, are doomed to a life of severe toil. They have no leisure to learn to sing, and little of the vivacity that finds expression in music. They have not advanced beyond the most meagre call. The conditions of existence among the raptorial birds, whose life is spent in long spells of hunger, as they patiently watch for prey, intermittent with periods of gluttony and consequent lethargy, militate against any development of song beyond their hereditary or instinctive cries and calls. Kindred arguments may be applied to other species whose pre-occupations seem to have prevented the evolution of song.

The persistence of similar alarm- and defiance-cries and of the more social call-notes in species physically allied, but whose strains of song are quite distinct—some of these strains being remarkable for power and beauty, while others are of more limited range,—may perhaps be regarded as a presumption that from the danger- and menace-signals the call-note was evolved, and that song in its fuller sense has its root here. Heredity may account for the retention of crude primal cries—still of vital importance to the young—in species which have evolved exquisite musical strains; though, on the other hand, it may be contended that they are due to filial mimicry, together with the experience of the young birds that the utterance of these cries is associated with the approach of enemies or the supply of food.

The simplest songs consist more or less of repetitions of call-notes, or of alarm- and call-notes interwoven with additional utterances in a musical phrase. This is evident to all who have an ear to hear,—to sympathetic listeners in field and copse and sunny glade, and especially to those whose perception is acute and clear through long training. Mr. Witchell fills several pages in illustration of this. We may be permitted, for convenience of space, to abbreviate his repertory of instances—to select and recast. The kestrel repeats its cry to its mate; the rook calls incessantly from its lofty perch; the tree-creeper and the wryneck utter in rapid succession their plaintive notes; the ringed plover

doubles its call; the lesser spotted woodpecker iterates its meagre, metallic, unmodulated *krick*, *krick*; the greenfinch and bullfinch repeat their common call-note.

Then another phase ensues. The creeper utters its cry many times without an interval. The greenfinch adds to its ordinary call another expressive call-note, and repeats those notes in a regular succession, thus producing a sweet phrase which is sung both on the wing and on the perch.

The bullfinch introduces variations into the reiterations of its call-note, and thus commences a warble. gold-crested wren constructs a phrase by uttering its callsqueak twice in double time, afterwards four times in succession, and in the latter stage the pace is accelerated towards the close." The pied wagtail sings a jumbled song in which its habitual notes predominate. "The willowwarbler repeats its alarm-call-note,—a whistle sounding like the word temy slurred upwards, but rendered at a higher pitch. With progressive variations it constructs from this cry its beautiful song." The nuthatch utters from the elms, which are its larder, again and again its full-toned call so rapidly that it produces a prolonged, mellow, bubbling strain. The skylark breaks its silence by repeating its call-note, soon. however, to abandon it for its ethereal melody. The goldfinch and the linnet appear to form their strains wholly out of call-notes and danger-cries. Even our most glorious singers, the thrush and the nightingale, mingle these notes and cries with their elaborate songs.

These illustrations are not given as proofs that all songs have been developed from elementary cries and calls, hereditary or instinctive; but to show that many songs were at first mere repetitions, more or less rapid and varied, of such cries and calls, slowly attaining permanence, and ultimately resulting in the strains that fill with music our parks and gardens and the wild places of nature.

Habit, emulation, physical energy, and the influence of environment modify such songs in regard to the length, force, and beauty of the strain.

It must not be supposed that all songs are repetitions of elementary notes, for the best singers develop their songs from exclamations of more extended range. Birds that sing prolonged melodies of heart-melting sweetness and power learn their songs as the child learns a language. Their voices are gradually developed and perfectly attuned by long practice; and it is only after a thousand tentative trials, by which they advance step by step, that they attain the fluency and proficiency which raise them to the front rank of songsters. Some, after all their efforts, never reach that rank, and are never more than minstrels of feeble and broken utterance. Every observer of nature knows that no two birds of the same species sing equally well, and that some never sing well even among the most gifted kinds. The reason of this may be that the organ of song is possessed by some birds in greater excellence than others, or that one member of a species has the physical strength and intelligence to persist in the assiduous use of that organ, while another has not. Mr. Witchell gives interesting examples of progress in proficiency in song which we have not space to quote, but for which we refer the reader to The Evolution of Song, chapter viii., page 148, etc.

It is questionable if any bird of elaborate song inherits its strain. It is stated, on what appears to be good authority, that nightingales and other first-rate songsters which are hatched under a different species never sing their natural song till they are instructed by their own kind; and that birds brought up under species other than their own will learn the song of that species, and show no acquaintance with the song of their parents; but this subject, which will come up again, is involved in much mystery, and seems to display amazing contradictions.

The question how far the evolution of song is affected by heredity is an important one. It can scarcely be doubted that definite cries and calls, and the capacity to sing, and to some extent the nature of the song, are perpetuated by heredity. To what degree, if at all, the perfect phrase, or strain, is due to this cause is a more difficult question.

Evidence appears to be very conflicting, and the advocates of rival theories present a great array of what they declare to be incontestable instances to fortify their respective arguments. Probably the truth lies neither wholly on the one side nor the other; but rather in the fact that heredity, plus further causes, must be reckoned with in any honest attempt to arrive at sound conclusions.

There is strong evidence that the young of domesticated birds inherit their cries, though some naturalists think that the suggestive value of these cries is the result of association and experience. The advocates of heredity state that chickens fresh from the incubator, that have never heard the voice of the parent bird, utter distinctive alarm-cries; that voung golden plovers hatched indoors piped like old birds as soon as they could run; and that the cry of the lapwing was uttered by the young of this species while chipping their way out of the eggs, and that they became immediately silent on hearing the alarm-cry of the parent. Mr. W. H. Hudson, an accomplished and observant naturalist of wide experience, states that some young of the rhea, the South American ostrich, brought up by him, had so strongly inherited their knowledge, that when he imitated the alarmcry of the species they ran to him for shelter: and that the young of the South American tinamou and the oven-bird utter the full cries of their parents when only a day or two Mr. Witchell says that "apparently birds which inherit their cries never imitate the notes of other birds": but this is doubtful, for he also tells us that "despite the force of inheritance variations are of frequent occurrence," and that this is owing to other causes. There are well authenticated exceptions to the rule which these instances seek to establish; and imitation, voluntary or involuntary, plays an important part in the perpetuation of the cries and calls of certain species, as seems to be clear from the fact that young birds, which at first imperfectly utter their characteristic notes, gradually acquire them as physical development advances.

Birds physically related have, generally speaking, similar

voices. This "class tone," which we may consider as archetypal, would seem to warrant us in arguing for a common starting-point, from which they have in many cases, under various influences, evolved a great divergence of song. The fact that the resemblances of the cries of the young of these allied species are much more alike than the mature songs of the adults of the same species strengthens this opinion. The corvidæ present an illustration of this. There is an obvious broad similarity of tone in the notes of the adults of most of the members of this family, from the raven to the jay; yet there are wide divergences, as for instance between the rook and the starling. But the cry of the young even here has a striking resemblance. "Young starlings in the nest utter cries closely like, but less loud than, those of the rook and the jackdaw of the same age." The similarity of voice is still more evident in birds of the thrush family. The alarm- and call-notes of the throstle, the blackbird, the ring-ousel, the fieldfare, the redwing, and of some foreign thrushes, are very much alike; and the same may be said of their songs. Raptorial birds, gulls, and the anatida illustrate the same general principle—that birds physically allied have the same tone of voice. The argument must not, of course, be unduly pressed, for resemblances of voice may be traced between widely divergent orders of birds; and it would be futile to attempt to link these strongly differentiated avians by physical analogies which after all may be but superficial and fanciful.

We come now to imitation, or mimicry. The evolution of song is largely the result of this cause. The distinctive characteristics of the songs of particular species do not greatly alter. Birds, as a rule, are faithful to their own songs when with their species, even when dwelling within hearing of other birds. But there are few individual birds whose song is pure; that is, who confine themselves to an invariable strain. Their language is mixed. The throstle is a fine singer. Who has not heard this bird wake the morning with clear, glad voice? or stir the silence of evening with a great rush of triumphant melody—a full

river of song that flowed out far and wide in rhythmic waves of delicious music? But the song of the wild throstle is largely imitative. Mr. Witchell says that there is no end to the versatility of this bird. He shows, by means of a table which he has prepared, that he has heard the throstle imitate over thirty kinds of birds, and of this number twenty were exact reproductions. It borrows, accurately renders, and weaves into its song the calls, phrases, and strains of woodland singers like the wryneck, the chiff-chaff, the woodwarbler, the nuthatch, and the butcher-bird. It appropriates the notes of the goldfinch, the chaffinch, and even the nightingale. It imitates shore birds like the dunlin, whose cry, Mr. Witchell thinks, it has caught during its winter wanderings. He has heard it mimic the croak of the crow, the challenge of chanticleer. the clucking of a hen, and the corncrake's "note untunable, which shears the breathing quiet with a blade of rugged edge." It does not disdain to enrich and vary its own superbly delicious song with tones from the poorest of singers, and it does not fear to adventure the loftiest strains of its most gifted rivals. And mimicry characterises to some degree the turdidæ as a whole. The missel-thrush supplements its high wild strain-instinct with the sentiment of freedom.—and the blackbird its mellow, flutelike song, with borrowed notes. We have heard the latter from some perch on a secluded river margin, when the song seemed to be extemporised. The bird followed its own sweet will, and voiced a strain of singular variety, never returning to repeat exactly the same phrases, but ever uttering new strains of unpremeditated music, yet not new strains. but echoes caught from congeners.

"The blackbird's music," that matchless observer of nature, Richard Jefferies, has said, "is very human, like a human being playing a flute; an uncertain player, now drawing forth a bar of a beautiful melody, and then losing it again. It is a song which strives to express the singer's keen delight, the singer's exquisite appreciation of the loveliness of the days; the golden glory of the meadow, the luxuriant shadows, the indolent clouds

reclining on their azure couch. Such thoughts can only be expressed in fragments. The blackbird feels the beauty of the time,—the large white daisy stars, the grass with yellow-dusted tips, the air which comes so softly, the water which runs slower held awhile by rootlet and flag and forget-me-not. He feels the beauty of the time, and must say it. His notes come like wild flowers not sown in order. The sunshine opens and shuts the stops of his instrument."

It gathers many notes for its song from the voices that surround it, as the child gathers a host of wild flowers for his bouquet from hedgerow and wood and meadow.

Perhaps few songs are purer than the familiar strain of the robin, a lovely song, a winter solace to bereaved woodlands and fields; yet the robin has a trick of mimicry, and will so accurately copy the song of other species that it is difficult to distinguish the imitation from the original. It is known to appropriate the notes of the greenfinch, the blackbird, the lark, and several other birds. It often associates a number of imitations in one phrase. Its welcome song—uttered when the nesting-season is far away, when the branches are bare, when the sun is at the lowest, and when such voices as are heard in nature are chiefly distressful—appears distinctly to contravene the theory that it is only the passion of love that incites avians to sing; but before closing we shall return to this.

Birds that associate, that have the same habitat, catch each other's notes. There is a good deal of similarity in the voices of birds that haunt the banks of the poplar-shaded streams, and the fragrant meadows where quiet broods all the year round. Wagtails and pipits have kindred voices, thin, silvery, with an accent of plaintiveness. The tree-pipit appears to have given to the skylark the final notes of its early spring song. The warblers have, as we might expect, much in common in their voices; and the sedgewarbler, a mighty singer, is a gifted mimic. There is practically no limit to the variety of sounds it can reproduce. We have listened to its extraordinary song—a medley of many strains—when twilight was deepening into darkness,

and have been entranced. It is impossible to describe itrapid, of many tones, of manifold lights and shades, of varied cadences, reproducing with absolute fidelity the songs of neighbour birds, in some cases apparently arranged in a preconcerted order. Buntings imitate pipits; greenfinches and vellow-hammers have similar voices,-and we know that in winter they seek their food in the same places, and hear each other's calls. So imitative is the jay in a wild state, that it has been known to introduce into its song not only the shrill whew of the kite, the scream of the buzzard. and the hooting of the owl, but the bleating of the lamb and the neighing of the horse. A sparrow, we are told, educated under a linnet, hearing by accident a goldfinch sing, developed a song that was a mixture of the songs of these two birds; while another, brought up in a cage of canaries, sang like a canary, only better; a third, reared in a cage close to a skylark, imitated with surprising success the skylark's song, but interrupted the strain with its own call-notes. Local varieties in individual songsters are influenced by local circumstances, as, for instance, the greater prevalence of particular musical species in a neighbourhood, the abundance or the scarcity of food, or the nature of the country, whether arboreal or pastoral, a place of vocal streams and harp-like woods, or a place of deep silences. These illustrations might be almost indefinitely multiplied, and indeed Mr. Witchell crowds his pages with them. Before passing from these, we must refer to the glorious strain of the nightingale, in which are heard the notes of many birds, if the ear of the naturalist is to be at all trusted. Mr. Witchell's educated hearing detects in the song of this bird the whitethroat's melody, the music of the chiff-chaff, the water-bubble note of the nuthatch, the green woodpecker's cry, the blackbird's alarm, and the chissick of the house-sparrow. All these birds, as well as others, contribute to its wealth; but it cannot be analysed, any more than the joy which it creates in the soul of the listener, or the witchery of the summer night which it makes eloquent with its passionate song, can be analysed. We like Mr. Witchell's

description of the music of the nightingale—one of the finest things in his book—much better than his attempt to resolve the strain into its elements.

The fulness of tone which the nightingale displays interferes with the accuracy of imitation in many instances; and, indeed, so wonderful is the song that the listener is apt to forget all else than the supreme impulse and passion of the singer. Perhaps the surroundings of the bird increase the effect. The murmur of the stream; the soft moonlight which bathes the dewy meadow and sheds white waves across the woodland track, chequered with shadows of clustering fresh May leaves,—these are suitable features in the realm of this monarch of song, and increase the effect. Now it prolongs its repetitions till the wood rings. Now its note seems as soft as a kiss: now it is a loud shout, perchance a threat (revery); now a soft perus, perus, swelling in an amazing crescendo. Now it imitates the sip sip sip sississis of the woodwarbler, now the bubbling notes of the nuthatch. The scientific investigator is abashed by this tempestuous song, this wild melody, the triumph-song of Nature herself, piercing beyond the ear, right to the heart. It is pleading now! But no, it is declamatory; now weird, now fierce; triumphant, half merry. One seems to hear it chuckle, mock, and defy almost in the same breath.

We cannot doubt that imitation, voluntary and intelligent or involuntary and instinctive, has played a great part in the evolution of bird-song, even as the charm of this natural music is heightened by the variety thus introduced into it—variety in the beginning, or at the end of certain passages (a habit of the nightingale), in the range and rapidity of utterance, in the intervals of musical pitch, and in tone.

Probably the voices of inanimate nature find an echo in bird-song. The evidence of this presented by a naturalist like Mr. W. H. Hudson in his nature studies in La Plata and Patagonia, and by Mr. Witchell, carries much weight, though it appeals to the imagination as much as to the reason. The American marsh-wren, whose habitat is the reedy borders of boglands, imitates the low crackling sound produced by air-bubbles forcing their way through the soft ground. The belted kingfisher, a bird loving the splash of

cataracts and the hoarse cadences of rock-strewn rivers. utters the vocal counterpart to this tumult of waters. The shelduck and the wigeon imitate the whistle of the winds. Birds such as the pelican, flamingo, and heron, whose paradise is the swamp, the creek, and the muddy banks of slow streams, imitate the voices of frogs and toads in their calls. The scream of the swift is in keeping with the swish of scythe-shaped wings as they cleave the air. The voice of owls is not unlike the moaning of the wind in hollow trees. Some wrens appear to copy the trickling of noisy rivulets: and the robin's rhythmical song seems to echo the musical patter of raindrops on leaves. Other birds of mellow voices have, perhaps, partly acquired their music from the soothing murmur of softly flowing streams. Insect sounds, also, appear to have been mimicked. The American fieldsparrow and our grasshopper-warbler reproduce the persistent chirp of the field-cricket and grasshopper. Animal cries, too, have been imitated. The roar of the ostrich and of the lion, it is said, are so similar that even Hottentots are sometimes unable to discriminate between them. Witchell's summary of the argument from imitation presents the matter so concisely that it will be well to quote it:

All evident imitations furnish proof of the influence of surroundings in regard to the evolution of bird-voices. When we remember that probably through long ages this principle has been ceaselessly operating, and that its effects have not necessarily been lost in each generation, but have been perpetuated through the agency of filial imitation, we need not wonder that the cries of birds (imitative or unimitative) are so often similar to the sounds which the birds themselves hear daily, either in relation to obtaining food and to feeding or to the other incidents of their lives. On the contrary, it may justly be surmised that nearly the whole range of bird-song may have been affected by the imitative faculty, which we know to have so widespread an influence in the animal world; and that the voice of the bird has been attuned to harmony with neighbouring sounds, just as its colours so often blend with those of its surroundings.

In reviewing what has been so far advanced, we conclude

that while the theory that song-birds learn to sing, to acquire proficiency in their art, and to introduce variations into their songs, under the influence of imitation, contains undoubted truth, probably it does not contain the whole truth; for there is strong evidence that in the case of some species song comes instinctively, and, as Mr. W. H. Hudson says, "is, like other instincts and habits, purely an inherited memory."

There remains to consider the influence of the passion of love on the evolution of bird-song. We think that the influence of love on the production, the intensifying, the differentiation of song has been much exaggerated. That the root of song is found in the rivalry of the males in their efforts to charm the females in regard to the choice of their mates we do not believe; though we admit that rivalry has been a powerful factor in the development of song. During the pairing-season, the male of many species plays before the hen bird, fluttering with outspread wings. prostrating itself, and performing strange antics; while its voice swells and breaks with importunate passion. If the bird is a migrant, it sings rapturously before the arrival of the female, and this can hardly be a love strain. When the hen bird arrives, it is greeted with a perfect rush of melody. the breast of the male throbbing with the hope, so it is said, that it may be selected as the most excellent singer among many rivals. But, as a matter of fact, it is not till courtship is over, the nest built, and domestic cares begun, that the bird utters its full heart. "Courtship has the effect," as Mr. Hudson puts it, "of increasing the beauty of the performance, giving added sweetness, verve, and brilliance to the song," not of originating it. And the perfect melody is not that of one who woos, but of one who has won. Perched in the vicinity of the nest, it pours out a continuous strain of song.

Serious doubts must be thrown on the theory that the passion of love is the only or the main incentive to sing, or is constantly associated with the utterance of song; and that females choose the male because of superior vocal gifts,

as well as for their more showy colour. Indeed, the doctrine of sexual selection is far from established. "It is true that the females of some species do exercise a preference, but, in the vast majority of species, the male takes the female it finds, or it is able to win from other competitors." It is a question of capture or conquest on the part of the male, not of selection by the female.

Song, which in its highest display belongs to the spring of the year, is uttered in the main by the adult male. It is probably a manifestation of vigour and exuberant vitality. It is the overflow of the new life and contagious gladness which the springtide, with its abundance of food and its bright sunshine, bring to the healthy bird. The struggle for life is now reduced to a minimum, and the songster expends its strength and joyance, now at their maximum, in unwearying melody. This is practically Dr. Wallace's theory:

The act of singing is evidently a pleasurable one, and it probably serves as an outlet for superabundant nervous energy and excitement. It is suggestive of this view that the exercise of the vocal power seems to be complementary to the development of accessory plumes and ornaments; all our finest singers being plainly coloured, while the gorgeously ornamented birds of the tropics have no song; and those which expend much energy in the display of plumage have comparatively an insignificant development of voice.

This theory, so far as it affects colour, and only so far, Dr. Wallace in view of further facts has seen fit to modify. It is now indisputable that, especially in South America, some of the most beautiful birds are great singers, while whole families of birds of plain plumage are without the gift of song.

Song, as is patent to everyone, is not confined to the spring of the year. During fine autumns and mild winters, when food is plentiful, birds sing much. Sunshine in any season kindles in them glad emotion, and inspires song. There is a direct relation between pleasurable sensations and the expression of joy in animated creatures. Youth,

vigour, plenty, as in civilised man so in inferior animals manifest themselves in

fits of gladness, affecting them powerfully, and standing out in vivid contrast to their ordinary temper. . . And birds are more subject to this universal joyous instinct than mammals, more buoyant and graceful in action, more loquacious, and have voices so much finer, and the gladness shows itself in a greater variety of ways, and more regular and beautiful motion, and with melody. <sup>1</sup>

We conclude, then, that while the evolution of bird-song owes something to sexual selection, it owes more to the glad emotions which accompany fulness of vitality and favourable conditions of existence. It is the perfect music of bounding life, as colour is its perfect flower.

We commend Mr. Witchell's careful study of this subject to all lovers of nature. His volumes are crammed with interesting facts, and his theory of the evolution of song appears to hold the field. At any rate, it is worth the serious attention of "the authorities" on the subject of avian life, who, by the way, since the days of Darwin have done little to investigate the genesis of bird-song.

ROBERT MCLEOD.

W. H. Hudson, The Naturalist in La Plata, p. 281.

## THE BLESSED TRINITY.

- 1. The Spirit and the Incarnation. By W. L. WALKER. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1899.)
- 2. God's Love, and other Sermons. By A. L. Moore, M.A. (London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1894.)
- 3. Manual of Theology. By T. B. STRONG, M.A. (London and Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1892.)
- 4. Nature of Christ. By W. MARSHALL. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1896.)
- 5. The Foundations of the Creed. By Bishop HARVEY GOODWIN. (Lendon: John Murray. 1890.)
- 6. Thoughts for the Thoughtful on the Blessed God, etc. By W. TAIT. (Rugby: Billington. 1871.)
- 7. Person of Christ. The Fernley Lecture for 1871. By W. B. POPE. Second Edition. (Wesleyan Conference Office. 1875.)

NOTHING should be so interesting to a properly constituted mind as the study of the nature of God. As the greatest, best, and happiest of beings, He claims the blissful contemplation of every heart. Each of us ought to have some antepast of what will one day prove "beatific vision."

But, alas! there are some able thinkers who assure us that such contemplation is but loss of time, for God is "unknown and unknowable." The apostle Paul, however, was evidently of a different opinion; for when he found the Greeks at Athens worshipping agnostically (Δγνοοῦντες) a great Unknown, he proposed to declare His nature unto them, and so deliver them from their defective belief. But

men imagine nowadays that they have got much more light than Paul, with the curious result, however, of enshrouding Deity in a darkness that might be felt.

The father of the agnostic movement, strange to say, was a Christian philosopher. Whatever other reputation the late Sir William Hamilton of Edinburgh may enjoy as a thinker, he certainly must be credited with starting, unintentionally no doubt, yet really, the agnostic movement. In a note to his laboured refutation of Cousin, and exposition of what he was pleased to call the "Philosophy of the Unconditioned." he asserts that

"the last and highest consecration of all true religion, must be an altar—' $\Lambda \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \tau \nu = 0.0$ ". To the unknown and unknowable God.' . . . In this consummation," he imagines, "nature and revelation, Paganism and Christianity, are at one." 1

When we inquire into the cause of such a barren conclusion as this, elaborated as it has been with such fatal effect in Mansel's Limits of Religious Thought, we find that it arises from imagining God to be in Himself "unconditioned," whether "the unconditionally unlimited," which is Sir William's definition of the Infinite, or "the unconditionally limited," which is his definition of the Absolute. Or to put the matter in his alternative and less pedantic form, it arises from regarding God as "aloof from relation" or "out of relation." And when the apparent profundity of the discussion is analysed, it is found to consist largely of laborious speculation about a "Unit" of human imagination, instead of the "Unity" who really exists. Of course, when thinkers are enticed into a region of pure imagination such as this, we need not wonder at their extraordinary conclu-They dare hardly attribute self-consciousness to their logical Unit, since it would thereby be broken into the plurality of subject and object; and so the Unit fares ill with the thinkers who have summoned it into abstract existence, and has to be left in solitary and unknown grandeur. It was reserved, however, for the late Dr. George

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Discussions on Philosophy, note, p. 15.

Romanes when, in his unbelieving days, writing his Candid Examination of Theism under the nom de plume of "Physicus," to reduce quite unintentionally this whole line of speculation to the reductio ad absurdum, when in sober earnest he asks his readers to accept of the following as the unavoidable conclusion of the whole matter:

"Even if we suppose," he says, "this ultimate fact to be an Intelligent Being, it is clearly impossible that he should be able to explain his own existence, since the possibility of any such explanation would imply that his existence could not be ultimate. In the sense, therefore, of not admitting of any explanation, his existence would require to be a mystery to himself, rendering it impossible for him to state anything further with regard to it than this—'I am that I am.'"

A little respect for the Hebrew revelation, and a little knowledge of the Hebrew language, would have saved the author of this pretentious logomachy from positing a pitiable being with the words "I am that I am" in his mouth, as the Ultimate at the back of the all. We revolt instinctively from such a representation. Whatever God is, He certainly is not such an imbecile as Dr. Romanes in his agnostic days represented Him. We rejoice that the years brought to the scientist a more philosophic mind, and that ere his too early death he had come to accept, as certainly more consistent with the facts, the Christian verities.

What, then, is the representation of God which we find in revelation? No simpler and no profounder definition has ever been offered than the well-worn one, "God is Love." The agnostics would persuade us that it is because they believe God to be inconceivably more glorious than human beings can represent Him, they decline to define Him and relegate Him to the "unknown and unknowable." But we believe that if the revealed truth "God is Love" be fairly analysed, it will be found to contain such a representation of God as cannot be surpassed.

In the volume of sermons published posthumously by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Candid Examination of Theism, pp. 195, 196.

literary executors of the late Canon Aubrey Moore, and entitled God is Love, that brilliant thinker says:

It ["God is Love"] is the simplest of all gospel truths, and yet it is the one solution of the greatest and most tremendous metaphysical problems which have exercised the minds of philosophers. . . . . Think of God as He was before the worlds were made, before His creative power had manifested itself in act. There must have been such a time; for if that which is not God is eternal, then God is not God. But if there ever was a time when only God was, what was He then? There was nothing to limit Him, as by its mysterious power the human will can. Was He the Absolute Spirit but impersonal? He could not have been eternally conscious unless the distinction is as eternal as the Unity. Or was He, as Christian theology affirms, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, eternally conscious because eternally Three in One, not a self-contradictory idea, but a Tri-Personality, in which Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, eternally different, eternally one, are Three Persons yet one God. . . . . It implies that God is not a Unit. For God did not become love when He had created objects for His love. He was love always. For He is Love. And the teaching of Christ's Holy Church has held fast to the truth. It does not tell us that God before the worlds began existed in majestic and glorious loneliness, that He created beings to be objects of His love, became loving towards the creatures He had made. It tells us how that love, which from all eternity, before the ages were, bound together the loving Father and the well-beloved Son in the unity of the Spirit of Love, was manifested to man.1

The Old Testament gives us a most interesting insight into this social nature of God. When we take up the narratives of the Creation, as given in the opening chapters of Genesis, they present God to us in a social light, as entering upon the creative work after due deliberation within what Jonathan Edwards did not hesitate to call "the Society of the Trinity." Thus in speaking of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. God is Love, and other Sermons, by the late Canon Aubrey L. Moore, M.A., pp. 1-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cf. Observations Concerning the Scripture Economy of the Trinity, by Jonathan Edwards, New York, 1880, p. 30.

formation of man, the writer seems to open a door in heaven, and allow us as auditors to hear the resolution taken at the Eternal Council, "Let us make man in our image after our likeness." No solitary unit could use such terms and follow them up after the Fall with the corresponding expression, "Behold, the man is become AS ONE OF US."

Not only so, but when we turn to the second narrative of the Creation in Genesis ii., and which is substantially one with the previous account,1 we get an insight into the stages, so to speak, of man's creation. The female was not formed simultaneously with the male, but a sufficient time was allowed to elapse for man to realise his loneliness and to appreciate the more thoroughly the helpmeet when she came. Now, if we try honestly to apprehend the position of our first parent in Eden, we shall have clear light shed upon the nature of the divine Being with whom he had to do. The man had plenty of occupation in dressing and keeping the garden; but work, however congenial or delightful, can never satisfy and can never save the human spirit. He had also companions in the animals below him, whom he seems to have carefully studied, and from the knowledge of their habits to have named. He had also a companion in God Himself, who condescended in the cool of the Edenic day to walk in the garden and to afford His intelligent creature His elevating fellowship. Yet this companionship with God above him and the animals below him did not satisfy man's need. He required one his equal, another self, the same yet not the same; and this was given him in woman.

A suggestive writer has brought out this truth in the fellowing interesting fashion:

Nothing is more strongly impressed on the recollection of our childhood than Daniel Defoe's charming tale. The original story, as is well known, was that of a man named Selkirk, who was cast away on an uninhabited island, and lived there alone for nineteen years. Our own poet Cowper has put words in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. "Die Einheit der beiden Schöpfungberichte," in Hælemann's Neue Bibelstudien.

mouth, to which the human nature, which is in us all, instinctively responds:

I am monarch of all I survey,
My right there is none to dispute,
From the centre all round to the sea
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

But let us hear how he goes on to bemoan himself:

I am out of humanity's reach;
I must finish my journey alone,
Never hear the sweet music of speech;
I start at the sound of my own.
Society, friendship, and love
Divinely bestowed upon man!
Oh, had I the wings of a dove,
How soon would I taste you again!
Oh Solitude, where are the charms
Which sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms
Than reign in this horrible place.

He felt the place horrible, because he was cut off from the fellowship of his kind. Now, this unfortunate castaway, as remarked already, had the same human nature and the same human feelings with ourselves-both derived from one father. Adam, who in the midst of the magnificence and abundance of Eden, manifested and gave expression to the same. He, too, was "lord of the fowl and the brute": "have dominion," was the word, "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth." At their Creator's bidding. moreover, all these came to show themselves to their lord and master. God "brought them to Adam, to see what he would call them." And so thoroughly was he acquainted with their several propensities, powers, and capacities, that he "gave names to all cattle, and to every beast of the field; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof." But Adam turned from them all in deep disappointment; there was not one among them with whom he could hold fellowship: "for Adam there was not found an helpmeet for him." Hence the creation of woman; that gracious act being the Creator's witness that He had formed man to find his happiness in the fellowship and sympathy of a being like himself. As we are

also taught by the significant divine sentence—"in the image of God created He him, a male and a female created He them." We see whither all this is tending. This creature of God, who is formed for fellowship and sympathy, who cannot be happy in solitude, was made in the image of his Creator, and after His likeness. We gather certainly from this, that the happiness of his Creator, was not that of solitude; and the reiterated plural our image, our likeness, reveals the same wondrous truth. Here, then, is the fatal objection to the God of the Unitarian; He is a solitary Being. All reasoning in favour of such a God is shattered against this one consideration. Adam was not absolutely alone in Eden; God was there, walking with him in the garden, in the cool of the day; the inferior creatures were there also. But the One was too far above him, the others too far below. Our first father was alone, for there was not another like himself. And so is the Unitarian's God alone: all heaven does not contain His fellow. Blessed hosts surround Him, indeed, but the gap between Adam and the creatures was as nothing to the gap between Him and them; it is infinite. They cannot therefore satisfy the longings of His eternal bosom. In His glorious heaven He sits alone-alone from everlasting, alone to everlasting. And even supposing we pass from such an argumenteven supposing we allow that the Blessed God has fellowship with the hosts of light around Him,

> "The sanctities of heaven" who "Stand thick as stars, and from His sight receive Beatitude past utterance,"

the creature is not eternal. There was a point in the past eternity when it was not, when for ages upon ages God was indeed alone, filling eternity's fearful solitude. And if, as the Unitarian tells us, He was blessed in this solitude, then, however great and glorious He may be, He is not the God in whose image we the sons of men were made. 1

We turn away, then, with all our social instincts from this picture of a solitary Unit, believing that it cannot be a truthful representation of God. And we find a worthier

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Tait's Thoughts for the Thoughtful on the Blessed God and on Christ and Christianity, pp. 3-6.

representation in that God of Love proclaimed by the Creeds. As the writer just quoted observes:

The God whom the Creeds proclaim has never been alone. There has been from all eternity the Father, and the Son in the bosom of the Father; these eternal Ones moreover have been bound by the eternal Spirit of love, in love's eternal fellowship. The Father's joy from eternity has been to love the Son; "Thou lovedst Me," said the Lord Jesus, "before the foundation of the world." The Son's joy from eternity has been to love the Father, to trust in Him entirely, to do His blessed will. "The Lord possessed Me," are His words, "from everlasting: I was by Him, as one brought up with Him, I was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him." No marvel that when such a Being created man His very first utterance should have been, "It is not good that the man should be alone."

No wonder that this argument from the nature of Love to the nature of God has commended itself to a long line of able theologians. We find it in St. Augustine, who in his treatise on the Trinity says of Love:

Love is of someone that loves, and with love something is loved. Behold, then, there are three things—he that loves, and that which is loved, and love. What, then, is love except a certain life which couples or seeks to couple together some two things, vis. him that loves, and that which is loved?

We find it in Richard de St. Victor, the great mystic with whom the idea fructified. We find it, to come to later times, in Julius Müller's great work on The Doctrine of Sin, in Scheeberlein, in Liebner's Christologie, in Dorner's System of Christian Doctrine and Doctrine of the Person of Christ, in Sartorius's Doctrine of the Divine Love, and in Martensen's Christian Dogmatics. The late Dr. Tait, who is quoted at length above, has embodied it in an admirable essay on The Most Holy Trinity; it is found also in the great treatise on the Trinity by the late Dr. Kidd, of Aberdeen. Canon Mason has also written suggestively on

<sup>1</sup> De Trinitate, viii. 10.

the subject in his Faith of the Gospel; and the late Professor Wallace, of Belfast, has contributed a very striking paper on the whole subject to the British and Foreign Evangelical Review for 1883, on "Human Nature a Witness to the Divine Trinity."

We feel that in referring to this subject we are dealing with what the late Dr. James Morison called his "Gospel of the happy God"; for our Trinity in Unity is happy, blessed, and attractive as no lonely Unit can ever be. A self-contained Unit, enjoying single blessedness from all eternity, occupying Himself with His own ideals, conning over the problems of a universe yet to be, silent, absorbed, unrelated, unconditioned, can never become to social beings like us really attractive. Such solitary blessedness repels the soul that is yearning from its very centre for fellowship. It is a loving Unity, not a self-satisfied Unit, which can move the heart and hold it by love's resistless spell.

ROB. MCCHEYNE EDGAR.

## THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

The Reign of Queen Anne. By JUSTIN MCCARTHY. Two Volumes. (London: Chatto & Windus.)

UEEN ANNE is a somewhat humdrum figure for the frontispiece of a great history. Her reign "takes rank with the age of Pericles in Greece, with the Augustan era in Rome, with the Elizabethan era in England." It was the time in which Marlborough won undying fenown for himself and his country at Blenheim, Ramillies, and Malplaquet. Gibraltar gave England the key of the Mediterranean. Swift and Defoe. Steele and Addison. Pope and Arbuthnot all added to England's laurels in the more peaceful fields of literature. The acknowledged mistress of the great soldiers and great writers of the epoch was an "utterly commonplace" person, who had no sympathy with the war spirit of the times, and was not touched by any glories of conquest. Her chief honour is that she had a sincere desire for the quiet, the prosperity, and the happiness of her people, and that she so bore herself in relation to her Parliament and her ministers that she may justly be described as the first really constitutional sovereign of England.

Anne became queen on March 8, 1702, in her thirtyeighth year. At the age of twenty she had been married to
Prince George of Denmark, "as characteristic a specimen
of the good for nothing as any age or condition could have
produced." Anne was tenderly attached to her husband.
Her affection for him was indeed "one of her few strongly
developed qualities." She had a large family, all of whom
died in infancy, save the little Duke of Gloucester, who lived
to the age of eleven, and still stands out so strangely pathetic
a figure among the child royalties of the world. Anne bore

her new dignities with a queenly grace. Bishop Burnet says that when the Privy Council waited on her after King William's death she received them with a well considered speech, in which she expressed great respect for the memory of the late king, in whose steps she intended to go, for preserving both Church and State, in opposition to the growing power of France, and for maintaining the succession in the Protestant line. Burnet tells us that she pronounced this, as she did all her other speeches, "with great weight and authority, and with a softness of voice, and sweetness in the pronunciation, that added much life to all she spoke." Her gracious manner and obliging deportment produced a most favourable impression on all who came into her presence. "for she hearkened with attention to everything that was said to her." She soon found, however, that she stood in slippery places. The assurance, in her first speech to her Parliament, that her heart was "entirely English" was regarded as a reflection on her brother-in-law, the late king; whilst her statement that her people might "depend on her word" reminded many of her father, in whose first speech the same phrase had occurred. Some of her subjects were thus led to fear that she might prove just such a sovereign as James II.; whilst others set her down as an ungrateful daughter, only too anxious to stand aloof from the father who had died dethroned and exiled.

These fears proved to be groundless. Under Anne's rule Parliament gained a power of control over the will of the sovereign which had not existed during any previous reign. The queen had no desire to contest that supremacy. "She seems from the first to have had a clear understanding as to the business and the duty of a constitutional sovereign." Again and again on important occasions she bent her own will, her own prejudices, and even her conscientious convictions, to the earnest representations of the ministers whom she regarded as her constitutional advisers.

Her kingdom was a modest one compared with the British Empire of to-day. The England Queen Anne had come to rule was a country which, even if we include Wales, must have had a

population of somewhat under seven millions. With the exception of London, and perhaps Bristol, there were really no large cities according to the proportions of modern estimates. It has to be noticed as a curious characteristic of the time that in the opening of Oueen Anne's reign the populous and busy communities were found in the south and in the east of the kingdom. In our times it is very much the other way. With the exception of London alone, the great manufacturing cities, the strongholds of the country's business and population, are found in the northern counties, in Manchester and Liverpool, and the great and growing towns which cluster around them, or in such places as Birmingham and other parts of the Midlands. Bristol was the great seaport of Queen Anne's time, and now its shipping hardly comes into consideration when we speak of the docks and merchant fleets of Liverpool. It is not so much that Bristol has gone down as that Liverpool has gone up.

Next to London and Bristol, the most important English towns were Nottingham, Exeter, Shrewsbury, Winchester, and Canterbury. Bath had long been noted as a health resort, but it only acquired its fashionable reputation in the first year of Queen Anne's reign. London itself had a population of about three quarters of a million, rather more than a tenth of that of England and Wales. The metropolis has not only maintained but increased its relative supremacy, for the proportion of its population to that of the rest of England and Wales is now higher than even at the accession of Queen Anne.

The war of the Spanish Succession had broken out before Anne ascended the throne. Louis XIV. was in the height of his power, and hoped in due time to annex Spain to France. In 1701 the Great Alliance was formed between England, Holland, and the German Empire to resist the designs of Louis, and Marlborough was sent to command the forces in Flanders. Next year, only three days after Anne's accession, the earl was named Captain-General of the English army at home and abroad, and was entrusted with the entire direction of the war. Marlborough seemed born for such an hour. Mr. McCarthy says:

He was the greatest European general of his time, and he

was probably the greatest English general known to history up to our own time. It would be hardly too much to say that he combined in himself all the qualities of daring, foresight, energy, enterprise, imagination, minute power of observation, cool, calculating sagacity and indomitable patience, which must be united in order to make a consummate military commander. The controlling power which he could exercise over the minds of men and the hearts of women was, in itself, a sort of genius. Nature had given him appearance and manners which well fitted him for the task of attracting those who came within the range of his influence and moulding them to his will. He was singularly handsome of face and graceful of form—in any crowd of men, in any society, he would have been singled out in a moment as a most attractive figure. No stranger could come near him without feeling an instant desire to know who he was and to learn all about him.

Anne was at this time entirely under the dominion of Marlborough's imperious wife, and gave the great soldier abundant opportunity to prove his military genius. He had made himself popular in Holland, and the Dutch gladly placed their forces under his control. Marlborough's policy was to capture as many as possible of the strong places which France had gained in the Low Countries and in Germany during former campaigns. He hoped by a sudden rush to impress the enemy with his military energy and power, to upset all plans the French had formed as to the direction of the campaign, and to keep the Dutch forces free for whatever schemes might be found essential to success.

By a series of daring movements Marlborough carried out his programme. The capture of Liege completed his plans for securing an advantageous basis of operations for himself and his Dutch allies. The news was received with unbounded exultation in England. Marlborough received a dukedom, and Queen Anne attended a thanksgiving service in St. Paul's. Had Marlborough been left to himself, he would have made a bold attempt on Antwerp; but he was attended in the field by a number of delegates from the central authorities of the United Provinces, who thwarted his bold schemes, so that he had to

content himself with seizing Bonn. Meanwhile, Prince Eugene had won a great victory over the French forces at Cremona, and Marlborough recognised with unfeigned pleasure that this scion of the house of Savoy would prove his chief ally in the struggle. A firm friendship was established between the two generals. Marlborough always welcomed suggestion and advice from those who acted with him, though he generally found that his own plan was the best. Under adverse conditions he never failed to exhibit that sublime patience and unconquerable power of mere endurance which General Grant once described to Mr. McCarthy as the most essential quality for successful command. Eugene was a Rupert

all compact, of headlong courage, and almost heedless impetuosity. His motto was "Ever Forward." His men would have followed him anywhere, and it has to be said that he would have led them anywhere, no matter how impossible the success of the enterprise might be, if the passion took him for the rush of an onward movement. He had none of Marlborough's superb patience, none of his calm steady foresight, none of his comprehensive calculating power.

In the early stages of the campaign Marlborough was so much crippled by his Dutch advisers that he seriously thought of resigning his command. But his friend Godolphin prevailed on him to abandon this intention. It was not long before he found opportunity for action. The French forces moved on Vienna. Marlborough had seen through their plans and quickly made his way into Bavaria, where he effected a junction with Prince Eugene's forces. Marshal Tallard was in command of the French army which had come to reinforce the Bavarians. Marlborough forced his enemies to a general engagement at Blenheim on August 13, 1704. The French forces were completely defeated, and their commander was made a prisoner. The action was very hot for a time, and a cannon ball went into the ground so near Marlborough that he was covered with the cloud of dust and earth which it raised about him. Marlborough and his allies had about 52,000 men in the field, of whom 11,000

were killed, wounded, or missing. The French had 60,000, of whom more than 40,000 were killed or taken prisoners. The estate of Woodstock was conferred on Marlborough by his grateful country, and Blenheim Palace was built upon it. The great soldier was also made a prince of the German empire, and the province of Mindelsheim in Bavaria was bestowed upon him. Addison's tribute still remains to mark the emotions aroused by Blenheim:

Calm and serene he drives the furious blast; And, pleased the Almighty's orders to perform, Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.

In the same summer Gibraltar was taken by a body of English sailors, who clambered up a precipitous path and hoisted the English flag on the top of the Rock. Next year the garrison resisted a siege from the combined forces of France and Spain. Some were inclined to make light of England's new possession, but as its value became evident the country grew more and more resolute to hold it against all comers. The Earl of Peterborough was leader of our forces in Spain in 1705. He seized the citadel of Monjuich, which commanded Barcelona, and that great provincial capital fell into his hands. He was soon able to march on Madrid, and there proclaimed the Archduke Charles as King of Spain. The story of the English knight-errant reads like a romance. His imperious temper was sorely tried by the conditions of his command, and at last he threw it up in disgust. It was his hard fate to see city after city which he had captured and occupied restored to the French leaders.

In 1706 Marlborough gained another notable victory at Ramillies. Nearly the whole of the French artillery fell into the hands of the English and Dutch. The enemy lost 15,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, whilst the loss of the allies was only about 3,000. Louvain, Mechlin, and Brussels submitted to the allies; Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges followed their example. Marshal Vendôme was sent to oppose Marlborough, but the French had little heart

for a trial of strength with the English commander. Malplaquet, which he won on September 11, 1709, was Marlborough's last great battle. He had conquered his enemies abroad; henceforth he had the mortification of watching the fruit of his victories squandered by his enemies at home. The Tory Government gave up the struggle when it was on the verge of accomplishing all the objects for which England had lavished blood and treasure. In 1712 Queen Anne wrote Marlborough a letter with her own hand, announcing that he had been dismissed from all his appointments. He withdrew from public life and retired to the Continent, whence he did not return until the accession of George I. opened the way for his restoration to his former honours and dignities.

## Mr. McCarthy says:

The judgment of history must be that, whatever Marlborough's faults, he was treated by his country with ingratitude. He had served Europe on the battlefield as she has seldom been served before or since, and his name must ever rank with the names of the greatest commanders in history. When we think of his want of political principle, we must always bear in mind that the political principles of that time were in a curiously fluid and unsettled state: that the queen on the throne saw herself sometimes compelled to act as the agent of systems and opinions with which in her heart she had no sympathy; that the cause of the Stuarts found embattled advocates on British soil more than once after Queen Anne had passed away. Marlborough was only like some other men high in office and in power when he was found in confidential communication, now and then, with the representatives of that which was not even yet believed to be a cause wholly lost and a dynasty dethroned for ever. He was an ambitious man, in many ways a selfish man, and he never proclaimed any exalted standard of public or private morality. But there is no reason whatever to doubt that while he was engaged in the work for which his genius so splendidly qualified him, he had in his mind and at his heart, above all other objects, the success of the State and of the cause which he represented on the field of battle.

Harley and Bolingbroke fill almost as large a place in the

domestic annals of the reign as Marlborough does in its military history. The three men were above all things self-seekers. But Bolingbroke and Marlborough were both men of genius, whose grave defects were often hidden by their dazzling gifts. Harley was prosaic and commonplace. Macaulay describes him as "a solemn trifler."

Bolingbroke had a genius for parliamentary debate. His oratory was specially suited to the House of Commons.

In the boldest and loftiest flights of his eloquence there was always a strain of sustained argument, there was always an appeal to the practical and business-like intelligence and habits of his audience, and even when he became most thrilling and most impassioned his appeal never went wholly over the heads of his listeners, never soared beyond the level of their intellects, their purposes, and their sympathies.

Harley had neither imagination nor passion, neither wit nor humour. Mr. McCarthy thinks that his art lay in passing himself off for a wise and profound man, and making others believe that his arguments ought to be accepted and his leadership followed. But justice has hardly been done to Harley. Swift intended to write his life, but that task he never accomplished. He prepared a sketch which makes us regret more deeply that he did not undertake the biography. He says the Earl of Oxford was

the only instance that ever fell within my memory or observation, of a person passing from a private life, through the several stages of greatness, without any perceptible impression upon his temper or behaviour. . . . No man equalled him in the knowledge of our constitution; the reputation whereof made him to be chosen Speaker to three successive Parliaments; which office, I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause.

The life of Harley remained unwritten for nearly two centuries. But that gap in our political literature has now been admirably filled by E. S. Roscoe, whose Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, has just been published by Messrs. Methuen. The book is a real contribution to the true

understanding of the Prime Minister's character, and to the study of an age when "new conditions—political, commercial, and social—were coming into existence." England was becoming a hive of industry. Internal peace, a growing population, and individual liberty were turning the energies of the English people towards the making of money and the utilisation of capital. Harley was a statesman of sober sense, who

sought to steer a course which would secure him the support of moderate men of both parties, and of that large mass of the people who desired peace and prosperity without regard to party fortunes. A Whig in principle, he was always endeavouring to moderate the actions of the Tory high-flyers, and never to press harshly on the Nonconformists.

Harley never sacrificed the public quiet to his own resentments. He abounded in what Bagshot described as "pacific discretion." His relations to Defoe, to Swift, and to Prior were singularly happy, and his employment of his leisure as a collector of books and manuscripts shows that he was a man of cultivated tastes. The new biography gives a truer estimate of a politician of high character and fine feeling. Harley cannot be described as a statesman of large intellect or conspicuous strength of character, but he enjoyed the respect and confidence of those of his contemporaries who were best able to appreciate political merit, and this volume will show that he was not unworthy of it.

No historian of Queen Anne's reign can neglect to mention the devastating tempest which raged over Europe on November 26, 1703. It was long remembered in this country as the Great Storm. Our navy lost twelve ships and 1,500 men. The Thames was swollen by the storm and flooded Westminster Hall. Spires and towers of churches were tora down, and at Wells Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed by the fall of a stack of chimneys. The damage done in London alone was estimated at a million. John Evelyn says:

Methinks I still hear, sure I am that I still feel, the dismal groups of our forests when that dreadful hurricane subverted so

many thousands of goodly oaks, prostrating the trees, laying them in ghastly postures, like whole regiments fallen in battle by the sword of the conqueror, and crushing all that grew beneath them.

The Eddystone lighthouse was destroyed, and more than 8,000 lives were lost in and around the island.

The phrase "Queen Anne's Bounty" has become a goodly epitaph for a sovereign who was sincerely attached to the Church of England. The scheme was the application of the "first-fruits" and the tenths of benefices to the increase of small livings. Rome had originally claimed the first year's income of every newly appointed clergyman, and a tenth of his income during each following year. After the Reformation this became part of the regular income of the Crown. Bishop Burnet advised William III. to devote this revenue to the support of the clergy. The king received the suggestion with much favour, but the honour of carrying the scheme, which she sincerely welcomed, into effect in 1703, belonged to Queen Anne.

Four years later the union with Scotland, which had been long debated with keen feeling, was successfully accomplished. Scotland retained her Presbyterian form of Church government and her legal system which was based on Roman law. There was a natural fear in Scotland that legislative union would rob Edinburgh of its glory as a capital, but after prolonged discussion the Act of Union passed both Houses, and received on March 6, 1707, the royal assent. It was not long in getting into working order, and its success was largely due to the wise recognition of the inherent differences in tradition, usage, and national sentiment between the two countries.

London already had a penny post, started somewhere about 1660, but in Queen Anne's reign letters to the provinces cost twopence per single sheet for a distance of eighty miles, and threepence above eighty miles. Clubs were now becoming a favourite institution of English life; coffee-houses and chocolate-houses sprang up all over London. There were four or five great theatres in the

metropolis, and Italian opera was just establishing itself among us. Handel's fame began to grow rapidly towards the end of Queen Anne's reign. The barbarities committed by the Mohocks led to a royal proclamation against those who "in an inhuman manner, without any provocation, have assaulted and wounded many of her Majesty's good subjects." These armed ruffians, who belonged to the upper classes, delighted to torture and terrify the watchmen and the peaceful wayfarers. Street traffic and the conditions of travel had changed little for centuries.

Stage-coaches, hackney-coaches, carts, waggons, and sedanchairs made up, with the carriages of the wealthy, the means of communication between one part of London and another. The lighting of the streets, if we may thus describe an attempt at illumination which did little more than render darkness visible, was accomplished by miserable oil-lamps, and by the frequent use of lanterns, which wayfarers found it necessary to carry with them at night, well knowing that in many of the streets even the oil-lamps could not be expected to shine.

The Thames was one of the chief highways of London. Boats and barges plied a busy trade along the river, and the "chaff" of the boatmen was flavoured with oaths and execrations which made it a scandal to all well-bred and decorous people.

No part of Mr. McCarthy's book is more delightful than his sketches of the literature of the period. In the year of Marlborough's victory at Blenheim Jonathan Swift published anonymously *The Battle of the Books* and *A Tale of a Tub*. Those works gave immediate fame to their author as a satirist and political pamphleteer. Swift soon won the higher reputation of a master of English prose. "Mr. Gladstone was only endorsing the opinion of all the best critics of modern times when he again and again declared that Swift was the greatest prose writer known to English literature." Swift himself is not less interesting than his books. "He had the faculty of arousing the most devoted friendship, the most passionate affection, and the

fiercest hatred." His fiercest tirades were sometimes "the indignant outpourings of a disappointed heart, made rancorous by its disappointment." Swift's love of cold water was almost a mania. "Whenever he washed his hands, which he did very often in the course of a day, he usually took care to wash his feet as well." He lashed the uncleanly habits of his neighbours in filthy verse, for he was a reformer who scorned moderation in language. The mental taint was no doubt present long before it showed itself in downright madness. Swift offered to write the history of Queen Anne's reign, and was ready to accept the modest post of historiographer, but his proposal came to nothing. He wrote an account of the change of ministry in 1710, when the Duke of Marlborough was put out of office, which makes us regret that he was not encouraged to use his pen in such tasks. He pressed both the Earl of Oxford and Lady Masham for materials to set that memorable transaction in its true light.

But that incurable disease, either of negligence or procrastination, which influenced every action both of the queen and the Earl of Oxford, did in some sort infect everyone who had credit or business in court. For, after soliciting near four years, to obtain a point of so great importance to the queen and her servants, from whence I could propose nothing but trouble, malice, and envy to myself, it was perpetually put off.

On March 1, 1711, appeared the first number of the Spectator. In that great English classic Addison and Steele worked together in the closest literary companionship.

The essay which one had written was commonly touched and retouched by the other, and it is not always easy to be quite sure whether any was the exclusive work of either of the gifted writers. Some critics are found to differ even as to the original creation of certain of the figures who had principal part in this marvellous drama of talk without action. The paper became the fashion, and it was the right sort of thing that everybody who claimed to be anybody in what was considered to be the best society, should be able to talk about the Spectator, to quote from its essays, and to argue about its arguments. Fine ladies

were delighted to show their familiarity with its contents, and some went so far as to send contributions to it, and were so fortunate as to be able to show their contributions in print to their acquaintances.

Over twenty thousand copies of the Spectator were sometimes sold in a single day.

Mr. McCarthy gives an amusing account of the production of Addison's "Cato" in Covent Garden Theatre. The play was intended to give utterance to the disappointment and indignation of the Whigs over the Treaty of Utrecht. The Whigs counted on a popular demonstration which would greatly help their party, but Bolingbroke resolved that if mortal courage, readiness, and ingenuity could accomplish it, the play should be turned into a Tory triumph. He sat in the stage-box, revelling in the opportunity to play a drama that eclipsed even Addison's drama in interest. The Whigs had expected the Tories to receive the play in sullen silence, but Bolingbroke and his friends soon showed that they regarded the Tories as the true champions of liberty, of patriotic devotion, and of national glory. They found their opportunity when Cato denounced a military dictatorship. Everyone knew that Marlborough had endeavoured to secure his own appointment as Commander-in-Chief for life. At the close of the performance Bolingbroke sent Booth, who had acted Cato, a command to appear in his box, and in full sight of the audience presented him with a purse for fifty guineas. That, he said, was but a poor reward for the service he had done to the State by illustrating with such splendid dramatic effect the protest of liberty against a perpetual military dictatorship.

We must draw this article to a close. Mr. McCarthy makes no claim to be regarded as a scientific historian. Footnotes and citation of authorities have no place in his work. He has not attempted any original research. His aim is to be read and understood by all lovers of English life and manners in the eighteenth century, and he has certainly succeeded in his effort. His easy style is singularly attractive, and these volumes will tempt many readers to dip

more deeply into the history of a great reign. Nonconformists have no reason to cherish the memory of Queen Anne or her advisers. One cannot expect a high ideal of religious liberty from an age when Sacheverell was "the comet of a season," and was regarded by the London mob as the hero of the hour. But the energetic efforts made to suppress every form of Nonconformity in this reign only seemed to add to its strength and increase its numbers. Defoe's famous pamphlet, The Shortest Way with the Dissenters, was a masterly satire on the policy for the suppression of Dissent which the queen and Parliament were trying to carry out. But despite the blindness of the queen and her counsellors a great stride towards toleration was taken in this reign.

From the moment when it was asserted as the principle of a political party that absolute conformity to all the doctrines and practices of the State Church was not necessary in order to qualify a British subject for citizenship, it must have been fore-shadowed to many minds that the emancipation of the Roman Catholic and of the Jew was but a question of time. The reign of Queen Anne is entitled to the historical honour of having opened this new chapter in the story of England's progress.

Our last word must be about Queen Anne herself. Circumstances called her to occupy the throne of England in a memorable epoch, yet it is a strange fact that throughout her life this royal lady seemed compelled "to depend upon somebody, take her orders from somebody, have her path of life and even her ways of thinking pointed out for her by somebody." Before she came to the throne she was absolutely under the domination of her old friend, the wife of Marlborough. The story of the strange supremacy exercised over the queen's mind by this overbearing woman forms one of the most curious and interesting pages in the history of the reign. Not less exciting is the story of the downfall of the overbearing Duchess, and the rise to power of the more soft and gracious Mrs. Masham, whose chief virtue in the eyes of the queen was that she did not bully her! Sarah Jennings and Abigail Hill have come down to posterity

as the real mistresses of Queen Anne, and the history of their strife for power still holds its place among the curiosities of court life and royal biography.

Queen Anne's deathbed forms the most pathetic scene in the history of her reign.

She had been Queen of England at a time when England won some of her greatest triumphs in war and in peace, in literature and in science. She had done many good deeds herself, and had attached her name to some noble works of charity. Yet she died without husband or child, brother or sister, to kneel and pray beside her deathbed, and without any one devoted friend to listen to her latest words. While she was passing away the public out of doors, and even those who still watched over her last moments, were thinking not of her but of the sovereign who was to succeed her, the changes which his coming might bring with it, the fortunes of this or that political party which might be endangered or shattered by the change. The dying ears of the queen might have caught the sound of some of the noisy preparations for the coming of her successor which were already agitating London. The mind of one who has studied her history feels only a sense of relief when he reads that the queen sank into unconsciousness before her death.

JOHN TELFORD.

### The World of Books.

#### I. THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

- I. Handbooks for the Clergy: A Christian Apologetic. By W. L. Robbins, D.D. 2s. 6d. net.
- 2. The Christian Tradition. By Leighton Pullan. 5s.
- 3. Sunday. By W. B. Trevelyan, M.A. 5s.

(London: Longmans, Green, & Co.)

- I. DR. ROBBINS has chosen a suitable title for his book. It is not a treatise on apologetics, but an effective discussion of a single branch of that subject. The peculiarity of apologetics is that, while it has to deal with certain fundamental and permanent speculative difficulties, the increase of knowledge and the shifting of the centres of interest require perpetual alterations in form. At present attention is being given by different writers to several aspects or parts of the theme. Dr. Robbins selects the moral influence of Jesus Christ, of His teaching, and particularly of His person, and argues from the confirmation of that influence in wide experience and from its condensation in an unmistakable kingdom of God, that the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion is substantiated. The book is not strikingly novel either in its subject-matter or in its treatment, but is attractive and interesting, pervaded by a fine spirit of reverent and reasonable conviction. The clergy will find such a handbook suitable for loan to hesitating inquirers, and to themselves suggestive of ways in which divine truth may be put with confidence of good results.
- 2. This is one of the most important volumes yet published in "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology." It is intended to illustrate the continuity and the value of Christian tradition in conduct, belief, and worship, and is a masterly work from the extreme High Church point of view. Protestant readers

will find themselves in strong opposition to the teaching of the book. Mr. Pullan claims that "the peculiar features of Protestantism rest on traditions which are as unhistorical as those which underlie some modern features of Roman Catholicism." Mr. Pullan fully admits that the teachers of communities which have not "a ministry of apostolical descent may possess excellent natural qualifications and many genuine spiritual gifts," but he does not admit "that there is any clear ground for believing that such teachers can either remit sin or bestow the Holy Spirit, or feed human souls with the body and blood of Iesus Christ." That is the tone of the whole work. An attempt is made to rebut the statements on Episcopacy made by Bishop John Wordsworth in his noble Ministry of Grace, but Mr. Pullan's line of argument does not carry conviction to our minds. The chapters on the Creeds, on Apostolical Succession, on the Liturgies and Festivals of the Church, on Penitence in the Church, and on Monasticism are marked by great learning and research, but the Sacramentalism of the book is pervasive and ingrained.

3. No volume in "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology" is more timely than this. It devotes three chapters to the history of Sunday, discusses the principles of Sunday observance, and has chapters on Worship, Rest, and Service which are full of wise counsel. The book, illustrated by many incidents and notes, has an appendix which will be of real value to all who wish for information on a subject of pressing importance. The writer says justly that "A Sunday full of the freedom and joy of the Resurrection life, yet containing the Old Testament principle of the consecration of our time to God, a Sunday tending to the full development of life, enabling man to fulfil his duty to God, himself, and his neighbour, ought to appeal to all that is best in the men and women of to-day." We regard this book as a real contribution to the better observance of the Lord's Day.

#### THE TEMPLE BIBLE.

Messrs. Dent & Co. have brought their great undertaking to a close by two volumes (15. each net). "The later Pauline Epistles" (Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians) have been edited by the bishop of Durham. His Introduction and Notes show how thoroughly he has mastered the subject. All that a reader

needs to enjoy and appreciate St. Paul's masterpieces is here. The other volume is "An Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures" by the bishop of Ripon. He writes for those who are troubled and perplexed by modern criticism. The time has come, he thinks, when Christian people must endeavour to understand the questions at issue. The survey here given of the whole subject will be of real assistance to many seekers after light. The growth of the Bible, the question of inspiration and revelation, the nature of the Higher Criticism, the historical value of the Bible, and kindred subjects are discussed in a candid and reasonable spirit. Dr. Boyd Carpenter says: "Indeed, if we are wise and willing to be led onwards by the teaching of God's providence, shall we not see that the whole drift and tendency of criticism is to help us upward as well as forward? The effect of the criticism which has undermined previously accepted views has been to correct a great deal of once common literalism of interpretation: the knowledge which comes to us comes to deliver us from notions which were in danger of becoming too mechanical: the interpretations put into our hands are wider in range and more ethical in scope; everything is preaching to us that we need to become more spiritually-minded if we are to understand the ways and the teaching of God." That is the bishop's conclusion, and it shows how little Christian truth has to fear from the most searching investigation.

The Temple Bible is a unique work, and its merits grow more manifest as we turn over the set of volumes. The reader who makes these brief Introductions and Notes his own will gain a wonderful impression of the inspiration of the Bible, and will find new meaning and fresh beauty in every book of both Testaments. The volumes are made to tempt readers, and we are confident that they will bear noble fruit. The whole Church owes the publishers a debt of gratitude for their enterprise and for their effort to make the Bible as attractive in form and style to the ordinary reader as any of the gems of English literature. The modest price will tempt many; the beauty and merit of the volumes will tempt more to secure this Temple Bible for themselves and their children. The "Book of Joshua and the Book of Judges" have been edited by Dr. A. R. S. Kennedy. The Introduction puts the critical position in a few paragraphs, and gives an account of the chronology of the Judges which is of real service. It is a thorough piece of work that is sure to be highly prized. The frontispiece is a fine reproduction from Mr. Hollyer's photograph of G. F. Watts's picture "Samson."

The Death of Christ: its Place and Interpretation in the New Testament. By James Denney, D.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

The present work practically covers the same ground as Dr. Dale's well known work. In the main its method is the same. discussing the teaching in the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts and Peter, the Hebrews, St. Paul, and St. John. The difference between the two works is in detail, in style, and in the fact that Dr. Denney discusses the works on the subject which have appeared since Dr. Dale's time. Both volumes are most able defences of the ancient, uniform faith of Christians in the doctrine of substitutionary atonement. Dr. Denney wisely limits himself to New Testament ground, refusing to enter on later theories and speculations. The great value of his work is in the careful criticism he devotes to the most recent attempts to explain away Scripture teaching on the subject. The weak exegesis involved in these attempts is thoroughly exposed. We are glad to find that the author's words often kindle into indignation at the tricks of interpretation resorted to. Denney has rendered no mean service to students and to the defence of vital truth. I. S. B.

An Eucharistic Eirenicon. By W. R. Carson, with Introduction by Right Hon. Viscount Halifax. (London: Longmans. 1s. 6d. net.)

The method of an Eirenicon by a Roman priest with Introduction by Lord Halifax is not difficult to divine beforehand, Lower Roman and raise Anglican dogma until they almost meet. and the end is reached. The author explains the dogma of Rome as meaning the reception of the Lord's body after a spiritual manner, and the Introduction accepts this as Anglican doctrine. What is meant by receiving a body in a spiritual way is as unintelligible and contradictory as receiving spirit after a bodily manner. That is one difficulty in the way of the Eirenicon. Another is that the interpretations would scarcely be accepted by official representatives. It is simply a pious opinion, not de fide; and reconciliation founded on pious opinion is founded on sand. No one knows this better than the two writers concerned. It is strange that after the severest Roman

rebuffs the Anglican hankering after Roman recognition still persists. Illustrative references and quotations are added to the pamphlet.

B.

The Journal of Theological Studies. October, 1902. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

The four leading articles are strong, both in matter and style. Dr. Sanday's review of Contentio Veritatis is appreciative and yet discriminating. The third part of Dean Strong's discussion of the term "Substance" bears on its use in reference to transubstantiation. The entire discussion, if published separately, will be a valuable monograph on a most intricate point. Mr. Webb's paper is a very full and adequate criticism of Professor James's recent work. The paper is entitled "Psychology and Religion." In effect, religion is merged by Professor James in psychology. The other contents of the number are learned, rich, and varied as ever. The Journal improves with every new issue.

The Hibbert Journal: a Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy. Vol. I., No. 1, October, 1902. Edited by Messrs. L. P. Jacks, M.A., and G. Dawes Hicks, M.A., Ph.D. (Williams & Norgate. 2s. 6d. net.)

The editors of this new Quarterly are to be congratulated on the high standard of excellence attained in the first number. Professor Percy Gardner, Sir Oliver Lodge, Principal James Drummond, and the Rev. Dr. Stopford A. Brooke contribute the chief articles; Dr. Sanday, Professor Peake, and Dr. T. M. Lindsay write signed reviews. The object of the Journal is to "offer to religious thought a genuinely open field"; it would be unfair to judge of its ultimate value from a single number. but it is quite fair to say that in this number the champions of the advanced critical school have the advantage of striking the first blow. There is room for "the clash of contrary opinions" on, for example, Mr. Conybeare's conclusions in regard to early doctrinal modifications of the Gospels, and on Professor Gardner's identification of historic facts, for which "the evidence is beyond question" with "the realities of the permanent life of the spirit." If, however, in future numbers all schools of thought are fairly represented, and the disputants on each side remember that "neither orthodox science nor

orthodox religion has said its last word" on many subjects upon which individual writers pronounce judgment, then the establishment of this review as an arena for the conflict of opinions will promote the ultimate reconciliation of science and faith.

J. G. T.

The Bible and Modern Criticism. By Sir Robert Anderson, K.C.B., LL.D. With a Preface by the Right Reverend Handley C. G. Moule, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

This book is another counterblast against modern Biblical criticism from the pen of the author of Daniel in the Critics' Don. Every earnest student of the Bible may learn much from it. Sir Robert Anderson has thought for himself; he is quick to detect the weak link in a chain of argument, and some of his criticisms are acute and convincing. For example, he protests with force against the exegesis which represents the Fourth Gospel as contradicting the Synoptists on the question of the day upon which the Lord's Supper was instituted.

But able advocacy is too often marred by assumptions which violate the author's excellent dictum, "nothing is gained by exaggeration or overstatement." Is there no exaggeration in such statements as these: "Not a single student of prophecy can be found in the ranks of the critics"; "The critics know nothing of the typology of Scripture"? Sir Robert Anderson is speaking of the editors of and the contributors to Hastings' Bible Dictionary and the Encyclopadia Biblica when he asks a question which our readers can answer: "Can anyone point to anything that has come from their facile pens which gives proof of acquaintance with the spiritual power of Holy Scripture as the living and eternally abiding word of God?"

Some of the author's heavy blows recoil upon himself: he is a higher critic, in spite of his abhorence of the name, when he says "that Genesis was based on existing 'documents' is a reasonable suggestion," but the documentary theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels is summarily dismissed. It is a surprise to find a writer who has been trained "to sift witnesses and weigh evidence" committing himself to the statement that such differences as the variations in the title over the cross "only prove that the Gospels are not, as the critics would tell us, copied from one another, or from a common source, but that they are wholly independent narratives." Is it judicial to

ignore the remarkable agreements in the Synoptic tradition? The bishop of Durham dissociates himself "from certain passages which reflect upon the animus of some representatives of the New Criticism."

I. G. T.

The Education of Christ: Hill-side Reveries. By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 2s. 6d.)

Professor Ramsay has given us another golden book. Its aim is to show the educative influence of natural surroundings and geographical conditions on our Lord's mind. "Try to cut out the mountain scenes from His life. How much poorer would the Gospels be?" Many passages show our Lord's poetic and imaginative susceptibility to the influences of natural scenery. His outlook from Nazareth is vividly described, and a study of "A Hebrew Boy's Education" answers the question how far the young Jew of Nazareth was trained to appreciate the inspiration of that wonderful scene, which was always open to Him within half an hour's walk from His own door. The belief that "the historical Jesus is the eternal Christ" will be strengthened by this fresh and helpful book.

The Gospel of Work, by W. Cunningham, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 2s. net), consists of four lectures given to Extension students last summer. They deal with the Dignity of Work; the Duty of Diligence; the Spirit in which Work is Done; and the Appreciation of Work, drawing their illustrations largely from some Cambridge theologians. The discussion of work from a Christian standpoint will be a tonic for true workers.

Methods of Bible Study, by W. H. Griffith Thomas, B.D. (Marshall Brothers, 1s. 6d.), will well serve its purpose of directing closer attention to personal study of the Bible. It is packed with suggestions for Bible readings and hints as to the best ways of studying the various books. In what Jerome called "The Divine Library" some outlines are a little fanciful, but all are stimulating.

Our Lord's Characters. By Alexander Whyte, D.D. (London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Co. 3s. 6d.)

Dr. Whyte's new set of Bible characters are drawn from the Parables and the Epistles to the Seven Churches. They are

written in his happiest vein, circling round the subject with many a flash which makes the parables come home to the conscience, and allusions and references which send one back to the great devotional writers of all ages, among whom Dr. Whyte is so much at home. The book will stimulate preachers and people to new use of their gifts, and, above all, will make prayer and Bible study more delightful to them.

Faith and Character, by Newell Dwight Hillis (Oliphant, Anderson, & Co., 2s. 6d.), is intended to help those whose minds are not at rest about Christianity. It is written with much tender sympathy, and its arguments are so clear and so full of good sense that it can scarcely fail to help every sincere inquirer. The illustrations are happy, and the book is thoroughly interesting.

## A Concise Bible Dictionary. (Cambridge University Press. 1s. net.)

This little Dictionary is based on the Cambridge Companion to the Bible, and a glance through its pages will show what a treasure it will prove to every young student. Anyone who masters such articles as those entitled "Canon," "Fast," "Feasts," "Paul," "Temple" will be a sound Bible scholar. We cannot praise this little Dictionary too highly, and we should like to set everyone to study it carefully and regularly till its contents are fairly mastered.

Messrs. Cassell & Co. have issued a new edition of Dean Plumptre's Commentaries on the Synoptic Gospels in three separate volumes at a low price. The work first appeared as part of Bishop Ellicott's Commentary for English Readers, and those who have used that Commentary for years know that the preacher and teacher can find no guide more reliable or more instructive. Each of these volumes is complete in itself, and for fulness, clearness, and suggestiveness we consider the notes without a rival.

Mr. Kelly publishes a most attractive edition of that little devotional classic, Brother Lawrence's Practice of the Presence of God. The book shows, as the latest editor points out, the universal oneness of experimental Christianity in all ages and in all lands. We always turn to it with pleasure, and its message grows more precious as the cares of the world multiply. It is published in cloth, 9d.; and in leather, 1s. 4d.

- 1. The Gates of Life. By H. Elvet Lewis. 1s. 6d.
- 2. The Teaching of Jesus Christ in His Own Words. Compiled by the Earl of Northbrook. 1s. 6d.

  (London: Religious Tract Society.)
- 1. Mr. Lewis's meditations on the doctrines of repentance, forgiveness, justification, and sanctification are distinctly helpful. They are brightly phrased, full of Scripture, and the illustrative incidents are well chosen and well told.
- 2. When the Earl of Northbrook was Viceroy of India he made a selection of our Lord's words for the use of the natives. In the present edition passages from the Old Testament and the Epistles have been added in italics. The selection and arrangement are admirable, and every candid man must be profoundly impressed by this little book. We hope it may have an immense circulation, both at home and abroad.
- Dr. Matheson's Representative Men of the Bible (Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.) has all the grace and poetic fancy which lent such charm to his Studies of the Portrait of Christ. "The Representative Men of the Bible" form a glorious gallery, and Dr. Matheson throws new light on many familiar figures. His studies are historical, not critical, and they will help many readers to use their own eyes. We have found the book suggestive even where it could not be called convincing.

### Preaching and Preachers: Criticisms and Suggestions. By Joseph Gowan. (London: Elliot Stock. 6s.)

Mr. Gowan has used his opportunities as a preacher and a hearer to good account in the preparation of this sensible and helpful book. Large part of it is devoted to the subject of illustrations, and many good hints are given for young preachers. Mr. Gowan is not quite just to Missions. "As a rule," he says, "those who are placed in charge of such services are not distinguished by ability to preach, but are chosen because they are prepared to cater to the masses." Methodist Missions are not open to that stricture. In his protest against sensationalism we are heartily at one with him. The advertisements which appeared in a midland city, "How a Man Sinned by having his Hair Cut," and "How to Stop a Mad Bull," call for strong comment. Secularising the pulpit is another practice on which Mr. Gowan is justly severe. He has done good service by this

book, and preachers will find in it much to interest and help them. On page 210 Bagster should be Baxter.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton have published a cheap edition of Dr. Watson's Life of the Master (6s.). One misses the pictures and the stately get-up of the first edition, but many will now be able for the first time to secure this Life. It is not a scientific biography, but a set of studies steeped in pathos and tenderness which cannot fail to prove a blessing to all who read them.

The Gospel of Divine Humanity, by J. W. Farquhar (Elliot Stock, 3s. net). This is a new edition of a book of unusual interest to theological thinkers. Mr. Farquhar's idea of humanity as the Body of God is not new, but his attempt to interpret Christian doctrine in the light of that idea, and to show its consistency, reasonableness, and comprehensiveness is fresh and suggestive.

We are glad to welcome a fourth edition of Major Turton's Truth of Christianity (Jarrold & Sons). It is an admirable study of the Christian evidences, and we are pleased to find that it is so warmly appreciated. It deserves still wider success and influence.

The Cambridge Press is issuing the Revised Version with Notes for the use of schools. The little volume on St. Matthew (1s. 6d. net), edited by the Rev. Arthur Carr, M.A., makes a very good beginning to the series. It is beautifully printed, the maps are works of art, the notes are clear and somewhat full. The Introduction is just what young scholars need, and the account of its contents prefixed to each chapter is a very helpful feature of the really valuable aid to religious instruction which will be furnished by this series.

Two new volumes of The Bible for the Young, by Dr. Paterson Smyth, have just been published (Sampson Low, 1s. net). Teachers will find here much to help them in lessons on Exodus, Joshua, and Judges. It is not always easy to get good hints for such subjects, but here there is fresh and helpful matter in abundance.

The Expository Times (T. & T. Clark, 7s. 6d.) retains its freshness and its vigour. The thirteenth volume is one of the best in the set, and preachers who have them at hand find no homiletical helps more truly helpful than those which the Expository Times supplies. We feel under a personal debt to Dr. Hastings and his contributors for such material, and for the admirable digests of theological literature given here.

#### II. FOR BIBLE STUDENTS.

The Testament of Our Lord. Translated into English from the Syriac, with Introduction and Notes by James Cooper, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, and Arthur John Maclean, M.A., sometime Dean of Argyll and the Isles. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 9s.)

The Testament of Our Lord is an apocryphal work of uncertain date, which professes to record the teaching of Christ in the interval between His resurrection and His ascension. Greek in its origin, it was translated into Syriac by James of Edessa in the seventh century; and several manuscripts of this Syriac version, together with translations into Ethiopic and Arabic, were buried until recently and forgotten on the shelves of some of the great libraries. In the middle of the last century Lagarde published selections from one of the manuscripts, and attempted without conspicuous success to restore the underlying Greek. In 1800 the Syriac version was edited by Rahmani, the Uniat Syrian Patriarch of Antioch; and the historical and liturgical importance of the document is recognised in this English version, Canon Maclean being responsible for the translation and Professor Cooper for the initiation and encouragement of the enterprise.

In regard to the translation the only fault, if fault it be, is an undue literalness, which occasionally makes the English harsh or even clumsy. If it be replied that the book is designed only for scholars, to whose purposes accuracy is more serviceable than elegance, wonder is excited whether the combination of both qualities is not possible. Patristics has suffered greatly in general estimation through the woodenness of the English that has often been substituted for the ever-varying grace and force of the originals; and real life and practical influence are not likely to be regained, until effective effort is made to represent the style as well as the statements of the early writers. With this single drawback, which after all will not count for much to those who will need to use the book, the workmanship is

scholarly and good. The available texts have been carefully collated, the notes are apposite and adequate, the indexes varied and full; and the editors must be congratulated upon putting into the hands of students a compilation which, while not without significance in regard to belief, casts much light upon the details of public worship, and is in reality for the clergy one of the earliest manuals of their duties.

Some additions were probably made by James of Edessa to the Greek book he translated. If these be removed, the original may be regarded as written in Asia Minor about the middle of the fourth century, by someone imbued with the views that were associated a few years later with the great name of Apollinaris. For the alternative suggestion, that allusions to antichrist are introduced in veiled reference to Julian, a foundation less conjectural and a few confirmatory details are desirable. In two respects particularly the book is illuminating. It was written at a time of widespread controversy, when the mysteries of the hypostatic union were under discussion in the street and the forum, and the people were seething with passion and eagerness; and it is unfaltering in its exhibition of Christ as, whatever else He is, the living Head and Lord of His Church. And it was written in a period when imperial favour had succeeded to imperial persecution, when faith and worship were passing through the novel experience of accustoming themselves to free expression and countenanced expansion. There were dangers of the recrudescence of paganism, and of compromise and laxness in order to meet the wishes of new and influential patrons. The Testament is a memorial of loyalty to the conception of the need of order and reverence in the conduct of worship, and of discipline and exercise unto godliness on the part of the clergy. It is a mine of liturgical lore, of devotional aspiration, of evidence as to Church administration in the second and third quarters of the fourth century. And a place should be found for it on the shelves of every library where the materials and sources of Church history are collected.

R. W. M.

The Composition of the Hexateuch. By J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A. (London: Longmans. 18s. net.)

This is not exactly a new book. It was first published as part of a larger work (The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version, Arranged in Its Constituent Documents, 2 vols., 1900). Old Testa-

ment students will be glad to have, in separate form and at half the price, the Introduction and the three Appendices of the larger work. The latter represent immense labour. The first, by Mr. Carpenter, is a list of words and phrases peculiar to the chief documents; the second, by George Harford, M.A. (Rev. G. Harford-Battersby), is a summary of the Laws and Institutions of Israel. Professor Cheyne contributes a characteristic chapter on "Criticism and Archæology." The main part of the book summarises the generally-accepted results of Hexateuch criticism in a masterly way. The method is historical, and the matter is admirably arranged. One could not desire a clearer, fairer, more scholarly presentation of the modern critical position. (The writer's standpoint is that of the article "Hexateuch" in the Hastings' Dictionary.) Though written by an expert, the book is not excessively technical. It keeps in view the "lay student" from first to last.

Clement of Alexandria: Seventh Book of the Stromateis (Miscellanies). Edited by Hort and Mayor. (London: Macmillan & Co. 15s. net.)

The names of the editors will be sufficient guarantee of the thoroughness, completeness, and accuracy of this edition of Clement's works. The text is preceded by five essays. The second of these, "The Influence of Greek Philosophy on the Theology and Ethics of Clement," gives us the ripe results of Mr. Mayor's long studies in philosophy. It defends Clement against the charge of Hellenising and secularising Christianity which seems to be made by Harnack and perhaps by Hatch.

There follows a complete Bibliography, the Text and an English Translation, and Explanatory Notes. These are based on a series of lectures on the Miscellanies given by Dr. Hort in 1874-5. The book contains a very copious and very useful index. For many years to come it will be the standard edition of this interesting work.

A. M.

The Greek Text of the Gospel according to St. Mark has been edited by Sir A. F. Hort, Bart., M.A., Assistant Master at Harrow School (Cambridge University Press, 2s. 6d. net). It is intended for the use of boys just beginning to read the Greek Testament, and the Introduction deals with the features distinctive of each Gospel, the Synoptic problem, and the writer and his sources in a way that will command the attention and awaken interest.

The notes are full, and are well adapted to the needs of young readers. Sir A. F. Hort is a practical teacher, and all teachers will thank him for this contribution to the better study of a Gospel which is receiving more careful attention from students than ever.

The Emphasised Bible. A New Translation, designed to set forth the Exact Meaning, the Proper Terminology, and the Graphic Style of the Sacred Originals. By Joseph Bryant Rotherham. Four Volumes. (London: H. R. Allenson. 8s. each net; or one volume, 3os. net.)

This very important enterpise is now complete. The author. now in his seventy-fifth year, who has practically devoted his whole life to this work, has the gratification of presenting it at last to the public as a finished and signal contribution to the cause of Biblical study: for this is its specific aim. profess to enter into competition with the accepted versions of the English Bible for ordinary and popular use. Indeed, this purpose is expressly disclaimed. As a translation it is compelled. wherever its own more particular intention may be only thus accomplished, to sacrifice the English idiom as regards the order of words, in order to bring out clearly and strongly the emphasis of the original. This, however, is further secured by a simple but effective system of signs, which in no wise interferes with the typography. Apart altogether from the object thus attained, of enabling the reader to understand exactly where the stress is intended to fall according to the idiom of the Hebrew or Greek, and so to read his own English Bible more intelligently, this work has very great value for the ordinary Bible student as being a critical presentation of the text, with select various readings and other references. The New Testament portion is based upon Westcott and Hort; but the unique value of the work consists in the fact that the Old Testament translation follows closely the Massoretico-Critical Hebrew text, as edited by Dr. Ginsburg, for the sake of which the translator went unhesitatingly through the whole of his translation afresh, after it was completed in manuscript, that he might give English students the benefit of the most approved recent recension. We commend this book very earnestly to our readers.

T. F. L.

#### III. HISTORY.

The History of Methodism. By John Fletcher Hurst, D.D., LL.D., a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. "British Methodism," Three Volumes. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 25s.)

It is rather more than forty years since the two well known histories of Methodism, Dr. Smith's and Dr. Stevens's, appeared. In the meantime the boundaries of Methodism have been widely extended, and the number of adherents more than doubled. To attempt another history designed to be "a complete account of the rise, progress, and development of Methodism from its origin to the present day" is a gigantic task. That task has been taken up courageously by the author of the present work. Bishop Hurst is not a novice in the writing of Church history. Formerly Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, he is the author of a History of Rationalism, a Church History, and a History of the Mediaval Church, etc., etc. This work in its entirety is to comprise ten royal octavo volumes. The first three volumes of the series relate to British Methodism. and form a complete work in themselves. The other volumes are divided into two portions, "The History of Methodism in America" and "World-Wide Methodism"; the latter comprising Methodism in Canada, Australia, Latin America, Continental Europe, India and Malaysia, China, Korea and Japan. Liberia, Congo, Angola and Southern Africa.

Bishop Hurst discerns the adaptation of Methodism both to carry the gospel message to those who have never heard it, and to infuse new warmth and zeal into the hearts and lives of those who have forsaken their first love, or but partially received the true light; and to this adaptation he attributes the "access to nearly all the nations of the globe" which it has gained. We await with much interest the completion of this great work.

Five sixths of the British portion relate to the development of Methodism during the life of Wesley. Then the view widens, and we read of the later evangelicals who caught the Methodist fire and carried it into other Churches. Then follows a review of the divisions and offshoots of Methodism. But twenty-six pages is manifestly insufficient to give more than a cursory

glance at this part of the subject; nor will two hundred pages be thought adequate for the portrayal of the internal history of Methodism during the past century. Although the work appears to be a large one, it is too small for the greatness of its theme. Events pass before the eye of the reader with a rapidity that reminds one of scenes beheld when quickly travelling through a beautiful country. Bishop Hurst has, however, succeeded in presenting a graphic story, the unity and interest of which are maintained throughout. The history of early British Methodism in particular, the truly heroic period, is told in a very interesting and attractive manner. The attention of the reader, once caught, is carried along page after page; and the pleasant reading is enhanced by the aptness and multiplicity of the illustrations that enrich the volumes. It is a pity the record is impaired by some inaccuracies in detail. The getting up of the books is admirable, the paper of the finest quality, specially suited to the numerous illustrations. These first three volumes should be welcome to all British Methodists, for though the story may be familiar to them, they will see how much it gains by being presented in a new setting. We heartily wish for these volumes an extensive sale. R. GREEN.

## A Short History of Germany. By Ernest F. Henderson. (London: Macmillan & Co.)

For more than a thousand years the history of Germany has been, in a large measure, the history of Europe. Situated in the very centre of the Continent, the place of Germany in history has corresponded with its geographical position; and it has exercised considerable influence on the welfare and the destiny of almost every other state. An adequate knowledge of German affairs is therefore essential to a right understanding of modern European history. Such being the case, a careful and interesting study of this important subject, sufficiently full and yet within moderate compass, will be sure of a welcome. This is what Mr. Henderson has given us in these two handsome volumes. The opening chapter forms a general introduction to the work as a whole, supplying a brief account of certain important events in the early history of Germany, and discussing such social and political institutions and characteristics of the people as bore fruit in the after-time, and contributed to the making of the In the second chapter the story really begins with the rise of the Carolingians in the wreck of the Merwing dynasty.

events which culminated in the coronation of Charles the Great. and the founding of the Holy Roman Empire. With regard to this most significant event Mr. Henderson appears to lay undue stress upon the surprise of the new emperor, even to the extent of speaking of the imperial crown as "imposed against Charles's will." The matter is, of course, one of interpretation of the emperor's own words to Einhard, and our author appears to read into them more than they actually meant. Though doubtless surprised at the moment, it is difficult to think that Charles was entirely ignorant of the intentions of the Pope, or that the latter would have acted as he did without any inquiry as to the Patrician's feelings with reference to a matter of such grave import. With the passing of the Carolingians, which occurred within a century, and in antagonism of local interests, the idea of a universal Christian empire was almost altogether lost. with the advent of Otto the Great a new era dawned. imperial crown became an appanage of the king of the East Franks, and thus arose a direct connexion between the Holy Empire and Germany. Otto did not hesitate to assert his authority in matters ecclesiastical, and succeeded in effecting some reform of the Papacy. As the latter grew stronger the relations between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Holy Roman Pope became increasingly strained, each regarding the other with feelings of strong jealousy. This clash of interests, which found its expression in ever-increasing efforts in the direction of mutual encroachment, forms the topic of an interesting chapter, in which are discussed the relations between Church and State, and which leads on to another dealing with the memorable conflict between the Popes and the Hohenstauffen. The victory lay with the former, and what is known as the Great Interregnum followed, the power and dignity of the empire showing a marked decline, while the electors rose to power. The interregnum was brought to an end with the election to the imperial throne of Rudolp of Hapsburg, the founder of the House of Austria, which was destined henceforth to be so closely linked with the empire. But the old empire had really passed away, and from this time onward the aim of the emperors was mainly the strengthening of their own hereditary domains, rather than the welfare of a universal state of which they were nominally the head. In other words, the empire had become unreal, a mere bodiless ghost. Mr. Henderson's treatment of this most important period leaves something to be

desired, and one could wish that it had been a little more detailed and had shown a firmer grasp of the metaphysics of history, if one may be allowed to use that expression. Our author, however, is apt at description, and two of the best chapters in the first volume are those dealing respectively with the Age of Chivalry and the Teutonic Order and the Hanseatic League, which are of great interest and throw valuable sidelights on many important points that deeply affect the course of political history. Into the story of the Reformation, fascinating as it is, we may not pause to enter. It is well and fairly told by Mr. Henderson. The characters of the chief actors in one of the most thrilling dramas of history stand out clearly; and the picture of Luther, both in his strength and weakness, is skilfully wrought, a remark which is also true of the Emperor Charles V. There is much more in this first volume that one would fain dwell upon, but which, owing to limitations of space, must be passed over in silence; such, for instance, as the Romanist reaction, and the Thirty Years' War.

The second volume opens with a chapter on "The Rise of the Prussian Monarchy." With Frederick William, best known as the Great Elector, began the rise of the House of Hohenzollern. With all his defects of temper, and they cannot be denied, Frederick William was one of the world's great workers, and his work was a labour of love. He loved Prussia, and was, in the truest sense, a patriot. He it was who made possible the achievements of his greater son, and forged the weapon which that son was to wield with such power and to such great effect. Frederick the Great it was who really won for Prussia a place among the great powers of Europe. In the war of the Austrian Succession the whole continent was made to feel that, in Germany, a second great military power had arisen, which could contend on something more than equal terms with the old imperial house.

Regarded as a whole, while perhaps it is not marked by the strong grasp and deep historical insight of the writings of historians such as Freeman and Bryce, and does not uniformly attain the very highest literary level, Mr. Henderson's history is, none the less, a very good and useful piece of work, the publication of which we cordially welcome. The interest of the story is well sustained, and there is not a dull page from first to last. The publishers, too, have done their part well. Printing, paper, and binding are all alike excellent; and the

eight historical maps which are provided greatly enhance the value of a work which we confidently commend to the favourable notice of our readers as one of the pleasantest introductions to the history of Germany with which we are acquainted.

W. Ernest Beet

The Story of Verona. By Alethea Wiel. Illustrated by Nelly Erichsen and Helen M. James. (London: J. M. Dent & Co. 4s. 6d.)

The city of the Capulets and of Dante's exile deserves its place in "The Mediæval Town Series." Juliet's home is said to be an old house in the Via Cappello, which is now a stable for carriers and their vans. A tablet above the door says, in Italian: "These were the houses of the Capulets, from whence sprang Juliet, for whom so many gentle hearts have wept and poets have sung." It was in Verona that Dante was first pointed out as "he who went to hell and returned when he listed, and brought news up above of those who were there below." The balconies of the city form a chief feature in its picturesque loveliness, and so do its grand old arches of red Verona marble. The story of the city, with its great rulers, its artists, and its famous buildings, is well told, and is illustrated with delicate skill by the two ladies whose names appear on the title-page. It is rather interesting to find on page 26 that St. Paul's expression, "I have fought with beasts at Ephesus," is construed literally.

The Great Boer War. By Arthur Conan Doyle. With Maps. (London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 10s. 6d.)

The "complete edition" of Dr. Doyle's history of the Boer War has been eagerly expected. Sixteen editions have followed each other rapidly during the course of the war, and the merits of the book—its vivid description, its manly candour, its readiness to acknowledge and profit by our mistakes and blunders—have been greatly appreciated. The last two hundred pages have not so dramatic a subject as the earlier part. But those who have scarcely been able to follow the changing fortunes of the guerilla war will be specially grateful for such an attempt to present its incidents in order. When it began "the British had learned their lesson so thoroughly that they often turned the tables upon their opponents." The rooineks, whose want of cunning and veldt-craft had furnished frequent matter for derision, were now able to effect many a surprise which baffled their slim opponents.

The struggle, carried on in an irregular and brigand-like fashion by the Boers, grew increasingly bitter, and "though there were few cases of individual outrage or unauthorised destruction, the general orders were applied with some harshness, and repressive measures were taken which warfare may justify but which civilisation must deplore." Dr. Dovle shows that there was abundant reason for harsher treatment. The Boer snipers were frequently seen killing and wounding the drivers and stokers of the very trains which were bringing up food on which the Boer families were dependent for their lives. "A truckload of Boers behind every engine would have stopped the practice for ever. Again and again in this war the British have fought with the gloves when their opponents used their knuckles." A fitting tribute is paid to Lord Roberts, whose work in South Africa "immensely enhanced" his great reputation. Lord Methuen is described by one of his men as "the finest general and the truest gentleman that ever fought in this war." The bravery of our gunners has thrown a lustre over the war; and young Sutherland, the second lieutenant of the Seaforths, who was shot down by the Boers, won from their commander the tribute that in the whole course of the war he had seen no finer example of British courage. The final paragraphs, which describe how the blood brotherhood of the empire was sealed on the plains of South Africa, and point out the duty of the future—"clean government, honest laws, liberty and equality to all men"—form an impressive close to a great drama which makes us proud of the empire and of its defenders. interest of the book is intense, and it would not be easy to find a finer school for true patriotism and enlightened imperialism.

Our Soldiers (Griffith, Farran, & Co., 3s. 6d.) is a record of gallant deeds of the British Army. In its first form the book was prepared by W. H. G. Kingston. Mr. Moxon has added to it an account of recent wars in the Soudan, in India, and of the great Boer War. Boys will learn a great deal of history from these pages, which are a fine school for pluck and patriotism.

Those who have most appreciated the fine work in The Cornation Book of Edward VII. will scarcely be prepared for the effect of the completed volume, which Messrs. Cassell issue at half a guinea. It is a blaze of gold and purple, and the quieter illustrations are not less attractive than the full-page ones. Mr. Loftie has given us just the historic sketch of coronation scenes

that was needed, and the paper, binding, and type combine to make a volume of unique attractiveness, to which other generations will turn with as keen an interest as we feel in it ourselves.

Through Roman Spectacles. By J. Alexander Clapperton, M.A. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 1s. 6d.)

This is one of the most useful books for a young student of the New Testament that we know. It abounds in illustrations of the Gospels and Epistles, and the matter is well put. Every preacher, class-leader, and Sunday-school teacher will find the book a treasure. Mr. Clapperton brings out the lessons from Roman history in a most instructive and helpful way, and the illustrations add much to the interest of an excellent book.

# Old St. Paul's Cathedral. By William Benham, D.D., F.S.A. (London: Seeley & Co. 7s. net.)

This is a companion volume to Canon Benham's Mediaval London, and both in its text and in its full-page illustrations is a worthy memorial of what Evelyn described as "one of the most antient pieces of early piety in the Christian world." The frontispiece, compiled from old drawings and prints, gives a beautiful view of the Cathedral towering above the houses round the Three Cranes' Wharf, and the pictures of the interior are very fine. Canon Benham says that the aspect of the nave on entering from the western door must have been magnificent. "There were twelve bays to the nave, then the four mighty pillars supporting the tower, then the screen closing in the choir. The nave was known as 'Paul's Walk.'" Duke Humphrey's tomb was not here, but on the south side of the shrine at St. Albans. The tomb of Sir John Beauchamp was confused with that of the Duke of Gloucester, and the aisle in which it lay was known as "Duke Humphrey's Walk," "a favourite resort of insolvent debtors and beggars, who loitered about it dinnerless and in hope of alms." The whole story of the Cathedral, of its famous clergy, its historic scenes, and the great dead laid to rest within its walls is told as it has never been told before, and the illustrations with which it is abundantly supplied make this a volume of surpassing beauty and interest.

The centenary number of *The Edinburgh Review* contains eight portraits of its editors and chief contributors, and an article which helps a present-day reader not only to understand the great past but the present position and power of the *Edinburgh*. It is

strange to find that Jeffrey scarcely expected his journal to have more than a year's life. The effect of the first number was electrical. The circulation rose from 750 till in 1817 and 1818 it reached its high-water mark—13,500. The article shows what an editor's perplexities were in days when Brougham wished to make the Review his own trumpeter; or when the proprietor had to apologise to Lord John Russell for a personal attack made on the Whig leader by the Whig journal; or in the trying days of Mr. Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. No one who wishes to understand the place of the Edinburgh in the political and literary history of the past century can afford to overlook this most interesting survey.

Historical Essays and Reviews. By the late Bishop Creighton. (London: Longmans. 5s. net.)

The essays in the volume before us are mainly concerned with the Renaissance, and were thrown off during the writing of the bishop's great work, The History of the Papacy. Dante, St. Æneas Sylvius, Wyclif, Vittorino de Feltre, "a schoolmaster of the Renaissance," and other figures of that age are familiar to us in the magnum opus; we almost know before we read what to expect. The essay on Wyclif is perhaps the least valuable. Since it was written (1873) our knowledge of Wyclif has been immensely increased. The paper on St. Æneas Sylvius is of special interest. In his history Dr. Creighton never allowed himself to deal with that charming adventurer save in the severest spirit. Here he gives us a lighter and more biographical account of this "Gil Blas of the Middle Ages." Three papers in the volume show that keen interest in local history and colouring, one result of which was the publication by the bishop of The Story of Some English Shires. His article on the "Italian Bishops of Worcester" was written during the years he was canon of Worcester; while his charming essay on "The Northumbrian Border" would be penned while he was vicar of Embleton. In his sense of the value of local colouring, and of the importance of provincial institutions, Bishop Creighton was one with Green. "I must own," he pleads, "to a desire for a fuller recognition of the fact that English history is at the bottom a provincial history. . . . The vigorous under-current of a strong provincial life in different parts of England is seldom seriously considered by historians. Yet the moment that English life is approached from the imaginative side it is this

strong provincial life that attracts attention. Our great novels are not English, but provincial."

The same insight into the place of detail—for this is after all the meaning of the recognition of local colouring—joined with the same conscientiousness and subordination of mere colour to the understanding of the real inwardness of the scene or event is seen also in the two papers on the Harvard Commemoration and the Imperial Coronation at Moscow, at both of which functions the bishop was present as a delegate. The volume before us will, of course, add nothing to the fame of the great historian; nevertheless, it will assuredly be welcomed by many readers, who will rejoice that these scattered essays of the master have thus been saved from the oblivion of the magazines.

H. B. WOREMAN.

The Dawn of the Reformation. By H. B. Workman, M.A. Vol. II., "The Age of Hus." (Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

Mr. Workman has already given us a set of volumes which hold a place of honour on the shelves of students of Church history, and his latest work is sure of a warm welcome. It is based on a scientific study of the great authorities, and the footnotes and brief summaries prefixed to the various chapters show with what thoroughness and care that study has been carried out. Mr. Workman is never overweighted by his mass of learning. His style is crisp; his sentences clear; he makes the past alive, and helps us to understand the forces which were at work behind the scene in Rome and in imperial circles. The volume opens with the return of the Pope to Rome after the captivity at Avignon. Urban lost a great opportunity. is described as "one whom power corrupted from an upright priest into a cruel tyrant. Even his virtues but threw into more hideous light his cruel excesses. His pontificate is perhaps the most disastrous in the history of the Papacy." Catherine of Siena laboured with heart and soul to save him from himself, but the Pope paid no heed to her wise counsels. Hus is the central figure of this volume, and of him and his predecessors Mr. Workman has given us the most reliable account that we possess. The story of the Council of Constance and of the reformer's trial and death have never been told with such force and pathos. The copious extracts from Hus's own letters are of exceptional interest, and the drama unfolds before our eyes till we reach its catastrophe in the martyrdom of the reformer.

Rome never had such an opportunity for internal reform as in the age of Hus, but the course of events showed clearly that reform from within was impossible. "Where Constance had failed, rougher methods and a more revolutionary spirit might possibly succeed, and would find their justification in past failures. But the time, though at hand, was not yet. The invention of printing, the New Learning, and last, but not least, the disdain of Europe for a Papacy which used its recovered opportunities to set over the Church worldlings like Sixtus Alexander and Julius, were the new factors which were needed to prepare Europe for the more drastic revolution of Luther and Calvin." We are glad to find from his preface that Mr. Workman is studying the Mystics, and we hope by-and-by to have the results of his work in that labyrinth. Such labours may have to be their own reward, but they are of priceless service to the Church.

The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland. By H. Zimmer, Professor of Celtic Philology, University of Berlin. Translated by A. Meyer. (London: D. Nutt. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is a wonderful little work. In one hundred and thirty pages the professor tells us all that is to be known of the early history of the Celtic Church within our islands. Others before Professor Zimmer have attempted this task, but, in our opinion, this is far away the most concise, learned, and satisfactory work on the subject which has yet appeared. The author has one advantage over his predecessors—a perfect knowledge of the Celtic languages. The use he makes of this will be best seen in the remarkable examination he gives of the Culdees or the origin of the legend of St. Patrick. He shows us that the real Patrick of history was a somewhat narrow-minded and certainly very illiterate native of the British town of Bannaventa, near Daventry, born probably in the year 386 A.D.; while nothing could be more clear than his tracing the steps by which the Patrick legend took shape. It is in fact a wonderful piece of analysis. But the whole volume is packed with learning and severe analysis, as indeed we might well expect from a German professor. We should add that the book originally appeared as an article in the new Herzog.

The translation is satisfactory, but here and there the author or his translator would have done well to remember that his readers are not all professed historians. Iona is always called

Hi, Whitby Strenaeshall, Melrose is Mailros, etc. A note here and there would have made the work more useful to the "general reader." No student of Church history can afford to neglect this most valuable monograph.

H. B. WOREMAN.

Historical Introductions to the Rolls Series. By the late Bishop Stubbs. Collected and edited by A. Hassall, M.A. (London: Longmans. 12s. 6d. net.)

Every student of English history will feel a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hassall, the editor, and to Messrs. Longman for the carrying out of this very useful idea. Bishop Stubbs' Introductions to the various sources of English history, Chronicles, and the like, which he edited for the well known "Rolls Series," need no introduction to readers of the LONDON OUARTERLY REVIEW. Unfortunately, however, the series is not one that the private book-lover can hope to possess. At most he must content himself with one or two odd volumes, and for the rest trust to the nearest town library. For if the Rolls Series be not found there it is the library's own fault, a paternal government for once in a way even straining its generosity and presenting copies gratis, after the lapse of a certain number of years. But to return to our volume. Bishop Stubbs' invaluable Introductions are scattered through some dozen or more of the volumes he edited, involving for the hapless student—we speak from experience—endless journeys and waste of time. Mr. Hassall has conceived the happy idea of "paying a tribute to the memory of the late bishop" by gathering them all together into one volume. For once in a way the red tape of our Government, to whom of course the copyright belongs, has not blocked the way. Historians and students will rejoice; and schoolmasters desirous of introducing their upper forms to the serious study of English history should purchase the book for their libraries at once.

Of the book itself there is no need to speak. We have been familiar with these Introductions for years. We are bound to say they gain by being brought together. Apart from the invaluable account of St. Dunstan, they are wholly occupied with the chronicles of the reigns of the Angevin kings—Henry II. to Edward II. Now that they are thus grouped together they form the best history of the Angevin period of our history—Miss Norgate alone perhaps excepted—that the student will find. Mr. Hassall is quite right: "no historian has ever lived who did more for the study of English history than Bishop Stubbs."

This volume will enable students in all parts of the world to recognise the debt they owe to him.

Mr. Hassall's task as an editor has been slight. He has simply cut out the merely technical portions of the Introductions—the account of the MSS., the author, or supposed authors, etc.—and left the main historical portions unaltered. Here and there we think a little editing might have been done with advantage. References to Knighton, for instance, should have been changed—as we are sure the bishop would have changed them—from the columns in "Twysden" to the new edition in the Rolls Series brought out since the Introductions were written. A more important improvement would have been to have given us on every page in brackets the pagination in the Rolls Series as well. This would have been of great service both in the hunting out and in the giving of references. Perhaps this may be introduced into a second impression.

# Chapters on Preaching. By George Fletcher. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 5s.)

The Governor of Richmond has done all preachers a kindness by giving them the lectures prepared for his own students. He has devoted much loving labour to the subject, and his high conception of the preacher's office and the greatness of his opportunity will stimulate his readers to make full proof of their ministry. The chapter on "The Preparation of Sermons" is wise and timely. A young preacher who follows these counsels will learn how to gather stores for the pulpit and how to make the best use of them. There never was a time when the best preaching was more needed, and this little volume is not only a safe guide, but will encourage its readers to cultivate their gifts with fresh devotion. The references to the literature of the subject will be of service to students. One golden sentence may be quoted; it is the kernel of the book: "If a man has something to say which he feels to be of importance, and has an object in saying it, and is in earnest about it, he is not likely to fail in effective expression."

Principal Salmond's "St. Mark" (Contury Bible, T. C. & E. C. Jack, 3s.) is a very fine piece of work. Both Introduction and Notes are of the highest order, and the little Commentary will be more prized the longer it is used.

#### IV. BIOGRAPHY.

Lord Strathcona: the Story of his Life. By Beccles Willson. (London: Methuen & Co.)

THE career of Lord Strathcona is a conspicuous and noteworthy one, but his reticence has been such that no more has been known of his self-sacrificing and strenuous services to the empire than is sufficient to awaken in the public mind a desire for more information. This book is not, strictly speaking, a biography. It simply presents a picture of some main factssome of the remarkable and unique events and achievements with which his life is associated. The biographer complains that Lord Strathcona's unconquerable modesty and well known aversion from publicity have strewn his path with obstacles. Nevertheless, Mr. Beccles Willson has worthily presented the main facts of the career of this great empire-builder. And "the contemplation of successful perseverance and energy, together with the generous manifestation of patriotism and zeal for the public welfare," will, without doubt, evoke stimulating admiration.

Born in 1820, of comparatively humble parents, in the little town of Forres in Morayshire, his father, Alexander Smith, being a shopkeeper, he was brought up and educated in the same place. The blood of the world-rover and adventurer was in his veins; and many of his relatives "were scattered about the world-wide domain of the new king, William IV., doing and daring, farming and digging, exploring and peopling an empire." Through the influence of his uncle, John Stewart (his mother's brother), who was a fur-trader in the service of the Great North-West Company, he obtained in his eighteenth year a junior clerkship under the Hudson Bay Company, and proceeded to Labrador, and was stationed at Rigoulette on Ungava Bay. this district, canoeing, boating, fishing, shooting, trading, and reading and studying the problems of empire, he spent his earlier years. The climate was trying, the temperature often fifty degrees below zero, and the winter lasting eight months. From the first he displayed ability, diligence, fidelity; but notwithstanding, advancement was slow. He served thirteen long years in this inhospitable region with no companionship

save a few employés and his own thoughts, learning the secrets of the company, how to manage the Indians, and how to produce the best returns. Then he was appointed to a chief tradership at one of the oldest of the company's forts, where he remained for ten years. After being appointed as a chief factor in the Great Fur Company, he was in 1868, after thirty years' service, chosen to fill the post of chief executive officer of the company in North America, and became Governor Donald Smith. In comparative solitude, in the Arctic wilderness, he had endured privations, cold, and fatigue; and now, so far from settling down at Montreal to enjoy the fruits of power, he was but beginning his great career. Space will not permit us to follow him during the crowded years that follow. How wisely and well he accomplished his dangerous mission to the Red River in 1860, on the occasion of Louis Riel's rebellion, succeeding in undermining the dictator, in harmonizing conflicting interests, inspiring confidence, and winning the loyalty of the disaffected in Rupert's Land is graphically told by Mr. Beccles Willson. After handing over the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company to Governor Archibald, he entered on his still wider career in the Great North-West as a politician; and laid in the trans-continental highway of steel the foundation of his immense wealth. The marvellous development of the vast territory with whose fortunes he cast in his lot is largely due to his foresight, his enterprise, his indomitable courage, his boundless energy. On the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1886, he was knighted. His statesmanship came clearly into view in the wise settlement of the education question in the North-West. As High Commissioner for Canada in London the value of his influence and counsels is well known. In 1887 he was gazetted Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal.

Lord Strathcona is a great philanthropist as well as a great statesman, and is devoting his wealth to high uses. We thank Mr. Beccles Willson for his admirable volume, which every young man ought to read, and then, however distantly, seek to emulate this magnificent career.

R. C. C.

Life and Letters of H. Taine, 1828-1852. Translated from the French by Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. (Westminster: Constable & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

This is a pleasing study of a great writer's days of reproach and obscurity. We should have enjoyed it more if it had not

been so abruptly brought to an end with Taine's return to Paris from his provincial seclusion, or if a few facts as to his later course had been added. Taine comes well out of this revelation. His domestic affections were strong and tender. He says of his mother: "No woman ever was so perfect a mother," and his letters to his elder sister are delightful. To his friend Prévost-Paradol he writes the most frank and brotherly letters, full of sound sense and worldly wisdom. His love of nature and his eye for beauty are shown in some interesting passages. "I feel my heart beating, and my whole soul throbbing with love for that great, strange, and beautiful being which we call Nature. I loved her, I love her now, I felt and saw her everywhere." Paris alway appealed to his artistic sense. He says: "Would you believe it? The most artistically beautiful things I see here are the streets of Paris. Those long streets, when the sun shines through the bluish mist which forms their horizon, are of an extraordinary beauty. I understand the poetry of the old Flemish cities and all the light which the Dutch painters have poured over their markets and shops. Uncle is right when he sees beauty in everything." Taine was the most brilliant student of his year at the École Normale, but through the narrow prejudice of some of his examiners he failed at the Agrégation and had to accept a modest position as professor in the provinces. There was nothing congenial in his surroundings, but the months were not wasted. "My wheat," he said, "is ripening for the harvest." He found reading "the only way of soothing the mind and forgetting troubles. The activity of the mind is the best medicine for sadness." He was of the same mind as Montesquieu, who said that "half an hour's reading was sufficient to make him forget the worst troubles in life." The references to contemporary events are of considerable interest, and the book throws much light on French life half a century ago.

- 1. Samuel Richardson. By Austin Dobson.
- 2. John Ruskin. By Frederic Harrison.
- 3. Tennyson. By Sir Alfred Lyall, K.C.B.

(London: Macmillan & Co. 2s. each net.)

1. Samuel Richardson has been fortunate to find such a biographer as Austin Dobson. There is no one who knows the subject so intimately as he, or has caught its spirit more com-

- pletely. We see Richardson in his printing house and among his admirers, who fed his genius by their unstinted enthusiasm for his books. We watch the growth of his stories and understand their popularity and influence. Richardson was always using his "flower garden of ladies" either as critics of his work. or as object lessons in sensibility. Mr. Dobson says: "It was the peculiarity of his diffident, half-educated nature that he required the constant encouragement of a somewhat exaggerated applause. In the strong wind of a robust criticism his inventive faculties would have been shrivelled, and his imagination dried up; but in the warm-winged adulation of the little consistory he gathered about him, he expanded, bloomed, and flourished." Mr. Dobson shows us the man and his friends in a way that brings him very near to a modern reader, and those who have no inclination to wade through Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison for themselves will find it well worth their while to study this masterly little volume. It is as nearly perfect as such a study could be.
- 2. This book gains force and insight as it moves on, and the chapters on "Ruskin as Social Reformer" and on Fors and Praterita are of great interest. Mr. Harrison's own recollections are charming, and his quotations from Ruskin are both apposite and refreshing. Ruskin's unfortunate love affairs and his days of mental collapse are frankly but tenderly handled, and the portrait drawn in these pages lingers delightfully in the memory as a vivid representation of one of the most interesting figures in the literary history of our country. Mr. Harrison is too anxious to justify Comte to be altogether fair to Ruskin as a social reformer, and some of his critiques on the art critic are wide of the mark.
- 3. Sir Alfred Lyall owes his facts to Lord Tennyson's life of his father, and he puts them in an attractive way; but the interest of the book lies in its illuminating criticism and commentary on the laureate's poems. The intellectual habit and the circumstances of Tennyson's life are thus brought out. "To some extent the result accords with Taine's generalising treatment of literature as a bundle of documents that reveal and record the conditions, social and climatic, moral and material in which it was produced, and thus elucidate history." Every lover of Tennyson will find much to delight him in this suggestive and sympathetic study.

Urijah Rees Thomas. By D. M. Thomas. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d.)

How many, alas! of the leaders of Nonconformity have fallen in the brief years since the beginning of a new century. Not the least noble of these was Urijah Rees Thomas, whose influence in Bristol, his first and only charge, was extraordinary. Every minister whose lot it was to travel in that city of ancient Methodism and unrivalled fraternity will have known the burly figure and experienced the tender brotherliness of the "Nonconformist Bishop of Redland." Well do we remember the first time we saw our "brother Greatheart." In spite of all the incessant calls upon his day, the busy minister had made time to walk across the downs and bid us welcome to our new circuit. We can feel still the clasp of his hand; we can hear still the voice which wished us all success and happiness. A few months later it was our lot to be associated with him on the School Board. The walks home together after the committees gave the present writer a deep reverence and love for one of the truest hearted, hardest working servants of Christ it has ever been his lot to meet. Urijah Thomas was, in fact, an ideal Nonconformist minister, the incarnation of "the Nonconformist conscience" at its best. Strength and independence were stamped on all he said or did; but in his case strength and energy were second to a tenderness of spirit and charity of outlook that made him beloved by all. The volume before us will be welcomed by those whose lot it was to come into contact with this remarkable minister-and who in Bristol did not?and could be profitably read by a larger circle. As a Life it is not altogether a success. The writer has made the common mistake of filling it out with merely local and unimportant detail, lists of people present at the funeral, and so on. If these had been cut out a cheaper and smaller volume could have been formed, which would have given a more lasting portrait to a great Nonconformist. It is a mistake in writing biography not H. R. W. to write for the next age.

James Chalmers: his Autobiography and Letters. By Richard Lovett, M.A. (London: Religious Tract Society. 7s. 6d.)

James Chalmers was a Scotch Highlander, who owed "to the invigorating air of his native hills, and to the free, open, if hard

life of his boyhood, the strong physique, the dauntless courage, the almost exhaustless energy of his later years." He spent the chief part of his missionary life among the fiercest cannibals of New Guinea, and at last won a martyr's crown among the heathen. At Cheshunt he was distinguished by his overflowing spirits and his love of mischief. He carried his boy's heart with him to the labours and perils of the mission-field, and it bore him up bravely amid discouragement and danger. He was not distinguished as a teacher. Steady, plodding, persevering work of that kind was not to his taste. The vagabond instinct "He was restless as a volcano, and as was strong in him. subject to eruptions." His temper was hasty, and he sometimes said hard things; but his brethren knew that there was no grain of bitterness or malice in his great, generous heart. Robert Louis Stevenson felt for him "a kind of hero-worship, a greater admiration than he felt for any man of modern times. except Charles Gordon." To hear Chalmers describe the thrilling adventures of his missionary life was an experience never to be forgotten. "A man who had been able to exert some restraining influence over the fierce ruffian, 'Bully Hayes': who, when the lives of all in it depended upon his nerve at the critical moment, could steer with the skill of the best natives a boat through the mighty Polynesian surf; a man who had visited nearly every part of Western Polynesia, and who numbered among his friends the chiefs of many a ferocious New Guinea tribe: a man, moreover, who, in the explorer, had never for a moment lost sight of his great mission," could not fail to impress anyone who was able to recognise and appreciate a true hero. When Chalmers visited England to plead for his work his speeches made a profound impression. He told how he grew almost impatient for the cannibals to kill him and end his terrible suspense at East Cape; and described how, moved by some inward impulse, he turned upon the following savage just in time to wrench from his grasp the club that in another moment would have crushed his skull. The biography will take its place with that of James Gilmour of Mongolia as one of the classics of modern missions.

John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman. By W. Douglas Mackenzie, M.A. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 7s. 6d. net.)

John Mackenzie was one of the most honest, sagacious, far-

seeing men that this country has ever given to the service of Africa, and his son's Life will increase the esteem which is felt for the missionary administrator, and will show how clearly he foresaw the trend of events that were leading up to the great Boer War. Mackenzie was pre-eminently a missionary. Zeal for the highest good of the natives made him the determined antagonist of all proposals to transfer Bechuanaland to the Boers. He saw that what the Boers aimed at was to secure paramount power in South Africa for themselves. Chamberlain and Lord Milner were men after Mackenzie's own heart, but he had a hard fight to save England from concessions to the Boers which would have been fatal to South Africa. Had his policy been followed in other matters some of our recent calamities might have been averted. His son refrains from pressing home the moral. "He told you so," is, however, the natural comment on recent events. Mackenzie pleaded for true imperialism in the development of South African territories. He wanted the entire organisation of Imperial affairs in South Africa to be directed towards the development of all the races and territories from Cape Town to the Zambesi. His policy has now prevailed, but at how great cost! This biography is admirably executed. Closer knowledge of John Mackenzie means increased esteem and respect. He was a noble Christian man, unselfish, generous hearted, full of faith, and devoted to Africa. The story of his early days and the stipend of £5 a year which he received as precentor, and which was paid in bawbees from the collections, is very interesting. On one memorable day the handkerchief in which he carried his spoils gave way, and the coins rolled all over the grocer's shop where he had gone to get them changed into silver!

- Euclid: his Life and System. By Thomas Smith, D.D., LL.D.
- 2. Pascal and the Port Royalists. By William Clark, D.D. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3s. each.)
- 1. Euclid's title to a place in this series seemed at first doubtful to the editor, but he became convinced that Dr. Smith's way of handling the subject "was not only exhaustive from a scientific point of view, but was sufficiently popular in style to win the interest and attention of the non-scientific reader." The book will certainly interest all who have a taste for geometry or a curiosity

to know as much as may be known about the Alexandrian professor who has taken such an immense part in the development of the mind and character of successive generations. Dr. Smith has given us a thoroughly readable book, and the critique of Euclid's methods will be of great value to students. The volume represents the life work of a distinguished professor, and the fact that he is now in his eighty-fifth year makes the lucidity and acuteness of this little book the more remarkable.

2. Pascal has found in Dr. Clark a sympathetic and competent biographer. He feels that the great Frenchman belongs to the small circle of classic writers whose lives and characters infinitely transcend their actions. His book has not the charm of personal intimacy which still lingers in Madame Périer's account of her brother, but it is an illuminating study of the man and his times, of his writings, and of the whole controversy between Port Royal and the Jesuits. The first "Provincial Letter" is quoted in full; copious extracts are given from the Pensées, and the story of the fall of Port Royal is told in a closing chapter. This is the best book we know for anyone who wishes to study a great man and an historic controversy.

Mesars. Sherratt & Hughes, of Manchester, have published a translation, by Ellen M. Creak, of the latest French study of Paseal, by Émile Boutroux. Its portraits and illustrations are of great interest; it has many valuable notes, and the translation has been made with much taste and skill. The book is a Frenchman's estimate of one of the most subtle and brilliant intellects that his country has ever produced. The chapters on "The Provincial Letters" and on "The Pensées" are of real value, and that on "Pascal and his Influence on Succeeding Thought" is bright and instructive. "All Christians, all men, in fact, who can enter into the saying of the apostle, 'God is Love,' to whatever Church belonging, find in Pascal a brother, in heart communion with whom they grow in goodness and in piety." That is a true saying, and this book is a happy illustration of it.

John Wesley's Journal. Abridged by Percy L. Parker. (London: Isbister & Co. 3s. 6d.)

We welcome any publication which makes John Wesley better known to the English-speaking peoples, although this book cannot compare with Dr. Benjamin Gregory's volume, Wesley his Own Biographer. It is much briefer, and it has no pictures, but it is a skilful selection, made with a keen eye for the things that are

most likely to impress the general reader. The editor's preface is good; the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes contributed four suggestive pages as Introduction. Mr. Birrell's "Appreciation of Wesley's Journal" is well worthy of its place, though he makes Wesley preach five thousand sermons a year. One thousand would be a liberal estimate! Miss Ritchie's account of the great evangelist's death is also given. No one can think well of Wesley and be blind to the power and promise of Methodism.

Messrs. Isbister have published an edition of Dr. Brown's John Bunyan in two dainty volumes. The work has received careful revision, so that it is thoroughly abreast of the latest research and discovery. It seems clear that the Pilgrim's Progress was written during Bunyan's second imprisonment, after the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence. The book leaves nothing to be desired. It is the most complete and most reliable guide to the life and work of one of the chief of our English immortals.

Heroes of the West (Murray, 2s.) is a volume of Mr. Murray's "Home and School Library" which attempts to give the true perspective of English history in the wider landscape of Western Europe. It begins with the Romans and comes down to William the Silent. The book is pleasant reading, and the chief features of each age are well brought out in the set of biographical sketches. Busy men and women will find their desire for a condensed and reliable survey of European history admirably met in this little volume. It is beautifully bound, and the type is bold and clear.

Some Fathers of the Reformation, by the Rev. Ivor G. Farrar, M.A. (Religious Tract Society, 1s. 6d.), brings out the salient features of the struggle against Romish superstition in six charming studies of Tauler, Savonarola, Wyclif, Luther, Coligny, and Ridley and Latimer. Mr. Farrar knows how to win his readers' attention and sympathy, and his book is a happy contribution to the better understanding of the forces which brought about the Reformation.

### V. TRAVEL.

Aconcagua and Tierra Del Fuego: A Book of Climbing, Travel, and Exploration. By Sir Martin Conway. (London: Cassell & Company. 12s. 6d. net.)

SIR MARTIN CONWAY'S new volume, enriched with excellent photographs, is one of unusual interest. His ascent of Aconcagua -unlike that of Mr. FitzGerald and his party, which occupied many months, and seemed to exhaust the resources of mountain climbers. Mr. FitzGerald himself never reaching the summit was accomplished in five days and a half, including the preliminary journey from the Baths of Inca to Mr. FitzGerald's lowest camp. Sir Martin Conway's fertility of resource, his courage, his skill as a climber, his endurance, his power to inspire others with his own indomitable spirit, receive abundant illustration in this volume. It is a bracing book full of the beauty and fascination of the mountains; it is written with the pen of a master, the style being as strong as the substance is valuable. He has an open eye for the scientific problems that occur to the man of trained intellect and wide knowledge of nature. Nothing escapes him, and although he does not deal specifically with the geology, the fauna, and flora of Aconcagua and the other places visited in these travels, yet there are many sidelights in the course of the narrative upon these questions.

His orographical sketch of the Southern Andes contains much that is fresh, for this is a little known region of tremendous mountains, reaching an altitude of 20,000 feet, some of them being of volcanic formation, others of more broken form with splintered crests. The latter part of the book, dealing with exploration in Tierra del Fuego, is perhaps the most interesting of all. Here we see a savage primitive people in the most savage and inhospitable of lands—a people who are fast dying out, and who seem so far to be almost untouched by civilisation. Sir Martin Conway regards their condition as hopeless, and seems to think that the sooner they are extinct the better. This is the one blot upon the book: his want of sympathy with a degraded race—all the more degraded because of their contact with white men.

The Great Mountains and Forests of South America. By Paul Fountain. (London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 10s. 6d. net.)

This is no ordinary book of travel. It is the work of a lover of wild solitudes, who has spent a great part of his life in the unexplored places of North and South America. This volume deals with long voyages by boat with but two companions up the great rivers of Brazil, the tributaries of the Amazon, with journeys through the immense central Brazilian forest, the Matto Grosso, where much of their way had to be cut by the axe: and with climbing among the Ecuador Andes, and rambles over the highlands of New Granada, and in Chili and Peru. The writer is not, strictly speaking, a scientist, though the object of his wanderings was the study of bird life, and the collection of wild things in general. But the book is fascinating in the descriptions it gives of lovely avians in their habitat; and it is full of knowledge of unusual and, indeed, of new species of animal life—of mammals, serpents, insects, etc. Fountain has a graphic and facile pen, and there is not a dull page in the volume. The one thing that could be spared is his tilting at scientific naturalists. He does not find, for instance, that his unquestionably wide experience as a traveller, and his oft verified observation of facts, tally with the accepted doctrine of protective coloration; and he likes to fling a lance. But it is seldom that we meet with a book like this, written by one who tells us that he is but "a scout rather than a scientific traveller." "an Ishmael naturalist," that is of such positive value to science, that is marked by minute and careful examination of manifold forms of life, by brilliant descriptive power, and that breathes the spirit of a brave, persistent, humane man, who would not wantonly hurt any wild creature, whose care for his companions was exemplary, and whose treatment of the Indians is an illustration of what tact and kindness can do among savage men.

R. C. C.

With the Tibetans in Tent and Temple. By Susie C. Rijnhart, M.D. (London: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 6s.)

Mrs. Rijnhart has a wonderful story to tell, and she tells it in a way that reveals her true self. Firmer faith and calmer courage we have not found in any record of missionary heroism. Though the writer buried her only child, and was robbed of her husband, who left her alone in the wilds of Tibet while he went to seek help and never returned, she is yet able to write, "Remembering his consecration I too can be strong and say, as I bring the story to a close, 'God doeth all things well-the sacrifice was not too great." Mr. and Mrs. Rijnhart left America in the autumn of 1894, and made their way across China to Lusar, where they soon won the confidence of the people, and carried on their work of teaching and healing with great success. It is impossible to get a crowd of Tibetans to listen to a discourse. Evangelistic work consisted in talking with the people who came to visit them for medicine or out of pure curiosity. The Tibetans were deeply interested in the teaching of the New Testament, and the Bible school was delightfully encouraging. One of Mr. and Mrs. Rijnhart's friends was a Buddhist saint, who spoke with the utmost confidence not only of the life he had lived before his present existence, but of a score of incarnations through which he had passed since he attained sainthood. After four years at Lusar and other places Mr. Rijnhart set his heart on visiting the neighbourhood of Lhasa, and on that journey he lost his life. His wife had to find her way alone to China. Some of her guides were men of the vilest character, from whom she could only protect herself by her pistols. That she escaped unharmed from the hands of such ruffians was almost a miracle. The story is one of intense interest, and the descriptions of Tibet and the Tibetans are not the impressions of a passing traveller, but of one who has known the people intimately and studied their religion closely for years. It is a book that fires one's enthusiasm for the evangelization of Tibet.

## The El Dorado of the Ancients. By Dr. Carl Peters. (London: C. A. Pearson. 21s. net.)

Dr. Carl Peters has won a great reputation as an African explorer, and his English friends will be glad to read his defence against the charges of cruelty brought against him in his own country. He is persuaded that ample justice will be done him in due time. Meanwhile he has been working out his theory that the "Ophir" of Solomon was the country between the Lower Zambesi and the Limpopo River. He thinks that much more light is thrown on this problem by such investigations as he has made on the Zambesi than by any of the great libraries of

Europe. He gives strong reasons why South Arabia was not likely to be the place which Solomon's navy visited. In South Africa he claims that all the conditions are satisfied. The great temple of Zimbabwe was built about 1100 B.c., that is about a century before Solomon sent ships to Ophir; the Sabæans, the allies of Solomon, were predominant in the district at that time. Gold was mined there on a large scale; precious stones, copper, tin, and all the other products of the Ophir voyages were found there. This is a strong case, and the whole subject is discussed in a way that throws welcome light on a great Bible question. On the negro question Dr. Peters has strong convictions. holds that the negro should be led step by step towards the new order of things, and compelled to give some years of his life to Government. A real training of the black for work might thus be secured. Dr. Peters defends his proposals from the charge of inhumanity, and maintains that the only solution of a difficult problem is to be sought in the direction which he indicates. The account of his travels is told with great spirit. and is profoundly interesting. Dr. Peters met Bishop Hartzell at Old Umtali. He says, "His is a very interesting personality, with great intellectual keenness, combined with wonderful activity and energy." The book is one of the most important contributions to a study of South Africa and its problems which has recently appeared, and its maps and pictures add much to its interest and value.

Haunts of Ancient Peace. By the Author of "The Garden that I Love." (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

This might almost be described as a new rendering of The Strange Adventures of a Phaton, but Mr. Austin's journey is a poet's pilgrimage, with its harvest of fancy and its snatches of song. He has done nothing since our first introduction to The Garden that I Love which we like so well as this volume. Each in its own way is unapproachable. The English landscape, with "its shapeless fields, its irregular hedgerows, its winding and wayward roads, its accidental copses, its arbitrariness of form and feature, are a silent but living protest against uniformity and preconceived or mechanical views of life. . . . Like the poet, England was born, not made, and has grown in its own lavish, wide-spreading fashion." There is the poetry of the English landscape seen by a poet's eye. The page on the contrast between Kent and Sussex is delightful. We wish it

had been longer. "Passing from Kent to Sussex is like passing from one society to another. Kent is softer,—I do not mean in climate but in aspect,-more refined, more careful of itself, a little more self-conscious; in a word, more civilised." There are landmarks by which the initiated may track the Laureate's steps from spot to spot, but it is the play of wit, the snatches of song, the delight of seeing what our own eyes have not seen that make it a delight to linger amid these haunts of ancient peace. We quite agree with the Poet that "of all lands, England is the most delightful to roam about in. There is in it all one wants: beauty, variety, comeliness, commodiousness, hill and valley, meadow, cornfield, and pasture; park, woodland, homestead, here splendid, there simple, both equally appealing to the imagination and the affections; stream, river, ruin, lake, hamlet, cathedral, wide wild uncultivated spaces, commons of golden gorse, rustic inns, rectories, and almshouses, honest and not ill-paid labour, happy-looking cottages, a kindly and contented people." It is good to move amid such scenes even if one is chained to one's fireside, and Mr. Austin is the ideal guide for such a pilgrimage.

# Lake-Country Rambles. By William T. Palmer. With a Frontispiece. (London: Chatto & Windus. 6s.)

Mr. Palmer was born in lakeland. His people are a race of shepherds, and he has been at home among sheep and sheepdogs, among fells and tarns from his childhood. His chapters on crag climbing will be a revelation to many a tourist. The famous climber, Mr. Mummery, said: "Climbing in the Caucasus is safe and easy; in the Alps it is often difficult, but generally safe: but rock climbing, as practised at Wastdalehead, is at once difficult and dangerous." A glance at the frontispiece, the redoubtable Napes Needle, is all one needs to illustrate that verdict. Mr. Palmer's account of such climbing almost takes away one's breath. His description of the crossing of the sands in Morecambe Bay ranks only second to the crag climbing in interest, but the pages on fishing, on shepherding, on the pursuit of dogs that worried sheep, on mountain birds and wild fowling are first-hand studies from nature, penned by a man who knows the country in all its moods, who has spent days and nights on the fells, and knows what it is to be lost in mists. His book is one of the very best studies of lakecountry life that has ever been published, and there is no dull page in it.

A Mission to the Mysore. By William Arthur, M.A. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by Henry Haigh. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 5s.)

We covet for the young people of Methodism the inspiration which A Mission to the Mysore brought to their fathers, and this volume will bring them under its gracious influence. Mr. Haigh's brief Introduction strikes the right note. He bears witness that the volume which threw a glamour over him thirty years ago is still a living book. He has found little to correct despite fifty-five years of momentous events. There has been a steady but gradual extension of the Christian propaganda. The number of Protestant missions in India has increased tenfold since Mr. Arthur's day. The sketch of missionary developments is brief, but it is full of hope and of significance. We are glad that such an edition of A Mission to the Mysore is now within reach of all.

Erromanga: The Martyr Isle. By H. A. Robertson. Edited by John Fraser, B.A., LL.D. (London: Hodder & Stoughton. 6s.)

Mr. Robertson has spent twenty-nine years in Erromanga as a missionary of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. His record is an unaffected, artless story of devoted labour amid many dangers, and it shows what triumphs the gospel has won in the place where John Williams and Mr. and Mrs. Gordon were so cruelly murdered. Many details are given as to the customs of the people which are of great interest to a student of missions, and the story of the Erromanga martyrs is told in a way that stirs one's heart. The book would have gained by condensation, but it is a monument of faithful toil which has borne noble fruit. The Church may well be proud of such representatives among the heathen.

#### VI. ART AND POETRY.

Lives and Legends of the Great Hermits and Fathers of the Church, with other Contemporary Saints. By Mrs. Arthur Bell. (London: G. Bell & Sons. 14s. net.)

This is a companion volume to Mrs. Bell's Lives and Legends of the Evangelists and Apostles, and it is to be followed by a third volume on The English Bishops and Kings; the Medieval Monks, and other Saints. The book is a small quarto of three hundred and twenty-five pages, beautifully bound, and full of finely executed representations of the great hermits and fathers in the art of successive generations. Mrs. Bell's biographical sketches are clear and succinct; she fastens on the chief features of each life with a trained instinct, and her explanations of various symbols are full of racy things, and give a bird's-eye view of the religious life of the early Christian ages which is profoundly interesting. The pig is a strange creature to have its fortunes linked with St. Antony. Some regard the association as an emblem of his victory over the vices of gluttony and sensuality; others see in it a type of the privileges enjoyed by the pigs of mediæval monasteries, which were allowed to run wild in towns and villages long after those of laymen had been deprived of their liberty. The monastery pig wore a bell to distinguish it from its less favoured brethren, and at the sound of the bell pious householders set food outside their doors, a custom which gave rise to the proverb, "to run from door to door like a pig of St. Antony." Anyone who dips into this set of Lives and Legends may spend a pleasant hour, and catch many a delightful glimpse of the Church of the Middle Ages.

How to Look at Pictures. By Robert Clermont Witt, B.A. (London: George Bell & Sons. 5s. net.)

Mr. Witt has taken pity on the men and women who perambulate our picture galleries with their eyes fixed upon their catalogues, and only look up at intervals to be sure that they are standing before the right picture. These unfortunates he sets himself to enlighten. He helps them to understand the different methods of arranging pictures, and prepares the way for those

who really wish to see, so that they may understand and appreciate. The chapters on portraits, historical painting, landscape, genre painting, are full of hints such as only a painter could give; and the subjects of drawing, colour, light and shade, composition, and treatment are explained in a way that is not merely delightful, but which will help a reader to see what constitutes the real merit of a picture. The full-page illustrations are excellently reproduced, and no one can read these pages without learning a great deal that will increase his interest and his true pleasure in art.

### George Romney. By Sir Herbert Maxwell. (Walter Scott Publishing Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

Romney is a tempting subject for a biographer, and Sir Herbert Maxwell has known how to profit by his opportunities in this pleasant book. He helps us to understand Romnev's position as an artist; his rivalry with Sir Joshua Reynolds, which became the talk of the town; his strange relations to his wife, whom he left in the north whilst he pushed his fortunes in London. Time has been kinder to Romney than to his great "Canvases painted by him more than one hundred and thirty years ago retain all the glow and radiance, the transparency of shadow, and solidity of light originally imparted to them." His speed degenerated sometimes into haste and carelessness, and he was often defective and awkward in composition, but no one can look on the pictures so excellently reproduced in this volume without feeling the genius of the artist who has never been excelled as a painter of English beauty. The story of his life is even more interesting than the study of his art, and the self-renouncing, true-hearted woman with whom he dealt so strangely is a finer study than any of her husband's pictures.

### J. M. W. Turner, R.A. By Robert Chignell. (London: Walter Scott Co. 3s. 6d. net.)

This volume belongs to a series on "The Makers of British Art," and is illustrated by twenty full-size plates, half-tone and line reproductions of the chief pictures, and a very fine photogravure portrait. The story of Turner's early struggles and of his strenuous life is told in a most interesting way. Turner had a generous heart, and those who knew him well had the highest

opinion of his intellectual powers. Mr. Chignell thinks that Turner's character has been unjustly assailed. For the greater part of his life he holds that the painter was singularly temperate. When dining with others "he would take wine freely, though never so as to obscure his faculties, and, at the very end of his life, would stimulate his failing powers by taking more than was good for him." Such a series as this should help to make the masterpieces of English art better known and appreciated.

Frederick Walker, by Clementina Black, is a volume of Messrs. Duckworth's "Popular Library of Art" (2s. net, cloth; 2s. 6d. net, leather). The volumes are 12mo, with about two hundred pages and forty-five pictures. The account of Frederick Walker will be welcomed by all who are familiar with his "Harbour of Refuge," "Philip in Church," or other of his masterpieces. It will help them to understand Sir John Millais' verdict that Walker was "the greatest artist of the century." Ruskin was not just to him, but his fame rests on a sure basis, and this little volume is written with a generous enthusiasm which is very attractive. Walker died in 1875, at the age of thirty-five. He had great power of development, and his death was a real loss to English art.

Bell's "Miniature Series of Painters" is enriched by studies of Raphael, by McDougall Scott, B.A., and Alma Tadema, by Helen Zimmern (15. each net). The illustrations selected are typical of the artist's work, and much information is put into small compass. The Raphael is very full and clear. Miss Zimmern's book gains greatly by her personal friendship with Sir Alma Tadema, and brings us very near to an artist whose successes have only made him more exacting in his demands on his own skill and industry. It is a little book full of charm.

The Poetry of Robert Browning. By Stopford A. Brooke. (London: Isbister & Co. 7s. 6d.)

This volume is a companion study to Tonnyson: his Art and Relation to Modern Life. The subject is one that exactly suits Mr. Brooke's genius, and every page shows the hand of a master. The Introduction dealing with the contrast between Tennyson and Browning is a fine piece of work. Browning had to wait long for general recognition of his power. It was not till twenty years after the Collected Poems of 1849 that The Ring

and the Book "astonished the reading public so much by its intellectual tour do force that it was felt to be unwise to ignore Browning any longer. His past work was now discovered, read, and praised." He anticipated the movements of the world, so that at the end of the nineteenth century men began to find "their poetic and religious satisfaction" in the poet who half a century before had felt what they were at last beginning to hope for. Browning has no special patriotism. He is more Italian than English; his scenery is "of many lands, but, above all, it is vividly Italian," and in his deepest life he belonged less to England than to the world of men. Mr. Brooke discusses Browning's treatment of nature in two chapters. With the publication of The Ring and the Book nature decays in his verse, driven out by his passion for human nature. Other chapters discuss his theory of human life; his treatment of the passion of love and the other passions; his views of womanhood and art. The memory of the poet "still falls upon us, like the dew which fell on Paradise. It was a life lived fully, kindly, lovingly, at its just height from the beginning to the end. No fear, no vanity, no lack of interest, no complaint of the world, no anger at criticism, no villain fancies disturbed his soul." That is high praise, but it does not overstep the mark, and this book will increase the esteem and regard in which Browning and his work are held by all lovers of "divine philosophy," even though in Browning's hands it is not always "musical as is Apollo's lute."

Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co. are publishing the seventeenvolume edition of Browning's Poetry in eight pocket volumes (2s. 6d. net in limp cloth, 3s. net in leather). By the use of India paper the books are kept small, and the type is bold and clear. The poems are arranged in order of date, and the date when they appeared is given at the end of each poem. This edition will be a treasure to all students of Browning. It is the most perfect published, and the dark blue covers of leather are a pleasure to look at and handle. Browning is proverbially difficult to follow in some of his reflections and arguments, but he kept his faith and courage unshaken to the end, and his poetry is a school in which one learns something of his own confidence in truth and God. As Mr. Gosse says, "None of his instincts grew old. Long as he lived, he did not live long enough for one of his ideals to vanish, for one of his enthusiasms to lose its heat." Such a man is a true friend of the race, and these volumes are an open door to his mind and heart.

The last volume of Messrs. Dent & Co.'s "Cloister Library" is a most attractive edition of George Herbert's The Temple and A Priest to the Temple, edited by A. R. Waller. The price is only half-a-crown net, and Mr. Waller has supplied an "Index of Words," with brief explanations, and "A List of Dates," with some biographical notes. The rough paper, clear type, and dainty covers add charm even to Herbert, and both his poetry and his prose are a delight and an inspiration to holy living. We know no edition to match this.

Enid and Nimuë; the True and the False, by Alfred Tennyson (Guildford: A. C. Curtis, 3s. net), is a tasteful reprint of the first series of the "Idylls of the King," and shows with what strenuous labour Tennyson sought to perfect his work. The name Nimuë gave way to Vivien when the poem reappeared in 1859, and many passages were added to fill out the story. Students of Tennyson will feel this little book a real treasure.

The Distant Lights (Religious Tract Society, 1s.) is another small book of verses by the Rev. Frederick Langbridge. He has the gift of condensing a great thought into three or four melodious lines, and these sententious verses will furnish much food for thought and many a scourge for weaknesses and error.

Praise of the Dog. An Anthology. Compiled by Ethel E. Bicknell. (London: Grant Richards. 5s.)

Mrs. Bicknell is to be congratulated on the taste and skill displayed in the preparation of this Anthology. The dog has had many friends, and there has probably never been such an assemblage of them as we find in this delightful volume. We are not in love with the bull-dog who stands guard over the title-page, though that is no doubt lack of taste; but it is a pleasure to turn these pages and see that from the times of Cicero to our own day the dog has been man's chosen friend and comrade. The selections have been made with much skill, and the little volume is very pleasant to read and to look at.

Renunciation. By William Hall. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, & Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

Mr. Hall has a distinct gift as a religious poet. These pieces are full of thought and thought fused by feeling. He sometimes mars his work by crude abortions of words, and his phrase and line are not always musical, but he is always devout and impressive.

#### VII. BELLES LETTRES.

In Kings' Byways. By Stanley J. Weyman. (Smith, Elder, & Co. 6s.)

MR. WEYMAN moves with a sure tread along the byways of French history, and his readers will feel that they are in a real world, with many dramatic surprises and moving incidents. The two closing stories strike us as the finest, but Sully's adventures in seeking to unravel plots against the life of Henry IV. are full of excitement, not without a touch of comedy. Mr. Weyman follows a clue with the pertinacity of a Sherlock Holmes, and his short stories have the restrained force and felicity of phrasing which have made his romances famous.

Moth and Rust (Murray, 6s.) and its two companion stories are specimens of Miss Cholmondeley's best work. Every line betrays the touch of a real master of the craft. There is a force and freshness, a grace and beauty about the style that make the stories delightful reading, and the descriptions of the West End fire and of the Paris mob are masterpieces. The seamy side of life is here, but its revelation comes as a call to courage and to unselfish effort.

The Valley of Decision. By Edith Wharton. (Murray. 6s.)

There can be no question as to the ability of this book. It describes the intrigues of a petty Italian state in the days of the French Revolution, and shows on every page a wonderful knowledge of Italy. The descriptions of its chief cities are almost the best things in the book, but the conflict in the mind of the heir-apparent to the Duchy of Pianurdy between love and duty is finely painted. Odo's fortunes and his wanderings; his love for Fulvia, who becomes his Egeria, and is shot in the revolution which befalls the state, and the pathetic figure of the Grand Duchess all excite our interest and sympathy. Odo wrecks his life and lowers his moral standard, and the story becomes a tragedy at the last, but its force and power are on us to the end.

Flower-o'-the-Corn, by S. R. Crockett (James Clarke & Co., 6s.), is a story of Jean Cavalier and the Camisards. A young aide of

Marlborough's is sent on a secret expedition to these rebels against Louis XIV., and his love for Flower-o'-the-Corn, daughter of the Calvinist chaplain to one of Marlborough's regiments, makes a thrilling story. Mr. Crockett's book is alive with passion and intrigue. There are some very strong situations, and the excitement is kept up to the last page. We doubt whether Mr. Crockett has ever done a better piece of work.

The Four Feathers, by A. W. Mason (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.), is in our judgment the best story of the season. At some points the interest is absorbing, and the description of the prison in Omdurman burns itself into one's memory. The four feathers which his friends and his sweetheart give to Harry Feversham as a taunt to his cowardice have all to be taken back. From a lad he had been haunted by the fear that he should prove craven in the hour of trial, but though he does give way for a moment, he is no coward at heart, as the issue of the story abundantly proves. Even Ethne Eustace is not more thankful at his triumph than the reader of this story will be.

No Other Way (Chatto & Windus, 6s.) is the last of Sir Walter Besant's London novels. It reminds us of his Chaplain of the Fleet, for the interest centres in the marriage of a society lady who is in embarrassed circumstances to a condemned criminal, who thus becomes liable for her debts. It is a detestable way out of a difficulty, and Mrs. Weyland smarts for it. But she has a good heart, and a kind deed which she does to an unfortunate debtor proves her own salvation. The story is always interesting, and the character painting is some of Sir Walter's best work.

Love and the Soul Hunters (T. F. Unwin, 6s.) is the strongest story John Oliver Hobbes has given us. The heir-apparent of Urseville-Beylestein resigns his rank to win the hand of Clementine Gloucester, and sets out for the New World to push his fortunes as a financier. There are some extravagancies in the description of the American millionaire, and Mr. Gloucester's wife is a strange study, but Clementine herself is fascinating enough even to win the heart of a prince, and Prince Paul makes a good choice when he prefers such a woman to a kingdom. The book is less philosophical than The School for Saints, and as a story it has more life and more various interest.

The Intrusions of Peggy (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.) shows a new side of Mr. Anthony Hope's genius. Peggy Ryle is "a little

compound of love and mischief." She pulls Trix Trevalla out of the fire, takes Airey Newton "to the soul shop" where he is set free from the miser spirit which is blighting his life, and gets him made happy with the woman whom he has saved from the unscrupulous Mr. Fricker. Trix Trevalla has a good heart, which all her success in society does not spoil. The story of her triumphs, of her lovers, of her speculations, and her financial and social collapse is told with so much spirit that we cannot help feeling this the best and most natural thing that Anthony Hope has given us. Peggy is entrancing.

Love of Sistors (Smith, Elder, & Co., 6s.) is a piece of Katherine Tynan's characteristic work, full of home affection, and brightened with flashes of genial and gracious humour. The two sisters and their lovers are almost alive, and Colomba is found to have a good heart after all, though she nearly spoils her younger sister's life. It is a story of the purest and best sort.

Fuel of Fire (Hodder & Stoughton, 6s.), by Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, will not be the least popular of her stories. It does not escape the taint of improbability, but it sparkles with clever sayings, and brims over with life and high spirit. Nancy Burton is too sharp-tongued for most of us, but she is a fine woman, and Laurence Baxendale is a happy man to win her. Mrs. Candy is the unconscious humorist of the story, and only Mrs. Fowler could have given us such a character.

Macmillan's "Illustrated Pocket Classics" make a promising beginning with Cranford and The Vicar of Wakefield. Thackeray Ritchie writes a preface to Cranford full of charm. Her references to her father and to her own childhood, to her meeting with Mrs. Gaskell at the house of Mr. George Smith, make one wish for more. Such a preface adds a charm even to Cranford, and Mr. Hugh Thompson's hundred illustrations have caught the spirit of the story in the happiest fashion. The Vicar of Wakefield has a preface by Mr. Austin Dobson on Goldsmith's illustrators, and one hundred and eighty-two illustrations by Mr. Hugh Thompson. Mr. Dobson thinks that "Goldsmith has not hitherto found his fitting pictorial interpreter." but Mr. Thompson's work is so full of grace and humour that even Goldsmith grows richer as we study these pictures. volumes are published at 2s. net, or 3s. net in limp leather. They are volumes to delight in and to treasure.

"The Hampshire Edition of Jane Austen," which Mr. R. Brimley Johnson has just published, ought to have a great sale. The cover design, the end-papers with their maps of the scenes of the stories, the thin opaque paper, and the clear type leave nothing to be desired in the outward form of the volumes, and anyone who reads Pride and Prejudice (2s. 6d. net) and Northanger Abbey (25. net) will feel that the life of a past century grows delightfully familiar. There is a delicate humour, a lively satire, a subtle skill in delineating character and in describing the manners of society which help us to understand Jane Austen's popularity with our grandfathers, and to hope that she may never cease to have readers. The "Hampshire Edition" will open a world of pure pleasure to all who get it. Mr. Johnson has another temptation for book-lovers in his "York Library," which gives specimens of classical English authors. An editorial note is prefixed to each story or selection. The volumes are square medium 16mo, printed on hand-made paper in a new Venetian type, which is very distinct and graceful. The binding is purple buckram, with a design in gilt by M iss McManus from the York gate and the York roses. Southey's Two Love Stories from The Doctor are set in the midst of disquisitions on the Puritans and the Clergy which one is glad to read, though they somewhat overshadow the sentiment. Resamund Gray, by Charles Lamb, is of special interest as the essayist's only attempt at a love story. It is very pathetic and very graceful. The volumes are 23. 6d. each net.

The Highway of Fate, by Rosa Nouchette Carey (Macmillan & Co., 6s.), is a book with a heart in it. "Miss Jem" is the bountiful fairymother of the tale, and she has certainly learned the art of making other people happy. Her companion has an easy post, and it leads her to an ideal marriage. The black sheep of the book is transformed by "Miss Jem's" sympathy and overflowing goodness. It is a restful book, and a sweet one.

Janet Ward: A Daughter of the Manse. By Margaret E. Sangster. (Fleming H. Revell Co. 6s.)

Mrs. Sangster has gained wide popularity in America as the friend and counsellor of girls and young women. This is her first appearance as a story-teller, and the book shows the sound sense and fine feeling of her earlier writings. Janet Ward is a girl of strong character and abounding vigour. Her life at

college and as a lady journalist is full of interest, and the whole story is healthy and bracing.

The Cambridge University Press have published a very neat edition of Kingsley's The Heroes (2s.). The Greek fairy tales, which have charmed so many English children since Kingsley issued his delightful version, are edited with valuable notes and illustrations by Professor Ernest Gardner, of University College. We hope this edition will have the success which it deserves.

- 1. The Leisure Hour, 1901-2. 7s. 6d.
- 2. The Sunday at Home, 1901-2. 7s. 6d.

(London: Religious Tract Society.)

- I. The large sheet of portraits of "The Leisure Hour Contributors," with notes on their contributions, is a special and welcome feature of the annual volume, and shows at what cost this wealth and variety of interest is maintained. "The Coastwise Lights of England" furnish a set of papers for which readers young and old will be thankful. The stories are a success, and the papers on such subjects as "Personal Forces in Religious Journalism" will be eagerly read. "Philippine Welser" is an historical sketch of special merit. The various interest of The Leisure Hour has never been greater than during the past year, and everyone who wishes to promote pure and bright reading ought to encourage its editor.
- 2. The Sunday at Home has a very attractive cover and endpapers. Its coloured pictures, such as a "Street Scene in
  Jerusalem," are admirable, and "The Door of the Fold" is
  exquisite. The stories, devotional and Biblical papers, travel
  sketches, and bright biographies are all as good as they can be.
  The "Notes on the International Lessons" contain much food
  for the teacher in small compass. No Sunday can be dull with
  such a companion as this.

My Lady Joanna, by Evelyn Everett-Green (Nisbet & Co., 5s.), is a chronicle of the reign of Edward I. His daughter Joanna is brought up in Castile, and betrothed to the King of the Romans, but he is drowned on the Rhine. Joanna marries the great Earl of Gloucester, and after his death secretly weds his page. The story is told with spirit, and Joanna is a real princess, imperious yet full of gentleness and devotion. The historic setting adds to the interest of the story.

Behind the Granite Gateway, by W. Scott King (Hodder & Stoughton, 3s. 6d.), is a story of Dartmoor, intended as a plea for mercy and reasonableness in our convict system. The story is pathetic and exciting; but though we are in hearty sympathy with its motive, we cannot help feeling that it is overstrained and unreal.

Messrs. A. Treherne & Co. publish Westward Ho! in their "Coronation Series." The binding is very neat, the type clear, and the price only 1s. 6d., or 2s. net in leather, for a volume of five hundred and forty-two pages. It is a great boon to have such an altogether satisfactory and attractive edition at so modest a price.

The Dramatic Work of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. With a Short Account of his Life. By G. G. S. Two Volumes. (London: Bagster & Sons. 12s. 6d. net.)

This is a very attractive edition of Sheridan's plays, printed in bold type, well bound, and with portraits of the author and his first wife, Miss Linley. The short account of Sheridan's life fastens on the most striking circumstances in an eventful course, and does not fail to mark the rocks on which the most brilliant man of his generation suffered shipwreck. The story of Miss Linley and her suitors is not less exciting than the record of Sheridan's triumphs as a playwright, a parliamentary orator, and a man of wit and fashion. His dramatic works have never lost their vogue. "After the creator of Falstaff," is the judgment of a competent critic, "not one of our dramatists has conferred such benefits upon his countrymen at large. . . . His knack of stagecraft and instinct for situation," and his capacity for exciting honest mirth, are unrivalled. This work claims a place in every library.

Messrs. Virtue have included Sheridan's Humorous Plays in their "Turner House Classics" (2s. net). They make a charming volume in white and black covers, and those who want a cheap and dainty edition of these masterpieces of English comedy cannot find one so attractive as this.

#### VIII. FOR THE YOUNG.

Just So Stories for Little Children. By Rudyard Kipling. Illustrated by the author. (London: Macmillan & Co. 6s.)

THESE stories will sensibly increase the merriment of every nursery. Their wealth of fancy is simply marvellous, and every art of repetition and obscurity, of sense and nonsense, is brought into play for the little people who are so dear to the author. Our favourite in the set is "The Cat that Walked by himself." The manner in which that master schemer wins for himself a place by the hearth and a daily supply of milk is delicious. "The Elephant's Child" is infinitely amusing. The youngster owes his trunk to the crocodile who wished to eat him, but only succeeded in pulling out his nose till it became a glorious trunk. "How the Whale got his Throat," and "How the Camel got his Hump" are two more delightful absurdities. Mr. Kipling's pencil is as deliciously and grotesquely fanciful as his pen itself, and his rhymes are as funny and as far-fetched as his stories.

#### SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

The Pearl Finders (5s.) is one of G. Manville Fenn's characteristic stories, full of adventure in search of phantom gold. The party do not win riches, but they have a grand time of travel and exploit, and then settle down to that patient work which is the real way to success. Mr. Fenn never leaves his readers a dull moment. Earncliffe of Errington, by F. B. Forester (3s. 6d.), is a spirited story of an officer's son who is left in the charge of an attorney whilst the father is on foreign service. The father is said to be killed, but after many an adventure young Earncliffe discovers him in Spain. Father and son are well drawn, and the book is one that boys will greatly prize. The Pick of the Basket, by Phoebe Allen (2s. 6d.), is a village story with a timely warning against any kind of deceit. Melody Rew's fault brings its retribution. A Scholar of Lindis-

farms, by Gertrude Hollis (2s. 6d.), is a tale of the times of St. Aidan. The book will greatly interest young people, and will give them a really good and reliable account of the days when Christianity was being planted in Northumbria. The Farm of Aptonga (2s. 6d.) is a reprint of one of Dr. J. M. Neale's books which were intended to popularise Church history among young people. The story of the Christian martyrs is told with deep feeling and rare mastery of all the facts. The book should inspire boys and girls with new zeal for Christ. Might, by Annie L. Gee (3s. 6d.), is a story of the Great Crusade. Hugo de Beaupré inherits a moorland feud and has much fighting, in which he proves himself a true knight, heals the feud, and marries the girl that had counted him her chief enemy. Dahlia Pobloe's Reaping, by Emily P. Finnemore (2s. 6d.). is a story of village life brightly told with a spice of humour. It teaches some good lessons. All these books are well illustrated, and are very low priced. Mr. and Mrs. Tiddliwinks. by Edith Farmiloe (1s.), are a delightful pair of children, and the little flower-girl who saves their governess' cart from being run down by a four-in-hand is a most engaging damsel. This is as pretty a child's tale as heart could desire.

Mr. C. Arthur Pearson has published four Christmas books of The Romance of Modern Invention, by Archibald special merit. Williams (5s.), describes the wonders of wireless telegraphy, of torpedoes, animated pictures, motor-cars, etc., in untechnical language, but in the most instructive and entertaining fashion. The account of the automobile race from Paris to Berlin, in June, 1901, is intensely exciting. For a boy who loves mechanics this is the book of the season. The lad who loves fighting will turn to The Boy's Book of Battles, by Herbert Cadett (5s.). Its stories of Kandahar, Rorke's Drift, the Siege of the Pekin Legations, and the chief struggles of the Boer War are told in a way that stirs one's blood, and shows what British pluck has accomplished. The Story of a Scout, by John Finnemore (5s.), is a lad's adventures in the Peninsular War. The battle of Vittoria, and many a stirring event of the time, is described. We meet Wellington, and follow with unflagging interest the hair-breadth escapes of the boy scout. Kids of Many Colours, by Grace D. Boylan and Ike Morgan (6s.), is well worth a guinea. The most delicious fun with pen and pencil; lullabies, mother songs, with the most delightfully whimsical pictures of children of all climes and colours. This book will make endless mirth in the nursery.

Messrs. W. & R. Chambers come behind no firm in their Christmas story-books. Stan Lynn, by George Manville Fenn (53.), opens with a night attack by Chinese robbers on an English warehouse in Hai-Hai. Stan and his uncles drive off the thieves after a sharp fight. The boy goes to a branch establishment, where he is taken prisoner, but escapes and helps to fight some desperate pirates. He comes triumphantly through all his perils. Boys could not have a story more suited to their tastes. Grit and Go (53.) is a set of nine stories by G. A. Henty, Guy Boothby, and other favourite writers. The account of De Wet's repulse at Wepener will be eagerly read, and so will the whole set. Mrs. Meade's Robel of the School (5s.) is an Irish girl who upsets all law and order in Great Shirley School, and gets her friends into all manner of scrapes. She comes safely through them after a time, and becomes the most popular girl in the school, and she deserves it. A Plucky Girl, by May Baldwin (3s. 6d.). Nell Lestrange sacrifices her own happiness to care for her dead sister's children, but she gets it back again, and she is sweeter and better for her testing. The story is fresh and unconventional. Lassie and Laddie, by Mary D. Brine (2s. 6d.), contrives to convey, by delightful pictures and bright descriptions, an account of Venice, Switzerland, and Holland such as small children will appreciate. These sketches are cleverly set in a framework of narrative, and we envy the children who get the book.

Messrs. Archibald Constable & Co. have issued an inviting edition of Mr. G. L. Gomme's Royal Story-Books, bound in crimson and blue, and stamped with the royal arms. The four volumes-The King's, The Queen's, The Prince's, and Princess's Story-Book—are made up of selections from novelists and from Shakespeare, giving descriptions of a notable event in each reign. Sometimes the piece chosen is from Froissart or William of Malmesbury, but Sir Walter Scott, Thackeray, Lord Lytton, Kingsley, Ainsworth, Peacock, Lord Beaconsfield furnish most of the matter, and their names are sufficient guarantee of the value and interest of the work. The volumes will tempt young people to fuller study of English history, and will make them familiar with the masterpieces of our literature. Gomme has worked out his excellent plan with much skill and true literary taste. The volumes are freely illustrated, and will be most acceptable for school prizes, or for gift books of any kind. Such volumes are very cheap at three shillings and sixpence.

Peterkin (Macmillan & Co., 4s. 6d.) is one of Mrs. Molesworth's pretty stories about a little fellow's devotion to a parrot. The parrot leads to a friendship with a small maid, whose parents are in India, and some exciting adventures among the children. Mrs. Molesworth's story will have a warm welcome in the nursery, and the illustrations are very effective.

Messrs. T. Nelson & Sons know how to cater for boys and girls, and their Christmas books are beautifully got up, and illustrated in the most attractive style. The Last of the Cliffords. by Eliza F. Pollard (5s.), is a story of Prince Rupert and the Civil War. John Hampden figures largely in it. The story is told with great spirit. Ralph Wynward, by H. Etrington. The chief interest of this tale centres round the sack of Youghal, by the Earl of Desmond, in 1579. The young people who are mixed up with that terrible outrage have endless adventures which boys and girls will heartily enjoy. A Fortune from the Sky, by Skelton Kuppord (25.), is an electrical story so wildly improbable and so full of mystery and horrors that it is food only for strong-minded boys and girls with a taste for such marvels. We sup on excitements and tragedies from the first page to the last. Sale's Sharpshooters, by Harold Avery (3s. 6d.), are a company of children with a taste for drill and shooting. They are the means of unmasking some clever robbers, and are so full of life and fun that one is delighted to know them. The Lost Squire of Inglewood, by Thomas Jackson (25.), is found by his own son in the caves of Robin Hood. He had tumbled into the Trent and come up on the wrong side of the rock, so that he found himself in the caves and could not discover any way out. The boy friends have a happy time together, and everything turns out well, but the adventures are really too improbable. A Happy Failure, by Ethel Dawson (15. 6d.), is a very bright and well-told story. A family reduced in circumstances set up a boarding-house in Cornwall. The girls act as maids, and win the hearts of the boarders in magic style, so that three of the happiest marriages follow their attempt to earn their own living. They are so charming that we quite understand their good fortune. The Cruise of the "Katherina," by John A. Higginson (1s.), is a treasure tale of the South Seas, with ruffians of all colonies, and a little touch of love-making. The cruises and adventures keep one interested and excited to the last page of a lively story.

The Secret of Berry Pomeroy (Griffith, Farran, & Co., 3s. 6d.) is a Devonshire tale by Fred Whishaw, with a Jacobite plot and a happy love story. The adventures of the book will make it popular, and it is very bright and well written.

Boy, by Helen Milman (Griffith, Farran, & Co., 2s.), is a dainty story of a quaint little fellow who is left to dream his day dreams and make his own friends. He is delightfully unworldly and unconventional, and we are quite heartsore when he slips away from the world. The book is a distinct success.

The Rose and the Ring (Grant Richards, 2s. 6d.), Thackeray's fireside pantomime, will have a warm welcome in this dainty form. It is packed with pictures, and full of innocent fun and absurdity. Mr. Grant Richards has put the fairy tale into the most attractive covers.

Some Boys' Doings, by John Habberton (Nisbet & Co., 3s. 6d.), describes the ways of boys in an American town of the Far West. The boys are so full of life and good nature, so amusing and so absurd, that we soon fall in love with them. The twelve-year old schoolboy who figured as "An Amateur Cupid," and so brought about two happy marriages, specially interests us; but the whole book is worthy of the pen that gave us Helen's Babies.

The Story of Little Black Quibbs is as deliciously absurd and impossible as the Little Black Mingo from the same pen. The elephant hangs over the cliff suspended by a snake, which at last breaks like a rotten rope and lets the little frogs that had just been eaten hop out. The budding humorists of the nursery will find this book a treasure. Its pictures are as clever as its text.

#### WESLEYAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION PUBLICATIONS.

Mr. Culley's new story-books are made very attractive by bright covers and good pictures; they are low priced, and are both pleasant to read and likely to encourage young readers in everything that is good. Daddy's Darling, by Edith Greeves (2s. 6d.), is just what tiny children will love. Roger's Quest is a capital tale by Alice J. Briggs of the days of the Spanish Armada. Patsy O'Hara is a story of shipwrecks and missionary life. Rescued (1s. 6d.), by Emily Spratling, shows how a thoughtless youth was transformed into a noble man. It is a book that ought to do much good. Through Deep Waters is a

powerful temperance tale. Mabel's Three Keys are Patience, Perseverance, and Prayer, and her life is changed as she learns to use them. Leonard's Temptation ought to be put into the hands of those who are tempted to gamble. The other books are high-toned, bright, and helpful. The annual volume of Our Boys and Girls has some very attractive pictures, short stories, and papers. It is admirably suited to meet the needs of little people. The bound volume of the Sunday-School Magasine (3s.) is full of excellent notes on the lessons and on the Catechism, with sound explanation of difficult passages, abundant incident, and much various and most helpful matter.

Early Days for 1902 (Charles H. Kelly, 1s. 6d.) is a tempting volume for the nursery. Its pictures of animals, flowers, and children show how fertile are the fancies of the artists who have been at work to produce this picture gallery. The stories, poetry, sketches of famous men, descriptions of birds and flowers, will both delight and instruct little people. The poetry and prize puzzles are very attractive, and so is the whole volume.

Messrs. Seeley publish Stories of Charlemagne (5s.), by the Rev. A. J. Church. They have been selected from the old romances, and compressed with much skill. The romances give a distorted view of Charlemagne, but the wild passions, the fierce fighting and treachery of the Middle Ages are all here, and the stories are full of life and spirit. The coloured pictures are striking. Beatrice Marshall's Siege of York is an exquisitely told tale, of which Lord Fairfax is one of the chief figures. The young people are a charming set, and the illustrations of scenes in and around York are very daintily done. The Kidnapping of Ettie, and Other Tales (5s.) shows that "Brown Linnet" is as much at home with children as with characters like "Widow Wiley." The new book is full of fun and pathos, and its pictures please us greatly.

#### IX. MISCELLANEOUS.

The New Volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Vols. XXIX., XXX. (London: "The Times" Office.)

THE fifth and sixth of the new volumes of the Encyclopadia Britannica are astonishingly rich in articles of first-rate importance. In the fifth we have "The Gospels" by Professor Stanton, which discusses the Synoptic problem and the authorship of the Fourth Gospel in the clearest and most helpful style; a brief life of General Gordon, which is of the greatest interest; and discussions of scientific and medical subjects by the chief experts. The article on the legal questions connected with insanity and its hospital treatment may be singled out for special notice. The article on "Glass" deserves to be mentioned. That on "Golf" will appeal to all who love the links. The articles on "Holland," "India," "Italy," and especially that on "Japan" are of the highest interest and value. In the sixth volume we have been specially attracted by the articles on "Light" and that on "Lighthouses," which give a wealth of information as to the structure of a lighthouse, its optical apparatus, and illuminants, illustrated by a set of pictures of great There are also sections dealing with Unattended Lights and Beacons, Light Vessels, Illuminated Buoys, Fog Signals, and Lighthouse Administration. The description of "Art Metal Work," with its full-page plates, will appeal to many readers. "Magnetism" and "Metaphysics" are two articles which well illustrate the merit of the whole work. The sketch of Leo XIII. is very full. The articles on "Medicine and Medical Education" and "Iurisprudence" are of great importance. There is a fine account of Korea. Mr. Eugene Stock writes an account of "Modern Missions since 1884," which is marked by ample knowledge and the finest Christian temper. The Revs. H. P. Hughes and Dr. I. M. Buckley are responsible for a brief article on "Methodism since 1882," which is supplementary to Dr. Rigg's well known contribution to the Encyclopædia. Mr. Hughes writes on the "Forward Movement and Methodist Reunion." He

says the "growing liberalism of the parent Conference has brought Methodist reunion, even at home, within the range of possibility. The present ideal of most enlightened Methodists is one Methodist Church in every country, and an Œcumenical Conference every ten years to bind them all together." The prefatory essays to these volumes are by Mr. Benjamin Kidd and Mr. Birrell.

The Scenery of England, and the Causes to which it is Due. By the Right Hon. Lord Avebury. (London: Macmillan & Co. 15s. net.)

Lord Avebury has made every Englishman his debtor by this book. There is nothing quite like it; and now that the gap is filled one wonders that the task was not attempted earlier. Lord Avebury is well aware of the imperfection that must attend such an attempt to explain the causes of our English scenery, but his task has fascinated him, and he hopes that it may prove "half as interesting to read as he has found it to write." Judging from our own experience he will certainly not be disappointed. Difficult scientific subjects are treated in a way that goes far to make them popular, though science is not sacrificed to popular treatment. Geology is the geography of the past, and Lord Avebury has to make constant reference to the structure and arrangement of rocks which so largely affect the scenery of a country. This is the more technical, but not the least instructive part of his volume. The British Isles stand on a platform, the true edge of which follows a line about fifty miles west of the Irish coast. "The Irish Sea, English Channel. and the North Sea are shallow and recent depressions, and a trifling elevation of say twenty fathoms, about the height of the Monument, would join Ireland and Great Britain to France. Holland, and Denmark." The English Channel is a valley, 130 feet deep at the Straits of Dover, but widening out and sinking to 500 feet towards the Atlantic. Great Britain may be described as a mountain with its base in the sea. Every feature of our coast has been shaped by natural causes, though we cannot always detect them. Spurn Point, at the entrance to the Humber. is due to the drifting of the sand produced by the wear and tear of the Holderness coast. Much of our beautiful scenery we owe to volcanoes, and Lord Avebury's chapters on mountains throw light on a thousand points of interest to the student. His chapters on rivers and lakes are equally interesting and valuable.

The long narrow form of Windermere marks it out as a drowned river valley. The chapter on "Downs, Wolds, Fens, Moors, and Commons," appeals especially to the southerner. Lord Avebury loves the open down most though he admits that without hedges England would not be England. "Hedges are everywhere full of beauty and interest, and nowhere more so than at the foot of the downs, where they are in great part composed of wild guelder-roses and rich dark yews, decked with festoons of travellers'-joy, the wild bryonia, and garlands of wild-roses covered with thousands of white or delicate pink flowers, each with a centre of gold." Such a quotation will show that this is no dry-as-dust record, but that it has caught some of the fragrance and beauty of the country. The illustrations themselves would tempt us to buy this volume. There are one hundred and ninety-seven of them, many full-page representations of coast, mountain, and river scenery. There are few books that will do so much to make an Englishman know his own country and understand the forces that have moulded it into its present form.

## The Church of England and Nonconformists. By the Ven. Archdeacon Sinclair. (London: Longmans. 2s. net.)

Archdeacon Sinclair's tenth charge to the clergy and churchwardens of his archdeaconry takes the form of a review of the origins of English Nonconformity, and the relation of its various branches to the Church of England. The review is very lucid, and is delightfully free from anything that might cause angry feeling. Archdeacon Sinclair has never wished that his own Church should recognise Nonconformist orders, but he desires to cultivate a more general spirit of friendliness and courtesy. with a view to disarming hostility and establishing more Christian relations between the various Churches. He does not believe that anything like even formal intercommunion is within the possibilities of our generation. Mr. Hughes and Dr. Stephenson are quoted as to reunion and episcopacy. "The Historic Episcopate" is the chief bar to reunion, and Archdeacon Sinclair is right when he says: "I believe that the traditional associations of Independents and Baptists are too deeply seated to render them willing to think of the adoption of an Episcopacy, however modified." The survey of Wesley's work shows that Archdeacon Sinclair does not appreciate the difficulties which he had to face. He speaks of Wesley "unconsciously preparing

the way for schism by intruding into parishes where he was not invited, and by authorising others, many of them laymen, to do the same." The Evangelical Revival would have been impossible had Wesley waited to be summoned where he was needed most.

The Story of a Living Temple. By F. M. Rossiter, B.S., M.D., and Mary H. Rossiter, A.M. (Fleming H. Revell. 3s. 6d. net.)

This "study of the human body" is intended to arouse young people to take a deeper interest in their own physical and mental constitution. Dr. Rossiter has found many destroyed for lack of such knowledge, and he sets himself to explain the wonders of the human temple—its wall of skin, its windows of sight, its brain-workers, its nerves, its breathing-rooms. He is a strong opponent of stimulants and tobacco, and has not a good word to say for tea or coffee. He writes in a picturesque style, and his descriptions are often very happy. Young people cannot fail to become interested in the subject, and to get many hints about health and food which will prove of the greatest service.

The Story of Life, by Ellice Hopkins (Walter Scott Publishing Co., 6d.), deals in the most wholesome and wise fashion with a subject on which boys ought not to remain ignorant. It traces life through all its developments from the simple organism of the amœba up to man. The light thrown on many processes of nature will fill a boy's mind with reverence, and enough is told him about his own constitution to guard him against impurity. A delicate task has been well done.

University Sketches. By John Henry Newman. With an Introduction by George Sampson. (London: Walter Scott Publishing Co. 1s. 6d.)

The University Sketches are an excellent specimen of Newman's powers as a writer, and the description of Athens is "one of the gems of English prose." Dr. Whyte says "there is nothing so brilliant anywhere else to be read." Mr. Sampson's Introduction is an attempt to guide a reader who wishes to study Newman for himself. He selects half a dozen volumes, and sets himself to arouse the reader's interest, "knowing full well that, if he reaches the sixth, nothing but lack

of opportunity will prevent him from going on to the fortieth." He thinks The Idea of a University the most truly valuable volume that Newman has left us. There is a great deal to learn from Mr. Sampson's Introduction, even though some will feel that he does not quite appreciate Kingsley's position in the famous controversy, or do justice to his motives.

The Report of Proceedings at the Fifth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, held at Manchester last July, appeals to students of industrial life both at home and abroad. The two chief questions discussed were The Housing Problem and Land Settlement, and on both these subjects the speakers claim respectful attention. No one who wishes to study these questions can do better than make himself familiar with the facts and figures here adduced. The volume is published by the Co-operative Alliance, at 19, Southampton Row.

The Great Co-operation (Methodist Publishing House, Lucknow) is a little book by Colonel Dowden, R.E., who has used his retirement to think out a great subject. He holds that the world's highest good is only to be realised by all working together under Christ's guidance in trust and love. The book is packed with thought.

The Art of Noble Living. By R. P. Downes, LL.D. (London: Charles H. Kelly. 3s. 6d.)

This is the best of Dr. Downes's books—so far. There is the same rhetorical amplitude, the same poetical passion and imagination, the same exuberance of allusion and quotation, as in Pure Pleasures, The Pillars of our Faith, etc. There is also the same moral elevation and spiritual enthusiasm which have marked his former productions, and rendered such admirable service to the youths and maidens who have come beneath the spell of his impressive and enkindling eloquence. But, in this last volume, we perceive a concentration, an intensity, an urgency born of deep concern and tender sympathy which add solemnity to his pages without lessening their attractions for the ardent and aspiring mind. A more suitable gift book for thoughtful and intelligent young people it would be difficult to find. To preachers and teachers it should also prove a veritable gold-mine of illustrative and decorative material. S.

From the Methodist Book-Room we have received a set of Pocket-Books and Diaries for 1903 which will be of the greatest

service to all Methodists. Ministers know the worth of the Pocket-Book provided for them with its information as to the marriage and burial laws, day-school matters, and Conference procedure. Even a forgetful man may become a pattern of order and regularity if he makes proper use of this Pocket-Book. Those who want a smaller book will find their needs met by a pocket-book from which the schedules are omitted. and by a diary of the most convenient shape with abundant room for entries. The Miniature Diary is a new friend, and it delights us. It will slip into a waistcoat pocket, and is the most tasteful little volume, complete and compact to a marvel. The Kalendar is one of the best things of its kind that we know, and the Disk Disry has proved its value to men of many engagements. Mr. Kelly has made provision for all the wants of his clients, and his Pocket-Books and Diaries for 1903 leave nothing to be desired.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge issue The Churchman's Almanach in a variety of forms from 1d. to 1s. 8d. It can be had in large size or in small, and it is full of information as to bishops at home and abroad and the Societies connected with the Church of England. The Churchman's Remembrancer, with its ample spaces and its blotting-pad, exactly meets the needs of a busy clergyman; the Pocket-Book is well arranged and compact; the book for entering the parochial offertory for a year; the list of lessons and the sheet almanacks are admirably adapted to the needs of the various classes for which they are intended. Mr. Horsley's Sporting Prophets, a letter on the betting mania, ought to be widely distributed. It shows the folly of trusting to such impostors in a way that may open some blind eyes.

The Cat Manual (Newnes, 1s. 6d. net) appeals to lovers of cats, who will here find particulars as to the best breeds, and will gain full information as to the food and treatment of their pets. The writer gives helpful hints as to diseases of cats, which are often due to wrong diet. Raw meat is recommended as the only correct diet. The pictures of prize cats are very well done.

### X. SUMMARY OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

METHODIST REVIEW (September—October).—Professor Stevens, of Yale University, discusses "The Theology of Horace Bushnell." He cites passages to prove that Bushnell held in all good faith the essence of historic orthodoxy on the subject of the Atonement. "No reckless innovator or adventurer was he; never was a man more deeply, solemnly in earnest. His was a heart aflame with God. Amid the realities of a spiritual and eternal order he perpetually lived. Great as his influence has been, he has not yet reached the zenith of his power. The verdict of history will pronounce him the greatest religious genius American Christianity has hitherto produced." Dr. Quayle, of Kansas City, writes on "The Debt of the Republic to the Preacher." It is an inspiring article, crowded with facts which show what America owes to her ministers. Discussing "The Preacher as Patriot," Dr. Quayle says, "Beecher and Bishop Simpson were the two unhesitant voices for the Union in the dark days of Secession. With a prodigality of effort seldom seen, they flamed up and down the land, making for faith in country and the triumph of the Unionist cause."

(November-December).—A writer in this number thinks that while ministers are careful to meet the necessities of their people as they arise, there is a decay of the pastoral habit. "Virile preaching," rather than visitation, seems to be the ambition of many; but if a preacher wishes to preserve his "humanness," he cannot neglect regular pastoral work. The article and note on this subject are timely and full of sound sense. The paper on Lowell is excellent. He is "our greatest poet, and our greatest critic, and our greatest satirist." The writer speaks for the United States,

and his estimate is of great interest.

METHODIST REVIEW, SOUTH (July—August).—In the Editorial Department there is a note on "The General Conference" which says the Secular press, with honourable exceptions, egregiously erred in its estimate of the spirit and temper of the men who were recently assembled at Dallas. At the most important juncture of the proceedings the dignity and decorum of the body were most manifest, and every member seemed to be on his good behavionr. So far as the writer of the note was able to judge, no one sought to exercise an improper influence, nor was a word spoken in the ear which might not be proclaimed upon the housetops. A note on "Wesleyan Increase" refers to the keen and constant competition with "the Establishment and other Christian organisations," and thinks that our gain in membership in England is to be set to the credit of "close organisation, unceasing evangelistic labours, and the devotion of wise leaders and consecrated people alike."

(November-December).—This is the last appearance of this Review as a

(November-December).—This is the last appearance of this Review as a bi-monthly. The January number is to be the first number of The Methodist Quarterly Review, which will contain twelve or thirteen articles and sixty to seventy-five pages for editorial departments. "The World of Missions" Section, which has justly received such high commendation for the freshness and breadth of its news of missionary operations throughout the world, will be continued, and more attention will be given to book notices. Dr. Tigert's work as editor has earned him the gratitude of his own Church and of all his readers, and we hope to see the influence and prosperity of the Review greatly increased under the new conditions.

LITERARY LIFE (September) is a monthly publication issued by the Abbey Press, New York. It is full of facts about books and their authors, with a Shakespeare section containing questions on the plays for students, and

notes of considerable interest.